THE GREENWOOD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF DAILY LIFE IN AMERICA

Volume 1, 2, 3 and 4

Randall M. Miller

Greenwood
PUBLISHING GROUP

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

Recent Titles in
The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

The Civil War
Paul A. Cimbala

Civilians in Wartime Europe, 1618–1900
Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey, editors

The Vietnam War
James E. Westheider

World War II
G. Kurt Piehler

Immigrant America, 1870–1920
June Granatir Alexander

Along the Mississippi
George S. Pabis

Immigrant America, 1820–1870
James M. Bergquist

Pre-Columbian Native America
Clarissa W. Confer

Post-Cold War
Stephen A. Bourque

The New Testament
James W. Ermatinger

The Hellenistic Age: From Alexander to Cleopatra
James Allan Evans

Imperial Russia
Greta Bucher

1

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND ANTEBELLUM EXPANSION AND REFORM, 1763–1861

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

Theodore J. Zeman
VOLUME EDITOR

Randall M. Miller
GENERAL EDITOR

The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

GREENWOOD PRESS
Westport, Connecticut • London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Greenwood encyclopedia of daily life in America / Randall M. Miller, general editor.
p. cm.—(The Greenwood Press daily life through history series, ISSN 1080–4749)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
ISBN 978–0–313–33703–1 (v. 1)
ISBN 978–0–313–33704–8 (v. 2)
ISBN 978–0–313–33705–5 (v. 3)
ISBN 978–0–313–33706–2 (v. 4)
1. United States—Civilization—Encyclopedias. 2. United States—Social life and customs—Encyclopedias. 3. United States—Social conditions—Encyclopedias. I. Miller, Randall M.
E169.1.G7553 2009
973.03—dc22 2007042828

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2007042828
ISBN: 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
978–0–313–33703–1 (vol. 1)
978–0–313–33704–8 (vol. 2)
978–0–313–33705–5 (vol. 3)
978–0–313–33706–2 (vol. 4)
ISSN: 1080–4749

First published in 2009

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881
An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
www.greenwood.com

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48–1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

CONTENTS

TOUR GUIDE: A PREFACE FOR USERS

During the time of the American Revolution, the writer Hector St. Jean de Crevecouer asked the fundamental question that has dogged Americans thereafter: "What then is this new man, this American." Countless students of American history have searched every aspect of political, economic, social, and cultural history to discover "this American." In doing so, they have often focused on the great ideas that inspired a "free people" and defined public interest since the inception of the United States; the great events that marked American history; and the great changes wrought by democratic, industrial, communications, and other revolutions shaping American life, work, and identities. And they have been right to do so. But more recently other students of history have insisted that finding the *real* American requires looking at the details of everyday life. Therein, they argue, Americans practiced what mattered most to them and gave meaning to larger concepts of *freedom* and to the great events swirling about them. The ways Americans at home and at work ordered their daily life have become the subject of numerous community studies and biographies of the so-called common man or woman that were created by combing through all manner of personal accounts in diaries, letters, memoirs, business papers, birth and death records, census data, material culture, popular song, verse, artistic expression, and, indeed, virtually any source about or by common folk.

But making sense of so much individual study and providing a clear path through the history of Americans in their daily life has waited on a work that brings together the many and diverse ways Americans ordered their individual worlds at home and at work. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* promises such a synthesis; it also promises to find "this American" in what Americans ate, who they courted and married, how they raised their children, what they did at work, where they traveled, how they played, and virtually every aspect of social life that Americans made for themselves. As such, it brings to life "this American" on his or her own terms. It also suggests that by discovering the ordinary it becomes possible to understand that extraordinary phenomenon of the American.

Features and Uses

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America is a reference work and guide that provides up-to-date, authoritative, and readable entries on the many experiences and varieties of daily life of Americans from the dawn of the republic through the first years of the twenty-first century. In spanning the roughly 250 years from the mid-eighteenth century to the new millennium, the four volumes of *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* employ both a chronological and a topical, or thematic, approach. Doing so invites many uses for the volumes as reference guides; as touchstones for inquiries to a host of questions about the social, cultural, economic, and political history of Americans and the nation; and, taken together, as a broad view of daily life in the United States.

Users can read the articles separately or as a running narrative, depending on interest and need. The organization of the work collectively according to time period and within each volume according to time period, geography, daily activity, and group allows readers to explore a topic in depth, in comparative perspective, and over time. Also, because each section of each volume opens with a synthetic overview for purposes of historical context, the material in each section becomes more readily linked to larger patterns of American social, cultural, economic, and political developments. By structuring the volumes in this manner, it becomes possible to integrate and apply the encyclopedia within modern and flexible pedagogical frameworks in the classroom, in the library, and in home-schooling settings.

Cross-referencing within the articles and the cumulative subject index to the encyclopedia found at the back of each volume together expand the reach of individual topics across time and in different places. Thus, for example, the discussion of marital patterns and habits in the antebellum period of the nineteenth century, which includes mentions of courtship patterns, marriage rites, family formation, parenting, and even divorce, easily bridges to treatments of the same topics in other periods. Likewise, a reader wanting to compare foodways as they developed over time might move easily from representations of the early American "down-home" cooking of a largely agricultural society, through the increased portability and packaging of foods demanded by an urbanizing society during the nineteenth century, to the recent preference for such paradoxes in food choices as fresh foods, exotic foods, and fast food in the post-industrial United States.

Readers might go backward as well as forward, or even sideways, in following their interests, looking for the roots and then growth and development of habits and practices that defined and ordered the daily lives of Americans. In doing so, they might discover that each successive modern society has had its own search for the simpler life by trying to recover and reproduce parts of a supposedly more settled and serene past. They also will discover not only the changes wrought by ever more modern means of production, transportation, communication, and social and economic organization but also some striking continuities. Old ways often continue in new days. Americans have been a people on the go from the beginning of the nation and have become more so over time. As such, staying in touch with

family and friends has ever been central to Americans' sense of place and purpose in organizing their lives. Whether carrying a daguerreotype image while heading west or to war in the nineteenth century, shooting photos with a Kodak camera from the late nineteenth century well into the twentieth century, or taking pictures with a video camera, a digital camera, or even with a cell-phone in the twenty-first century, Americans sought ways to keep visual images of the people, animals, possessions, and places that mattered to them. Letter writing also has become no less important a means of communication when the words move electronically via e-mail than when they were scratched out with a quill pen on paper. The encyclopedia provides a ready way to measure and map such social and cultural patterns and developments.

In its organization and with its reference supports, the encyclopedia encourages such topical excursions across time. Thus, the encyclopedia promises ways to an integrated analysis of daily life and of the core values, interests, and identities of Americans at any one time and over time.

Sidebars (found in volumes 3 and 4 and called Snapshots), chronologies, illustrations, and excerpts from documents further enrich each volume with specific examples of daily life from primary sources. They add not only "color" but also significant content by capturing the sense of a particular people or place in song, verse, speech, letters, and image and by giving voice to the people themselves. Readers thus engage Americans in their daily life directly.

The life and use of the encyclopedia extends beyond the physical volumes themselves. Because the encyclopedia derives much of its material from the vast resources of the Greenwood Publishing Group archive of works in ongoing series, such as the *Greenwood Press Daily Life Through History* Series and the *Daily Life in the United States* Series, to name the two most prominent, and on the many encyclopedias, reference works, and scholarly monographs making up its list, and on the many document-based works in its collection, the encyclopedia includes up-to-date and reliably vetted material. It also plugs into the *Greenwood Daily Life Online* database, which ensures a continuous expansion, enhancement, and refinement of content and easy searching capabilities. In that sense, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America,* like the American people, literally exists in a constant state of renewal to live beyond its original creation.

Organization and Coverage

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America has a wide sweep in terms of time, topics, and themes related to the ordering of the daily lives of Americans. It also includes the many and diverse Americans, understanding that no one experience or people spoke or speaks for the variety of daily lives in the United States or explains even the unity of common experiences many different Americans have had and sought. That said, the encyclopedia is not a simple fact-by-fact description of every group or daily activity conducted in the United States. The encyclopedia

is consciously selective in topics and coverage, with an eye always to relating the most significant and representative examples of the daily lives of different Americans.

The coverage of particular people and topics varies due to the availability of sources by and about them. Thus, for example, such peoples as the Iroquois, Cherokee, and Lakota Sioux get more explicit notice than, say, the Shoshone, simply because they left a fuller record of their lives and were observed and written about, or painted or photographed, in their daily lives more fully than were some other Native peoples. Then, too, the daily life of immigrant peoples receives extensive coverage throughout the volumes, but the extent and depth of coverage varies due to the size of the group and, more important, due to the available source material about any particular group. Thus, for example, when combined, the several major governmental and foundation studies of eastern and southern European immigrant groups in industrial America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rich tradition of publishing ethnic newspapers, the relating of personal lives in memoirs and oral histories, and a conscious effort to recover an immigrant past by the children and grandchildren of the first generation all explain the wider focus on such groups as representative types for their day. We simply know much about such people at work and at home. Such coverage of some people more fully than others does not mean any one experience counts more than others. It is, rather, mainly a matter of the critical mass of information at hand.

The encyclopedia includes all age groups in its coverage, but, again, the documentary record is richer for people coming of age through their adult lives into retirement than it is for the very young or the very old. Then, too, more is known about the daily lives of the upper classes than the lower classes, the privileged than the underprivileged, and the free than the unfree. The encyclopedia boasts significant inclusion of the many diverse American people, irrespective of wealth, circumstance, race or ethnicity, religion, or any other marker, and, indeed, it makes special effort to embrace the fullest range and diversity of experiences of daily life from birth to death.

The four volumes, each of which was edited by a prominent specialist or specialists in the field, are arranged by time periods as follows.

- Volume 1: *The War of Independence and Antebellum Expansion and Reform, 1763–1861;* edited by Theodore J. Zeman
- Volume 2: *The Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Industrialization of America, 1861–1900;* edited by James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo
- Volume 3: *The Emergence of Modern America, World War I, and the Great Depression, 1900–1940;* edited by Francis J. Sicius
- Volume 4: *Wartime, Postwar, and Contemporary America, 1940–Present;* edited by Jolyon P. Girard

Each volume follows a similar format in that it organizes the material into seven principal topics, which are then generally divided into the following subtopics.

Those subtopics are sometimes arranged in a different order within the volumes due to emphasis, but they remain continuous throughout the encyclopedia.

1. *Domestic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Men, Women, Children, Pets, Marriage, and so on.
2. *Economic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Work, Trade, Class and Caste, Urban and Rural Experience, and so on.
3. *Intellectual Life:* Covering such subtopics as Science, Education, Literature, Communication, Health and Medicine, and so on.
4. *Material Life:* Covering such subtopics as Food, Drink, Housing, Clothing, Transportation, Technology, and so on.
5. *Political Life:* Covering such subtopics as Government, Law, Reform, War, and so on.
6. *Recreational Life:* Covering such subtopics as Sports, Music, Games, Entertainment, Holidays and Celebrations, and so on.
7. *Religious Life:* Covering such subtopics as Religion, Spirituality, Ritual, Rites of Passage, and so on.

Users are guided through this enormous amount of material not just by running heads on every page but also by *concept compasses* that appear in the margins at the start of main topical sections. These compasses are adapted from *concept mapping*, a technique borrowed from online research methods and used in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*. The concept compasses will help orient readers in the particular volume they are using and allow them to draw connections among related topics across time periods. Following is an example of a concept compass:

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES: 1960–1990

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

The individual volumes also have several variations in their internal arrangements and coverage of topics that speak to the particular chronological period under review. Volume 1, for example, does not begin at a fixed date, as do the other volumes, and it covers a longer time period than any of the other volumes. Its primary

focus is on the period from the American Revolution through the Civil War, but it also looks back in time in its descriptions of many elements of daily life that continued from the preindustrial colonial period through the first rumblings of the so-called market revolution of the early nineteenth century. It does so to provide not only an understanding of the continuities in many aspects of life—from the ways people raised crops and livestock, manufactured and sold goods, organized family life, worshipped, and practiced the rituals of birth, marriage, and death, to name several—but also to mark the changes wrought by the age of revolutions that came with new understandings of political, economic, social, cultural, and even parental authority following the American Revolution. In the subsequent volumes, there is some overlap in terms of beginnings and endings for the chronological periods because social history does not have neat markers as does American political history with its election cycles. Each of the final three volumes covers roughly a half-century of time, reflecting the growing complexity of life in the modern era.

The encyclopedia covers the whole of the United States. The geography of the United States has expanded mightily over time, but the importance of geographical identity within the United States has varied at different times and more recently has declined. The first three volumes recognize the salience of regional variations in defining daily life and break the material, in varying degrees, into regions within the United States (e.g., Northeast, South, Midwest, Pacific West). But the fourth volume, covering the last half of the twentieth century—by which time a national market, telecommunications, and popular culture had done much to break down regional identities and create a national culture—discounts the importance of region in many areas of daily life. To be sure, as Volume 4 reveals, regional identities still persisted, even pridefully so, in "the South" and "the West" especially, but throughout the United States the rhythms of life moved in strikingly similar ways in a nation increasingly knit together by interstate highways, television, and, more recently, by the Internet and by a mass consumption economy and culture. Class, race, and occupation, more than regional cultures, now count more in defining daily life and social ties. Religion, too, matters much in ordering individual lives and distinguishing groups from one another in the United States, easily the most "churched" nation in the industrial world. In some cases, particular subtopics disappear from successive volumes because Americans at different times gave up particular ways of working and living or because the representative ways of working and living changed, from those of an agricultural world to those of an industrial and urban one and then to a postindustrial suburban one, for example.

Throughout the encyclopedia the most basic ways people arranged their daily life make up the principal content of the volumes. But the coverage of any topic is not constant. Take time, for example. It is useful to note that historically over time, *time* literally has been speeding up for Americans. Americans who lived by Nature's times of season and sunrise and sunset occupied a different world than people who have made time a commodity to be metered out in nanoseconds for purposes of productivity and even pleasure. The multiplicity of clocks and watches made possible by the industrial revolution, the imposition of factory time in the workplace, the dividing of the nation into time zones demanded by the railroads, the breakdown of time ordered by the moving assembly line, the collapse of time realized by

telecommunications and then the radio, and the more current compression of time by microchips in all manner of computers, cell phones, and gadgetry that seemingly now run daily life and work—all this change in understanding and managing time transformed not only the pace but also the direction of life. Each volume marks the changing of time, the ways people used their time, and the times. Thereby, the attention to matters of time becomes a topic of growing importance with each successive volume of the encyclopedia.

Finally, in terms of coverage and content, the encyclopedia combines a *macro* with the *micro* view of daily life. External factors such as wars, natural disasters (e.g., fires, floods, hurricanes and tornados, ice storms, and droughts), epidemic diseases, environmental transformation, economic and political change, and population movements profoundly affected how, where, and why people lived as they did and, indeed, even which people lived at all. The Revolutionary War and the Civil War, for example, uprooted countless people from their homes as armies tramped about, armies that also liberated enslaved people who then used the upheavals to run to freedom or to fight for it. Daily life for refugees, for the "freedpeople," for the losers of political power and economic advantage was altered to its core by war. Dealing with the loss of loved ones in the Civil War changed the ways many Americans approached the meaning and management of death—in embalming, in funerary practices, in memorializing the dead, in shifting family responsibilities in the wake of a parent's death. The total mobilization of World War II touched every American household, and the G.I. Bill that came with it opened up opportunities for education, home ownership, and medical benefits that helped make possible a middle-class life for many Americans. So, too, massive floods, such as the 1927 flooding of the Mississippi River basin, swept away people, possessions, and patterns of living across a wide swath. Government actions also influenced, even determined, people's daily life. The many New Deal programs that insured bank accounts; underwrote home mortgage loans; brought electricity to rural America; built dams for hydroelectric power and economic development; constructed roads, bridges, airports, and public buildings; encouraged the arts, music, and literature, and so much more left a physical, social, and cultural imprint that still matters in Americans' daily living. Thus, relating the *macrohistory* of larger historical events and developments to the ways such factors informed and influenced the *microhistory* of individual daily life is essential to understanding the dynamics and consequence of changes and continuities in the daily life of Americans. The panoramic perspective plots the landscape of social history, while the microscopic examination observes its many forms. All that said, the primary focus of this encyclopedia remains on what students of social and cultural history term "the infinite details" of Americans' social and material arrangements in their daily life. The title tells the tale.

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America, in the end, still makes no claim to comprehensiveness in trying to bring in all Americans and all manner of life. No reference work dare do so. Recognizing such a limitation rather than retreating from it, this encyclopedia serves not only as an introduction to the varied and complex American peoples in their daily lives but also as an invitation to bring other peoples into view, which responsibility, one hopes, the students and teachers using this encyclopedia will assume.

A Note on the Conception and Creation of the Encyclopedia

The encyclopedia is the product of many hands. It is both a collective work and, in its separate volumes, also very much an individual one. The encyclopedia was developed collectively by editors at Greenwood Press, who originally sought to provide a companion encyclopedia to the very successful six-volume *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life,* which covered the world from prehistory to the end of the twentieth century. The editors at Greenwood also sought to capitalize on the many reference works and individual volumes Greenwood Press has published on various aspects of daily life in the United States. At Greenwood, Michael Herman conceived of the idea for such an encyclopedia and drafted the broad design for it. John Wagner then stepped in and in many essential ways translated idea into product. He helped recruit volume editors, managed relations with the editors by means of correspondence and providing sample materials and other forms of guidance, read the individual volumes for content and fit regarding the collective set, and managed the details of moving manuscripts to production.

Each author/editor assumed the primary, almost complete, responsibility for his or her individual volume. Early in the planning process, several author/editors gathered by correspondence and even in person to discuss the scope of the work, to mark off the time boundaries of the individual volumes, to agree on essential topics, and more. The general editor coordinated such discussions; guided the works in progress; read the individual volumes for content, coverage, and fit with the other volumes and overall purpose and design of the encyclopedia; and in other ways moved production along. It is important to note that each author/editor has assumed principal responsibility for the content of his or her volume, from selecting, arranging, and editing the articles, to getting permission to use materials, to providing the context for the articles, to fact-checking and proofreading the volume, to ensuring the highest quality in content and presentation. The general editor thus disclaims any responsibility for the specific content of or in any volume. The individual author/editor's name on the title page of each volume places the responsibility where it deservedly should rest, with the true creators. It also is important to note that in creating each volume, the author/editor did much more than compile, collate, and arrange materials derived from other sources. Each author/editor wrote the introductions to the respective volumes, the introductions to the subsections of each volume, the transitions within each article excerpting materials from other sources, the headnotes in each volume, and some of the text in each volume. Because of the uneven, or even nonexistent, source material on daily life for the two volumes treating the twentieth century, both Francis Sicius and Jolyon Girard wrote much original material. This was so much so in Girard's case that he became more author than editor of Volume 4.

In sum, then, the creation of this encyclopedia mirrors the American experience. It was, and is, an example of the nation's guiding principle of continuous creation as a people—e pluribus unum. It also is a recognition that people make history. We hope that by discovering the American people in their day-to-day lives and the life they have sought to create and live, readers will find that elusive "new man, this American" and themselves.

—Randall M. Miller

This page intentionally left blank

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In pulling together this volume, I had the opportunity to explore the everyday lives of Americans during this period and gain an appreciation for the momentous times that they lived in. It gave me a whole new perspective on the history of this period and how people went about their daily existence as this century progressed. I would first like to thank Randall Miller, my colleague at Saint Joseph's University, for the opportunity to participate in this project; and for the infinite patience he showed in guiding this novice editor through the process of putting together this volume, as well as the careful editing that helped make the volume stand out. I would also like to thank Dr. David Burton, also of Saint Joseph's, for his counsel as I progressed through this work. John Wagner, senior development editor at Greenwood Press, also receives my thanks for his patience and help in putting this work together. Finally, my deepest thanks go to three of the most important people in my life, without whom I would never have had the chance to come this far: my late father Joseph Zeman, who provided me with the lifelong thirst for knowledge; my mother Lucy Zeman, who was always there for me in good times and bad, and who always believed in me; and finally my uncle and godfather Theodore Drobnicki, who provided me with patience and a guiding hand. Thank you!

This page intentionally left blank

VOLUME EDITOR'S PREFACE

Volume 1 of the *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* deals with the century that saw America move from 13 individual colonies to a nation. Americans fought for their independence from Britain and then began the process of creating governments, at the state and national levels, which would protect the rights of their citizens. As the nation grew, the ideals of the Revolution were compromised by the existence of slavery. Eighty-five years after the Declaration of Independence was adopted, the country was torn apart by civil war—a war that tested whether the proposition that "All men are created equal" meant only white men, or whether it also meant that blacks also had certain "inalienable rights." Women too began to call for an equal voice in the republic. The pace of life changed slowly as the United States moved into the nineteenth century, but the changes in technology, the pull of the west, the expansion of political parties, and improvements in the everyday lives of Americans from 1820 to 1861 saw the nation begin to move from an agricultural economy toward a manufacturing economy, and, with this, came a questioning of not only the economic basis for slavery but also its moral basis. The pace of life quickened for many with improvements in transportation, communications, and manufacturing, and ideas about the "proper sphere" for women, the nature of childhood, the character and functions of the family, public behavior, and so much more made America more "modern," especially in the growing towns and cities. Agriculture also grew in the expanse of land under cultivation, in the new methods of harvesting and processing crops, and in the size of operations. But "old ways" also persisted in many people's daily lives. The changes and continuities of America in its formative period as a republic are the subject of this volume.

Theodore J. Zeman
Saint Joseph's University

1

FROM COLONIES TO NATIONHOOD, 1763–1789

Chronology, 1754–1789

1754	June: Franklin's Albany Plan of Union
1754–1763	The French and Indian War
1756–1763	Seven Years' War
1759	September 18: The British take Quebec from the French
1760	October 25: King George II dies and is succeeded by his grandson George III
1763	February 10: The Peace of Paris ends the Seven Years' War
	May 7: Pontiac's Rebellion erupts
	October: George III signs the Proclamation of 1763, closing the west to settlement
1764	April 5: The Revenue Act (Sugar Act) becomes law
	The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved is published by James Otis
1765	March: The Stamp Act crisis begins
	May 30: The *Virginia Resolves* are passed
	First Circular Letter is dispatched
	July: Lord Rockingham becomes British prime minister
	August–October: Mob violence occurs in Boston and New York
	October 7–25: Stamp Act Congress meets in New York City
1766	March 18: Declaratory Act is passed by Parliament
1767	June 29: First Townshend duties become law
1768	January: John Dickinson publishes *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*
1769	Townshend duties are reissued
1770	April: Lord North becomes British prime minister
	March 5: Boston Massacre

	British regulars are withdrawn to Castle William in Boston Harbor
	April 12: Townshend duties are revoked
1771	Boston seethes with unrest, but Anglo-American commerce increases
1772	June 10: Irate colonials in Rhode Island burn the revenue cutter *Gaspee*
	November: *Boston Pamphlet* is released
1773	November 1772–July 1773: Committees of Correspondence are formed in many colonies
	December 16: Boston Tea Party
1774	March–June: Passage of the Coercive Acts, including the Boston Port Bill, the Quebec Act, and those measures known as the Intolerable Acts
	May 13: Lieutenant General Thomas Gage becomes the military governor of Massachusetts
	September: First Continental Congress adopts the Continental Association
	Powder Alarm
1775	April: Royal governor Josiah Martin dissolves the assembly in North Carolina
	April 19: Battles of Lexington and Concord Bridge in Massachusetts are followed by the British retreat to Boston
	May 10: Second Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia
	Fort Ticonderoga (New York) is taken by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold
	British Generals Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe arrive in America
	June: Lord Dunmore of Virginia retreats to the ships of the Royal Navy
	June 17: Battle of Breed's Hill (Bunker Hill) and shelling of Charlestown, Massachusetts
	July: Congress drafts *The Declaration of Causes for Taking up Arms*
	George Washington of Virginia takes command of the Patriot army at Boston
	First U.S. flag approved by Congress (Margaret Manny's Flag of Union)
	November: Americans capture the British store ships *Nancy* and *Concord* and the troop ships *Anne, George, Lord Howe,* and *Annabella*
	Montreal taken by Richard Montgomery
	December: Battle of Great Bridge, Virginia
	December 30: Battle of Quebec
	Encampment of Patriot army at Boston (winter 1775–1776)
1776	January 15: Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense*
	February: Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, North Carolina
	March: First cruise of the Continental navy
	March 17: British evacuate Boston
	July 4: Congress drafts and publishes the Declaration of Independence
	August: Royal Navy shells New York
	August 27–30: Battle of Long Island (Brooklyn Heights), New York
	Patriots retreat to Manhattan over the East River

	September 16: Battle of Harlem Heights, New York
	September 22: Nathan Hale hanged as a spy
	October: Battle of Pell's Point (Pelham Bay), New York
	Patriots escape Manhattan by way of Kingsbridge
	October 28: Battle of White Plains, New York
	Falmouth (Portland, Maine) bombarded by the Royal Navy
	Attack on Charleston, South Carolina
	Battle of Valcour Island, New York
	November 16: Fort Washington, New York, falls
	Flag of the United States is recognized by the Dutch governor of St. Eustatius, West Indies
	Fort Lee, New Jersey, abandoned
	Patriots retreat across New Jersey
	December: Great New York fire
	December 26: Washington crosses the Delaware River and attacks the Hessians at Trenton, New Jersey
	First encampment of the Patriot army at Morristown, New Jersey (winter 1776–1777)
1777	January 3: Battle of Princeton, New Jersey
	April: Burning of Danbury, Connecticut
	Battle of Ridgefield, Connecticut
	June 14: Betsy Ross's stars and stripes flag approved by Congress
	July 5: Patriots abandon Fort Ticonderoga, New York
	August: Siege of Fort Stanwix, New York
	August 6: Battle of Oriskany, New York
	August 16: Battle of Bennington, Vermont
	September: Congress flees Philadelphia
	Saratoga campaign (Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights), New York
	September 11: Battle of Brandywine (Chadd's Ford), Pennsylvania
	September 26: Howe captures Philadelphia
	October 4: Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania
	October 17: Burgoyne surrenders to the Americans at Saratoga
	December 19–June 19, 1778: Encampment of the patriot army at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania
1778	January: The Conway Cabal
	February 6: Creation of the American alliance with France
	April: *Ranger* battles *Drake*
	June 28: Battle of Monmouth, New Jersey
	Charles Lee removed from the Continental army
	July: Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, massacre

	Cherry Valley, New York, massacre
	Kaskaskia, Illinois, and Vincennes, Indiana, fall to the Patriots
	August 8: French attack on Newport, Rhode Island
	December 29: British take Savannah, Georgia
	Second encampment of the Patriot army at Morristown, New Jersey (winter 1778–1779)
1779	February: Battle of Port Royal, South Carolina
	February 14: Battle of Kettle Creek, Georgia
	July 8: Burning of Norwalk, Fairfield, and Westport, Connecticut
	Battle of Stony Point, New York
	August: Sullivan-Clinton campaign against Iroquois
	Attack on Paulus Hook, New Jersey
	September 23: *Bonhomme Richard* battles *Serapis*
	October 9: French attack Savannah, Georgia
1780	May 12: Fall of Charleston, South Carolina
	Action at Waxhaw, South Carolina
	August 16: Battle of Camden, South Carolina
	Burning of the Valleys, New York
	September 25: Benedict Arnold's treason is discovered
	British Major John Andre hanged as a spy
	October 7: Battle of King's Mountain, South Carolina
	November: Southern campaign continues as the northern army winters in the Hudson Highlands, New York
	December: Third encampment of the Patriot army at Morristown, New Jersey (winter 1780–1781)
1781	January 1: Several regiments of the Pennsylvania Line mutiny at Morristown, New Jersey; the ringleaders are executed
	January 17: Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina
	Action at Haw River, North Carolina
	April 25: Action at Hobkirk's Hill, South Carolina
	May 15: Battle of Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina
	June 18: Attack at Ninety-Six, South Carolina
	September 8: Action at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina
	September 15: Battle of the Chesapeake (Virginia) Capes
	October 19: Cornwallis surrenders to Washington at Yorktown
1782	April: Battle of the Saintes (in the West Indies)
	Shawnee villages on the Great Miami River, Ohio, are destroyed
	Peace negotiations commence in Paris
	November: Final encampment of the Patriot army at Newburgh, New York (winter 1782–1783)

1783	September 3: Treaty of Paris ends the war
	Independence of the United States is recognized by Great Britain
1787	August–February: Shays's Rebellion
	May–September: Constitutional Convention held in Philadelphia
1788	December 1787–July 1787: States ratify the Constitution (North Carolina November 1789 and Rhode Island May 1790)

Overview

The conclusion of the French and Indian War in America in 1763 marked a critical period in the relationship between Great Britain and her colonies in North America. The British Empire was entering a period that would see it challenge its European rivals—the French, the Dutch, and the Spanish—for wealth and influence across the world. Britain would also become the first Western nation to be touched by the Industrial Revolution. In America, the colonies were thriving as a result of the defeat of the French and their Indian allies. With vast new territories available, Americans began to look to expand westward to exploit the untouched land that offered much promise. The lives that Americans led would be forever changed by the events over the next 27 years.

A GROWING AMERICA

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the number of people of European and African descent in the British North American colonies was about a quarter of a million. By the outbreak of the American Revolution 75 years later, there were 2.5 million people living in the 13 colonies. Between 1700 and 1760, 4,500 immigrants arrived in the colonies per year, which then increased to almost 15,000 a year in the period between 1760 and 1775. During the first 70 years of the century 275,000 African slaves were brought into the country along with about 50,000 English convicts brought in for heavy labor. Over 210,000 free whites entered the colonies at this time, more being women and children than had been the case in the early settlements of the previous century.

This growth in population introduced cultural changes that colonists only began to comprehend by the middle of the century. White women would marry in their twenties and on average would bear 5 to 10 children and hope to raise the majority of them to adulthood. Because many families both in the North and in the South lived in environments that provided great abundance, they had a better diet than their European brethren; the result was that many lived longer lives and enabled the colonial population to grow at a greater rate than those on the continent. The increase in immigration in the middle of the eighteenth century surged, even though the passage across the Atlantic was still a risky undertaking, with nearly 15 percent of immigrants dying during, or shortly after, their voyage.

During the eighteenth century about 80,000 Irish settled in the Delaware Valley, while about 40,000 Scots, many forced to leave as a result of the failed rebellions of 1715 and 1746, arrived in North Carolina where they eked out a living on small farms. A large number of Germans, about 90,000, began to arrive after 1720 to escape the poverty in their native land. Many of these *Deutsche,* later referred to as Dutch, settled on the rich farmlands about 20 to 100 miles west of Philadelphia in areas like Lancaster and Cumberland Counties, and would later move further into the lands of Ohio. Most belonged to Mennonite, Amish, Moravian, Lutheran, or smaller religious groups and lived a life working the land they had settled on, turning it into rich farmlands.

Many of the Scots-Irish, descendents of Presbyterian Scots who had been forced to live in Ireland during the 1600s, arrived in Philadelphia in search of religious freedom and land to farm. By the beginning of the Revolution in 1775 over 200,000 had come into America. When they found that land was not readily available, they headed into the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina and became squatters on Indian lands. Many of the tribes in these regions, the Tuscarora, Yamasee, Cherokee, and Catawba, had either temporarily moved to new hunting grounds, or had been decimated by disease and were unable to stop these incursions onto their lands. The Scots-Irish then began raising grain, livestock, and tobacco in the Shenandoah Valley, in North Carolina, and on the frontier of South Carolina without employing slaves to do the work. Another group that began to enter America during this time was the Huguenots, who fled France to escape religious persecution and came to the cities of Charles Town (Charleston), South Carolina, and New York where they were able to blend into the polyglot populations that existed in the colonies.

THE COLONIAL CITY

The cities and towns along the coast were vital connections to the rural communities and transatlantic peoples. Almost 25 percent of the jobs in the cities were tied into trades connected with commerce such as shipbuilding, insurance, warehousing, and rope and sail-making. Cities were also the centers of culture, politics, and material growth. Royal officials and many local leaders were based in cities, and changing fashions and cultural innovations from Europe came through the cities and towns of colonial America.

Most of the cities were small compared to their European counterparts. By 1750 Boston's population numbered over 16,000 and was slowly declining. By the beginning of the Revolution, New York's population stood at 22,000, and Philadelphia's had reached over 30,000; while Charles Town, South Carolina, and Newport, Rhode Island, had populations of about 10,000 by this time. Despite their small size when compared to cities like London or Paris, for the colonists these cities marked a distinct style of life than that which existed in the rural areas. The intermingling of many cultures took place in these cities during social or political gatherings. Houses were built side by side, many near the docks of the port cities where newly arrived immigrants and sailors mingled with merchants and townspeople. Even though the cities depended upon the countryside for their food, they were also able to obtain a wider variety of goods than their rural counterparts.

Only about five percent of the colonists lived in cities during the eighteenth century, but they served as a conduit that linked all the colonists with the outside world. Not only did they bring in the latest fashions and styles from Europe, but they also served as a link that brought in many of the cultural and intellectual ideas of the continent as well, such as the ideas of the European Enlightenment.

Within these cities and towns were a small number of families who lived at the apex of urban society. Many held royal appointments, or had obtained wealth through trade and commerce. Many merchants enjoyed the advantage of inherited wealth, or had married into wealth, and therefore could expect to enjoy better lives than the average colonist. Most of these elites emulated the lives of the landed gentry in England, living in large brick mansions or townhouses with brightly colored wallpaper and the latest furnishings from Europe. Many expanded their influence into other areas beyond mercantilism by investing in real estate, insurance, manufacturing, and banking.

Though they held a great deal of influence, the numbers of the elite were small, and most of the cities and towns in the colonies were made up of large numbers of middling families—shopkeepers, artisans, or merchants. Artisans made glassware, paper, guns, cabinets, and other household items. There were bakers, butchers, stonemasons, tailors, coopers, and blacksmiths, all of whom helped in the growth of the cities and towns in America. Even though these men for the most part were successful, they could not match the lifestyle of their rich townsmen. Most could expect to pay their debts, and possibly expand their business, but the chances of them moving into the hierarchy of society were small. Still, their lot was better than those at the bottom of society.

The poor of colonial society, particularly those in the North, were made up of recent immigrants, indentured servants, day laborers, orphans, and sailors. Many gravitated to cities, and experienced long periods of poverty due to a lack of available jobs, or a need for workers during economic downturns. In many cases wives and children had to supplement the income of the father by taking jobs as domestic servants, washerwomen, or wood haulers. Economic recessions or wars could exacerbate the problems of the poor, resulting in greater hunger and poorer health. Even though this "lower sort" were less numerous than the middling class, the cities and towns did not always have the necessary resources or affordable prices to care for the poor. Many of these people lived in overcrowded rental homes with inadequate food and fuel, and in many cases were unable to accumulate enough of these resources during the year to sustain them through periods of illness, accidents, confinement after childbirth, or economic fluctuations. In many cities, rural women who had lost their husbands came to the city to find work, many times working as domestic servants, running boardinghouses or shops, and even becoming prostitutes.

The remedy by some city governments to alleviate the plight of the poor was to raise taxes, but the wealthy resisted this, and payments to help the needy remained small. Poorhouses, workhouses, and asylums for orphans provided some relief, but not enough, and the growing needs of the poor led many colonists to fear those greater incidents of crime and the need for higher taxes to prosecute and punish criminals. Many felt that the government should take the responsibility for the problems of the poor.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

During the mid-1730s, clergymen and preachers began to remind the colonists about the dangers of materialism, the increase in poverty, the desire for luxuries, and the waning of religious faith. Many of these preachers began to appeal more to the hearts of their followers rather than their heads to get their message across, and the "Great Awakening," which continued into the 1740s, was underway. Those to whom the "Great Awakening" often appealed were women, and the younger sons of third- or fourth-generation settlers who would inherit the least land, and therefore faced uncertain futures. The revival emphasized the need for every person to break away from the constraints of the past and renew their relationship with God, to be born again. Many who were drawn to the revival were those who desired to break away from their families or communities to start a new life.

The ministers who spread the message of a renewal of the Puritan ideas of the absolute sovereignty of God, predestination, and salvation by God's grace alone attracted great audiences across the colonies. John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism, visited Georgia and other colonies in the 1730s. George Whitefield from England, known for his powerful open-air sermons, made several tours through the colonies attracting great crowds. Gilbert and William Tennent drew crowds and interest for their zealous preaching and teaching. But the man most associated with the "Great Awakening" was the New England Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards whose descriptions of hell terrified his listeners but also tried to explain to detractors the need for emotion in religion to balance cold reason.

One byproduct of the "Great Awakening" was a division in existing congregations between those who were called "New Light" revivalists and "Old Light" traditionalists, and the founding of new ones. The traditionalists saw education as a hindrance to salvation, whereas revivalists saw education as a means to further religion, which led them to the establishment of schools to train "New Light" ministers. The "Great Awakening" had led to cultural upheaval in the colonies, but another movement would lead to changes that would change America from colonies, to a nation.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Enlightenment was the product of the great scientific and intellectual discoveries in Europe during the seventeenth century, and led to the discoveries that revealed the "natural laws" that regulated the workings of nature. The power of human reason, not just religious faith, would be the driving force that would advance progress and knowledge in the world. Men and women were encouraged to look to their own intellect, not just to God, for how to live their lives and shape their societies. As a result, interest began to grow in education, politics, and government.

Many of the ideas of the Enlightenment were borrowed from Europe from men such as John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, and Jean Jacques Rousseau, but Americans such as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and James Madison would make their own contributions to Enlightenment thought in areas such as science, politics, and government. Another influence of the Enlightenment can be seen with the growing interest in science in America during this period. Benjamin Franklin's kite-flying experiment in 1752, which demonstrated that lightning and electricity were the same, won him international fame. His later development of the lightning rod was also of international note, and marked him as one of the world's leading scientists.

GROWING ESTRANGEMENT FROM ENGLAND

As Americans began migrating into the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains, tensions began to grow between the settlers and the Indian tribes and their allies the French. Believing that these settlers had no claim to the lands they were living on, the French began to fortify the lands they held in the Ohio Valley; the British began to do likewise. This all came to a head when the governor of Virginia sent a military force in the summer of 1754 under the command of a young militia colonel by the name of George Washington into the Ohio Valley to challenge French claims to that territory. In a confused fight, Washington killed a French emissary and was besieged by French and Indian forces in what is now the city of Pittsburgh in western Pennsylvania and was forced to surrender. This action led to the start of the French and Indian War, a conflict that would last from 1754–1763, and would stretch across the globe. Though the British and Americans suffered some early setbacks, they eventually defeated the French and their Indian allies. As a result colonists began to swarm into the lands of the Ohio Valley and beyond, ignoring the Proclamation of 1763 in which the Crown guaranteed to restrict

Quakers' Bank meeting-house in colonial Philadelphia. Woodcut. © North Wind / North Wind Picture Archives—

the number of white settlers entering onto Indian lands. This created great frustration in London, as it was seen as an act of disobedience by the colonies to ignore a proclamation of Parliament.

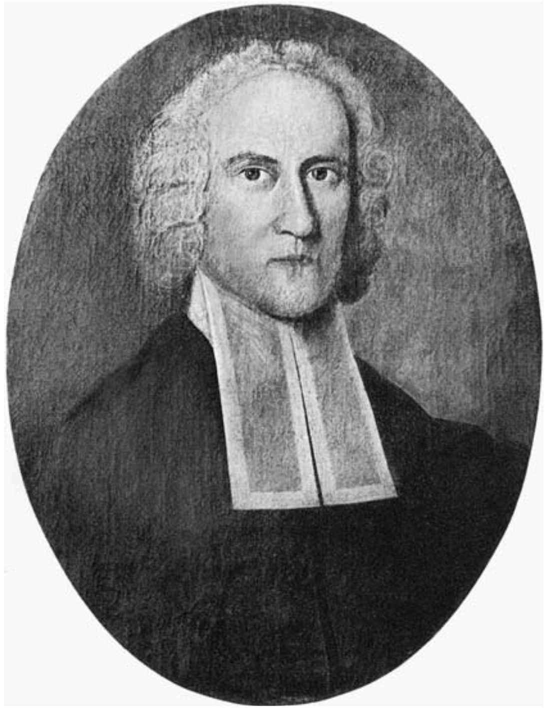
The colonists themselves felt that the contribution that they made to the war allowed them some say in how the new territories in the West should be handled. Another factor that manifested itself during this period was that the colonies had acted together during the war to fight a common enemy. Before this time each of the colonies had acted in accordance to their own interests, but now they began to look more upon the local governments to address local problems, not to London. Colonial assemblies had begun to wield more authority within the individual colonies than Parliament by the end of the war, and the colonists began to believe that it was their right to allow their local assemblies to make decisions affecting them. This questioning of the authority of Parliament over colonial matters would lead many colonial leaders to question the legitimacy of laws enacted in London. This view was to have significant consequences over the next 12 years as parliament attempted to reassert its right to govern the colonies.

THE GROWING CRISIS

The success of Great Britain in the French and Indian War was bought at a very steep price. The war had been waged in North America but had been conducted on a global scale. Britain now found itself in arrears, and there were many hardliners in Parliament who believed that the colonies should bear part of the burden of funding this war debt. One area that Parliament focused on was the illegal trade that was conducted in the colonies, as well as the practice of bribing officials to circumvent customs duties that were in place already. The governors of the colonies were told to be more aggressive in prosecuting those involved in such illicit activities. In Massachusetts, the governor issued what were known as Writs of Assistance, general search warrants that empowered officials to inspect ships and warehouses for contraband goods. James Otis, a prominent Massachusetts attorney, challenged the writs on the grounds that they violated the customary rights of private property, and that this privilege was superior to statutes that were passed by Parliament. However, many legal experts at the time rejected Otis's arguments, holding that parliamentary law and custom were equal. The writs themselves did not create much notice in the colonies as they were directed mostly against merchants and did not impact on the day-to-day lives of the common people.

That situation changed as the English government looked to pay for its national debt. What prompted the determination of many in Parliament to obtain more revenue from the colonies was the disproportionate amount of taxes that were paid by the English people compared to what the colonists paid. The common merchant or citizen paid up to one-third of his income in taxes as opposed to around five percent for his American cousin. The colonists were buying more and more expensive English goods, so it seemed that they had the wherewithal to pay their fair share.

Although there were calls for higher levies to be collected from the colonies, the prime minister in 1763, George Grenville, knew that higher taxes would create anger in the colonies. Thus he looked to the colonists to pay the cost of keeping troops in America for its defense—not to pay for the national debt. He hoped that this solution would be accepted by the colonists, and that this would defray the money that the government had to pay to keep the troops in the colonies. The reaction of the colonists, however, was not what Grenville had anticipated. Having inherited the suspicion of large standing armies from English civil law, the colonists were not happy with having to pay for one in their midst. Also, the colonists believed that the new hard-line being applied by Grenville's government was the first step in the colonies being reduced in status to mere satellites.



Puritan theologian Jonathan Edwards. Photogravure of a painting. © North Wind / North Wind Picture Archives—All rights reserved.

The Sugar Act of 1764 confirmed the fears of many colonists of the changed nature of their relationship with London. The Sugar Act was passed to bolster the earlier Revenue Act of 1762, which had been passed to prevent officials from accepting bribes to make appointments and to authorize British naval vessels to seize ships trading illegally with French merchants in the Caribbean. The Sugar Act was also meant to reinforce the Molasses Act of 1733, which had taxed foreign sugar at a higher price to keep English goods competitive. Now all colonial merchant ships had to maintain the proper paperwork to keep their cargoes and ships from being seized by crown officials at the various colonial ports. By tightening the laws governing trade, Parliament sought to make it more difficult for colonial merchants to practice their illicit dealings. There were now many who called for a boycott of English goods, and there were also calls by colonial governments for Parliament to repeal the act, but these calls did not have widespread appeal because the acts did not directly affect the lives of the common people in the colonies. Shortly after, Grenville had the Currency Act passed, which prohibited the colonies from printing and circulating any paper money after 1769. This measure was intended to stabilize the currency of the colonies, to the benefit of their English suppliers. Another act passed in 1765, the Quartering Act, allowed the army commanders to obtain funds from the colonial assemblies to build barracks or to house soldiers in public houses or taverns. Although it did not authorize the housing of troops in private homes, soldiers moved to the cities in great numbers, creating a situation that would lead to disaster.

To provide the funds necessary to maintain the British army in America, Grenville looked to a stamp tax, a source of revenue in England since 1694. Stamps would be required on certain trading commodities or documents circulated throughout the empire, and although the tax had been imposed before without much protest, its implementation in 1765 concentrated on all documents that were circulated in the colonies including newspapers, legal documents, and land titles. Up to this time the internal revenues circulated within America had been dealt with by the various colonial legislatures, with Parliament limited to external affairs. This practice was

American Revolutionary leader Patrick Henry's address in the House of Burgesses, May 1765. Oil on canvas by P. F. Rothermel. The Granger Collection, New York.

eliminated with the passage of the Stamp Act. Of the colonial assemblies, eight debated whether Parliament had the right to levy taxes on intercolonial trade, and many agreed that only the colonial assemblies had the right to tax internal trade. These assemblies had been integral in the appropriation of funds for the projects within each of the colonies, allowing the colonists a say in what their money was being used for. The Stamp Act led many to question whether it was lawful that Parliament tax without the colonies having representation in London. Prominent colonists like Benjamin Franklin called for colonial representation in Parliament. The idea was rejected by the government because the colonies were too distant to ensure effective representation.

Because of the scope of the documents and goods that were to be taxed, the Stamp Act potentially reached into the homes of a vast majority of ordinary people, unlike the previous measures passed by Parliament. Many agreed with Patrick Henry, a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, who in May 1765 rose to give a speech that denied Parliament's right to tax the colonies. Henry argued that laws passed by that body need not be obeyed, because it was only the colonial assemblies who directly represented the colonists, and that as English citizens the colonists were entitled to the right of self-taxation. The House of Burgesses voted down the measure, but newspapers published his *Virginia Resolves*, and they were circulated widely throughout the colonies. At question was not only the effect of the tax on the colonists but also whether in fact Parliament had the right to tax people who were not represented in that body.

What followed were protests that involved people from every stratum of colonial society, which sowed the seeds that would prompt the colonies to revolt against the mother country and break away from the empire 10 years later. These groups were formed to bring the people together to rally support for the overturning of the Stamp Act, and returning the right to tax to the colonial assemblies. Merchants and tradesmen made up the core of many of these groups that spread throughout the colonies, and came to be known as the Sons of Liberty. There were others who joined the Sons of Liberty for other reasons, whether they were men of moderate means who wished to participate in politics, or the elite who hoped to control the anger that had begun to characterize the protests. As a result of the organizing efforts of the Sons of Liberty, delegates from nine colonies met in New York in October 1765 to draft a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" that would delineate the limits of Parliament's power to rule the colonies. This Stamp Act Congress called for the repeal of the Stamp and Sugar Acts and restated the right of the colonists to tax themselves through their own assemblies.

In concert with these actions, merchants in New York called for an importation boycott of British goods. Other cities in America soon followed, as merchants and consumers signed agreements not to buy English goods and to produce domestic items to make up for the loss of English products. That there were many women involved in this movement added to the effectiveness of the protest. Despite the organization of the movement, and the attempts by the leaders to limit violence, the mobs began to become more destructive. There were some instances of physical violence, mainly the tarring and feathering of tax agents. Although the more conservative members of the movement condemned the actions of the mob, they were not above using the threat of mob violence to exert psychological pressure on these agents to stop their work. When violence was used, it was directed at the property of these persons, and the victims were carefully chosen. The actions of many of these urban crowds had their antecedents in English history when protests were held against the actions of the government in cities in England. Therefore, what the colonists were doing at this time was not new, but as their protests became more frequent, deference toward London began to dissipate.

The cry of "Liberty!" during the protests also found its roots in English history as it invoked the idea that the individual was protected from a government trying to deny right of life and property to its citizens. The colonists were familiar with the writings of philosophers of the period who called for people to be vigilant in protecting their rights from governments that tried to infringe upon them. Even though many colonists were engaged in protests against Parliament at this time, they had no thought of breaking away from the mother country. They refused to challenge Parliament's right to govern, or the king's right to rule; rather, they sought the repeal of laws that they saw as infringing on their rights as English citizens, and a return to the blessings enjoyed by loyal subjects under the English crown.

By the close of 1765, when the Stamp Act Congress's petition reached England, Grenville's government had been replaced by a more moderate one under the leadership of Lord Charles Rockingham. The new prime minister moved to have the Stamp Act repealed by Parliament so that the British economy could recover from the boycott of its goods by the colonists. However, hard-liners had heard of the violence that had taken place in America, and remained adamant that the colonies should be reminded that they were subservient to the authority of Parliament and the king. A compromise in March 1766 saw the repeal of the Stamp Act, but then the Declaratory Act was enacted, which made it clear that the colonies were obligated to follow the laws passed by Parliament. It was a mixed bag in terms of what the colonists had accomplished in their protest against London's efforts to gain more control in America. On the one hand, the ability of the colonies to come together to meet the crisis, and the success of the nonimportation movement, could be seen as a success. But the Declaratory Act made clear that the king's government would continue to impose its will on the colonies. It was clear that Parliament had suffered a temporary setback, and that the next confrontation would only worsen the bad feelings that had been engendered by this confrontation.

The next effort to bring the colonies to heel was led by Charles Townshend, who became prime minister in 1767. Townshend hoped to diffuse the power of the colonial governments by using taxes to pay the salaries of colonial governors, judges, and other officials who until then had been paid by the colonial assemblies. This would make these officials beholden to the government in London, not to the colonial governments. Townshend also sought to collect revenue from the colonies by taxing external trade and thereby hoped to avoid the protests over meddling with the internal working of the colonies. The enactment of the Townshend duties met with resistance in America, for the goods that were taxed—tea, glass, and paper—affected people across class lines.

Another factor was that Parliament had established a Board of Customs Commissioners to enforce the Townshend duties and prevent merchants from circumventing the taxes by smuggling their goods into American ports. Four Vice-Admiralty Courts were set up to hear cases against those whose goods were not listed on their manifests when they reached port. Cases were heard without the benefit of a jury, and judgments were made that gave every advantage to the prosecution.

One of the most prominent merchants caught and brought to trial was John Hancock of Boston. When it became known that his trial was being heard without a jury and that his defense lawyers were denied the means to defend him effectively, the court had to drop the case, as it was feared that riots would break out. What made Hancock's situation ominous in the eyes of many colonists was the fact that this man of means and influence had been caught in the web of laws set up by the Townshend Act. If it could happen to John Hancock, it could easily happen to anyone in America.

It now fell to the colonial leaders to determine what actions should be taken in response the Townshend duties. In February 1768, the radical faction in the Massachusetts General Court sent a message to the assemblies of the other colonies that urged a united resistance to the Townshend duties. This message was called the Circular Letter. It was designed to throw up an impregnable defense against taxation by Parliament in every colony and to make certain that colonial liberties were not undermined in the guise of imposing mere trade duties. The Virginia House of Burgesses followed with a circular letter of its own in March. Most Americans saw no fault with the circular letters as simple attempts to redress grievances with the Parliament, but by June the Sons of Liberty in Boston, at the instigation of Sam Adams, James Otis, and John Hancock, had mobbed royal officials and rioted in the streets. Officials in London moved to put down the violence. The secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Hillsborough, decided to take a firmer stand with the colonies by ordering the governor of Massachusetts to dissolve the General Court. He also dispatched four regiments of British regulars to Boston. Their presence was intended to intimidate the colonists into submission and to suppress dissent. They accomplished neither of these desired effects. After landing in the colony in October 1768, two of the four regiments were immediately detached for service in Halifax, Nova Scotia, leaving the remaining units woefully undermanned and generally incapable of effectively dealing with the Boston mobs.

THE FIRST VIOLENCE

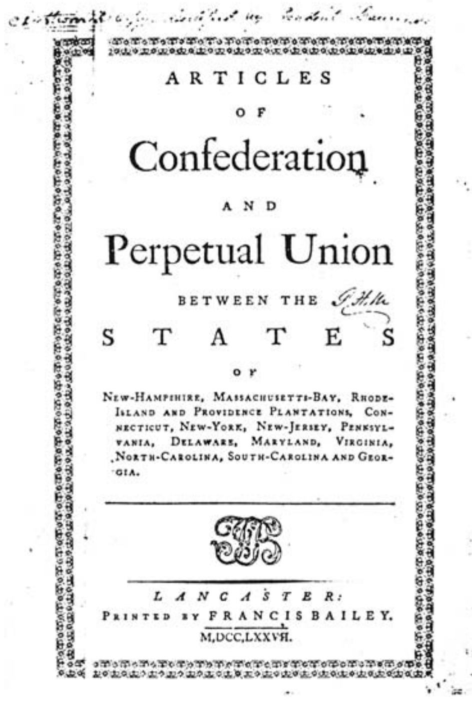
The unremitting upheaval in Boston spread to the other colonies. In March 1769, the merchants of Philadelphia joined the boycott of British goods, and in May, the

Virginia House of Burgesses was dissolved by the royal governor for its continued opposition to taxation without representation. The burgesses met the next day at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg and agreed to a boycott of British goods, luxury items, and even slaves. In New York, in January 1770, the Sons of Liberty clashed with 40 British soldiers over the public posting of antigovernment broadsheets. Several men on both sides were seriously injured. Parliament retaliated by ordering that all Americans accused of agitating on the topic of taxation be sent to England for trial. With the presence of nervous British troops, and the continuing violence of the mobs, it was only a matter of time before there was an incident that resulted in death.

Throughout the winter of 1769–1770, life in Boston was marked by numerous clashes in the streets between soldiers and civilians. Both sides waited for the one incident that would spill over into irreconcilable violence. Early in the winter a group of soldiers was accosted by a mob armed with clubs. One soldier received a significant wound from a blow served up with a bit of iron bar, and the mob was driven away only by the discharge of a musket into the air. Mobs of colonists and Liberty Boys, egged on by radical leaders, roamed the streets, spoiling for a fight. By the night of March 5, 1770, tensions had reached the boiling point when a lone sentry standing guard in front of the customhouse was pelted with snowballs by a group of children. Then a mob began to gather, which prompted the sentry to send for reinforcements. Captain Thomas Preston arrived with seven soldiers and they took up positions in front of the sentry. What happened next has been debated for over 230 years, and speculation has centered on members of the mob taunting the soldiers to "Fire," and one of the soldiers falling and his gun going off and without orders from Preston, the other soldiers fired their weapons into the mob. Eleven citizens were hit, and five of them died. One of them was a free African American sailor named Crispus Attucks, the first of many African Americans who would die later fighting on both sides during the Revolution.

The political leaders of the Boston mob labeled the incident a massacre, and demanded the arrest and trial for murder of the soldiers and their commander, Capt. Thomas Preston. Consequently, the soldiers were confined, but no one could be found to act in their defense. Finally, John Adams, cousin of Samuel Adams, and Josiah Quincy of Braintree, Massachusetts, volunteered to act as their attorneys. They provided a defense sufficient to acquit Preston and all of his men of murder, save two, who were convicted of manslaughter and branded upon the thumb as a punishment. Thereafter, Governor Thomas Hutchinson prudently withdrew the troops from the city streets to an island garrison in the harbor. But what had happened on that March night hardened the attitudes of those who may have believed that compromise with the government in London was possible. The next four years would see the colonies move closer to separation from the mother country.

In April 1770, Lord Frederick North became prime minister, and under his leadership the Townshend duties were repealed except the tax on tea, which Parliament retained in a symbolic act to demonstrate their



ARTICLES
OF
Confederation
AND
Perpetual Union
BETWEEN THE
STATES
OF
New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia.

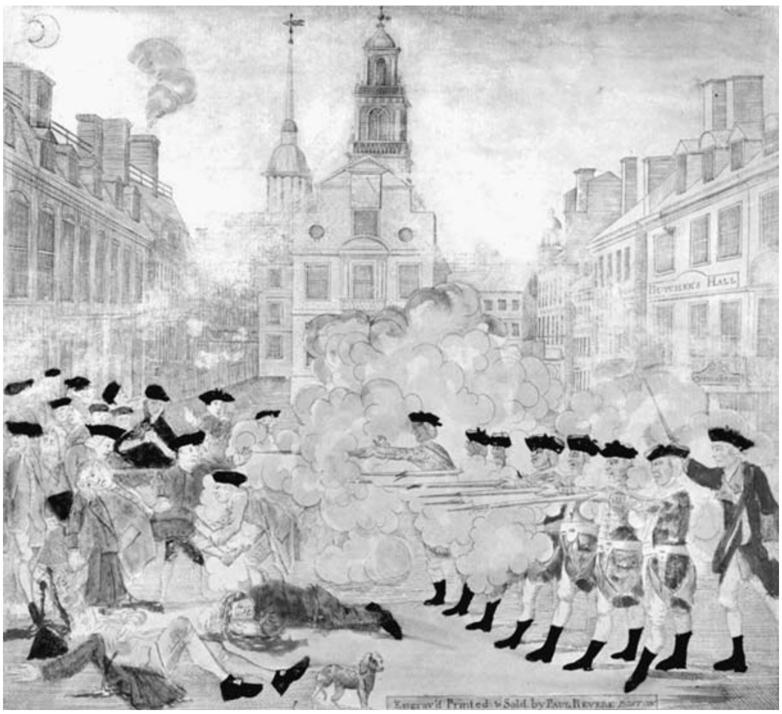
LANCASTER:
Printed by FRANCIS BAILEY.
M,DCC,LXXVII.

Title page of the first printed copy of the "Articles of Confederation," 1777. The Granger Collection, New York.

right to tax the colonies. Moreover, the customs facilities, regulations, and the royal officials needed to enforce them were left in place. The warships and troops sent to intimidate the colonials also remained on station. Ironically, very little English tea had been imported into the colonies in the decade before the passage of the Tea Act. The populous colony of Pennsylvania imported only 2,000 chests of tea annually, and New York used about the same. The southern colonies used tea in like proportion to their smaller populations. This was partially because Dutch smugglers swarmed in and out of most colonial ports with their own East Indian tea, thereby filling much of the demand. Only in Boston had the customs officials effectively succeeded in suppressing the illicit trade in tea. However, tea became a symbol for deeper grievances.

The next incident demonstrated the state of the deteriorating relations between the government in London and its subjects in America. In 1772, the Royal Navy cutter *Gaspee* intercepted the colonial packet *Hannah* in Narragansett Bay, but the master of the *Hannah,* inbound to Providence from New York City, refused to heave to and have his papers examined. The packet took advantage of a fresh wind and a shallow draft to elude the cutter, which ran aground. When word reached Providence about the cutter's predicament, eight longboats loaded with angry colonists set out for the stranded *Gaspee*. Once they reached the ship, they overwhelmed the small crew and set the cutter afire. Although a reward was offered for the apprehension of the marauders, they were never caught as they were likely shielded by the citizens of Providence.

In response to the further worsening relations with the mother country, colonial leaders began to form Committees of Correspondence in 1772 and 1773. The first of these was formed by Samuel Adams in Boston, a similar group was also formed in Virginia with members such as Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry, and the other colonies followed suit. The importance of these committees was that they served as a mechanism for bringing the separate colonies together. This would prove to be an important first step in keeping the colonies informed of what was happening in each of them. It also served to introduce the leaders of the movement against England's attempts to gain greater control over America. This was important, as events at the end of 1773 would call for the colonies to come together to decide what their role in the empire should be.


The bloody massacre perpetrated in King Street in Boston on March 5, 1770, by a party of the 29th Regiment. From an engraving by Paul Revere. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Parliament renewed the Tea Act in 1773, and although it had rescinded all duties except the tax on tea, resentment was fostered in the colonies because the East India Company was given a monopoly on the sale of tea. By allowing the company to sell directly to its colonial agents, Parliament bypassed any middlemen, including the colonial merchants, in the resulting transactions. So low was the resulting price of tea that even smugglers could not sell it as cheaply as the company. By this ruse the Crown hoped to reaffirm the right of Parliament to tax the colonies as Americans submitted to the payment of the duty on the tea for the sake of their pocketbooks. Ships carrying the tea were turned away in all the colonial ports but Boston, where they could dock but not unload. On the night of December 16, 1773, as many as 8,000 people massed to listen to a speech given by Samuel Adams, which targeted the tea in the harbor as a symbol of British tyranny. After the speech a group of Bostonians, loosely disguised as Mohawk Indians beforehand and joined by torch-carrying rabble-rousers, boarded one of the three East Indiamen in the harbor and threw 350 chests of tea into the water. The demonstration, which was anything but spontaneous, has come to be known as the Boston Tea Party. Once again London offered a reward for the capture of the perpetrators, but as with the *Gaspee* incident, no one was caught.

Parliament responded with a series of bills that were aimed at stopping the violence that now was beginning to get out of hand and isolating Boston, which they saw as the source of the protest against the government's efforts to enforce its decrees. The first bill was the Boston Port Act, which closed the entire port as punishment and as a warning to the other colonies. It also called for Massachusetts to reimburse the East India Company for the lost tea and the Exchequer for the lost revenues. These retaliatory acts only served to strengthen the resolve of the radicals in Boston, and also gained them the support of their fellow colonists. Moral and material aid was sent to Boston from the other colonies, and a congress of colonial representatives was called for in town meetings and provincial congresses throughout America. It was becoming clear that both sides in the coming conflict were not going to back down any longer, and that both sides were headed for a showdown.

The closure of the port of Boston was followed by a series of acts known in Britain as the Coercive Acts of 1774, while the Americans called them the Intolerable Acts. The Massachusetts Regulating Act put the colony under martial law. The Government Act and the Administration of Justice Act ended colonial self-government there and freed army commanders from lawsuits brought into colonial ports. The symbol of this change was the replacement of Thomas Hutchinson as governor with Lieutenant General Thomas Gage. Two of the acts that united the colonies were the Quartering Act, which was opposed in all the colonies, and the Quebec Act, which recognized throughout Canada and the French communities the free exercise of Catholicism. This created fears among the colonists that a Catholic conspiracy was being hatched against Protestant New England and also that westward expansion was being blocked.

WAR BEGINS

In September 1774, every colony but Georgia sent representatives to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia to discuss ways to deal with the crisis in Boston.

What the delegates decided to do was to establish the Continental Association that would renew the boycott against British goods, and also establish a committee to report on violations of the boycott. It was hoped that any merchant who violated the boycott would become unable to conduct any business. The nonimportation and nonconsumption provisions were ruthlessly enforced. The names of violators were made public through newspapers. It became clear that those who violated the provisions were still loyal to the Crown while those who followed the letter of the provisions were "Patriots" committed to liberty. The association also promoted the expansion of the militia system that would later provide the nucleus for the Continental army. It became clear to many as the crisis in Boston continued that it would only be resolved by force of arms. The Congress sent a Declaration of Rights to Parliament that condemned it for trying to tax the colonies without their consent, but it also reaffirmed the loyalty of the colonists to their king. While they waited for a reply, events in Boston took a dramatic turn that made reconciliation impossible.

On April 18, 1775, General Gage sent a force of about 700 men to seize the weapons stored by the militia in the town of Lexington, Massachusetts. Alerted by riders Paul Revere and William Dawes, the "Minutemen" began to gather in Lexington to confront the British force. The British commander ordered the militia to disperse, and they slowly did so, but then a shot rang out, from which side it came has remained a mystery, but the result was that both sides suffered casualties. The British marched on to the neighboring town of Concord where they were confronted by hundreds of militiamen. After an exchange of fire, the British began to withdraw, but their march back to Boston was a bloody one as the militiamen fired at them from the woods that lined the roads back to the city. The British suffered 273 casualties including 73 dead while the militia suffered 95 dead out of an estimated force of 4,000 that had answered the call to arms. The British now found themselves penned up in Boston as militiamen from all over New England began to converge on Boston.

The militiamen began to fortify Breed's Hill overlooking Charles Town on the north side of Boston, and they also began to fortify a neighboring eminence known as Bunker Hill on June 16, 1775. General William Howe sent a force to push the militia off the hills the next day. Having total disdain for what he considered an armed rabble, Howe sent his men straight at the militia on the hill believing that the mere sight of the regulars would scare the rebels away. The opposite occurred, and the militia inflicted over 1,000 casualties on the British, while suffering 450 killed and wounded themselves. The battle became known, incorrectly, as the Battle of Bunker Hill, when the bulk of the fighting actually took place on Breed's Hill nearby. As a result of the battles of Lexington and Concord and Breed's Hill, it was decided that a Second Continental Congress should be convened to determine what the colonies should do in response to these battles. This meeting would forever change the course of American history.

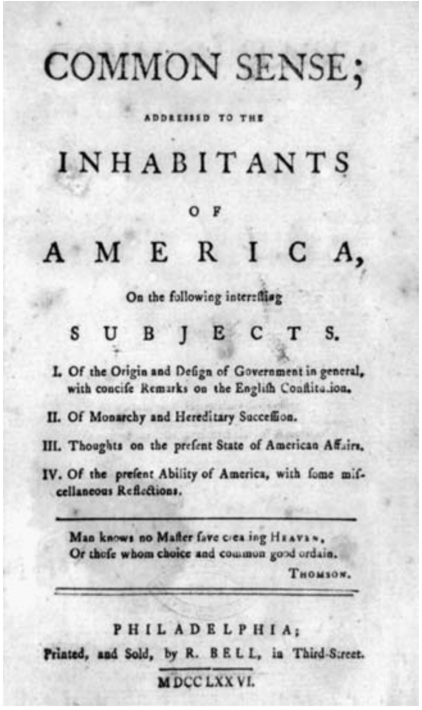
Meeting in May 1775 in Philadelphia, the Second Continental Congress now had delegates from all 13 colonies as Georgia had decided to send delegates to the meeting. Debate centered around what type of military force the colonies should raise to confront the British army, and who should be given command of those troops. There was still great suspicion of standing armies, and there were many who believed that the militias were sufficient to do the job. John Adams argued that the militias were not reliable in the face of regular troops, and that a "Continental army" should be created, along with designating a commander in chief and staff to form the nucleus of this new army. It fell to Virginia planter George Washington, a colonel in the Virginia militia, to fill the role as the army's commander. Washington was not a man of great military experience, but his intelligence and determination in the face of the many setbacks that would occur during the eight long years of the war would transform him into America's greatest leader, and its first president in 1789. Congress also drafted a *Declaration of Causes for Taking up Arms* to explain its actions as necessary to defend the rights of Englishmen and not as a bid for independence.

The Congress also created an intercolonial currency in an effort to fund the war and maintain the army. The fact that this currency was not backed by gold, and the inability of the Congress to tax the colonies to raise funds, would create a dire situation for Washington's army as the Congress was unable to pay for supplies and was powerless to force the colonies to send food to the army. The impotence of Congress to provide for the army over the eight years of the war would be Washington's greatest problem as he would have to use all his powers of persuasion to keep the army from melting away. It is a great testament to Washington—and even more to the men who served with him those grueling years—that they would endure the hardships that would have turned the fainthearted away and gain for America its independence.

INDEPENDENCE

There were those in Congress who still held out hope that reconciliation could be established if a petition was sent directly to the king asking for the British army to cease its hostilities, and for serious discussions over the grievances of both sides. The Olive Branch Petition was presented by Pennsylvania's John Dickinson on July 5, 1775, and the delegates voted to send it to the king. There were many in Congress, like John Adams, who believed it was a pointless gesture considering the events of the past year, but the radicals acquiesced to give the moderates a chance to see if peace was possible. The radicals felt that the colonies should declare their independence, and focus their energies on establishing an independent nation. John Adams and the radicals correctly gauged the mood of the king, for when he received the petition in August, he was enraged and refused to read it. Instead, the king authorized his government to send more troops to put down the rebellion. It was now time for the Congress to begin the process of breaking away.

One of the strongest voices for independence was Thomas Paine, an Englishman who was a recent immigrant to America, and was at the time of the convention a writer for the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. He had known Benjamin Franklin in London, and had also come to know many of the congressional delegates while they were in Philadelphia. He spent time discussing the issues of independence with these men as they met in the various taverns in Philadelphia. Having been inspired by these



COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

AMERICA,

On the following interesting

SUBJECTS.

I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.

III. Thoughts on the present State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the present Ability of America, with some miscellaneous Reflections.

Man knows no Master save creating Heaven,
Or those whom choice and common good ordain.

THOMSON.

PHILADELPHIA;
Printed, and Sold, by R. BELL, in Third-Street.
MDCCLXXVI.

Common Sense (1776). Title page of Thomas Paine's pamphlet urging the adoption of a declaration of independence. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

discussions, Paine published in January 1776 what is considered his masterpiece, *Common Sense*. In it, Paine argued that the time for America to declare its independence had arrived, and that holding on to loyalty to the Crown was foolish. The blood that had been spilled up to that time had pointed the way to freedom from the bonds of the past; it was time to start a new future. Paine used plain language to make clear to all Americans that reconciliation was no longer possible, and that independence would cast off the shackles of monarchy, and create for Americans and their children a new society, free from the tyranny of the old world.

Common Sense became a sensation throughout the colonies, and over 100,000 copies were sold. As members of Congress began debate on the subject of independence, Paine's work made their task easier because more people were now convinced that it was time to break away from England. For those conservatives who had held out hope for reconciliation, it became clear that they were now a minority voice in the debates on independence. New England's delegates were pushing for a resolution on the subject, and members of the Virginia delegation presented a resolution on June 7, 1776, which stated that the colonies were "free and independent states." Conservative members from New York, New Jersey, and Delaware managed to stall debate on the subject, but events were quickly overtaking them. A committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston began drafting a document that expanded on the Virginia resolution. What emerged was the Declaration of Independence, which stated that each person enjoyed rights from birth that could not be taken away by any government, and also stated that governments that violated those rights could be overthrown. The body of the document also listed the many violations that the king and his government had committed and stated that as a result of these abuses, Congress had no choice but to dissolve its ties with England, and turn to the people to govern.

Depiction of the signing of the Declaration of Independence by John Trumbull (painting in Capitol), Washington, D.C. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Debate on the Declaration of Independence began on July 1 and four colonies—Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware, and South Carolina—voted against the declaration. The next day, after more debate, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Delaware switched their votes. The declaration was approved on July 4, and 12 colonies signed the document, but the delegates from New York abstained, and Pennsylvania's John Dickinson, still believing in reconciliation, refused to sign it. One copy was signed by the delegates, then hidden, as they were aware of potential reprisals by Loyalists. The unsigned copy was sent to Philadelphia printer

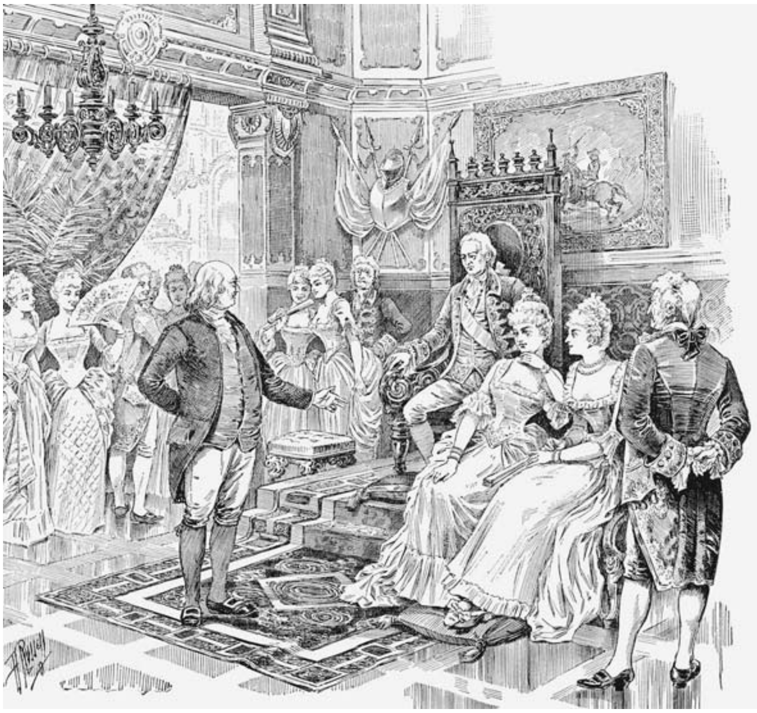
John Dunlap for printing. Copies soon spread throughout the colonies, and people read it with great avidity. There was now no turning back.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGNS

While Congress had been debating America's independence, Washington arrived outside of Boston to take command of the army in July 1775; what he found was not encouraging. Although the British army was trapped inside Boston, the condition of the army was appalling. Washington had been told that there were 20,000 men in the army around Boston, but when an actual count was taken, it turned out to be only about 16,000, and the supply of powder and ammunition was low. He also found that discipline was poor, that men came and went from camp whenever they pleased, and that there was not much respect from the men toward their officers. It was a situation that called for the institution of greater discipline, which meant that the men had to be drilled, had to obey their officers without question, and had to establish an effective system of supply.

Washington hoped to establish a Continental army that would be recruited from the militias from the colonies and be subject to the orders of Congress, and not their individual states. He hoped to maintain the army at 20,000 men, which although much smaller than the British army, would be big enough to confront them, and small enough that Congress could supply it. It was to turn out to be only a hope for the entire war. The numbers of men in the Continental army would constantly fluctuate throughout the conflict. Men would serve their one-year enlistments, then go home to their families feeling that their time of service had been fulfilled. The inability of the Congress to collect taxes, and to impel the states to supply the army, as well as its inability to pay the men, caused many men to opt for serving in the militia rather than the regular army. The fact that a small core of men stayed with the regular army throughout the war was a tribute to them, and to the loyalty that many of these men had to Washington as their commander. The army would consist of men from all walks of life, including some slaves who also fought to obtain their freedom. They would endure some of the most severe hardships throughout the eight years of the war, but they would remain and help pave the way for the establishment of a small regular army at the end of the war.

Washington's army would experience a mix of victories and defeats leading up to the Declaration of Independence in July 1776. Having trapped the British army in Boston, it became a question as to whether they could force the British out. Having established artillery emplacements overlooking Boston and its harbor, the Americans forced the British to evacuate the city, which was completed on March 17, 1776. It was a great victory, but it was tempered by the defeat of American forces sent to capture Canada in January 1775, which ended the dreams many Americans had for wresting control of Canada from Britain. Washington concentrated his army around New York to meet the next British move. Under the command of General Sir William Howe, the British drove Washington from Long Island on August 27,



Ben Franklin negotiating the American-French alliance with King Louis XVI. From woodcut.

1776; then on September 13 the Americans were driven off the island of Manhattan after suffering enormous casualties. The superiority of the Royal Navy allowed Howe to land his troops anywhere he wanted, and Washington had been forced to react to these maneuvers, and he and his army had not responded well. Washington made many tactical errors that left his flanks exposed, which the British exploited. His men behaved like amateurs as many ran at the sight of British troops and their fixed bayonets. Washington had attempted to rally the fleeing soldiers, but many just kept running, leaving Washington to question whether the men under his command were capable of ever becoming an effective force.

After losing almost 3,000 men in the campaign in New York, as well as vast stores of arms and ammunition, Washington retreated through New Jersey with Howe's army following through the fall of 1776. By December Washington had encamped his army along the Delaware River opposite Trenton, New Jersey. Howe had garrisoned the city with a force of Hessians, soldiers who were paid to serve with the British from the duchy of Hesse in Germany, and prepared his men for the winter. Washington, his army reduced to about 2,500 men and with many of their enlistments set to expire at the end of the year, decided to attack the Hessian outpost at Trenton on Christmas night. Despite terrible winter conditions, the army surprised the garrison and then followed that victory up with a defeat of a British force at Princeton on January 3. The result of these two victories was that many of the soldiers reenlisted, and therefore Washington's army was saved from extinction. It also forced Howe to evacuate New Jersey and pull his army back to New York for the remainder of the winter, but the year 1777 would prove to be one of the most crucial of the war.

General Howe decided that to defeat the rebels he would move part of his army by water south from New York to take the American capital of Philadelphia. He hoped that this action would not only force Washington's army into battle, but also force the Americans to the negotiating table. In June 1777, Howe attempted to bring his force up the Delaware River, but was driven away by the forts that guarded the river's entrance. He then took his ships south to the Chesapeake Bay and landed at Head of Elk, Maryland, on August 24. Washington marched his army south to meet the British and keep them from taking Philadelphia. On September 11 the two armies came together at Brandywine Creek in Delaware, and Washington, outflanked by Howe's army, was forced to withdraw, and after unsuccessfully trying to draw the Americans into a decisive battle, Howe occupied Philadelphia on September 26. It was an embarrassing campaign for Washington as Howe had outmaneuvered him and had occupied the capital without fighting a major battle. The situation in the north, however, led to a victory that would change the course of the war.

As Howe and Washington sparred in front of Philadelphia, Lieutenant General John Burgoyne was moving another British army south from Canada toward Albany, New York. Burgoyne's plan was that he would head south with 7,000 men, while Howe's army marched north from New York to meet him, and they would gain control of the Hudson River and cut off New England from the rest of the colonies. Initially the plan worked well as Burgoyne's men sailed down Lake Champlain in the beginning of June where they took the strategic Fort Ticonderoga from the Americans. Then they sailed down the lake until they needed to debark and march to Albany. The plan then began to go awry as Howe moved his forces to take Philadelphia, leaving Burgoyne's army on its own with no support. Also, the dense woods that Burgoyne's men had to move through slowed their progress to a crawl, and the New England militia gathered in great numbers to meet the threat posed to Albany. As the British hacked their way through the dense forests, the American militia felled trees to stop the British progress and fired at Burgoyne's men as they struggled to reach their goal.

On August 16, in an effort to retrieve supplies from the nearby town of Bennington, Burgoyne sent a detachment of Germans to take the stores in the town, and return to the army. When they reached the town, the Germans were swarmed upon by militia, and after a fierce fight, they were forced to surrender, suffering nearly 1,000 casualties. It was a stinging defeat and should have caused Burgoyne to take stock of his situation, as without reinforcements, pushing forward would be folly, but the advance continued and disaster was in the offing.

By the time Burgoyne had encamped his men on September 17, 7,000 Americans, under the command of Major General Horatio Gates, had a fortified position on Bemis Heights and also Freeman's Farm, which gave them a great advantage should Burgoyne send his men against it. The first Battle of Saratoga occurred on September 19, as Burgoyne sent 4,200 of his men against the American positions around Freeman's Farm, and wound up suffering over 600 casualties, while the Americans suffered about half that number. Then, on October 7, the second Battle of Saratoga took place as Burgoyne looked to dislodge the Americans from their positions on Bemis Heights. During the battle, Gates exercised little effective tactical command, and it fell to America's best combat general, Benedict Arnold, to turn the tide against the British that day. Although he would later become the most infamous traitor in American history, on this day, Arnold helped to win the battle for the Americans, and led to the surrender of what was left of Burgoyne's entire army, around 5,700 men, along with the arms and ammunition that had supplied it. It was a great victory, and led to the entry of a powerful ally, France, on the side of America.

The events that led France to enter into the war on the side of the Americans can be drawn directly to the man Congress had sent to negotiate an alliance, Benjamin Franklin. Already one of the most recognized people in Europe through his scientific work with electricity, Franklin entered France as a representative of one of the most dynamic ideas of the period, republicanism. Franklin's arrival in France in December 1776 had created a sensation; dressed in plain clothes, and striking a simple manner, he demonstrated the ideals of republican government and many flocked to meet him. Convincing the government of King Louis XVI was another matter as he and his ministers were only willing to support the Americans openly if they proved they could win on the battlefield. When news of the victory at Saratoga reached Paris in late 1777, the French decided that it was time to throw their lot in with the Americans and by May 4, 1778, Congress had approved a treaty of alliance with France that made the war an international struggle and, in time, would tip the scales in favor of America in its war with Britain. But it took time for French troops to arrive in America, and the Continental army needed to keep from disintegrating before that help could arrive.

The fact that the army still existed in the spring of 1778 was in itself a testimony to the men who served, and their loyalty to the cause of liberty. Following the occupation of Philadelphia, Washington tried to engage the British outside of Philadelphia in the community of Germantown on October 4, 1777, in hopes of achieving another Trenton-like victory. Although the battle started favorably, the complexity of the plan of battle frustrated the operation, and Washington was forced to withdraw. He moved his men into winter quarters outside of Philadelphia to a place called Valley Forge, from where he could keep a close eye on the British in the city. The conditions that winter would be forever remembered for the terrible cold, and the suffering of the men for lack of adequate clothing and food supplies. Washington constantly lobbied Congress, now meeting in York, Pennsylvania, to press the states to meet their obligations to supply his army, but Congress did not have the power to compel the states to follow its orders, so the men suffered through the winter. It would be memories of the inadequacy of Congress to prosecute the war effectively that would lead men like Washington to look for the formation of a strong central government when the Constitutional Convention came to Philadelphia in 1787.

Despite their suffering, the men managed to make do with what they had at hand, and managed to continue training to become an effective fighting force. The training came under the leadership of Major General Baron Friedrich von Steuben from Prussia. He came to Valley Forge with papers that claimed he was a general in the army of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and that he had come to train the men so they could fight in the European style. It later turned out that von Steuben's credentials were inflated, and that he had only reached the rank of captain in the Prussian army, but what was important was that he was able to adapt his instructions to the men so that they were able to see the importance of maneuvering as soldiers on the battlefield, and willing to obey orders with alacrity. The training of Steuben would pay great dividends on the battlefield during 1778, and his methods would be adopted by the American army for many years after the war into the new Republic in the 1790s. Steuben was not the only foreign officer to contribute to the American cause; there were others who came and offered valuable service during the war, such as Steuben's fellow German Baron Johann de Kalb, two Polish officers, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, an engineer who helped build the fortress at West Point, New York, as well as Count Casimir Pulaski, who helped train the American cavalry, and finally the most well known of the group, the Marquis de Lafayette, who would become close to General Washington, and who would become one of his most trusted confidants. These men all came to help the American cause and in doing so pointed the way to freedom in their own lands.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS

In 1778 the British shifted their strategy for winning the war in America, and the new British commander, Lieutenant General Henry Clinton, began to concentrate his army to enact a new plan. In accordance with his strategy, the British army was pulled out of Philadelphia on June 18, 1778, and began a march through New Jersey to reach New York City. On June 28 in Monmouth, New Jersey, Washington's army caught up with Clinton's army and gave battle. For four hours, on one of the hottest days recorded, where temperatures reached around 100 degrees, Washington's newly trained army fought the British to a standstill. When the battle was over, the British resumed their march and left the field to the Americans. It was an important step in the development of the Continental army as it showed it could now stand and face the English in battle, and gave it pride.

Once his forces gathered in New York, Clinton decided that rather than trying to win the war in the North, he would send a large force against Savannah, Georgia, and then move to take Charleston, South Carolina—at that time one of the most important ports in America. Once Charleston had been captured, he would encourage Loyalists and slaves to join the British in destroying the rebellion. The threat of enlisting slaves and free blacks to the British effort was not new as it had been encouraged in Virginia in 1775 by the Royal Governor Lord Dunmore. Because of the fears that many southerners had of blacks killing entire families in retaliation for slavery, it was a grave threat to the safety of the southern colonies/states, and would engender much hatred toward the British and their loyalist allies. What Clinton did through all his planning was to begin what amounted to a civil war in the southern colonies, as old animosities between patriot gentry and recent loyalist Scotch immigrants would flare up, and old scores would be settled brutally by each side. The chaos that erupted led to hatreds that lasted for generations, and would be carried into America's Civil War 83 years later.

Clinton launched his campaign by taking Savannah on December 29, 1778, and then began to make preparations for a move against Charleston that began on February 11, 1780, and ended with the surrender of the city and its 5,400 men. It was a disaster for the Americans, and Clinton left his second in command, Lieutenant General Lord Cornwallis, and 8,000 men to gain control in the South and returned to New York. As British troops moved into the towns of South Carolina, they encouraged Loyalists to join them, then left them in control when they left, thus creating an explosive situation that only engendered bloodshed of the cruelest order. After the crushing defeat of General Gates's army at the Battle of Camden on August 16, 1780, Washington sent his most able subordinate, Major General Nathanael Greene, to command the southern American army. Greene was able to pull Cornwallis's army into the countryside of North and South Carolina in a campaign that allowed the Continental army to regain control over much of the South. Greene sent his subordinate, Brigadier General Daniel Morgan, on a separate assignment to destroy the cavalry of Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, which he did at the Battle of Cowpens on January 17, 1781. In doing so, he denied Cornwallis's army its scouting force. Greene kept his army out of reach of Cornwallis, and led him on a chase across

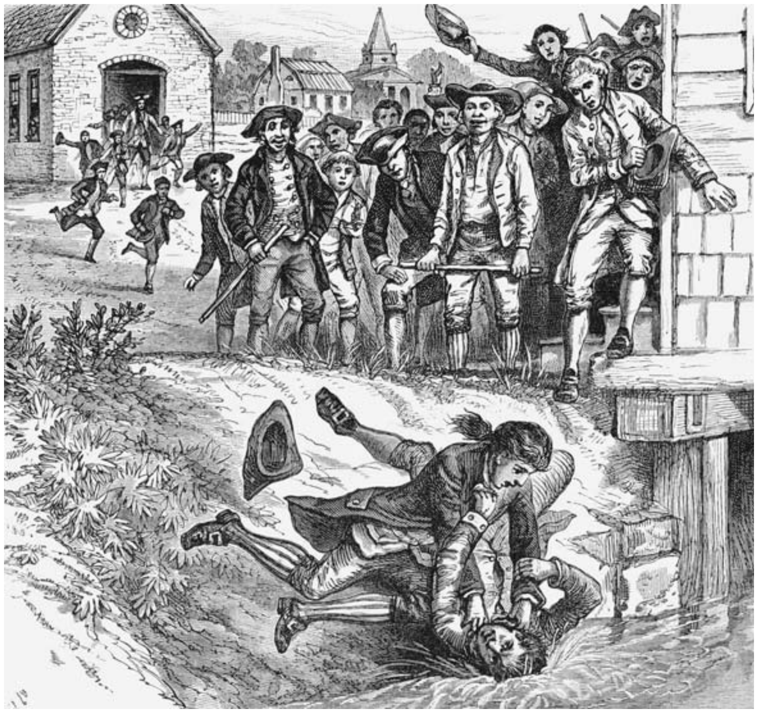
"Yorktown: Surrender" (1781). Fictional representation of British General Charles Cornwallis surrendering his sword to George Washington at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1781. Steel engraving, nineteenth century. The Granger Collection, New York.

North and South Carolina, drawing the British further from their base of supply. By doing this, Greene was able to take back the South from the British, and frustrate British Loyalists there. Eventually Cornwallis decided to head to Virginia in August 1781 to refit and resupply his army of 8,000 men on the Yorktown Peninsula, and it was there that the war reached its climax.

Outside of New York, Washington and his army waited to attack the garrison there, but the French, led by Lieutenant General Jean Baptiste Comte de Rochambeau, convinced him that Cornwallis's army in Virginia should be the target of a combined operation with the French fleet under Admiral Francois Comte de Grasse. Preparations were made to march both armies to Virginia. Washington managed to trick Clinton into believing that New York was the focus of the combined American and French armies, and it wasn't until the combined forces reached Philadelphia that Clinton realized what was happening. De Grasse with 3,000 French troops embarked with his fleet, arrived off of Yorktown on August 30, and drove a smaller British fleet away in a series of naval battles on September 5–9; this gave the French control of the waters around Yorktown. Washington's and Rochambeau's troops began arriving from September 14–26 and on the 28th the investment of Yorktown began. Under the direction of the French, the allies slowly worked their way closer to the main British works until October 17 when Cornwallis, unable to break the siege and cut off from reinforcements, asked Washington for conditions of surrender. On October 19, the British garrison marched out of their positions and laid down their arms.

THE END OF THE WAR AND THE TREATY OF PARIS

Although the victory at Yorktown led many to believe that the war was over, operations continued against the British forces in New York and Charleston. In March 1782, King George III accepted the advice of his new prime minister, Lord Charles Rockingham, which was that, in order to prosecute the war effectively against France, and her allies Spain and Holland, the Americans should have their independence recognized, and negotiations for a treaty of peace were opened on April 12, 1782. While the negotiations were in progress, the British concentrated their remaining forces in America in New York, while Washington and his army remained outside



Protesters during Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, 1786–1787. Hand-colored engraving. © North Wind / North Wind Picture Archives—All rights reserved.

of the city to watch their activities. There were many in Congress who believed that with active operations over, the Continental army should be disbanded, but Washington opposed this as it was better that the British be shown that the Americans were negotiating from a position of strength as long as their army remained intact. On November 30, 1782, the Treaty of Paris, which officially recognized America's independence, was signed. It would become effective once Britain's war with France and Spain concluded. Congress ratified the treaty on April 15, 1783, and the war with Britain came to an end after eight years of hard struggle. The French and Spanish would sign the treaty on September 3, 1783, ending the global aspect of the war.

The Treaty of Paris granted the United States its independence from Great Britain, and extended its boundaries to the Mississippi River in the West. The British were to withdraw their troops from the frontier, and all debts were to be paid to creditors in sterling silver, which as time progressed would become a great problem for many states, and for individuals who owed money. It was hoped that with the conclusion of the war the American economy would quickly recover and that the debts incurred by the war could be paid off. What happened was that the country went into a depression as the debts that were owed from the Revolution needed to be paid and this led many states to raise their taxes to pay them off. Along with this, the British cut off trade between the United States and its Caribbean ports. A decline in the demand for tobacco forced many Chesapeake area planters to switch their crops to grain and strained the economy. Many states attempted to relieve the strain by printing large sums of paper money or passing stay laws that postponed the paying of debts owed by individual citizens. The problem with this was that the paper money became devalued, and the stay laws only led many merchants into further debt with their foreign suppliers. The situation was not helped by the national government, which at this time was operating under the Articles of Confederation.

CREATING THE GOVERNMENT

The Continental Congress had begun discussions on forming a central government, and what its powers should be during the war. Because of fears that they would throw off one tyranny for another, it was agreed that the Congress should have only limited authority. Many of the colonies had passed state constitutions that restricted the power of the governors in their states in an effort to keep political power in the hands of the people. What Congress proposed was the Articles of Confederation, which set up a weak central government that could not tax citizens directly, but had to request money and supplies from the 13 states. The Congress could declare war and negotiate treaties, print money, regulate Indian trade, decide disputes between states, and establish a postal system. By 1777 Congress had sent its draft for the new government to the states for their ratification, but under conditions established during the negotiations, all 13 states had to ratify the document. By 1779 12 of the states had ratified the Articles, but Maryland held out because it wanted Congress to have the power to regulate the lands in the West. Landlocked small states like Maryland were afraid that the larger states like New York and Virginia would lay claim to great tracts of this land, and then use their influence over the new lands to control the government. They demanded that the large states cede their land grants to Congress so that it could be distributed evenly; eventually New York and Virginia agreed, and Maryland signed the Articles of Confederation in March 1781.

The problem was that by the time the Articles of Confederation was ratified, the war was basically over, and any benefits that a stronger central government would have had in helping maintain the army in the field, and civilian economic and living conditions, were nullified. With the end of the war, there were many who looked to strengthen the powers of Congress to meet the problems that would face the new nation, two main problems being the debt incurred by the war and the authority of Congress to tax. Robert Morris, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant who had been responsible for keeping the Continental army going through loans he obtained during the war, became superintendent of finance for Congress, and he looked to strengthen America's currency to meet its debts. He managed to have a central bank, the Bank of North America, established where gold and silver from France and Holland could be kept, along with his own money. He also had certificates printed that were backed by the funds in the bank, and all army supply contracts were opened to bidding with the full credit of the Congress. Morris also wanted to create national revenue based on taxes, and even though many objected to giving Congress this power, 12 states passed the idea, but Rhode Island objected, thereby scuttling the plan.

It had been hoped that this national tax would allow the Congress to assume the debts that had been incurred as a result of the war. The government's credit would have been strengthened and a stable currency could have been introduced. Instead what happened was that the states themselves began paying off the debts that were owed to various creditors. Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and New Jersey had paid off most of their debt by 1786, and this created a situation whereby the states, not the central government, held most of the power, with the result that the Congress would have very little power to regulate the economy of the various states. Once there was an economic downturn, the Congress would have little ability to act. As it turned out, the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation would soon become evident, and changes were going to become necessary.

The trouble over debtor relief began to manifest itself in 1786 as many small farmers and merchants were being squeezed by state legislatures, many of them controlled by creditors, off of their lands and out of their businesses. The demand that hard currency, gold or silver, be used to pay off debts was established by creditors. Debtors, who had no access to such specie, believed that paper currency should be accepted even if its value may be deflated because of great amounts in circulation. Some states passed laws that offered limited debt relief, but in other states like Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, there were debtor rebellions. The best known of these rebellions occurred in Massachusetts on January 25, 1787. Led by a former Continental army captain Daniel Shays, farmers in the western and central portions of the state came together to protest their treatment by local authorities, who in many cases had taken away their land for not paying their debts. About 1,500 men marched on the arsenal at Springfield to capture the ammunition stored there, but were met by the state militia that broke up the group with heavy artillery fire. Eventually most of the rioters were dispersed, and Shays was captured, but along with the other rebellions that were breaking out in the other states, it was clear that central authority was lacking and something had to be done.

There were many political leaders who believed that the Confederation was too weak to handle the crises that had occurred. The states were more concerned with their own problems, particularly debt and expansion. They would pass legislation that only affected them, and in many cases drafted bills that would retaliate against other states that destroyed any possibility of establishing a strong national economy. These men, known as Federalists, believed that only a strong central government could address the problems of the national debt, as well as sense of national unity. They believed that the states should come together and call for a meeting to revise the Articles of Confederation to establish an effective national government to meet the needs of the people. There had been some meetings that had been held to develop a better sense of interstate cooperation: In 1785, there had been a meeting at George Washington's estate of Mount Vernon between Virginia and Maryland over the development of a Potomac River canal; and at a meeting at Annapolis, Maryland, in September 1786 five mid-Atlantic states, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, Delaware, and Virginia, participated in a conference that called for a convention to be held the following year in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation. What resulted was the Constitutional Convention of May–September 1787, which would scrap the Articles of Confederation and put in its place a central government that would meet the crisis of the early American experiment.

Domestic Life

THE FAMILY IN COLONIAL AMERICA

In colonial America the family was the central social institution, one that served many functions. It was, for one thing, the center of education. Parents taught young children their first "letters" and their earliest religious precepts. Fathers taught their sons how to farm, repair tools, hunt, and fish. If the father was a skilled craftsman, he taught his son the trade. Girls learned from their mothers how to perform the many household tasks expected of colonial women—cooking, baking, sewing, candle-making, and spinning (Unger 1989, 62).

The family was also a "little commonwealth" within which people's lives were prescribed and regulated, and the agency through which acceptable social behavior was taught and enforced. The patriarchal system was deeply entrenched in Europe, and colonists carried it to America. It was reinforced by the father's control over family land and property. In the southern colonies, with their looser settlement patterns and their more abundant fertile land, this arrangement was probably not a serious problem for children. In early New England, however, where towns were limited in size and where fathers usually lived to old age, the patriarchal system could be galling. Grown sons were often forced to live in their parents' household, subject to continued patriarchal control, or became tenants on their father's land. Fortunately, New England sons had an escape route. By the beginning of the eighteenth century an ever larger number were leaving the crowded Massachusetts and Connecticut towns to move to cheap land in the Berkshire and Green Mountains, New Hampshire, and what is present-day Maine (Unger 1989, 62–64).

Relationships between parents and those beneath them were sometimes despotic, but by the eighteenth century a new family pattern had emerged that historian Philip Greven has characterized as "genteel." The new pattern, common in the eighteenth century, reflected the growing complexity of American society. Genteel families were prosperous, well educated, and generally less pious than others. They were bound together by affection as much as authority and were more child centered. These qualities, says Greven, had far-reaching effects. The children brought up in a genteel environment were more self-confident and independent minded than others. As adults, they were apt to be leaders and doers. Their relatively egalitarian upbringing may have played an important part in shaping later American society (Unger 1989, 64–65).

This lithograph is part of the series The Four Seasons of Life: Middle Age "The season of strength," which depicts family life in the mid-nineteenth century. J. M. Ives, del.; drawn by Parsons & Atwater. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The biggest danger in studying the families of colonial British North America is that we may judge them using present-day standards or dismiss them as oddities of a long-abandoned past without understanding what role the family played in the context of the period. The composition and life of colonial families, on the whole, were continuations and adaptations of the settlers' Old World heritages and traditions. Most colonists were Christian in religion and European in culture, and the values and habits by which they organized their lives were not distinctly "American." Colonists adapted what they already knew and believed in their very new and different existence in the New World to create successful lives for themselves and their families. Both these European traditions and the difficulties and opportunities presented by life in the American lands during the eighteenth century helped to shape the family life in the colonies (Marcus et al. 2007, 81).

MARRIAGE

Most colonial era families were very large, first, as a necessary balance against the period's high childhood mortality rates as a guarantee that enough offspring would survive to work the family farms. Second, colonists shared the widespread beliefs that having many children honored God's will to be fruitful and multiply, made families prosper, and continued their lineage.

New England families were large compared to those in England because more children survived into adulthood, couples married at younger ages, and land for supporting large families was available. Especially in New England, people married young to procreate as soon as possible. Southern families too conformed to the colonial norm in being large, at least after the earliest Chesapeake years in which male indentured servants greatly outnumbered female ones. Indentured servitude virtually disappeared in Virginia during the eighteenth century and played a lesser role from the beginning in Maryland and the other Middle colonies, except Pennsylvania where many German "redemptioners" came in the mid-eighteenth century. Free southern white men and women married at even younger ages than in New England, but more children died because of the greater incidence of malaria and dysentery (Marcus et al. 2007, 81).

The Search for a Partner

A couple—husband and wife—stood at the core of the nuclear family just as it had in older, more traditional households. The minimal duties of each spouse remained the same as well: Both were expected to engage in normal and exclusive sexual union and to cohabit peacefully for life. The husband was responsible for directing the economic affairs of the family, the wife for maintaining the basic condition of the house and garden and the care of the personal needs of its inhabitants. Although romantic love and sexual attraction were certainly not inventions of the eighteenth century, their emergence as a primary ingredient in the selection of a partner for life is one of the hallmarks of the development of the affectionate family. Dependent on the ability of young people to choose for themselves, the struggle was not easily won, particularly where the economic functions of the family were paramount. Among landholding rural neighbors or wealthy merchant gentility, the marriage contract often bore many of the aspects of a twentieth-century corporate merger (Wolf 1993, 72).

This type of arranged marriage was prevalent in the first half of the eighteenth century. In colonial New England, discussion of marriage was not broached by parents whose children were of different social classes. Just as it was imperative to remain in the station in which God had placed one, so it was equally imperative to marry someone of the same class. Occasionally, men would marry "beneath them," as did the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth, a highly educated, socially prominent professor-clergyman who insisted on marrying his servant girl. He was able to do this because it was not his first marriage, and there seemed to be no family involved in the decision. But the community rarely condoned such unions. Since no one could marry without parental permission (and records tend to prove that parents did not give their permission for their children to marry beneath them), and since one could run away with one's forbidden beloved only to a lonely and dangerous wilderness or distant colony, elopements of "star-crossed" sweethearts of different classes seem to have been rare.

The reason behind what we would consider an unusual sequence of events in a courtship is the belief that the arrangement of a marriage began not as the natural culmination of love between a man and a woman but as a business negotiation between their families. This is not to say that the couple were not consulted; they were. And it was hoped and understood that love or affection would follow. There are records of young people who resisted the marriage proposed by their parents because they were already in love with someone else. However, the usual sequence of events found a reluctant bride or groom deciding at least to try to be fond of the mate chosen for him or her.

The courtship leading up to the contract consisted of business discussions over just what property the families of the bride and groom would contribute to the marriage. For a bride of property, the negotiations were especially critical, for any property she owned when she married would, by law, automatically become her husband's. Each family brought property or money to the couple's union, and the object of each was to get the other family to make a larger contribution. The father of the groom often deeded a portion of his land to the couple and sometimes agreed to build a house for them on the land. In many cases, a man of the second generation was forced to marry late because his father refused to turn over a deed to the land that had been promised him.

Once the marriage contract was drawn up, it was signed by all parties and was as legally binding as any other contract regarding property. If either of the parties decided he or she did not want to be married to the other and attempted to withdraw from the contract, the person could be, and was, sued for breach of contract. From the signing of the contract, the couple were considered married, though it was expected that they would refrain from sexual intercourse until after the wedding ceremony (Johnson 2002, 109–10).

This type of arrangement was typical in most of the colonies, and though some marriages could result in happy ones, there were also marriages that ended in disaster. When upper- and middle-class fathers aggressively sought to augment the family fortune by engineering advantageous marriages for their daughters without regard for their wishes, the results could be tragic, as they were for Anne Shippen of

Philadelphia. In 1781, her father, William Shippen III, wrote to his son, justifying his refusal to allow the marriage of "Nancy," as he called her, to her chosen lover, Louis Otto, and his insistence on her acceptance of a loveless and eventually disastrous union with Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston. "[Nancy] loves ye first & only esteems the last. L—will consummate immediately. O—not these 2 years. L—has 12 or 15,000 hard [twelve to fifteen thousand pounds English sterling, in cold cash]. O—has nothing now, but honorable expectations hereafter. A bird in hand is worth 2 in a bush" (Wolf 1993, 72).

This mercenary attitude was exhibited by many fathers when looking for a suitable partner for their daughters, but there were also fathers who exhibited a modicum of restraint. Other fathers allowed, if not by choice, at least the exercise of a veto. Eliza Lucas, an 18-year-old heiress in South Carolina, responded spiritedly to her plantation-owning father in 1740 when he proposed two suitors from whom she might choose. As to the "old Gentleman," she wrote, "the riches of Peru and Chili if he had them put together could not purchase a sufficient Esteem for him to make him my husband." She rejected the other candidate as well, although she knew him less well, hoping "…as I am yet but Eighteen [that] you will [put] aside the thoughts of my marrying for these two or three years at least." Eliza's father evidently acquiesced, and four years later, the young heiress agreed more willingly to accept the equally eligible Charles Pinckney, a wealthy, well-connected widower over 20 years her senior.

As the century progressed, however, there were more and more parents who themselves had married for "love," and who were therefore more prepared to share, if not abdicate, the fateful decision to a new generation. John Adams bemoaned his absence from home when his daughter seemed about to choose a young man whom Adams regarded as "a reformed rake." "Take care of how you dispose of your heart—I hoped to be at home and to have chosen a Partner for you." Then Adams appeared to remember that he was living in new times, and rephrased his thought: "Or at least to have given you some good Advice before you should choose" (Wolf 1993, 72–73).

Although many parents during this transitional period may have felt that the new trend would lead their children to marry for impractical reasons, their children could be as practical as any colonial father in choosing a suitable mate. When young men came to marry, they followed the old adage that it was as easy to fall in love with a rich girl as a poor one, and enough enterprising apprentices and farm laborers married "the boss's daughter" to suggest one way to improve one's station (Wolf 1993, 74–75).

Most people who left information on their criteria for a perfect mate chose a blend of features, both practical and romantic, beginning with "reasonable fortune" or "circumstances," and including such attributes as "similarity in taste," "liveliness of manner," and "gentle wit." Many partners who had chosen each other for love may well have enjoyed a degree of personal fulfillment unknown to their grandparents who were joined under the old system. The hundreds of thousands of lower- and middle-class couples in cities, towns, farming communities, and frontier societies were perhaps less secure than they might have been as subordinate members of large domestic households. On the other hand, their very isolation and need to rely on each other created conditions in which trust and shared authority and responsibility between husbands and wives could grow. As usual, more articulate across the years than any others, the Adams correspondence provides a picture of a lasting marriage of love and companionship, in a letter written by Abigail to John after almost 20 years of marriage. "In the domestik way, should I draw you the picture of my Heart," she wrote, "it would be what I hope you still would Love . . . I look back to the early days of our acquaintance, and Friendship, as to the days of Love and Innocence; and with an indescribable pleasure I have seen near a score of years roll over our Heads, with an affection brightened and improved by time" (Wolf 1993, 76–77).

Husbands and Wives

The actuality of married life for most folks was a long way from "happily ever after." Nothing in the change from dynastic house or domestic household to nuclear family automatically implied any change in the patriarchal nature of relationships within the home. While marriage was in itself a voluntary contract, once consummated, its terms required the subordination of the wife. Her property was his, her obedience his to command; if she worked for wages, they, like those of the children, belonged to him. In many places, she, like an apprentice, was legally subject to "reasonable correction," that is, corporal punishment. The introduction of romance as a proper consideration in choosing a partner for life did, however, change to some extent the expectation of equal behavior within the basically unequal relationship. A husband was asked to do more than support his wife economically: he was also asked to protect and cherish her, and to remain sober and faithful. He was even expected to take her opinions and interest into account when forming his decisions. By the end of the century, as divorce became possible, although difficult, in most states, abusive husbands were sometimes called upon to justify their actions. Many did by noting that they had been "provoked by her scolding." "Scolding," a contemporary term for nagging or arguing, was a serious fault in a wife, by the standards of the day probably as deserving of a beating as any other form of insubordination (Wolf 1993, 77–78).

Currier and Ives Lithograph depicting one of the Four Seasons of Life; Youth. The Granger Collection, New York.

Some women, however, seemed to have felt an implicit contradiction between affectionate marriage and patriarchal domestic arrangements. Sarah Harrison, a determined young woman of aristocratic southern background, insisted that the minister remove the word "obey" from the ceremony before she would proceed with her wedding to James Blair. She got her way. Another woman, Charity Barr, was willing to go public with the failure of marriage to meet her expectations. In 1785, when she left her husband, he took out a notice in a newspaper accusing her of "desertion without cause." She replied in the public forum as well, detailing his abuse of her, and adding, "If such cruel usage, *from a man who ought to have been her best friend,* be not sufficient cause for leaving him, she leaves the impartial to judge" [emphasis added]. In some ways the quarrels between married couples, complaints, and countercomplaints were merely a part of the eternal battle of the sexes common in folk tradition as well as in literature. There is no need to look for further significance in the name of an "exceedingly noisy" stream christened "Matrimony Creek" by the eighteenth-century crew that drew the dividing line between Virginia and Carolina (Wolf 1993, 78–79).

The changing nature of the home reallocated discretionary funds, putting more power and control into the hands of women whose customary responsibilities involved the maintenance of the house and its operations. Throughout the century, there were more frequent, bitter references to female extravagance as the cause for everything from domestic discomfort to financial ruin and the corruption of the moral virtue of the new Republic. In 1787, a popular Philadelphia magazine, the *American Museum,* published a critique of feminine extravagance by a "farmer" who blamed all the problems in the economy, personal and natural, on the teakettle. Drinking tea not only required family dependence on "market commodities," it wasted time as well. He vowed to reform his own household: "no one thing to eat, drink, or wear shall not come into my house which is not raised on my farm, or in the parish, or in the country except salt and iron-work, for repairing my buildings and tools—no tea, sugar, coffee, or rum. The tea kettle shall be sold" (Wolf 1993, 79–80).

His choice of the teakettle as the most important target in the battle over domestic morality was particularly telling. It was tea drinking—its ceremony and its equipage from pots to slop bowls to cups—more than any other single family ritual that symbolized the new domestic world in which women were in charge of a home that was the center of domestic life. During the century, tea and its accessories had become less and less expensive, and more and more available on some level to almost everyone. The mere drinking of the beverage itself became something family members did together in unceremonial fashion, male and female together, and this increased family togetherness was an important aspect of the change to the affectionate, nuclear home. It implied parents who might someday—over the teacups—discuss the affairs of the day and make joint decisions concerning family strategies and priorities, including those determining the education and future directions of the children (Wolf 1993, 80–81).

CHILDBEARING

In marriage a woman entered a cycle of pregnancy, birth, and nursing that set the bounds of her life for the remainder of her childbearing years. For many women, 20- to 30-month intervals stretched from the birth of one child to that of the next. During pregnancy a woman was expected to have amassed a set of "childbed linen."

A portion of this assemblage may have been handed down from her mother. The remainder was the product of the woman's own needle. As much ceremonial as pragmatic, the linens and infant wear were of the finest linen the family could afford and would be adorned with embroidery and lace (Volo and Volo 2002, 125).

Labor and delivery were not only momentous occasions for the family; they also were community events. At the first stage of labor, the husband would send for the midwife, who would be on hand for the birth and remain with the family for a brief interval afterward. Other female friends and relatives would also attend to assist in the birth. Samuel Sewall recorded the following events in his diary at the time of the birth of his 14th child: "My Wife had some thoughts the Time of her Travail might come, before she went to bed; But it went over. Between 4 and 5 a.m. I go to prayer, Rise make a Fire, call Mrs. Ellis, Hawkins. Mary Hawkins calls Midwife Greenlef." Later in the day he made a second entry: "My Wife is brought to Bed of a Daughter about two p.m." Two days later, his wife, Hannah, fell ill: "Sabbath-day night my wife is very ill and something delirious. Pulse swift and high." Four days later he noted: "Nurse Hill watch'd last night. Wife had a comfortable night" (Volo and Volo 2002, 125) (Thomas 1973, 459).

All children were breast-fed until they were weaned as toddlers. A mother who was incapable of producing enough milk for her child needed to find a "wet nurse" as a substitute. Nonetheless, the newborn infant was often given to another woman to nurse for the first few days. The nurse was also available to help with complications following childbirth. It was not uncommon for a nurse to remain with the mother and child for an extended interval.

This population increase in the house as labor progressed required that a large number of people be fed. One of the responsibilities of the expectant mother was to provide refreshment for those in attendance during the childbirth. "Groaning cakes," "groaning beer," and other items that would not spoil were made in advance of the expected event (Volo and Volo 2002, 125).

Samuel Sewall made note of a dinner that was given two weeks after the birth in appreciation to the women who attended his wife during the delivery: "My Wife Treats her Midwife and Women: Had a good Dinner, B'oiled Pork, Beef, Fowls; very good Roast-beef, Turkey-Pye, Tarts, Madam Usher carv'd, Mrs. Hannah Greenlef; Ellis, Cowell, Wheeler, Johnson, and her daughter Cole, Mrs. Hill our Nurses Mother, Nurse Johnson, Hill, Hawkins, Mrs. Goose, Deming, Green, Smith, Hatch, Blin. Comfortable, moderate weather; and with a good fire in the stove warm'd the room" (Volo and Volo 2002, 125) (Thomas 1973, 460–61).

Sometimes plans were disrupted. At the birth of their ninth child Sewall wrote: "My wife was so ill could hardly get home . . . at last my Wife bad me call Mrs. Ellis, then Mother Hull, then the Midwife, and through the Goodness of God was brought to Bed of a Daughter . . . Mrs. Elizabeth Weeden, Midwife. Had not Women nor other preparations as usually, being wholly supris'd, my wife expecting to have gone a Month longer" (Volo and Volo 2002, 126) (Thomas 1973, 264).

Death due to childbirth was a genuine fear, for it was the leading cause of mortality for women. Before the birth of one of her children, Anne Bradstreet composed a poem to her husband acknowledging the risk that loomed: "How soon, my Dear, death may my steps attend." She voiced her concern for the children she would leave behind and bid her husband, "These, O protect from step Dames injury." Husbands too worried. Benjamin Bang was concerned about his pregnant wife. In his diary he noted, "My dearest friend is much concerned being in and near a time of difficulty." He tried to bolster her and dissuade her frightful dreams. Of one such nightmare he wrote, "I put it off slightly for fear of disheartening her but directly upon it dreamed much the same myself of being bereft of her and seeing my little motherless children about me which when I awoke was cutting to think of" (Volo and Volo 2002, 126) (McElrath and Robb 1981, 179–80) (Shipton 1975, 480).

INFANT MORTALITY

Loss of a child was a frequent occurrence. During the first year of life, 1 in 10 infants did not survive, and 4 out of 10 children died before age 6. Common diseases that stole away these infants included measles, diphtheria, whooping cough, mumps, and chicken pox. Hannah and Samuel Sewall had 14 children and one child stillborn. Of the children, 7 died within 25 months of birth. Anne Lake Cotton gave birth to 9 children in 20 years. She lost her first child two months before the birth of her second child. The next four survived infancy (Volo and Volo 2002, 126) (Ulrich 1991, 129) (Dow 1911, 73).

Accidents claimed children too. Frontier households were bustling, cluttered places that were not always child-safe. Open fires, kettles of hot water, privy holes, unfenced ponds, and open wells were daily dangers to a toddler or a small child. Busy adults and older children could easily lose sight of one of the smaller children in a crowded household. Alice Walton returned from visiting her husband in the field to find her toddler missing. She questioned an older child, who responded, "It was here just now presently." The child was found drowned in an unfenced water hole. Nicholas Gilman's cousin "narrowly escaped drowning being fallen into a kettle of Suds." Fortunately, the mishap was seen, and the child was "pulled out by his heels" in time. Hannah Palmer's daughter was not so fortunate. While Hannah was still recovering from giving birth and grieving the loss of twin daughters who died five days prior, her daughter fell into a kettle of scalding water and died the following day (Volo and Volo 2002, 126–27) (Ulrich 1991, 157).

Some parents dealt with the tenuous presence of children with a certain emotional detachment. They avoided focusing intense care upon any single child. Whatever defenses they employed, the pain of loss, no matter how frequent, surely caused intense grief. Anne Bradstreet wrote several poems in memory of grandchildren lost in infancy. Grandson Simon Bradstreet lived but a month and a day: "No sooner come, but gone, and fal'n asleep, Acquaintance short, yet parting caus'd us weep." It was common for children to be compared to items of a frail and fleeting nature. Portraits of children often depicted them with a single blossom as a reminder of how transient their time on earth might be. Grandchild and namesake Anne Bradstreet expired at age three years and seven months. On this occasion Anne wrote:

I knew she was but as a withering flour,
That's here to day, perhaps gone in an hour;
Like as a bubble, or the brittle grass,
Or like a shadow turning as it was.
More fool then I to look on that was lent,
As if mine own, when thus impermanent. (Volo and Volo 2002, 127) (McElrath and Robb 1981, 187–88)

CHILD REARING

A woman's responsibilities were greatly added to by the burden of rearing a family. Fathers were responsible for the education of their children, and they were the ultimate authority in matters of discipline. Isaac Norris wrote of his two daughters, "They are a constant care as well as great amusement and diversion to me to direct their education aright and enjoy them truly in the virtuous improvement of their tender minds." Contemporary historian William Alexander noted, "A father only is empowered to exercise a rightful authority over his children, and no power is conferred on the mother." Mothers, however, attended to the everyday care of the children. This, of course, was in addition to their myriad other duties. After the birth of her second child, Esther Burr wrote in her 1756 journal, "When I had but one child my hands were tied, but now I am tied hand and foot…how shall I get along when I have got 1/2 dozen or 10 children I can't devise" (Fischer 1989, 508) (Alexander 1796, 343) (Swan 1995, 36).

Frontier children were expected to become productive contributors to the family as soon as they were able. Only in infancy were they treated simply as children with no responsibilities. As early as three years old, children were given simple chores. Not only did this help to instill a sense of responsibility, but it kept them occupied as well. Young children gathered goose feathers, picked berries, and helped process food. Older children plaited straw, weeded the garden, and knitted stockings (Volo and Volo 2002, 128).

Few children had toys; most children had to make do playing imaginatively with whatever was lying around the house, though lucky youngsters might have a wooden doll or other carved figure. Those who could walk would play hide and seek, blind man's bluff, hopscotch, skipping, marbles, and shuttlecock, using improvised wooden implements. In spring and summer they would explore their outside surroundings, and in winter skating was popular with older children. Infants were necessarily confined to the house (Middleton 1996, 255).

Playthings were few and simple. Boys played with marbles, balls, whistles, small boats, toy soldiers, wooden animals, and whatever else a loving father might carve from a piece of wood by a winter's fire. Girls mimicked their mother's activities playing with whatever bowls and spoons were not in use. They played with moppets or dolls made from scraps of fabric or pieces of wood. Many dolls were more like a log with a face than a baby's image. Outside, children used their imaginations and nature's playthings to fashion garlands of flowers, small boats of leaves and pods, and whistles from blades of grass. As children grew older, chores increased with ability and made greater demands on their playtime. A large, healthy family was a tremendous resource to a colonial farmer (Volo and Volo 2002, 128) (Middleton 1996, 253).

THE WORLD OF CHILDREN

The colonists did not see childhood as an age of innocence; play for its own sake was not an acceptable concept. For many colonists, especially of Calvinist faiths, children were believed to be inherently naughty and had to be taken in hand by stern but loving parents. As one minister noted, "there is in all children . . . a natural pride, which must in the first place be broken and beaten down." This approach was essential to instill a sense of obedience, responsibility, and self-control, without which no one could either survive the tempting of the devil or the inclemency of the environment. Corporal punishment consequently was first used frequently, except by Quaker parents, who not only disliked violence but believed that children, like the rest of humanity, were innately good.

Childhood therefore had one main purpose: to prepare a person for adult life with all its problems and responsibilities. Children were constantly told of the need to earn their living by the sweat of their brow. They were also repeatedly warned of the possible imminence of death. As one seventeenth-century schoolmaster commented to his class, "Remember death; think much . . . how it will be on the deathbed" (Middleton 1996, 253).

It was into this atmosphere that children were born and grew up. For the first few months children were dressed in swaddling clothes. These consisted of linen bound tightly round the body from the ankles to the neck. Parents feared that otherwise their offspring might not grow straight. Infants therefore wore the same clothing at night to prevent them from sleeping in the fetal position (Middleton 1996, 254).

The obsession with straightness stemmed from the premise that children were essentially uncivilized and had to be molded physically as well as morally. Humans, it was often noted, were the only occupants of the earth to walk in the upright position. Consequently, when the swaddling clothes were dispensed with after a few months, the next task was to prevent children from crawling and developing beastlike qualities. Various devices were used to affect this, the most popular being standing stools, go-carts, and leading strings. All were designed to speed the transition to walking.

Toilet training in contrast caused parents less concern. Living conditions were necessarily odoriferous even for the upper classes, not the least because most adults were lax about their own toilet habits. The dangers of disease from poor sanitation and lack of hygiene were not understood, and most people relieved themselves close to the house. Children simply copied their elders once they could walk.

The period of infancy lasted about six years, during which time boys and girls were dressed in identical garments, these being the easiest to wash and pass on from one child to the next. Few children could expect new clothes.

During these early years children were left mainly to their own devices, although under the watchful eye of an older child or servant. Parents were too busy running the farm or managing the household to spend much time with their offspring. Orthodox opinion held that too much affection was undesirable, since it made adults self-indulgent and children selfish. Hence even the cries of infants were largely ignored, since it was assumed they were either exercising their lungs or expressing their frustration at not being gratified in some excessive want. It was inconceivable that beings so young could know what was good for them.

Infants usually slept in a cot with their parents. As they grew, they were given beds in any convenient place. Houses were too small and space too precious to allow separate bedrooms—even in the homes of the affluent—until the end of the colonial period. Most children slept on a mattress that could be rolled up during the day. Everyone shared a bed. Even single adults slept with someone of the same sex for warmth and company. The modern obsession with privacy would have struck most provincials as strange.

Around the age of six decisive changes occurred. Boys were given breeches, while girls remained in skirts. This development was the prelude to another step on the road to adulthood. Both sexes began to be given tasks, the girls helping in the garden and kitchen, the boys doing light farm work. In New England and the Middle colonies most children would also receive some schooling for a few hours each morning.

As colonial society developed and land became scarcer, many boys around the age of 10 began an apprenticeship, normally lasting about 9 years, during which the apprentice lodged with the master. Though this may seem a harsh and unloving step on the part of the boys' parents, in most households the relationship between master and servant was similar to that between parent and child—stern but affectionate (Middleton 1996, 255).

A small proportion of boys from richer families progressed to a grammar school and even college in preparation for a career as a minister, lawyer, merchant, or simply as a way to establish social connections. The majority, however, stayed with their parents to help on the farm or in the workshop. Even the offspring of the wealthy would finish their education by their early teens unless they were destined for college. The boys then helped their fathers run their farms and plantations, or worked as clerks in their businesses. Middle-class girls remained with their parents, learning how to manage the household; girls from poorer families were sent to be maids. Life was necessarily a serious business.

Colonial society knew no such phenomenon as adolescence. Teenage boys and girls were expected to face up to the burdens of life, though it was recognized that they were not yet ready for life's main concerns: running a farm, having a family, and participating in public affairs. The young were seen as being still susceptible to temptation and irresponsibility because they had not yet shed the last traces of their childhood. Hence the emphasis was on achieving maturity as soon as possible, as this represented the key to making one's way in the world, both morally and materially (Middleton 1996, 256).

Regarding the upbringing of children, Cotton Mather, as in so many matters, was full of advice. He believed that parents should "consider how to enrich their minds with valuable knowledge; how to instill into their minds generous, gracious, and heavenly principles; how to restrain and rescue them from the paths of the destroyed, and fortify them against their peculiar temptations." Certainly the task could not be left to the young persons themselves for "tis the folly for them to pretend unto any Wit and Will of their own." In pursuit of his own advice, Mather questioned his six children every night, asking what they had done during the day, whether they had "sought the face of God and read His Word." At mealtimes Mather sought to make the conversation "facetious as well as instructive." Not a moment should be lost for improvement (Middleton 1996, 256–57) (Fox and Quitt 1980, 313).

Such accounts have led most writers to believe that the colonial family was less affectionate in its relationships than its modern counterpart, on the assumption that high infant mortality made emotional involvement pointless and that the main purpose of having children was, as always, economic. The actual evidence is conflicting. In the case of Mather, only 6 of his 15 children survived to adulthood. He was nevertheless a relatively indulgent parent, much more so than his father had been. As the eighteenth century progressed, attitudes among the wealthier classes began to change. Influential in this respect were the writings of John Locke, who argued in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) that example, experience, and environment, rather than precept or innate character, determined behavior. Locke still emphasized firm discipline but still believed that it should be moderated by a little indulgence to secure gratitude and affection. The child would then respond more readily to the challenge of adulthood. A sense of shame was generally most effective, for this would naturally induce a desire for self-improvement. Corporal punishment should be administered only as a last resort. The new attitude was reflected in depictions of the biblical prodigal son. Earlier versions stressed the folly and ruin that would result for children who defied their parents. By 1760, the emphasis was on the need for parental affection and forgiveness to prevent children leaving in the first place (Middleton 1996, 256–57).

Discipline, therefore, less frequently involved physical punishment, and more often employed appeals to love and reason. Since competition and a desire to succeed were human nature in the upwardly mobile family, emphasis was placed on the carrot rather than the stick. In 1783, Timothy Pickering advised parents that it was "doubtless far better to apply to the *natural ambition* than to the *fears* of a child: the latter will only make hardened rogues of the bold, and confound the tender hearted: while nothing is more animating than just applause" (Wolf 1993, 116).

On the very upper fringes of American society, children lived yet very different lives, not merely because of the wealth of their parents, but because of their attitudes as well. These seem, at first, modern in their permissiveness and lack of direction, but they actually spring from an older European tradition. Among the gentry, children were apt to be at once indulged and ignored—treated as amusing little pets when present, but left to the daily care of servants or slaves during the crucial years between three and seven. Since they were not yet old enough to be trained in culture and the social graces, their parents paid little attention to either the older notion that young children had souls to save or the more modern concept that they had minds to train. Memoirs of a Virginia woman, Eliza Custis, written in the early nineteenth century, reflect back on the mid-1770s when, at the age of three or four, she was encouraged to stand on a table, singing songs "which I did not understand" for her father and his gentlemen friends. As the men rolled "in their chairs with laughter" and even "the servants in the passage [joined] in their mirth," the mother, "who could not help laughing, used to retire and leave me to the gentlemen" (Wolf 1993, 116).

Families at the very lowest end of the economic scale had little in the way of time or resources to spend on children, however beloved. Time was money, and with both mothers and fathers involved in the economic struggle for daily life, young children were not only left to fend for themselves, but also often by the age of three or four expected to care for those younger than they. Most households lacked extra hands, and on isolated rural farms there was no recourse to neighbors who, in any event, would have been busy with their own concerns. The many cases of accidental childhood deaths reported in sensational manner by Benjamin Franklin in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* throughout the eighteenth century clearly involved situations where children left alone were trampled by animals, burned at open fireplaces, or scalded by tipped pots of boiling liquid at unprotected hearths. The reports were both rural and urban: The two "young" children frozen to death in January 1754 who "had been sent out early in the evening to bring home some sheep, but lost their way in the woods and were not found till the next day"; the Boston child whose mother "left it alone while she stepped out about some business" and was burned so badly that it died the next day; or, most symptomatic of all, the report in 1734 that on "Monday last a young child fell into a tub of water in Chestnut Street and was unhappily drowned before anybody perceived it." None of this presupposes a lack of love or affection, merely a scale of priorities in which the needs of children were ranked low, and their rearing subordinated to other, more pressing tasks (Wolf 1993, 116–17).

THE PLIGHT OF ORPHANS

Much of the discussion on children thus far has dealt with children whose parents possessed the wherewithal to supply their children with the minimum amount of care and attention. There were those children who found themselves without parents; either through the death of both the mother and father, or the inability of their parents to care for their children. For most of the colonial period, there were virtually no alternatives to inclusion in some family group, and community responsibility toward homeless children consisted mainly in making sure that they were placed in established households. The problem lay in finding a home to accept children who were too young to contribute fully to the domestic economy. Even kin were reluctant to take young orphans unless they had substantial financial resources to bring with them, and in most parts of colonial America, the children most likely to be thrown into dependence on the community were those from the bottom layer of society: the illegitimate children of destitute mothers and orphans of transient paupers or newly arrived immigrants who had no family ties or neighborhood associations.

The solution adopted by most communities was to borrow a system used in England since the early sixteenth century. A host family was guaranteed a return on its investment by the expedient of receiving a child as a "bound" servant. In effect the community traded the child and its services to a household head for the complete time of its minority. The money expended on a young and unproductive "extra mouth" would be recouped many times over through the value of its labor in the years ahead (Wolf 1993, 117–18).

Again, this exchange does not indicate insensitivity on the part of the community, but reflects the realities of everyday life in colonial America. A few indentures, as these contracts were called, attempted to guarantee that dependent children would receive the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic and that when they were old enough, they would be taught a craft or skill. For example, George Pentworth, when not quite two years old, was bound out in Virginia in 1716 to serve until he was of age. In return, his master was to "oblige himself [and] his heirs, [to provide] 3 years schooling . . . that he may read well in any part of the bible [and] to instruct and learn him . . . that he may be able after his indented time to get his own living and to allow him sufficient meat, drink, washing, and apparel." This indenture was enlightened for its time. Most orphans were merely bound out as "servants," a designation entitling them to nothing beyond mere maintenance, the assurance of hard work, and a guarantee that they would never acquire the skills necessary to improve their lot in life (Wolf 1993, 118–19).

Material Life

A house is a physical structure; a home is the vision of life and family that it embodies. During the eighteenth century Americans molded and shaped their domestic space, within the technological limits of their times, not only to accommodate their daily habits, but also to fit the human values and relationships that were important to them.

These eighteenth-century Americans rarely discussed what they were doing, let alone what it meant. Few people bothered to record where they put the trash, how often or where they bathed, or where or with whom they made love. Nor did they explain even to themselves, perhaps, why it was important to live in a house that was "spacious and well furnished with linen and silverplate" yet unimportant that three or four persons, including guests, slept in the same room. They assumed those around them used the same objects, followed similar patterns, and attached the same meanings to them. It was only when travelers from another culture were surprised or confused by everyday habits that differed from their own that the mundane details of American living were recorded at all, and while their descriptions may have been factually correct, their value judgments were based on the traveler's own cultural expectations (Wolf 1993, 49–50).

For centuries, decent living as defined by English culture had required that animal and human living spaces be separate, that hearths and chimneys take the place of open fires and roof vents, and that there be some division of the house into rooms that served different purposes. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, respectable English farmers, craftsmen, and tradesmen had long participated in a domestic upheaval so deep and far-reaching that historians refer to it as the "consumer revolution." Even common homes came to be filled with objects of display, in number, kind, and variety previously reserved only for the very rich and powerful. A house became more than a shelter and a workshop: it became a family center where privacy, comfort, and leisure were expected parts of the daily routine.

The home became a measure of the owner's status in society. The owner was judged by the cost of the materials and fancy decoration of the home. From looking glasses to tableware, to cooking utensils and luxury fabrics, these became a measure of a person's place in society (Wolf 1993, 50–51).

THE HOME IN AMERICA

There was no typical eighteenth-century American home, just as there was no one kind of eighteenth-century American family. The domestic reality was a combination of physical necessity and cultural choice. First and foremost, the kind of house in which a family lived was dictated by its location in relation to the frontier. The number of people living in the backcountry was as great at the outbreak of the American Revolution as it had been in the late seventeenth century. The first settlers in the newly opened, isolated regions during the eighteenth century replicated the stages of housing typical of the previous century (Wolf 1993, 51).

Early Frontier Homes in Colonial America

Homes on the colonial frontier varied with the means and needs of the families who built them. Often initial construction was limited, and additions to enlarge the structure were attached as time and situation permitted. In New England, houses commonly followed one of three plans.

The one-room plan was the most basic pattern and the earliest type of house constructed in the colonies. It continued to be common for small and poorer dwellings and on the frontier into the eighteenth century. The front door of such a structure typically opened into a small vestibule, referred to as a "porch," which contained a steep, narrow staircase that traversed the width of the entry. Sarah Knight, an early eighteenth-century traveler, complained that such a stairway "had such a narrow passage that I had almost stopped by the bulk of my body." To one side of the vestibule was a doorway into the main room. Generally 16 feet by 18 feet, this room was known as the "hall" and it served as a combination kitchen, dining area, living area, and in some cases bedroom. It had a low ceiling and a double layer of boards on the floor. Some floors had a layer of sand between the boards, probably to act as insulation from the cellar's cold. Wainscoting was used from the early seventeenth century. Broad pine boards were beveled to cover the studs, but posts were exposed. As the century closed, molded pieces were attached to form the earliest paneled walls. The most prominent feature in the room was the large fireplace. The depth of the fireplace extended into the area behind the staircase. The upstairs consisted of a large sleeping area that had a sloping roof in a one-and-a-half-story house and a roof of full height in a two-story house (Volo and Volo 2002, 141–42).

The two-room house followed the plan of the one-room house with the addition of a second room to the other side of the chimney and porch. This was called the "parlor." Upstairs were two rooms known as the "hall chamber" and the "parlor chamber." On occasion there was a room projecting over the porch referred to as the "porch chamber." Prior to the nineteenth century, rooms were basically multipurpose. Furniture in first-floor rooms was often placed against the walls when not in use and moved into position as needed.

The lean-to plan was the two-room plan with the addition of a room at the rear of the house. This served as a separate kitchen and workspace for other domestic chores but might also accommodate a sleeping area. Above the lean-to was a loft that, as necessity dictated, may have been used for additional sleeping. The roof rafters leaned from one-story eaves at the back against the top of the wall of the main house. A cooking fireplace was also added at the back of the central chimney mass. A common lean-to house had as many as five fireplaces built into a single chimney stack.

During the cold northern winters, ewes, young calves, piglets, and hens were sometimes brought into the kitchen to save them from freezing. Lean-tos and single-boarded sheds provided little protection from bitter winds and heavy snow. In 1640, this practice saved the lives of a Massachusetts family when the reflection of a fire awakened a neighbor's hens: "Mr. Pelham's house . . . took fire in the dead of night by the chimney (and was) ready to lay hold upon the stairs. A neighbor's wife, hearing some noise among her hens, persuaded her husband to arise . . . he did and so espied the fire, and came running in his shirt, and had much to do to awake anybody, but he got them up at last, and saved all" (Volo and Volo 2002, 142).

Windows in seventeenth-century New England houses were few. Many of these homes probably had oiled paper or sliding board shutters rather than glazed windows. Letters to England urged emigrants to bring glass for windows. Windows of this period were diamond-shaped panes of glass arranged in a lattice pattern typical of those in medieval England. By 1650, glazed windows were commonplace in prosperous homes. Although the windows were relatively small, they were often grouped two, three, or four together to make a wide, horizontal window bank. First-floor windows were often of a casement style or a mixture of casement and stationary. Second-floor windows were frequently fixed units that did not open. To overcome the limited availability of light, much of the food preparation and other household chores were performed outdoors when weather permitted (Volo and Volo 2002, 142–43).

Entrance to the home was made through a heavy door made of two layers of boards, the outer of which ran vertically and the inside horizontally. It was studded with hand-forged nails driven through both and clenched on the inside. The door was supported on long wrought-iron strap hinges. The earliest hinges were made of wood. They had a leather thong that passed through a hole that lifted the latch on the inside. Later hinges were made from wrought iron. At night doors were further secured with a heavy wooden bar placed across the inside.

Sarah Knight described a primitive home she encountered on her journey: "This little Hut was one of the wretchedest I ever saw as a habitation for human creatures. It was supported with shores enclosed with Clapboards laid on lengthways, and so much asunder, that the Light came through' everywhere; the door tied on with a cord in the place of hinges; The floor the bare earth; no windows but such as the thin covering afforded."

In the Middle and southern colonies, frontier homes were often built of squared or rounded logs. While the Swedish are often given credit for introducing this construction to the colonies, it was embraced by German and Scots-Irish settlers, who did much to popularize it. Early log cabins were frequently only one room with both front and rear doors. Next to the large interior chimney was a ladder or steep stair that led to a loft. It was not unusual for the structure to later be enlarged to what was called a "saddle-bag" plan with a second room on the other side of the fireplace. The rooms seldom exceeded 24 feet in length, as it was difficult to find suitable timber of greater size and this was still reasonable to handle. Another plan, called the "dog-trot," created two rooms that were separate, each with a chimney on opposite ends. The space between was then covered, producing a long breezeway. This area was an ideal living space in warm weather, providing protection from the sun yet permitting the opportunity to capture what breezes there were. In winter it was a practical place to store curing pelts or unused traps (Volo and Volo 2002, 143).

The Dutch were some of the most skilled bricklayers in Europe. Naturally, they preferred to continue to use brick in the construction of their homes in America. The brick was laid in a variety of patterns, some of which were quite striking. Sarah Knight's description of a Dutch home in New York is typical of those of the period: "The Bricks in some of the Houses are of diverse Colors and are laid in Checkers, being glazed [they] look very agreeable." A brick kiln was built just below Albany as early as 1630. Albany had many step-gabled brick houses so characteristic of New Amsterdam, but the straight-lined gables prevailed in the more rural counties of New York. When brick was unavailable, the Dutch used whatever materials were at hand. Many houses along the lower Hudson River and in New Jersey were built of stone. Stones were gathered from fields or broken from ledges and bound together with mortar made from straw or hair and, when available, lime. Walls were very thick and ranged from one and a half to three feet thick. In the seventeenth century houses in the Hudson River Valley, with the exception of Albany, were one and a half stories high. Two-story houses were an eighteenth-century innovation (Volo and Volo 2002, 143–44).

Homes in Eighteenth-Century America

Whether small or large, simple or pretentious, eighteenth-century American houses varied tremendously in style from rural to urban and region to region according to the wealth and ethnic backgrounds of their builders, the available materials used, and the aesthetic fashion of the day. While seventeenth-century houses continued to dot the landscape, particularly in New England, their stylistic elements, such as overhanging second stories, tall gables, and leaded casement windows gave way to newer visual effects, often through remodeling. Builders who immigrated to the New World carried in their heads a picture of the latest styles of the Continent, and in their hands the skills by which they could reproduce those fashions.

Our romantic assumption that every colonial was his own builder is challenged by the knowledge that just about every settled area included professional house builders—carpenters, brick workers, and stonemasons—whose training guaranteed that the roof would stay up and the walls withstand the blasts of wind and weather. Communities experiencing a population explosion, or those that had suffered a catastrophic fire (a common occurrence in early eighteenth-century towns where seventeenth-century buildings of wood and with wooden chimneys still stood), appealed for builders (Wolf 1993, 55).

The continuing immigration of English-trained house carpenters and "joyners" to all of the colonies and the desire of American elites to keep up with European fashion led to the widespread adoption of Georgian-style houses during the eighteenth century. The essence of this style is balance and decoration based on the classical models of ancient Greece and Rome. Central doors are flanked by an equal number of windows on each side, and by matching openings on the second story. Another almost universal difference in the visual style of the eighteenth-century house lay in the changeover to wood-framed sash windows from the diamond-paned, lead-set casements of the earlier period. In 1705, a merchant from Newport, Rhode Island, visited Boston and noted that "sash windows are all the Fashion." Ten years later he had installed them in his own house, and by the 1730s they seem to have become the standard method of fenestration among those who could afford glass at all (Wolf 1993, 55–56).

Much of the regional variation in appearance of houses was due to the use of different building materials, for reasons both practical and cultural. The vast majority of houses throughout the colonies were built of wood, which was cheap and available everywhere; yet it was really only in New England that wood continued to be the universal choice of homeowners wealthy enough to have options. When brick acquired a high status value in the region after the Revolution, New England cities faced the front of their houses, but left the rest in traditional wood. Almost from the moment of settlement, those in the southern colonies who could afford it built in brick, as did the residents of urban centers like Philadelphia and New York, where the very real fear of fire was uppermost in the corporate mind. In Charleston, South Carolina, and the suburbs of Philadelphia, the distinctive appearance of stucco laid over brick was a side result of the additional warmth and weatherproofing it provided, while in eastern Pennsylvania it was availability that created the fieldstone tradition. On the other hand, tiles for roofing, although very expensive and heavy to transport, represented a cultural choice in places like New York, parts of Pennsylvania, and New Orleans where there were large numbers of settlers from European communities with a tile tradition. In other areas, slate roofs were the expensive alternatives for wealthy urbanites, while wood shingles covered the homes of most Americans until the technological advances of the nineteenth century made tin roofing ubiquitous (Wolf 1993, 56–57).

Although visitors to America in the early years of the republic would still have been intensely aware of a variety of architectural styles across the new nation, the ideology of the Revolution that emphasized an American connection to the republics of the ancient world had already begun to create a Federal "look" even more dependent on classical ideals than its Georgian antecedent had been. By the end of the eighteenth century, architectural professionalism and the publication of architectural handbooks helped to spread these new, more "national" ideas that, in time, became the hallmark of Federal America. As new houses proliferated, older houses were either remodeled or torn down, and the image of the American house took on a less regional appearance (Wolf 1993, 57).

The organization of a house for everyday living rests, in the end, less on the style of its exterior than the character of its interior arrangements. The house types of both the rural northern and southern colonies developed out of the options available from English patterns at the time the settlers emigrated, but local builders responded to different conditions of life in the two environments by creating plans that clearly distinguished the everyday lives of their inhabitants. When the realities of family and economic life in the regions diverged during the eighteenth century, the changes were mirrored in the common housing of their people (Wolf 1993, 58).

The Homes of New England

As eighteenth-century New England farmhouses were enlarged from the single-room dwelling of first settlements, they were built to provide for a household that, though large, contained no real outsiders. While the original "hall," with its great fireplace, remained the general gathering spot for sitting, eating, and, occasionally, sleeping, it shared a central chimney with a "parlor" or "chamber" where the farmer and his wife, and perhaps the newest baby, slept. This new room doubled as more formal space, where outsiders were entertained: If visitors stayed for a meal, it was taken here, in which case mere eating was elevated to the status of dining. A small entryway or lobby provided access to the parlor, the hall, and the staircase for the room or rooms above where most of the family slept and that served as a storage space for household goods and even occasional crops. What was unique about the New England farmhouse was the development of a full-blown "kyttchin" out of traditional unheated storage space present in English hall/parlor houses. While originally a shed off the back of the back of the hall, by the eighteenth century the "lean-to" extended across the whole back of the house and was actually incorporated into its basic framework. One end was frequently partitioned off for the storage of provisions and utensils, and the other end turned into a small bedchamber for the ill, the elderly, or women confined to childbed who might require attention. The central portion, however, acquired its own hearth and became the single location for food cooking and processing, moving such activities entirely out of the hall. An underground cellar for cool storage, meat salting, and dairying completed the innovations to the English model. By the second half of the century, the New England farmhouse had become the northern norm for "decent" country living. Anything less was substandard, as John Adams noted in 1767 when he visited a poor family in Braintree. The husband, wife, and five children occupied "one Chamber, which serves them for kitchen, cellar, dining room, Parlour, and Bed Chamber . . . There are the conveniences and ornaments of a life of poverty. These the comforts of the poor. This is Want. This is Poverty." By the 1790s, as New Englanders "hived out" west across the northern territories, they carried their traditional house plans with them, creating a familiar type that has become the modern system of nostalgic old-time domesticity (Wolf 1993, 58–60).

The Homes of the Southern Colonies

Southern families and farm life were established on a different basis from the very beginning, and their eighteenth-century houses developed traditional forms that were adapted to these particular patterns. Most southern farmers were a far cry from the great plantation owners, and their homes were nothing like our modern national image, based as it is on something like Tara in *Gone With the Wind.* They were described by contemporaries as "meane and Little," referring both to impermanent building techniques and to the fact that perhaps as many as half of all southern whites and nearly all blacks continued to occupy one-room houses right through the 1700s. The little houses of common southern planters were even smaller than those of far poorer New England contemporaries, since they lacked the second story usual in New England "hall" houses. In 1733, William Byrd commented on the "rudeness and remoteness" of the immediate backcountry. He felt "quite out of Christendom" and that local farmers admired the house "of a few rooms" that Byrd had had built for the manager of his estates there "as much as if it had been the Grand Visier's tent in the Turkish army." Nor was Byrd, admittedly something of a snob, prepared to accept the hospitality of his neighbors. He preferred sleeping out of doors to sharing a room where the family "all pigged loveyngly together" (Wolf 1993, 60).

Since southern servants were not part of this "loving" domestic scene, the final form of the multiroom southern farm was a physical manifestation of this cultural reality. Some houses retained a cross passage common to one type of older English plan, where the hall lay on one side and a room for storage and farm processing, known as a "downside" kitchen, lay on the other. More and more, however, the passage in the southern house served to separate the family that used the hall for a sitting room from the servants who worked in the processing room and slept above it in a separate loft. Eventually the segregation was quite complete. The Chesapeake farmer eliminated the passage entirely, and provided detached buildings for the "drudgeries" of cooking, washing, smoking, dairying, soap boiling, and all the other heavy domestic chores of preindustrial farm life. He also provided separate "quarters" for the laborers who, under the supervision of his wife, performed these tasks. As newly settled southern, backcountry regions adopted the economic patterns of the Chesapeake, they accepted its domestic arrangements as well (Wolf 1993, 60–61).

Homes of the Middle Colonies

In the Middle colonies—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—the diversity of population, family structure, and farming practice prevented the development of any single, clearly defined "machine" for daily living. Even where immigrants retained something of their Old World common culture, such as the very small number of the thousands of German immigrants to Pennsylvania who consciously chose to isolate themselves, they did re-create the *hofs* (barn/house complexes built around a courtyard) typical of their places of origin. The true distinctiveness of their homes was often a matter of decoration and style, rather than a radically different organization of space.

It was in the many small towns of eastern Pennsylvania, as well as among middle- and upper-class families of more urban areas and rural gentry throughout the colonies, where the Georgian home came to be the standard by the 1760s. This European import was more than the ideal exterior balance and classical decoration; it embodied an organization of interior space as well. A broad hall ran all the way through the center of the house with two rooms opening out on each side. A staircase led directly to an upstairs hall, also flanked by four rooms. Work spaces and servants' quarters could be attached to the back in urban areas, or located in separate dependencies on country estates. They could even be stuffed into the main body of the house—the kitchen in the cellar, servants in the third floor garrets, for example—without disturbing the basic symmetry of the arrangement. So perfectly was the Georgian plan adapted to the middle-class family who formed the fastest growing segment of the American population by the end of the eighteenth century that, in one form or another, it has continued to symbolize the American home right through the twentieth century (Wolf 1993, 61).

THE HOME BECOMES A SYMBOL OF SPECIALIZATION

Georgian houses, with their formal arrangement of front rooms around a central hall and back spaces appended or detached that were, in a sense, not a part of the plan at all, clearly separated "working" from "living" and "living" into neat compartments. As the century wore on, plans began to specify a function for each of these spaces: parlor or sitting room, dining room, office or study, bedchamber or back parlor. The priorities involved in determining what household activities required segregation differed radically from our own. There is little question that if we could only have one private room in our house it would be a bathroom or at least a water closet. Yet, while many colonial Americans used indoor facilities rather than resorting to the outdoor necessary—as indicated by the increased frequency of "wash basins, pitchers, chamber pots, and close stools" on lists of household furnishings—they were content to locate these intimate conveniences in bedchambers that they frequently shared with others (Wolf 1993, 62–63).

The most important room in the Georgian house, in terms of reflecting the changing concepts of everyday life among middle- and upper-class Americans of the eighteenth century, was the central hall. It not only maintained the segregation of function within the household by allowing access to each room without having to go through another, it performed the increasingly important task of preserving family privacy from the outside world. Privacy itself was not a concept that had had much currency in the seventeenth-century world of communal living, nor was it a luxury afforded to the majority in the eighteenth century. It was, however, implicit in the growing separation of household members as we have discussed it. The desire for solitary space is best expressed by Abigail Adams in a letter she wrote to John in 1776, while staying at her aunt's house:

> I have possession of my Aunts chamber in which there is a very convenient pretty closet with a window . . . a number of Book Shelves [and] pretty little desk or cabinet . . . where I write all my Letters and keep my papers unmolested by anyone. I do not covet my Neighbors Goods, but . . .
>
> I always had a fancy for a closet with a window which I could more peculiarly call my own. (Wolf 1993, 63)

Just as important as personal solitude, however, was a growing emphasis throughout the century on the withdrawal of the family as a whole from the rest of the world. The old one-room house allowed outsiders access to every activity of the household. Ordinary houses set off work space from living space but allowed for few subtle distinctions among visitors. The Georgian hall, however, separated callers from all household activities until they could be directed to the appropriate room, depending on the nature of their business and their degree of relationship to the family. Female intimates might be allowed upstairs to the wife's bedchamber, social inferiors who had business affairs to settle with the master might be taken to the office, servants or menials could be directed around the back, and those of equal social standing who were privy to household entertainments might attain the parlor or the dining room (or politely be turned away, when the family did not care to receive them). While few reacted as strongly as Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, who fainted when a local farmer appeared unannounced in her parlor, the hall helped prevent this kind of unexpected confrontation (Wolf 1993, 63–64).

HOUSEHOLD ITEMS

Just as rooms in houses became more specialized with regard to how they were used and who used them, so, too, did the furniture with which they were filled. It was not enough to own a table; now there were dining tables, breakfast tables, game tables, tea tables, and sewing tables, as well as candlestands and washstands. There were water pitchers, wine decanters, teapots, coffeepots, chocolate pots. There were forks and knives as well as spoons—enough for each person at the table to have his or her own set of utensils. Separate sleeping rooms also implied individual beds and personal bedding, at least enough to segregate adults from children, masters from servants (Wolf 1993, 63–64).

Many of the rapidly proliferating items were directly related to increased physical comfort. Comfort as a concept, like privacy, existed only for the wealthy at the opening of the eighteenth century. By the end of the period, however, it was not only available to a broad segment of Americans, but it also became one of the determinants in dividing the "civilized" from the "savage." The first entry of a family into the world of goods was usually marked by an increase in bedding and bedsteads, providing improved warmth and comfort at the basic level of rest. Next came chairs, and it is in their changes that we can mark the increasing emphasis on comfort as a goal of American domesticity. The hard, wooden nature of the originals was mitigated by extra cushions and padding; later on upholstered easy chairs became available to those who could afford them (Wolf 1993, 65–66).

Most of the increased ability to live an everyday life of tolerable comfort came about through the improvement and price reduction in personal consumer goods that had been around in the houses of the rich for centuries. The technological revolution that made possible our insistence on heat, light, and water as minimum necessities and turned the basic shelter of a house into the cozy domesticity of a home lay well ahead in the nineteenth century. Lighting never progressed beyond animal-derived oil or candles, and the very small number of oil dishes or candlesticks in household inventories suggests that most people went to bed when it got dark. Despite our myth of the colonial past, candles were rarely manufactured at home and they remained far too costly for the average American, particularly as they represented a continuing expense rather than a one-time purchase. In 1761, the president of Harvard College figured that a scholar who needed artificial illumination just five hours a day for study would need to spend the equivalent of eight dollars a month for "common" tallow candles, more than the initial outlay for a durable good like a chair or coverlet. Plumbing, of course, was almost unknown, and lugging water for household use from a well, spring, creek, or urban pump might involve some six thousand miles of walking (with heavy buckets) over the course of a lifetime (Wolf 1993, 66–67).

HOME COMFORT

There is no doubt that the difficulty in obtaining sufficient water contributed to a rather low level of cleanliness, by our standards; the good eighteenth-century homemaker was cautioned to be "frugal" and "prudent," but not necessarily clean. Upper-class houses probably maintained a higher level of cleanliness because there were servants to carry the water and do the wash, and travelers from these homes continually complained about the great variety of vermin that lurked in the rarely washed bedclothes of other people's houses. Few technologies, even very simple ones, were developed to deal with the situation. Broom corn was not widely available until the 1790s, so houses were inadequately swept; bedevilment by ants and roaches was the unpleasant, even unhealthy result. To complete the invasion of the insect world, there were no window screens to protect against a plague of mosquitoes and flies. The most ingenious device in the battle against these pests was to hang a wasp's nest from the ceiling, on the theory that, if left undisturbed, the wasps would attack the winged intruders rather than its residents. Wealthy southern households occasionally made use of a gauze curtain arrangement called a "pavilion" that surrounded the bedstead and was useful in the war against mosquitoes if not against bedbugs and other vermin, but this was far too expensive for most colonial budgets (Wolf 1993, 67).

There were times when cultural preferences triumphed over technological advances in consumer comfort. The standard means of heat in British homes was the open-hearth fireplace, and Anglo-American colonists built them as both a physical and symbolic manifestation of home and family. Yet in the far colder winters of the new continent, it was peculiarly ill adapted to serve its role. The English fireplace wasted fuel and was noticeably inefficient, lacking the refinement of even a rudimentary flue or damper. Most of the warmth went up the chimney and left all but the immediate vicinity cold and uninhabitable. A better technology was readily available. Settlers from Holland, Scandinavia, and Germany, where winters were cold and fuel scarce, had come to the New World from a background that made use of stoves rather than open hearths. Made of cast iron or sheet metal and decorated with tile or brick, these stoves offered efficient and frugal heating. They were noticed approvingly by English travelers in the Middle colonies throughout the eighteenth century, but they were rarely imitated. Benjamin Franklin decided that consumer resistance to the stove stemmed from the fact that there was "no sight of the fire which in itself was a pleasant thing," and designed his "Pennsylvania Fireplaces" with doors that could be left open to provide a view of the dancing flames. Still, while a modest number of "Franklin Stoves" came into use in the vicinity of Philadelphia in the 1760s, it was decades before fireplaces were generally replaced by stoves for utilitarian purposes (Wolf 1993, 67–68).

CONSUMER GOODS AS A SYMBOL OF PRESTIGE

True luxury by midcentury was no longer measured in the mere possession of consumer items, since they were available, at some level, to nearly everyone. Porcelain and its imitations were cheap enough to be purchased by those of very modest means. The inhabitants of Parting Ways, the small community of nearly destitute, free black families outside of Plymouth, Massachusetts, possessed a considerable number of mismatched, out of date, fancy ceramics, no doubt as gifts or "scavenged" from wealthy white neighbors or employers (Wolf 1993, 68).

On St. Simons Island in Georgia, the lifestyle at Cannon's Point Plantation exemplified the way in which consumer goods divided people by class even more importantly than by race. Generations of planters and their white overseers lived in more spacious housing than did the black slaves in the quarters, but while both overseers and slaves used knives, forks, chairs, and other objects unthinkable early in the century, they were of local production or the mismatched assortments that signified secondhand goods. The planters' furniture, tableware, paintings, and fabrics, on the other hand, were purchased abroad in the "European taste" and in matching sets (Wolf 1993, 68–69).

The consumer revolution was not entirely bloodless. As early as 1732 Benjamin Franklin cautioned against the acquisition of luxury household goods as a way of "buying into" the rank of gentlemen and as a threat to the virtues of simplicity, hard work, and frugality. Similar warnings concerning the loss of American simplicity sounded again and again throughout the century. One traveler at midcentury bemoaned his discovery that a common backwoodsman had "pretensions to fashion" in the ownership of a looking glass, when his reflection in a pail of water would have served as well. In the 1790s there was a particularly large outpouring of articles in the American press purporting to come from "honest farmers" condemning the life of luxurious living that seemed to be sweeping the new nation. Most were actually written by wealthy gentlemen whose own homes were elaborately built and richly furnished, but whose political philosophies saw the self-sufficient farmer in the wilderness as a symbol of the superiority of American simplicity over European decadence (Wolf 1993, 69).

Nostalgic longing for the plain life had virtually no effect on the growing American attachment to comfortable homes and consumer goods. By 1800, farmers or woodsmen—however remote, however impermanent their huts—would have considered it savage to eat from a common pot or squat on the floor. Though early eighteenth-century immigrants had crossed the ocean with a couple of chests containing clothing, and few tools of their trades, perhaps a knife or gun, it required the services of full Conestoga wagons to move their descendants, along with cook pots, bedding, teapots, and other necessities, across the prairies to the new frontier of the nineteenth century (Wolf 1993, 69–70).

FOOD AS A MARK OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

By the time of the American Revolution, America's diverse culinary landscape had coalesced into a rough but vaguely definable "American" mode of eating. Intensely regional cuisines, whose differences were further intensified by racial and ethnic differences—not to mention radically different environmental conditions—had gently converged by the nineteenth century. They did so under the increasing coastal trade and a homogenizing consumer revolution that had started to standardize material life, especially in the kitchen. These factors eventually helped early Americans pioneer a diet based on what they saw as frontier virtues of simplicity, self-sufficiency, pragmatism, and a measured lack of pretension. By the early nineteenth century American cookbooks, while not necessarily pouring off the presses, were nonetheless becoming useful items in American kitchens and, more importantly, offering middle-class women accessible recipes written, as popular example put it, "in the American mode" (McWilliams 2006, 5).

Understanding the power of food as a cultural arbiter in the new republic requires insight into its colonial history. In the light of the larger culinary trends that developed in British America, the post-Revolutionary unifying influence of food comes as something of a surprise. A survey of the diverse diets that evolved throughout the eighteenth century, after all, reveals regional habits embroidered into extremely different environmental, cultural, and agricultural backgrounds. These backgrounds, by virtue of their diversity, seemed to have little chance of finding common ground (McWilliams 2006, 5–6).

REGIONAL DIVERGENCE IN FOOD IN COLONIAL AMERICA

On one end of the North American spectrum, New England strove to replicate the culinary habits of idealized English traditions. The region's adaptation of mixed agriculture, the presence of geographical conditions that impeded the production of staple crops, and a population comprised of middle-class settlers all enhanced the widespread effort to embrace inherited customs and eat like proper English families. Typical households settled on modestly sized plantations, grew vegetable gardens and orchards, kept livestock for beef and dairy, seeded their fields with English clover grass, and cultivated as much English wheat, rye, and oats as precious labor and ample land would allow. Mixed farming demanded little foreign labor—certainly few slaves—and required minimal interaction with indigenous peoples. With their comparatively open access to the metropolis and relatively high literacy rates, New Englanders were also more likely than other colonists to import and rely on directives found in English cookbooks and farming manuals. Their successful approximation of English ways—in matters culinary as well as others—stands as one of the region's greatest accomplishments. It was an accomplishment, moreover, which made their diet as familiar as it could have been in a strange new world.

On the other end of the culinary spectrum, the lower southern colonies pioneered habits that reflected a nearly complete abandonment of traditional English eating customs. An overwhelming emphasis on extensive rice cultivation, a white population with little interest in replicating English culinary habits, a heavy reliance on slave labor, and routine interaction with Native American cultures led to a way of eating that many Europeans characterized as something just shy of barbaric. But not so the Carolinas, where colonists were more likely to tolerate and even embrace meals deriving from the indigenous population with whom southern colonists routinely dealt. "We were entertained," the English surveyor of Carolina John Lawson wrote, "with a fat boiled goose, raccoon, and ground nuts." On another occasion, Lawson consumed a stew made by "Congree Indians" that consisted of "three teal and a possum," politely pronouncing the dish "a curious ragoo." Despite the "curious" nature of the local cuisine, Lawson and other plantation-owning Carolinians willingly adopted many of its "wild" characteristics, noting that settlers were "never wanting of a good appetite" so long as they relied on "the adjacent woods" and rivers "well stored with fish." It's hard to imagine a proper New Englander entertaining these victuals with such flexible open-mindedness.

The region's strong adherence to slavery further affected southern eating habits and distinguished them from those of Europe and the northern colonies. With black slaves comprising a majority of the population in low country areas (in some places reaching 90%), and with masters letting slaves grow their own crops on garden plots (it was cheaper than importing food), African-based culinary traditions inevitably rose from the bottom up. Writing about "Guinea Corn," for example, the naturalist Mark Catesby noted how it was "propagated, and that chiefly by the negroes, who make a bread of it, and boil it in a matter of firmity." Once again, in terms of food, Carolina could not have been more different from New England.

Other regions of British America fell between these extremes. They did so by developing their own distinguishing features. The Middle colonies leaned in the New England direction. Pennsylvania in particular developed a cuisine commensurate with an economy based on extensive wheat and dairy farming, an ethnically diverse population, a multifaceted labor force that included slaves and servants, and an intricately connected urban-rural network of exchange. These factors combined with the region's Quaker-inspired foundation to support a mode of eating that stressed frugality and flexibility and inspired a diet that was measured but diverse, relying on beef, cheese, and bread but readily open to pork, scrapple, or corn mush. The Chesapeake Bay region—Virginia especially—hewed closer to the Carolina model. Settlers there fashioned a cuisine that reflected the region's overwhelming emphasis on tobacco, servants, and slaves. Extensive quantities of salted pork, cornmeal, wild game, and occasional supplies of vegetables and fruit allowed English colonists to approximate some aspects of traditional English cuisine while remaining comparatively dependent on the "Wild Woods" for food, thus reflecting the habits of their cohorts farther south (McWilliams 2006, 6).

A distinct medley of cuisines, and one that's still recognizable to this day, thus comprised the foodways of British America. While these original modes of diet persisted, a more cohesive American way of eating emerged in the years just preceding the American Revolution. The reason for this conversion centered on two main factors: the rise in intercoastal trade and the increasing availability of British goods. Intercoastal commercial activity developed in large part on the back of the rum and molasses trade that burgeoned between the mainland and Barbados after 1720. As merchants ferried these highly demanded goods up and down the East Coast, they began to trade foodstuffs as well. By the 1750s, it was more possible than ever before for British Americans to enjoy food from other regions. Okra, for example, made its way to Rhode Island. Virginia ham found a market in South Carolina. New England cod went to the Middle colonies. Pennsylvania sent pork and butter throughout the colonies. These few examples only scratch the surface of an expanding commercial trend. By the 1770s, regional ingredients had become, as a result of the increasingly systematic nature of intercolonial trade, much less limited to their respective regions. An intercolonial food exchange, in short, was underway (McWilliams 2006, 6–7).

Complementing the rising availability of what had once been strictly local ingredients was the growing uniformity of the colonial cooking experience. Utensils, recipes, and kitchen space throughout British North America began to look increasingly alike. The reasons had to do with supply, demand, and cultural imperatives.

"It is really possible," wrote a German visitor to the colonies in the 1750s, "to obtain all the things one can get in Europe in Pennsylvania." This observer was writing in reference to a commercial trend that historians have gone so far as to call a consumer revolution, and, although he was speaking of Philadelphia, he could just as easily have been referring to New York, Charleston, Newport, or Baltimore. With rising colonial incomes and declining prices of British durable goods, Americans after 1730 radically improved their standard of living to include, among their luxuries, expanded kitchens stocked with new stoves, English cooking tables, tables and chairs, and English cookbooks. This material transformation allowed English colonists to act upon a cultural influence that had nagged them throughout the colonial era. That is, they could finally approximate metropolitan life with some accuracy—something they had always wanted to do. As Benjamin Franklin put it in the late 1760s, colonists, "had not only a respect, but an affection, for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs, and its manners." He could also have accurately added "its food." Ironically, on the eve of what became the American Revolution, colonists were actually enjoying more access to more ingredients, as well as the English accoutrements that enabled them to Anglicize and refine—however modestly—the former relatively rugged cuisine (McWilliams 2006, 7).

FOOD IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

The American Revolution posed an unexpected problem. For all the colonists' success in replicating English eating habits during the consumer revolution, the Revolution ended the transition from provincial backwardness to metropolitan sophistication. Just when British North America was beginning to feel integrated into the cultural patterns of the empire, politics intervened and the empire imposed infringements that turned Americans into reluctant but committed revolutionaries. The victorious outcome of the American Revolution inspired political changes that rapidly redefined America—despite its 750,000 slaves—as the pinnacle of liberty. Historians have studied this transition thoroughly. Lost in their heavy emphasis on political transformation, however, is a profound cultural problem that had tremendous implications for the young American identity. The United States had a general idea, however, what its new cultural values should look like, but it had no idea what its new cultural values would be. In suggestive ways, colonists turned to food to seek answers.

Americans used food to strike a balance between refinement and ruggedness. Prompting his play *The Father* (1789), William Dunlap advertised the production as "a frugal plain repast" in contrast to the "high seasoned food" dished out by European dramatists. This description was more than an empty advertising slogan. Indeed, in America, thoughts about proper food clearly came to stress frugality, roughness, flexibility, and a radical openness to experimentation. American food, like the American people, was mythologized to be pragmatic, self-sufficient, adaptable, and without artifice, "homespun like the clothes that marked a true patriot." Whether any of this was the case is beside the point. But the fact that Americans began consciously to promote their food as a contrast to the excessive refinement of European cuisine highlights a critical aspect of national identity formation. Whereas many colonists, especially those in the northern colonies, had spent much of the colonial era trying to downplay British America's rugged (and thus provincial) character, Revolutionary-era Americans began to embrace it, although in a much more controlled fashion than they once had. Few white Americans were willing to champion the extreme culinary examples provided by the rural southern colonies, now states. Nevertheless, the fact remained that early Americans, consciously or not, promoted a mode of eating that owed much to the tolerance and flexibility enabling whites from Georgia to the Middle colonies to accept Native American and African influences on their diet and, in turn, transform English-inherited practices into American culinary creations. At the same time, they eschewed the refinement that New Englanders had long sought without (again, the goal was to strike a balance) fully rejecting it.

Instances of early Americans achieving this balance appeared in unlikely places and at unlikely times. Yet they occurred frequently enough to form a pattern. Patrick Henry, the great Revolutionary agitator, condemned Thomas Jefferson's predilection for fine French food, warning him never to "abjure his native victuals." European visitors to the early republic remarked repeatedly on the dining habits and attitudes of Americans in ways that suggested the Americans' proud adherence to a pragmatic mode of eating. The Duke of Liancourt wrote with astonishment about how easily Americans accepted Indian corn into their diet. It was, he explained, "the national crop . . . eaten three times a day." In rural areas, he went on, "fresh meat could not be regularly got, except in the shape of poultry or game; but the hog cost nothing to keep, and very little to kill and preserve. Thus the ordinary American was brought up on salt pork and Indian corn, or rye." Thomas Ashe in his *Travels in America in 1806* (1808) observed that Americans had no problem with salted meat, telling how one timber worker he met opined, "your fresh meat, that's too fancy." Even Charles Dickens, on a trip to the United States in the 1830s, commented on America's culinary pragmatism, writing about how he consumed a fine spread of "tea, coffee, bread, butter, salmon, shad, liver, steak, potatoes, pickles, ham, chops, black-puddings, and sausages," but that "dinner was breakfast again without the tea and coffee, and supper and breakfast were identical" (McWilliams 2006, 7).

These examples, with their deeply suggestive culinary opinions, show Americans walking a fine line between European refinement and provincial ruggedness and, in essence, defining their broader culture. Without consciously doing so, Americans were drawing on deeply ingrained elements of their diverse culinary heritage to forge a national identity that served them well as they moved west, confronted new "wild territories," and worked to "subdue the wilderness." The ruggedness of the colonial frontier, a characteristic of North America that British Americans once associated with the indigenous population, became an aspect that Americans could now, with the British model dissipating, embrace with measured enthusiasm. Likewise, the refinement of the idealized English (and European) diet was now a quality that Americans could overtly condemn (rather than, as they once had, praise) without completely dismissing its welcome trappings. Through the virtues that American food embraced—frugality, simplicity, pragmatism, unpretentiousness—the United States could grow into a sophisticated nation while avoiding the enervating habit of complacency into which the British had fallen. It could announce, as Thomas Jefferson did, "how unripe we yet are" all the while knowing ripeness, like an overly refined cuisine, was something to avoid. Most importantly, they could strike this balance by growing, cooking, and eating their own "American" food (McWilliams 2006, 7–8).

Intellectual Life

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

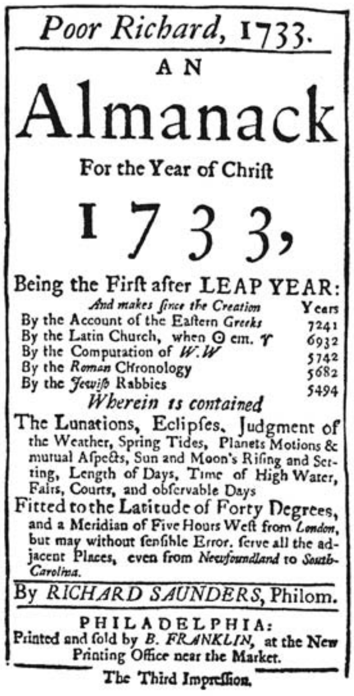
Through their commercial contacts, newspapers, and other activities, colonial cities became the centers for the dissemination of fashion and ideas. In the world of ideas a new fashion was abroad: the Enlightenment. During the seventeenth century, Europe experienced a scientific revolution in which the ancient view of an earth-centered universe was overthrown by the new heliocentric (sun-centered) system of Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus. A climax to the scientific revolution came with Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* (*Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, 1687), which set forth his theory of gravitation. Newton depicted a mechanistic universe moving in accordance with natural laws that could be grasped by human reason and by mathematics. He implied that natural laws governed all things—the orbits of the planets and also the orbits of human relations: politics, economics, and society. Reason could make people aware, for instance, that the natural law of supply and demand governed economics or that the natural rights to life, liberty, and property determined the liberty and functions of government (Tindall and Shi 2004, 141–42).

Much of enlightened thought could be reconciled with established beliefs—the idea of natural law existed in Christian theology, and religious people could reason that the rational universe of Copernicus and Newton simply demonstrated the glory of God. Yet when people carried Newton's outlook to its ultimate logic, as the Deists did, the idea of natural law reduced God to the position of a remote Creator—as the French *philosophe* Voltaire put it, the master clockmaker who planned the universe and set it in motion. In this view, evil in the world resulted not from original sin and innate depravity so much as it did from ignorance, an imperfect understanding of the laws of nature. Humanity, the English philosopher John Locke argued in his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690), is largely the product of the environment, the mind being a blank tablet on which experience is written. The way to improve nature and human nature was by the application and improvement of Reason—which was the highest Virtue (Enlightenment thinkers often capitalized both words) (Tindall and Shi 2004, 142).

The Enlightenment in America

However interpreted, such ideas profoundly affected the climate of thought in the eighteenth century. The premises of Newtonian science and the Enlightenment, moreover, fit the American experience. In the New World people no longer moved in the worn grooves of the traditions that defined the roles of priest, or peasant, or noble. The experience of colonial settlement placed a premium on observation, experiment, and the need to think anew. America was therefore receptive to the new science (Tindall and Shi 2004, 142).

John Winthrop Jr., three times governor of Connecticut, wanted to establish industries and mining in America. These interests led to his work in chemistry and membership in the Royal Society in London. He owned probably the first telescope brought to the colonies. His cousin, John Winthrop IV, was a professional scientist and Harvard professor who introduced to the colonies the study of calculus and ranged over the fields of astronomy, geology, chemistry, and electricity. David Rittenhouse of Philadelphia, a clockmaker, became a self-taught scientist who built probably the first telescope in America. John Bartram of Philadelphia spent a lifetime traveling and studying American plant life, and gathered in Philadelphia an extensive botanical garden (Tindall and Shi 2004, 142–43).


Poor Richard, 1733.
AN
Almanack
For the Year of Chrift
1733,
Being the Firft after LEAP YEAR:
And makes fince the Creation Years
By the Account of the Eaftern *Greeks* 7241
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent. ♈ 6932
By the Computation of *W.W* 5742
By the *Roman* Chronology 5682
By the *Jewifh* Rabbies 5494
Wherein is contained
The Lunations, Eclipfes, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Afpects, Sun and Moon's Rifing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and obfervable Days
Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weft from *London*, but may without fenfible Error, ferve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.
By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.
PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and fold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing Office near the Market.
The Third Impreffion.

Title page of Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1733). Woodcut. © North Wind / North Wind Picture Archives—All rights reserved.

Benjamin Franklin epitomized the Enlightenment, in the eyes of both Americans and Europeans. Born in Boston in 1706, he was the son of a candle and soap maker. Apprenticed to his older brother, a printer, Franklin left home at the age of 17, bound for Philadelphia. There, before he was 24, he owned a print shop, where he edited and published the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. When he was 27 he brought out *Poor Richard's Almanacs*, filled with homey maxims on success and happiness. Before he retired from business at the age of 42, Franklin, among other achievements, had founded a library, set up a fire company, helped start the academy that became the University of Pennsylvania, and organized a debating club that became the American Philosophical Society.

Science was Franklin's passion. His *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* (1752) went through many editions in several languages and established his reputation as a leading thinker and experimenter. His speculations expanded widely into the fields of medicine, meteorology, geology, astronomy, physics, and other aspects of science. He invented the Franklin stove, the lightning rod, and a glass harmonica for which Mozart and Beethoven composed. The triumph of this untutored genius confirmed the Enlightenment trust in the powers of nature and reason (Tindall and Shi 2004, 143).

EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AMERICA

For the colonists at large, education in the traditional manners of society—even literacy itself—remained primarily the responsibility of family and church. The modern conception of free public education was slow in coming and failed to win universal acceptance until the twentieth century. Yet colonists were concerned from the beginning that steps needed to be taken lest the children of settlers grow up untutored in the wilderness (Tindall and Shi 2004, 143–44).

Conditions in New England proved most favorable for the establishment of schools. The Puritan emphasis on scripture reading, which all Protestants shared in some degree, implied an obligation to ensure literacy. The compact towns of that region made schools more feasible than among the scattered people of the southern colonies. In 1647 the Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted the famous "ye olde deluder Satan" Act (designed to thwart the Evil One), which required every town of 50 or more families to set up a grammar school (a Latin school that could prepare a student for college). Although the act was widely evaded, it did signify a serious purpose to promote education (Tindall and Shi 2004, 144).

The Dutch in New Netherland were as interested in education as the New England Puritans. In Pennsylvania the Quakers never heeded William Penn's instructions to establish public schools, but they did finance a number of private schools teaching practical as well as academic subjects. In the southern colonies efforts to establish schools were hampered by the more scattered populations, and in parts of the backcountry by indifference and neglect. Some of the wealthiest planters and merchants of the Tidewater sent their children to England or hired tutors. In some places wealthy patrons or the people collectively managed to raise some kind of support for "old field" schools or academies at the secondary level (Tindall and Shi 2004, 144–45).

The Establishment of Schools in America

Throughout the eighteenth century, academic education gained increasing currency as the key to opportunity for advancement in income and status. One father put it well, writing his son, who was failing to take advantage of his schooling, that "many Children capable of learning, are condemn'd to the necessity of Labouring hard, for want of ability in their Parent to give them an education." The response to this widely shared belief in schooling as a talisman for getting ahead was an explosion of plans, projects, and experiments in education, culminating in the nineteenth century in a unique "American system of public schools" that were free, compulsory, and universal. In the end, it changed the everyday life of all American children, demanding of them only one sort of work—book learning—and enclosing them tightly in the world of childhood, rigidly separated from the world of adults. While the eighteenth century groped only vaguely in this direction, a broad spectrum of educational experiences touched a far greater number and variety of children than ever before in Western history (Wolf 1993, 126–27).

Most were only lightly touched. In rural areas, children were dependent on parents and the availability of a teacher willing and able to carry education beyond the ABC level learned at home. Moreover, while parents might recognize the importance of literacy to future opportunities, real work came first, and farm boys were free to attend school only a few weeks or, at best, a few months a year during the intervals of planting and harvesting. In towns and cities, schooling was also occasional, although there was a ready supply of teachers and the seasonal nature of work was less pronounced. There is evidence that some town schools offered night classes for the convenience of apprentices who had to work during the day, and occasionally for craftsmen's daughters and servant girls as well. One innovative feature of these common schools, as they came to be called, was that they were often open to girls, either along with boys or in separate classes where the domestic skills of knitting and sewing were taught in addition to the elementary subjects learned by their brothers. There was a tuition charge for every child, either by the week, the "quarter," or sometimes by the subject, so that the breadth of the schooling received depended on the breadth of the parental pocketbook. As the century progressed and the value of schooling was more generally accepted, wealthy men offered scholarships so that "deserving poor" boys might attend local schools; even colonials of very modest means who died without heirs left a portion of their meager estates for the "education of the local poor." In some places there were special-interest philanthropies as well, including charity schools entirely devoted to groups of disadvantaged children such as blacks, Indians, Germans, or Lutherans (Wolf 1993, 127).

The Curriculum

The academic charge to these schools was that they teach pupils to "read perfectly, to write a legible hand, and figure to the rule of three," an arithmetic device for finding the unknown number when three known ones were given. Although we cannot know how well they succeeded in perfect reading, except to note that the method employed encouraged sounding out by letter and moving the lips—not recommended by today's speed-reading professionals—the diaries and account books left by adults whose education took place in common schools do not testify to outstanding teacher success (Wolf 1993, 127–28).

Another agenda lay behind purely academic goals: an expectation that, along with the three Rs, children would be inculcated with social values. Most important were "the first Principles of Virtue and Piety," taught through the use of textbooks whose reading and spelling lessons were heavily biblical and moral in content. In addition to these lessons in Christian morality, ladled out in huge doses throughout the century, children headed for such "mean" careers as shopkeepers, artisans, and traders received intensive practical training in social manners, since American educators believed, with some justification, that today's shopkeeper might be tomorrow's great merchant. The many books on conduct ignored the "overly genteel" or "foppish" manners of the upper-class drawing room, however, to focus on basic rules of behavior in the home, in school, in church, and on the streets. Consider this excerpt from Christopher Dock's book, *100 Necessary Rules for the Proper Behavior of Children*, published in 1764 and intended for an audience of children of German background: "When you wash your face and hands do not scatter water about in the room . . . do not wolf down your food . . . or overfill your mouth . . . do not run wildly nor [urinate] in the streets . . . use the handkerchief when spitting or blowing your nose." Americans, it seems, were extremely sensitive to the criticisms of genteel European travelers who found them noisy, rude, coarse, and unmannerly, and while defensively

Princeton College, Princeton, New Jersey, designed by W. M. Radcliff; lith. by Thos. Hunter, 716 Filbert St., Philadadelphia. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

denying that "foreign manners" were appropriate to the New World since "the refinement of manners in every country should keep pace exactly with the increase of its wealth [and the greatest evil in America is] an improvement of taste and manners which its wealth cannot support" (Wolf 1993, 128).

Beginning during the Revolution, the importance of educating the citizenry for its part in Republican government became a favorite theme of both politicians and educators. The *New England Primer*, published throughout the eighteenth century with a picture of King George as a frontispiece, removed his crown and relabeled him as "John Hancock," "Samuel Adams," or "George Washington" after 1776. In 1777, Pennsylvania required its schoolmasters and officers of academies and colleges to swear an oath of allegiance to the United States, and other states followed suit. By 1779, Thomas Jefferson had formulated an elaborate plan for a system of public schools in Virginia to prepare the "best and the brightest" for careers in public service. In the years following the war, schemes of general education proliferated, with rationales stressing the advantages to the nation of an educated public and placing patriotic indoctrination of children on a par with teaching them basic academics, morality, and manners. The most famous and influential of the educational writers was Noah Webster (1758–1843), author of *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828). Himself an example of the New American, Webster argued tirelessly that a good education should instill patriotism, and produced numerous textbooks that were designed to "implant science, virtue, and the principle of liberty to alter the European pattern and achieve American goals." He saw the two basic principles of the republic as providing the right to an education and a chance to earn upward mobility. Of course, his insistence on the necessity of using good American books instead of English imports did nothing to hurt sales of his own works (Wolf 1993, 128–29).

As the numbers and influence of upwardly mobile colonial families grew continuously throughout the eighteenth century, the market for schooling expanded as well. Educational entrepreneurs flourished, advertising their services in local newspapers and appealing to the snobbery of a prospective clientele by emphasizing their recent arrival from London, the cultural hub of the world to Americans. More importantly, a new type of educational institution was developed, flexible enough to send its graduates on to the university for polish, or directly into the more advanced levels of the social and business world. Known as academies, these schools made their appearance in the cities, large towns, and more heavily populated parts of the colonies after the middle of the century. They accepted both day students and boarders, so that their benefits were available to families who lived outside the urban areas, and they occupied roughly a position in the educational hierarchy that middle schools and high schools do today (Wolf 1993, 129–30).

Based on a model proposed by Benjamin Franklin to the Philadelphia Common Council in 1750, there were literally hundreds of these institutions chartered by the end of the century. Although the actual curriculum varied from academy to academy, most attempted to combine the courses of the Latin schools with those of private teachers. Franklin recognized that this was overambitious: "As to their STUDIES," he wrote, "it would be well if they could be taught *every Thing* that is useful, and *every Thing* that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their time is short. [They should learn] those Things that are most likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental*." He then went on to outline, in several closely packed pages, a list of subjects that had taken several lifetimes to master. The Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, proposed to offer, in 1778, what was probably a more realistic curriculum that became fairly standard for these types of schools: "the English, Latin, and Greek languages, Writing, Arithmetic, Music, and the Art of Speaking; also practical Geometry, Logic, and any other of the liberal Arts and Sciences, or Languages, as opportunity and ability may hereafter admit" (Wolf 1993, 130).

Educational Opportunities for Girls

The expectation of a certain degree of cultural polish for substantial urban and rural men of business had its repercussions for women, since the sloppy education of a child, whether male of female, reflected on the social standing of the family. A refined young girl had to learn the arts and skills of gentility as well as those of domesticity to preside creditably in the parlor or at the dining table of her ambitious husband. Upward mobility from generation to generation often meant that mothers lacked the necessary skills—Abigail Adams was a terrible speller—to prepare their daughters for the more sophisticated lives they would lead. Private schooling began to be available for girls by the 1730s to give them a good grounding in the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic, and English literature. This was usually regarded as "sufficient literacy," and they did not proceed to the classics, which were thought to be not only unnecessary for women, but also downright pernicious to their femininity. Instead, they received further career instruction for their role as wives. A recurring advertisement in the Philadelphia newspapers offered children of both sexes writing, arithmetic, and "the true grounds of English spelling" while the schoolmaster's wife provided the girls with additional instruction in penmanship, French, singing, and "playing on the spinet," and his sister, "lately arrived from London," specialized in dancing and "all sorts of needlework" (Wolf 1993, 130–31).

Private schools for girls, 60 years later, had proliferated all along the eastern seaboard from Boston to Charleston. Like the Quaker-run Westtown, or the Moravian Seminary in Bethlehem, they were based on the models for boys' academies, sometimes operating separately, sometimes as divisions of their brother institutions. Many of these schools were boarding schools that attracted girls from all over the United States and the West Indies, indicating how seriously parents regarded the proper education of their daughters for their occupations as wives and mothers. After all, sending a girl away from the shelter of home was not an action to be taken lightly.

Although the goals of literacy, morality, manners, and patriotism formed the basis of the education given to both sexes, the subjects for girls continued to stress particularly feminine accomplishments, and the ideals of the new republic were expressed in the mottos and decorations they stitched into their compulsory samplers rather than in poems, essays, and valedictory speeches. One small indication remains to us of possible dissatisfaction with the female status quo. In 1800, a young Maryland girl carefully embroidered on her sampler, "Patty Polk did this, and she hated every stitch she did in it. She loves to read much more." Patty's rebellion only extended so far: she *did* work the sampler regardless of her feelings and we can only speculate about the habits of the mother or teacher who encouraged her to put these sentiments in so permanent a form (Wolf 1993, 131).

Religious Life

RELIGION IN COLONIAL AMERICA AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

During the early eighteenth century, the new currents of rationalism stimulated by the Enlightenment aroused concerns among orthodox believers in Calvinism. Many people seemed to be drifting away from the old moorings of piety. Despite the belief that the Lord had allowed great Puritan and Quaker merchants of Boston and Philadelphia to prosper, there remained a haunting fear that the devil had lured them into the vain pursuit of worldly gain, deism, and skepticism. And out along the fringes of settlement, many of the colonists were unchurched. On the frontier people had no minister to preach or administer sacraments or perform marriages. According to some ministers, these pioneers had lapsed into a primitive and sinful life, little different from the "heathen" Indians. By the 1730s, the sense of religious decline provoked a revival of faith, which became known as the Great Awakening (Tindall and Shi 2004, 145).

In 1734–1735, a remarkable spiritual revival occurred in the congregation of Jonathan Edwards, a Congregationalist minister in Northampton, in western Massachusetts. One of America's most brilliant philosophers and theologians, Edwards entered Yale at age 13, and graduated as valedictorian four years later. In 1726, Edwards was called to the Congregational Church in Northampton. There he found the town's spirituality at a low ebb. More people frequented taverns than churches, and Christians, he believed, had become preoccupied with making and spending money. Religion had also become too intellectual, thereby losing its emotional force. "Our people," he said, "do not so much need to have their heads stored [with new knowledge] as to have their hearts touched." His own vivid descriptions of the torments of hell and the delights of heaven helped rekindle spiritual fervor among his congregants. By 1735, Edwards could report that "the town seemed to be full of the presence of God; it never was so full of love, nor joy." To judge the power of the Awakening, he thought, one need only observe that "it was no longer the Tavern" that drew local crowds, "but the Minister's House" (Tindall and Shi 2004, 145–46).

About the same time, William Tennent, an Irish-born Presbyterian revivalist, set up a "Log College" in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, for the education of ministers to serve the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians living around Philadelphia. The true catalyst of the Great Awakening, however, was a 27-year-old English minister, George Whitefield, whose reputation as a spellbinding evangelist preceded him to the colonies. Congregations were lifeless, he claimed, "because dead men preach to them." Too many ministers were "slothful shepherds and dumb dogs." His objective was to restore the fire of religious fervor to American congregations. In the autumn of 1739 Whitefield arrived in Philadelphia and began preaching to large crowds. After visiting Georgia, he made a triumphal procession northward to New England, drawing great crowds and releasing "Gales of Heavenly Wind" that blew gusts through the colonies.

Possessed of a golden voice, Whitefield enthralled audiences with his unparalleled eloquence. Even the skeptical Benjamin Franklin, who went to see Whitefield preach in Philadelphia, found himself so carried away that he emptied his pockets into the collection plate. Whitefield urged his listeners to experience a "new birth"—a sudden, emotional moment of conversion and salvation. By the end of his sermon, one listener reported, the entire congregation was "in utmost Confusion, some crying out, some laughing, and Bliss still roaring to them to come to Christ, as they answered, *I will, I will, I'm coming, I'm coming*" (Tindall and Shi 2004, 146).

Jonathan Edwards took advantage of the emotions stirred up by Whitefield to spread his own revival gospel throughout New England. In 1741, Edwards delivered his most famous sermon at Enfield, Massachusetts. Entitled "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," it represented a devout appeal to repentance. Edwards reminded the congregation that hell was real and that God's vision was omnipotent, his judgment certain. He noted that God "holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect, over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked... he looks upon as worthy of nothing else, but to be cast into the fire." When he finished, he had to wait several minutes for the congregation to quiet down before leading them in a closing hymn. Such was the power of the Word plainly preached to the people (Tindall and Shi 2004, 146–47).

THE EFFECTS OF THE GREAT AWAKENING

Everywhere the fragmenting force of the Awakening brought splits, especially in the more Calvinistic churches. Presbyterians divided into the "Old Side" and "New Side" and Congregationalists into "Old Light" and "New Light." New England religious life would never be the same. The more traditional clergy were undermined as church members chose sides and either dismissed their ministers or deserted them. Many of the "New Lights" went over to the Baptists, and others flocked to Presbyterian or, later, Methodist groups, which in turn divided and subdivided into new sects (Tindall and Shi 2004, 147).

New England Puritanism disintegrated amid the ecstatic revivals of the Great Awakening. The precarious balance in which the founders had held the elements of emotionalism and reason collapsed. In consequence, New England attracted more and more Baptists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and other denominations, while the revival frenzy scored its most lasting victories along the frontiers of the Middle and southern colonies. In the more sedate churches of Boston, moreover, the principle of rational religion gained the upper hand in a reaction against the excesses of revival emotion. Boston ministers such as Charles Chauncey and Jonathan Mayhew reexamined Calvinist theology and found it too forbidding and irrational that people could be forever damned by predestination (Tindall and Shi 2004, 147–48).

In reaction to the taunts that the "born-again" revivalist ministers mocked learning, the Awakening gave rise to the denominational colleges that became so characteristic of American higher education. The three colleges already in existence had originated from religious motives: Harvard, founded in 1636, because the Puritans dreaded "to leave an illiterate ministry to the church when our present ministers shall lie in the dust"; the College of William and Mary, in 1692, created to strengthen the Anglican ministry; and Yale College, in 1701, set up to educate the Puritans of Connecticut, who felt that Harvard was drifting from the strictest orthodoxy. The College of New Jersey, later Princeton University, was founded by Presbyterians in 1746. In close succession came King's College (1754) in New York, later renamed Columbia University, an Anglican institution; the College of Rhode Island, later renamed Brown University, Baptist; Queens College (1766), later known as Rutgers, Dutch Reformed; and Congregationalist Dartmouth (1769), the outgrowth of an earlier school for Indians. Among the colonial colleges, only the University of Pennsylvania, founded as the Philadelphia Academy in 1754, arose from secular impulse.

The Great Awakening, like the Enlightenment, set in motion powerful currents that still flow in American life. It implanted in American culture the evangelical crusade and the emotional appeal of revivalism. The movement weakened the status of the old-fashioned clergy and encouraged believers to exercise their own judgment, and thereby weakened the habits of deference generally. By encouraging the proliferation of the denominations, it heightened the need for toleration of dissent. But in some respects the counterpoint between the Awakening and the Enlightenment, between the principles of spirit and reason, led by different roads to similar ends. Both movements emphasized the power and right of individual decision making, and both aroused millennial hopes that America would become the promised land in which people might attain the perfection of piety or reason, if not both (Tindall and Shi 2004, 148).

Economic Life

AN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Agriculture was the foundation of the colonial economy. On the eve of the Revolution it employed 80 percent of the working population and created most of the wealth produced. A majority of American cultivators were small farm owners, yeomen, engaged in mixed agriculture—growing corn, rye, wheat; raising cattle, horses, hogs; planting fruit trees, potatoes, and vegetables. The farmer's own family consumed most of these products, but, except on the frontier, where distances to markets and particularly poor transportation made it impossible, farmers usually had some surpluses for sale to customers in nearby towns or even overseas. The farmer's labor force usually consisted entirely of himself and his family (Unger 1989, 84).

NEW ENGLAND FARMING

Many regional differences grew up and persisted in colonial agriculture. New England farmers faced such rocky soil almost everywhere except in the Connecticut Valley, it was said that they had to shoot the seed into the ground with a gun. Yankee farmers could seldom do more than provide for the needs of their own families and a small group of artisans, officials, and professionals in each town who did not tend the soil. Connecticut produced some surplus livestock, grain, and dairy products for export, and Rhode Island raised horses for the Caribbean trade. But with these exceptions, New England agriculture had only local importance (Unger 1989, 84).

Wealth was not the vision that drove the eighteenth-century New Englander to plow before sunrise, nor his wife to her butter churn. It was an ideal of self-sufficiency that envisioned a life lived entirely off the production of the household, assisted when necessary by mutual exchanges of goods and services among close neighbors who were often kin as well as friends. Americans provided many romantic verbal pictures of such idealized rural existence, particularly by an admiring naturalized citizen, Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur, in his collection of *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782). In a typical vignette, he tells of a farmer who is unable to plow his fields because of sickness or accident: "In due time we invite a dozen neighbors, who will come with their teams and finish it all in one day. At dinner we give them the best victuals our farm affords;...pies, puddings, fowls...nothing is spared that can evince our gratitude." In the evening, he continues, the young folks arrive to "partake of the general dance" (Wolf 1993, 158–59).

In real life, self-sufficiency was elusive and virtually impossible for most New England farmers, particularly as the eighteenth century wore on. There were so many items that had come to be considered necessary for even a "barely decent" way of life—coffee, tea, sugar, ceramics—that could not be produced at home or even in the neighborhood and had to be purchased for cash. Many New Englanders became farmer-artisans, acquiring the skills to make goods like shoes, cloth, or pottery in the off-season that could be sold for money. The preferred way to obtain cash, however, was to convert raw farm materials into marketable goods. Depending on where they lived, New England farmers processed and sold maple syrup, maple sugar, brandy, liquor, and cured and barreled beef and pork. Cattle not only produced meat, but also dairy goods. New England butter, while judged pretty poor in taste, was plenty good enough for the slaves in the West Indies for whom it was intended, since it could be kept for up to three years if preserved in a saltpeter-salt-sugar solution instead of just brine. By the end of the century, the people of Goshen, Connecticut, were annually exporting up to 400,000 pounds of cheese deemed as good as that of Cheshire in England. This business made them, in the opinion of one traveler, "more wealthy than any other collection of farmers in New England." Sheep became more important throughout the eighteenth century, particularly in places like Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, where the Gulf Stream moderated the bitter northern winter, while the farmers around Narragansett, Rhode Island, used their land to develop a special breed of saddle horses—small, hardy, and fleet of foot (Wolf 1993, 159).

LUMBERING AND FISHING IN NEW ENGLAND

Two other rural occupations that began the eighteenth century as part-time, off-season money producers for farmers in New England had become, by the close of the period, large, well-organized businesses in their own right. One of these was the lumber industry, which by 1750 employed full-time loggers in Maine and New Hampshire to ship firewood and building timber south of Boston. The prices were good, some even said exorbitant, and the market was year-round since it took 10 cords of wood a year to supply cooking and heating fuel for a single house. It was almost impossible to work at lumbering and farming at the same time, since, as one contemporary observer noted, "The best season for sawing logs is in the spring, when rivers are high: this is also the time for plowing and planting. He [who] works in the sawmill at that time must [therefore] by [*sic*] his bread and clothing, and the hay for his cattle." While the individual farmer-artisan continued to apply the lumber from his own woodlot to a variety of woodworking crafts such as the making of bowls, barrels, or shingles for a cash return, it was the large-scale lumber industry that supplied most of the needs for urban construction and shipbuilding (Wolf 1993, 159–60).

Fish, however, became the major export from New England during the eighteenth century. The farmer-fisherman had become the fisherman-farmer by the time of the Revolution, as more than 1 in 10 New Englanders earned his living primarily from the sea. Independence in fishing began on a community model: both the locally built sloops from Cape Cod and the processing of their catch were worker-owned and -operated enterprises. The daily life of fishermen was no easier than for full-time farmers. Separated from their families for weeks or even months, their backbreaking technology embraced nothing more sophisticated than lines cast out and drawn in hand-over-hand, hoisting fish that weighed well over 40 pounds. Self-sufficiency became less possible with fishermen during the century as larger boats meant longer trips, so that the season overlapped with the farming season. Large merchants took over the business and organized the annual catch, which was cured, sorted, packed, and shipped abroad (Wolf 1993, 160).

As a special breed of fisherman, whalers were even more dependent on the market economy. They were gone from their farms for years at a time, and returned with products—whale oil and spermaceti—that were not basic necessities of life, but were used in the rapidly growing worldwide market for consumer goods in finishing leather, making soap, and producing high-quality candles. As the consumer market grew after 1750, the whaling fleet kept pace, sending out as many as 250 ships a year by 1770. Nantucket and New Bedford grew prosperous on their strange catch, as Providence did on fish, or Goshen on cheese, but these were local opportunities and developments. For the most part, New England farmers scrounged around doing a little of this and a little of that, sending most of their sons off in search of better opportunities and richer land. No single product so pervaded the whole region that the daily bread of the poor tenant or the fortune of the rich yeoman was measured by its market price (Wolf 1993, 160–61).

FARMING IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES

New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were the "bread colonies," harvesting large surpluses of wheat from their fertile fields. They converted this grain to flour in the region's many gristmills and exported much of it to the Caribbean or southern Europe. In addition, the bread colonies exported potatoes, beef, pork, and other farm products (Unger 1989, 84–85).

In many ways, the farmers of the Middle colonies had the best of both worlds. Like southern planters, the fertility of their soil and the extent of their lands allowed them to develop agriculture as a highly profitable industry. The geography and climate encouraged the exploitation of diversified staple crops that were part of the settlers' heritage, and provided both food for their families and marketable goods for the other mainland colonies, the islands, and Europe. Their seasons were similar to those of New England, only better, the winters shorter, the summers warmer. Where it required 125 acres to provide modestly for a family of five in New England, 90 acres supported the same number of people more generously in the Middle colonies. To the north, farmers could expect to reap 10 to 15 bushels of wheat per acre. Pennsylvania farmers could average 20 to 30 bushels, and if Long Island farmers were conscientious about manuring their fields, they could achieve 40 to 50 bushels (Wolf 1993, 171).

The importance of wheat on the world market made it the primary staple of the Middle colonies, where the farmer could expect that "the first crop of wheat will fully pay him for all the expense he has been at, in clearing up, sowing, and fencing his land; and at the same time, increases the value of the land eight or ten times the original cost," according to a contemporary observer. The vision of profits made agricultural innovators of many eighteenth-century farmers in Pennsylvania, although throughout the entire century the basic tools for earning a living on the frontier continued to be knives and axes, sickles and scythes, hoes and flails. Yet even among these simple tools, American "improvements" were in evidence by the time of the Revolution. For example, a new style of axe, its weight perfectly balanced between the blade and poll (flat edge), its handle the length and curve exactly fitted to the height and swing of the axe man, could fell three times as many trees in the same time as a European axe. Other inventions or innovations like the seed drill, the grain cradle, and new plow and wagon designs were dreamed up in Pennsylvania workshops, to be exploited by entrepreneurial farmers. Although at midcentury most farmers still "sowed grains successfully on the same land without manuring it until it was exhausted and left it fallow," within a few decades they were experimenting with the use of artificial fertilizer, particularly gypsum and lime, so that it was reported in 1775 that between the Susquehanna and Schuylkill Rivers, "every farmer has a Limkiln burnt for the dressing of his land" (Wolf 1993, 171–72).

Although the eighteenth-century plow was essentially part of traditional wood technology, Middle colony farmers were more likely to use them rather than New Englanders, reinforcing their vulnerable cutting edges with bits or strips of iron. While harvesting remained a slow process, even after the development of the grain cradle, which cut and gathered the grain simultaneously, threshing was "mechanized" by horses plodding their heavy, slow path around and around, treading out the wheat from the chaff, long before farmers to the north gave up relying on the flail wielded by manpower alone. For hauling and transportation there were two-wheeled carts convertible to sleds in the winter, and heavy four-wheeled wagons requiring teams of horses to pull them, forerunners of the covered wagons that became the mobile homes and moving vans of the nineteenth-century pioneers. Called "Conestoga wagons" after the township in which they were developed, they used matched heavy draft horses specially bred in the same region and known by the same name to pull them. In New England, on the other hand, four-wheeled vehicles were practically unknown before the Revolution, nor were draft horses common. It was Old World oxen that provided muscle power on northern farms, where draft animals existed at all (Wolf 1993, 172).

The need for animal power as part of the farm economy suggests the crucial shortage of labor that plagued many successful farmers in the Middle colonies. Like their southern neighbors, their farms were large enough to require more hands than the typical family could provide; like those to the north, the crops that were most suited to their environment did not recommend the use of slaves as the solution to their labor problems. While successful planters in the south came to rely more and more on slavery and less and less on indenture throughout the eighteenth century, agricultural entrepreneurs in New York, Pennsylvania, and, to some extent, New Jersey developed a complex and widespread system of tenancy (Wolf 1993, 172–73).

TENANT FARMING

To be a tenant was, by definition, to live and work on someone else's land and to pay for the privilege in cash, goods, or services. Beyond that, there were as many different ways of tenancy as there were landless people. For some, it was a poor and meager life with little hope for future improvement, scarcely a step from indenture, and even less secure. Often designated "inmates," these unfortunates either shared the owner's house or lived in shacks on the property. They were often required to do other work besides their chores on the farm, particularly if the farmer had some skill in a craft like weaving and saw it as a means to a second income. In this case, the tenant might also be a weaver and his wife and children spinners, as laborers in the field and servants in the owner's house. Where wheat was the staple crop, there were many months when there was little to do in the fields, and the cottagers were expected to spend most of their time in such craft production. Although, theoretically, the tenant had the freedom to improve his own lot as well as that of his employer, the year-round obligations of two occupations often left him with little time to "bury his own turnips, attend to business, in town, or plow his flax patch" (Wolf 1993, 173).

Still other tenants were sole possessors of their farms, living in the main house and holding long-term leases good for one, two, or even three "lives." These properties were often like the "pretty farms" Peter Kalm noticed as he sailed up the Hudson in 1749, with hundreds of acres of field, wood, garden, and orchard; handsome Georgian houses with the latest in domestic technology and consumer style; and good barns and stables. Tenants on such properties paid rents that varied from "four live fat hens and a day's riding [work for the owner]" to substantial payments in wheat or cash, and were almost indistinguishable in lifestyle from prosperous owners. The tenant elite on Claverack and Livingston manors in New York, for example, even had their own exclusive social club where they "clung together, wining, dining, and playing" (Wolf 1993, 173–74).

FARMING IN THE UPPER SOUTH

The Chesapeake region, encompassed by the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, was British America's great tobacco-growing area. By the mid-eighteenth century, tobacco cultivation had moved from the tidewater to the Piedmont Plateau where the soils were fresher and more productive, leaving the remaining coastal farmers to switch to grain. The Piedmont farmers faced more difficult transportation problems than their tidewater predecessors. Located above the "fall line," where the westward-flowing streams dropped sharply to the coastal plain, they could not put their crops directly aboard ship. Instead, they sold their tobacco to local merchants who packed the leaves into huge hogsheads and rolled them to towns like Richmond or Petersburg, which lay along the fall line. There the hogsheads could be loaded aboard seagoing vessels for shipment to foreign buyers.

Throughout the eighteenth century the output of Chesapeake tobacco increased at a fairly steady pace. By the 1770s, Maryland and Virginia were shipping about 100 million pounds annually for the pipe smokers and snuff-takers of England, Scotland, and continental Europe—tobacco worth £1 million, or about $50 million at the current rate of exchange. The Chesapeake region also became a major grain exporter, with the crop largely going to the south of Europe or the West Indies (Unger 1989, 85).

Between the great plantation owners and the poorest tobacco grower lay many layers of inequality that marked the everyday lives of the farmers on the Chesapeake. They were all dependent on tobacco, since it was the currency of their region, but those without the land or capital needed to invest in large-scale production were less and less able to compete. Small landowners with perhaps a few slaves or servants eked out a living from year to year, while as many as one-third of the farmers had no property of their own at all, but lived as tenants on holdings rented from others, either for cash or "a share of the crop." William Holte, who arrived in Maryland around 1700, was such a tenant farmer. When he died, 10 years after arriving in the New World, he owned £4 of property: a blanket, two iron pots, some old furniture, two cows with calves, and two small hogs. In addition, there was a crop of 1,750 pounds of tobacco worth another £5, barely enough to cover his rent, taxes, clothing, and the repayment of several loans he had incurred in compiling even this small number of possessions (Wolf 1993, 165).

Such poor farmers followed the same routine as their wealthy neighbors and shared their vision of the ideal life as well, but they did the physical work themselves alongside a single slave or perhaps a son. During the 1730s in the face of increased competition, both Maryland and Virginia passed laws requiring the inspection of tobacco in the hogsheads for the purpose of grading it and ensuring quality control. The methods of small producers often resulted in crops of poorer quality, perhaps so poor they were labeled "trash" by the inspectors and were refused shipment entirely. In these cases the crops were burned at the warehouse, as the hoped-for profit of 15 months of unremitting labor went "up in smoke." After midcentury the smaller tobacco growers in the eastern counties were almost completely squeezed out, moving west to the Piedmont to start the cycle all over again, or turning to the staple production of wheat and cattle that could find a ready market in the West Indies (Wolf 1993, 166).

FARMING IN THE LOWER SOUTH

Rice was the major crop of the South Carolina lowlands, although some was also grown in North Carolina and Georgia. Requiring vast amounts of water, as well as a long growing season, rice was suited mostly to the swampy coastal regions of the most southerly colonies and proved highly profitable there. In 1710, South Carolina exported 1.5 million pounds. By 1770, the rice-growing colonies, with South Carolina far in the lead, exported almost 84 million pounds. Most of it went to England, but the sugar plantations of the Caribbean, the other mainland colonies, southern Europe, and, through Britain, northern Europe as well were also large consumers of American rice.

The lowland areas of South Carolina and Georgia also produced indigo, a blue dye mostly used for coloring woolen cloth. The crop was introduced in the 1740s by Eliza Lucas Pinckney, an enterprising young woman newly arrived from the Caribbean island of Antigua. Helped by a British government subsidy (bounty) of six pence a pound, the production of indigo quickly leaped. Though never as important as rice, by 1770 almost 600,000 pounds of indigo, valued at over £130,000, were being shipped from the port of Charleston each year.

One other extract of the southern mainland deserves mention—naval stores. This term includes the tar, pitch, resin, and turpentine extracted from the pine trees of coastal Carolina (and also New Hampshire) and widely employed in the shipping and paint industries. Britain itself did not produce these products and was forced to turn to Scandinavia and the Baltic regions for its supply, a circumstance that made it vulnerable to a shortage, especially in time of war. To meet this danger, British officials encouraged naval-store production by offering a bounty for pitch-tar and resin in 1704. The industry soon took off. By 1770, North Carolina was exporting naval stores worth about £35,000 a year, almost all of it to Great Britain (Unger 1989, 85).

THE PLANTATION ELITE

Successive generations of white planters who established permanent homes in the southern colonies built on the concept of land as capital, crops as cash, and agriculture as a business leading to wealth and power. As in any modern business, very few succeeded wildly, many enjoyed modest prosperity, and many more failed to achieve even a small share of the economic prize. It was the tiny number of successful agricultural entrepreneurs, however, who shaped the dreams, although never the reality, of the everyday lives of the majority of southern farmers. It was the great planters who came to control their neighbors economically and politically, who represented what became "the South" to most northerners who had never been there, and who wrote their region into the Constitution with far-reaching effects on the events of the next century (Wolf 1993, 161–62).

The most frequently articulated goal for the successful planter was to live the life of a gentleman, but this was not in any way synonymous with a life of indolence or ease, requiring the active management of huge plantations of up to 20,000 acres, mass-producing tobacco or rice for sale on the international market. The owner never ran the machinery—hoe, scythe, or flail—but worked hard planning, overseeing, and financing the business. He engaged in a rational and systematic search for the best and most salable products, devoting time and energy to research and development. He set the standards for the methods of production: when and how to plant, tend, harvest, and prepare for markets, down to the technical requirements of his particular staple; the exact moment for "topping" the tobacco plants, and whether or not to flood the rice fields. When he organized the production of food, clothing, and the shoes, tools, and implements of everyday life on the plantation, it was not in search of independence or self-sufficiency, but because it was cheaper to produce these things at home than it was to buy them. When the business grew large enough, it was he who dispersed its manufacture, creating several smaller, self-contained units with separate overseers and workers either grouped close together or scattered across a county or even a colony. He took responsibility for arranging transportation, dealing with customers, and obtaining the financial credit necessary to the operation of any large business. When the weather was bad and the crop failed, or when the crop was too good and the market was glutted, he faced the headaches of an inadequate "cash flow" and a rising tide of debt to London or Scottish merchants and bankers who were his creditors (Wolf 1993, 162).

If there were the headaches, so, too, were there rewards. Although at the beginning of the century, the ideal of becoming part of the English gentry was already fast fixed as the goal of southern planters, the best of them were described by one continental visitor as living only "in a sordid manner" with a greater variety of food, and larger, more comfortable dwellings than those around them. By the time of the Revolution, the top of the class could take pride in the description of an English visitor who wrote: "[Southern] Planters live more like country gentlemen of fortune than any other settler in America . . . many of their houses would make no slight figure in the English counties . . . furniture, wines, dress, etc. . . . in the midst of a profusion of rural sports and diversions, and in a climate that seems to create rather than check pleasures, [they are] just such planters, as foxhunters in England make farmers." The relatively recent acquisition of their possessions was evident in the reminiscences of a native Virginian, looking back and commenting, "In 1740, I don't remember to have seen such a thing as a Turkey or Wiltton Carpets, the whole furniture of the Roomes Elegant and every Appearance of Opulence" (Wolf 1993, 162–63).

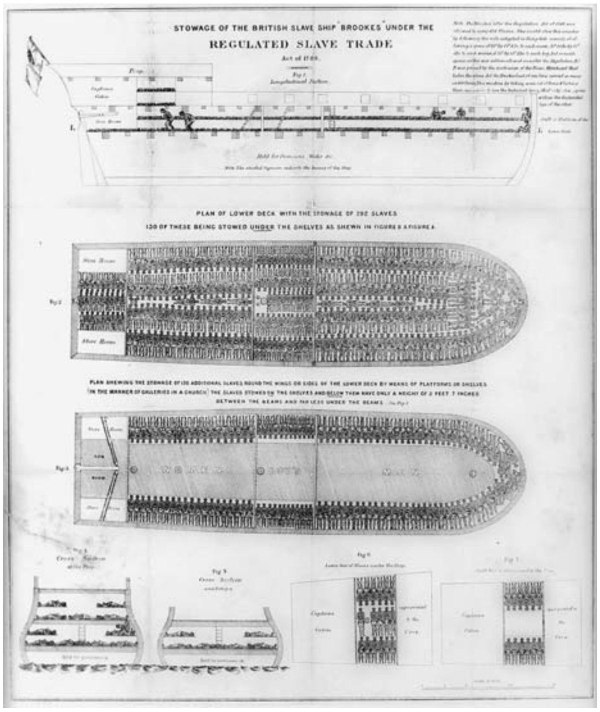
Along with the crystal, china, and silver plate, fine clothes in the London fashion, handsome carriages, and well-bred racehorses came the other advantages of success: the exercise of political power, the genteel education of sons and daughters by private tutors, grand tours of Europe, and summer escapes to American spas in the mountains or to the seaside resorts to the north. Most notably, however, success permitted utter indulgence in the famous "southern hospitality," where dozens of guests complete with retinues of slaves were housed, fed, and entertained at the host's expense. Richard Lee, for example, not only held several summer "fish feats" and "barbeques" along the banks of the river each year, but also threw occasional "bashes" at the Lee Hall during the winter, like the opulent four-day ball attended by 70 guests in January 1774 that became legendary in the annals of plantation social life (Wolf 1993, 163).

SLAVERY IN AMERICA

Of the estimated 7.7 million Africans transported to the New World between 1492 and 1820, over half arrived between 1700 and 1800. The Atlantic slave trade would later be condemned by statesmen and general opinion as a crime against humanity. But in the eighteenth century it was a regularized business in which European merchants, African traders, and American planters engaged in complex bargaining over human lives, all with the expectation of securing a profit. The slave trade was a vital part of world commerce. Every European empire in the New World utilized slave labor and battled for control of this lucrative trade. The *asiento* (an agreement whereby traders subcontracted to a foreign power the right to provide slaves to Spanish America) was an important diplomatic prize. Britain's acquisition of the *asiento* from the Dutch in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 was a major step in its rise to commercial supremacy. In the plantation economies of the British Empire in the eighteenth century, free laborers working for wages were atypical and slavery the norm. Slave plantations contributed mightily to English economic development. The first mass consumer goods in international trade were produced by slaves—sugar, rice, coffee, and tobacco. The rising demand for these products fueled the rapid growth of the Atlantic slave trade (Foner 2006, 122).

In the eighteenth century, the Caribbean remained the commercial focus of the British empire and the major producer of revenue for the Crown. But slave-grown products from the mainland occupied a larger and larger part of Atlantic commerce. A series of triangular trading routes crisscrossed the Atlantic, carrying British manufactured goods to Africa and the colonies, colonial products, including tobacco, indigo, sugar, and rice to Europe, and slaves from Africa to the New World. Areas where slavery was only a minor institution also profited from slave labor. Merchants in New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island participated actively in the slave trade, shipping slaves from Africa to the Caribbean or southern colonies. The slave economies of the West Indies were the largest market for fish, grain, livestock, and lumber exported from New England and the Middle colonies. In 1720, half the ships entering or leaving New York Harbor were engaged with trade from the Caribbean. Indeed, one historian writes, "The growth and prosperity of the emerging society of free colonial British America ... were achieved as a result of slave labor." In Britain itself, the profits from slavery and the slave trade stimulated the rise of ports like Liverpool and Bristol and the growth of banking, shipbuilding, and insurance. They also helped finance the early industrial revolution (Foner 2006, 113–14).

Overall, in the eighteenth century, Atlantic commerce consisted primarily of slaves, crops produced by slaves, and goods destined for slave societies. It should not be surprising that for large numbers of free colonists and Europeans, freedom meant, in part, the power and right to enslave others. As slavery became more and more entrenched, as the Quaker abolitionist John Woolman commented in 1762, so too did "the idea of slavery being connected with the black color, and liberty with the white" (Foner 2006, 114).



Deck plan of a slave ship, showing how captured Africans were arranged as cargo, 1700s. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The Slaves' Voyage to America

For slaves, the voyage across the Atlantic (known as the Middle Passage because it was the second, or middle, leg in the triangular trading routes linking Europe, Africa, and America) was a harrowing experience. Since a slave could be sold in America for 20 to 30 times the price in Africa, men, women, and children were crammed aboard vessels as tightly as possible to maximize profits. "The height sometimes, between the decks," wrote one slave trader, "was only eighteen inches, so that the unfortunate human beings could not turn around, or even on their sides . . . and here they are usually chained to the decks by their necks and legs." Olaudah Equiano, who later described "the shrieks of the women and the groans of the dying," survived the Middle Passage, but many Africans did not. Diseases like measles and smallpox spread rapidly, and about one slave in eight perished before reaching the New World. Ship captains were known to throw the sick overboard to prevent the spread of epidemics.

Only a small proportion (perhaps 5%) of slaves carried to the New World were destined for mainland North America. As late as 1700 only about 20,000 Africans had been landed in Britain's colonies there. In the eighteenth century, however, their numbers increased steadily. By 1770, due to importation but also increasingly the result of natural reproduction of the slave population, around one-fifth of the estimated 2.3 million persons (not including Indians) living in the colonies that would soon become the United States were Africans and their descendants (Foner 2006, 115).

Slavery in the Chesapeake Region

By the mid-eighteenth century, three distinct slave systems were well entrenched in Britain's mainland colonies: tobacco-based plantation slavery in the Chesapeake; rice-based plantation slavery in South Carolina and Georgia; and nonplantation slavery in New England and the Middle colonies. The largest and oldest of these was the tobacco plantation system of the Chesapeake, where more than 270,000 slaves resided in 1770, nearly half the region's population. On the eve of the Revolution, Virginia and Maryland were as closely tied to Britain as any other colonies and their economies were models of mercantilist policy. They supplied the mother country with a valuable raw material, imported large amounts of British goods, and were closely linked in culture and political values to the metropolis. The period after 1680 witnessed a rapid shift from indentured servitude to slavery on the region's tobacco plantations. In the eighteenth century, the growing world demand for tobacco encouraged continued slave imports. When tobacco prices fell in the early part of the century, some planters shifted to grain production. But tobacco remained their primary source of wealth (Foner 2006, 116).

As Virginia expanded westward, so did slavery. By the eve of the American Revolution, the center of gravity of slavery in the colony had shifted from the tidewater (the region along the coast) to the Piedmont further inland. Most Chesapeake slaves, male and female, worked in the fields, but thousands labored as teamsters, boatmen, and in skilled crafts. Numerous slave women became cooks, seamstresses, dairy maids, and personal servants. The son of George Mason, one of Virginia's leading planters and statesmen, recorded that his father's slaves included "coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, shoemakers, spinners, weavers, knitters, and even a distiller." Slavery was common on small farms as well as plantations; nearly half of Virginia's white families owned at least one slave in 1770. Because there is little "economy of scale" in tobacco growing—that is, enlarging the size of the producing unit does not lower the costs and maximize productivity—Chesapeake plantations tended to be smaller than in the Caribbean and daily interactions between masters and slaves were more extensive (Foner 2006, 115–16).

Slavery laid the foundation for the consolidation of the Chesapeake elite, a landed gentry that, in conjunction with merchants who handled the tobacco trade and lawyers who defended the interests of slaveholders, dominated the region's society and politics. Meanwhile, even as the consumer revolution improved the standard of living of lesser whites, their long-term economic prospects diminished. As slavery expanded, planters engrossed the best lands and wealth among the white population became more and more concentrated. Slavery transformed Chesapeake society into an elaborate hierarchy of degrees of freedom. At the top stood large planters, below them lesser planters and landowning yeoman, and at the bottom a large population of convicts, indentured servants, tenant farmers (who made up half the white households in 1770), and, of course, the slaves (Foner 2006, 116–17).

With the consolidation of a slave society in the Chesapeake, planters filled the law books with measures enhancing the master's power over his human property and restricting blacks' access to freedom. Race took on more and more importance as a line of social division. Whites increasingly considered free blacks dangerous and undesirable. They lost the right to employ white servants and to bear arms, were subjected to special taxes, and could be punished for striking a white person, whatever the cause. In 1723, Virginia revoked the voting privileges of property-owning free blacks. When the Lords of Trade in London asked Virginia's governor to justify discriminating among "freemen, merely upon account of their complexion," he responded that "a distinction ought to be made between their offspring and descendents of an Englishman, with whom they never were to be accounted equal." Because Virginia law required that freed slaves be sent out of the colony, free blacks remained only a tiny part of the population—less than 4 percent in 1750. "Free" and "white" had become virtually identical (Foner 2006, 117).

Slavery in the Carolinas and Georgia

Further south, a different slave system based principally on rice production emerged in South Carolina and Georgia. The Barbadians, who initially settled in South Carolina in the 1670s, were quite familiar with African slavery, but their first victims were the area's native population, many of whom they enslaved and sent to the West Indies. The early Carolina economy focused on the export to the Caribbean of Indian slaves and to England of deerskins and furs obtained from the Indians.

As in early Virginia, frontier conditions allowed leeway to the colony's small population of African-born slaves, who farmed, tended livestock, and were initially allowed to serve in the militia to fight the Spanish and Indians. As in Virginia, the introduction of a marketable staple crop—in this case rice—led directly to economic development, the large-scale importation of slaves, and a growing divide between white and black. South Carolina was the first mainland colony to achieve a black majority. By the 1730s (by which time North Carolina had become a separate colony), two-thirds of its population was black. In the 1740s, another staple, indigo (a crop used in producing blue dye), was developed. Like rice, indigo required large-scale cultivation and was grown by slaves (Foner 2006, 117).

Ironically, it was Africans, familiar with the crop at home, who taught English settlers how to cultivate rice, which then became the foundation of South Carolina slavery and of the wealthiest slave-owning class on the North American mainland. Since rice production requires considerable capital investment to drain swamps and create irrigation systems, it is economically advantageous for rice plantations to be as large as possible. Thus, South Carolina planters owned far more land and slaves than their counterparts in Virginia. Moreover, since mosquitoes bearing malaria (a disease to which Africans had developed a partial immunity) flourished in the watery rice fields, planters tended to leave plantations under the control of overseers and the slaves themselves (Foner 2006, 117–18).

In the Chesapeake, field slaves worked in groups under constant supervision. Under the "task" system that developed in eighteenth-century South Carolina, individual slaves were assigned daily jobs, the completion of which allowed them time for leisure or to cultivate crops of their own. In 1762, one rice district had a population of only 76 white males among 1,000 slaves. Fearful of the ever-increasing population majority, South Carolina's legislature took steps to encourage the immigration of "poor Protestants," offering each newcomer a cash bounty and occasionally levying taxes on slave imports, only to see such restrictions overturned in London. By 1770, the number of South Carolina slaves had reached 100,000, well over half the colony's population.

Rice cultivation also spread into Georgia in the mid-eighteenth century. The colony was founded in 1733 by a group of philanthropists led by James Oglethorpe, a wealthy reformer whose causes included improved conditions for imprisoned debtors and the abolition of slavery. Oglethorpe hoped to establish a haven where the "worthy poor" of England could enjoy economic opportunity. The government in London supported the creation of Georgia to protect South Carolina against hostile Indians and the Spanish in Florida. Initially, the trustees who controlled the colony banned the introduction of both liquor and slaves, leading to continual battles with settlers, who desired both. By the 1740s, Georgia offered the spectacle of colonists pleading for the "English liberty" of self-government so they could enact laws introducing slavery. In 1751, the trustees surrendered the colony to the Crown. The colonists quickly won the right to an elected assembly, which met in Savannah, Georgia's main settlement. It repealed the ban on slavery (and liquor), as well as an early measure that had limited land holdings to 500 acres. Georgia became a miniature version of South Carolina. By 1770, 15,000 slaves labored on its coastal plantations (Foner 2006, 118).

Slavery in the Northern Colonies

Compared to the plantation regions, slavery was far less central to the economies of New England and the Middle colonies, where small farms predominated. Slaves represented only a minor part of these colonies' populations, and it was unusual for even rich families to own more than one slave. Sections of Rhode Island and Connecticut did develop large tobacco and livestock farms employing slave labor, but northern slaves were far more dispersed than in the southern colonies. Nevertheless, slavery was not entirely marginal to northern colonial life. Slaves worked as farmhands, in artisan shops, in loading and unloading ships, and as personal servants. In the early eighteenth century, about three-quarters of the urban elite owned at least one slave. But with slaves so small a part of the population that they seemed to pose no threat to the white majority, laws were less harsh than in the plantation colonies. In New England, where in 1770 the 17,000 slaves represented less than 3 percent of the region's population, slave marriages were recognized in law and slaves could bring suits in court and testify against whites—rights unknown elsewhere in the colonies.

Slavery had been present in New York from the earliest days of Dutch settlement. With white immigration lagging behind that of Pennsylvania, the colony's Hudson Valley landlords, small farmers, and craftsmen continued to employ considerable amounts of slave labor in the eighteenth century. As New York City's role in the slave trade expanded, so did slavery in the city. In 1746, its 2,440 slaves amounted to one-fifth of New York City's total population. Some 30 percent of its laborers were slaves, a proportion second only to Charleston among American cities. Most were domestic workers, but slaves worked in all sectors of the economy. In 1770, about 27,000 slaves lived in New York and New Jersey, 10 percent of their total population. Slavery was also a significant presence in Philadelphia, although the institution stagnated after 1750 as artisans and merchants relied increasingly on wage laborers, whose numbers were augmented by population growth and the completion of the terms of indentured servants. In an urban economy that expanded and contracted according to the ups and downs of international trade, many employers concluded that relying on wage labor, which could be hired and fired at will, made more economic sense than a long-term investment in slaves. Still, by the time of the American Revolution, slaves still worked on New Jersey and Pennsylvania farms and on "iron plantations" in the Pennsylvania countryside (Foner 2006, 119).

THE BEGINNING AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURE

The nearly 300,000 Africans brought to the mainland colonies during the eighteenth century were not a single people. They came from different cultures, spoke different languages, and practiced many religions. The term "melting pot," which describes the forging of a new cultural identity from diverse Old World backgrounds, is usually applied to European immigrants who settled in America. But the greatest melting pot in American history was a making of the African American people from the diverse Africans transported in the Middle Passage. Slavery threw together individuals who would never otherwise have encountered one another and who had never considered their color or residence on a single continent a source of identity or unity. Their bond was not kinship, language, or even "race," but slavery itself. The process of creating a cohesive culture and community took many years, and proceeded at different rates in different regions. But by the nineteenth century, slaves no longer identified themselves as Ibo, Ashanti, Yoruba, and so on, but as "African." In music, art, folklore, language, and religion, their cultural expressions emerged as a synthesis of African traditions, European elements, and new conditions in America.

For most of the eighteenth century, the majority of American slaves were African by birth. For many years, they spoke African languages and practiced African religions. Advertisements seeking information about runaways often described them by African origin ("young Gambia negro" or "new Banbara negro fellow") and spoke of their bearing on their bodies "country marks"—visible signs of ethnic identity in Africa. Indeed, during the eighteenth century there was a "re-Africanization" of black life in the colonies, as the earlier creoles (slaves born in the New World) came to be outnumbered by large-scale importations from Africa. Compared to the earliest generation of slaves, the newcomers worked harder, died earlier, and had less access to freedom. Charles Hansford, a white Virginia blacksmith, noted in a 1753 poem that he had frequently heard slaves speak of their desire to "reenjoy" life in Africa:

I oft with pleasure have observ'd how they
Their sultry country's worth strive to display
In broken language, how they praise their case
And happiness when in their native place…
How would they dangers court and pain endure
If to their country they could get secure! (Foner 2006, 119–20)

African American Cultures in the Colonies

By the mid-eighteenth century, the three slave systems in British North America had produced distinct African American cultures. In the Chesapeake, because of a more healthful climate, the slave population began to reproduce itself by 1740, creating a more balanced sex ratio than in the seventeenth century and making possible the creation of family-centered slave communities. Because of the small size of most plantations and the large number of white yeoman farmers, slaves here were continuously exposed to white culture. They soon learned English, and many were swept up in the religious revivals known as the Great Awakening (Foner 2006, 120–21).

In South Carolina and Georgia, two very different black societies emerged. On the rice plantations, slaves lived in extremely harsh conditions and had a low birthrate throughout the eighteenth century, making rice production dependent on continued slave imports from Africa. The slaves seldom came into contact with whites, and enjoyed far more autonomy than elsewhere in the colonies. The larger structure of their lives was governed by slavery, but they were able to create an African-based culture. They constructed African-style houses, chose African names for their children, and spoke Gullah, a language that mixed various African roots and was unintelligible to most whites. Despite a continuing slave trade in which young single males predominated, slaves slowly created families and communities that bridged generations (Foner 2006, 121–22).

The experience of slaves who labored in Charleston and Savannah as servants and skilled workers was quite different. These assimilated more quickly into Euro-American culture, and sexual liaisons between white owners and slave women produced the beginnings of a class of free mulattos. In the northern colonies, where slaves were owned in small units and lived in close proximity to whites, they enjoyed more mobility and access to the mainstream of life than further south. But they had fewer opportunities to create a stable family life or a cohesive community (Foner 2006, 122).

Resistance to Slavery

The common threads that linked these regional African American cultures were the experience of slavery and the desire for freedom. Throughout the eighteenth century, blacks risked their lives in efforts to resist enslavement. Colonial newspapers, especially in the southern colonies, were filled with advertisements for runaway slaves. Most fugitives were young African men who had arrived recently. In South Carolina and Georgia, they fled to Florida, to uninhabited coastal and river swamps, or to Charleston and Savannah, where they might pass for free. In the Chesapeake and Middle colonies, fugitives tended to be slaves familiar with the white culture, who, as one advertisement put it, could "pretend to be free."

What Edward Trelawny, the colonial governor of Jamaica, called "a dangerous spirit of liberty" was widespread among the New World's slaves. The eighteenth century's first slave uprising occurred in New York City in 1712, when a group of slaves set fire to houses on the outskirts of the city and killed the first nine whites who arrived on the scene. Subsequently, 18 conspirators were executed; some were tortured and burned alive in a public spectacle meant to intimidate the slave population. During the 1730s and 1740s, continuous warfare involving European empires and Indians opened the door to slave resistance. In 1731 a slave rebellion in Louisiana, where the French and Natchez Indians were at war, temporarily halted efforts to introduce the plantation system in that region. There were uprisings throughout the West Indies, including the Virgin Islands, owned by Denmark, and the French island of Guadalupe. On Jamaica, a major British center of sugar production, communities of fugitive slaves known as "maroons" waged outright warfare against British authorities until a treaty in 1739 recognized their freedom, in exchange for which they agreed to return future escapees (Foner 2006, 122).

On the mainland, slaves seized the opportunity for rebellion offered by the War of Jenkins' Ear, which pitted England against Spain. In September 1739, a group of South Carolina slaves, most of them recently arrived from the Congo where some, it appears, had been soldiers, seized a store containing numerous weapons at the town of Stono. Beating drums to attract followers, the armed band marched southward toward Florida, burning houses and barns, killing whites they encountered, and shouting "Liberty." (Florida's supposedly tyrannical Spanish rulers offered "Liberty and Protection" to fugitives from the British colonies.) The group eventually swelled to some 100 slaves. After a pitched battle with the colony's militia, the rebels were dispersed. Some 40 were killed, but others managed to reach Florida, where in 1740 they were armed by the Spanish to help repel an attack on St. Augustine by a force from Georgia. The Stono Rebellion led to a severe tightening of the South Carolina slave code and the temporary imposition of a prohibitive tax on imported slaves. In 1741 a group of New York City slaves, evidently assisted by a few whites, plotted to burn part of the city, seize weapons, and either turn New York over to Spain, or set sail for the Spanish islands. The plot was uncovered and 35 conspirators were executed (Foner 2006, 122–23).

Dramatic events like revolts, along with the constant stream of runaways, disproved the idea, voiced by the governor of South Carolina, that "slaves had no notion of liberty." In eighteenth-century America, dreams of freedom knew no racial boundary. When white colonists rose in rebellion against British rule, tens of thousands of slaves would seize the opportunity to strike for their own liberty (Foner 2006, 123–24).

COLONIAL INDUSTRY

Besides the 80 percent who tilled the soil, perhaps 5 percent of the colonial workforce were full-time craftsmen, "mechanicks," or artisans in the cities, towns, and villages. In addition, thousands of rural colonists produced finished or semifinished goods at home for sale on a part-time basis. Almost all colonial manufactured goods were produced by hand. In many colonial farmhouses women spun wool and linen fiber into yarn and then wove it on hand looms into cloth. Farm women also molded candles from wax extracted from bayberries. They churned butter and made cheese with milk from the family cow, and pressed cider from apples and perry from pears. Rural men also used the home as a workshop. Farmers often devoted the long winter evenings to carving ax handles, gunstocks, and other wooden products (Unger 1989, 86).

In the towns, full-time craftsmen using hand tools—knives, chisels, augers, saws, and planes—manufactured items for their customers in their workshops. Every colonial town of any size had a long list of craftsmen. Coopers made the barrels that packaged colonial flour, tobacco, sugar, rum, and other bulk goods. Wheelwrights turned out wheels for carts, wagons, and coaches. Cordwainers produced shoes; blacksmiths made nails, horseshoes, shovels, and edged tools; tanners produced the leather that others made into shoes, aprons, saddles, and other items. Every growing colonial village needed housing, and the demand was met by carpenters, masons, bricklayers, and various laborers. As communities became richer and more populous, colonial craftspeople became ever more skilled. By the eve of the Revolution they were producing beautiful silverware and furniture. In addition, the small cities were full of barbers, wig makers, tailors, milliners, and other skilled providers of goods and services for the prosperous (Unger 1989, 86–87).

In only a very few industries do we encounter something resembling a modern factory with hired labor, expensive machinery, and the separation of the workplace from the home. With waterpower widely available, mills with waterwheels and machinery, often made of wood, sprang up in every colony to do especially heavy work. Few settled localities existed where there were no sawmills to cut boards and gristmills to grind grain into flour. The millers of grain, particularly, were often the community's news center. In many rural areas millers also ran general stores where they sold the produce they acquired from the farmers who paid them in "country pay" to mill their grain. A few of the most successful grain millers—"merchant millers"—established large-scale operations and overseas markets for their flour (Unger 1989, 87–88).

COMMERCE

Commerce or trade was the final and, next to agriculture, the most important leg of the colonial economy. Ultimately, it was foreign markets that drove the colonial economy. Even though a fast-growing population at home consumed most of what local farmers and artisans produced, foreign buyers provided the means for raising the colonial economy above the subsistence level. Commerce sustained the bread colonies, which relied on the Caribbean market to absorb their surplus grain and provisions. Without markets in Britain and Europe, tobacco, rice, indigo, and naval-store colonies would have been far poorer. Both overseas and intercolony trade supported the shipbuilding, sail-making, and rope-making industries and encouraged flour milling, lumbering, barrel-making, and iron manufacturing (Unger 1989, 88).

Exports helped Americans pay for the sophisticated luxury goods they could not produce themselves. The better grades of paper, hardware, pottery, and cloth, as well as wines, the latest books, fine furniture, and scientific instruments, could only come from Britain, the Continent, or the Wine Islands. To pay for these goods, Americans needed coin or commercial credit from sales of their own goods abroad. Unfortunately, colonial trade relations were out of balance geographically. England needed the tobacco, rice, indigo, and naval stores of the Chesapeake region and the Carolinas; these colonies, accordingly, easily earned the credits needed to pay for what they imported. The English did buy some pig iron, lumber, furs, and ships from the northern colonies, but the major northern products—fish, grain, and cattle—were not wanted in Britain because it produced its own. Because each year the northern colonies bought more from Britain than they sold to it, they were forced to find other customers whose purchases would offset the British deficit (Unger 1989, 88–89).

The Caribbean served this role. In the West Indies black slaves, working for several thousand rich European planters, concentrated all their energies on growing sugar cane for the European market. The islanders' total neglect of almost everything but sugar made them excellent customers for cheap food, horses, lumber, and barrels from the northern colonies. By 1700, hundreds of vessels from northern ports sailed to the islands each year; the ships were laden with provisions, flour, and dried fish to feed the slaves and their masters, and with lumber, hoops, and staves to build structures and to package sugar, rum, and molasses.

Once he had found buyers for his miscellaneous cargo, the New England or Middle-colony merchant accepted payment in several forms. One form was coin, and the colonies acquired a wide assortment of shillings, doubloons, guilders, and pieces of eight in the West Indies. But molasses and sugar were also acceptable. These products could be consumed directly at home, or the molasses could be converted into rum, and in that form traded with the Indians for furs or exported overseas. The trader could also accept bills of exchange on England. These were certificates that the planters received when they sold their sugar in England, and they represented credits that could be used like cash to pay for English goods or to pay debts to English creditors. With their holds full of molasses and perhaps a little West Indian cotton or citrus fruit, and the captain's strongbox stuffed with coin or bills of exchange, the ship sailed home to Boston, Newport, New York, or Philadelphia (Unger 1989, 89).

The slave trade also helped make up the trade deficit with the mother country. Most of the slaves carried from Africa to the Americas in the eighteenth century were transported by the French, the British, or the Dutch. But some were carried by slavers out of Boston and Newport. The typical New England slave trader sent a small vessel to the west coast of Africa with a cargo of rum distilled from West Indies molasses. On the African coast the Yankee captain rendezvoused with a trader from London or Bristol and exchanged some rum for British goods, such as iron, cloth, gunpowder, cheap jewelry, and glass beads. With this mixed stock he bought slaves from an African middleman and loaded the human cargo aboard his vessel. He then returned to the Caribbean where he sold them for the same coin, molasses, or bills of exchange that other cargo brought. Only a small proportion of the slaves removed from Africa were transported to the Carolinas or the Chesapeake on the mainland (Unger 1989, 89–90).

Over the years the ingenious merchants of the northern colonies developed many other trading route patterns. As the eighteenth century advanced, merchants from New York and Philadelphia, especially, began to invade the direct carrying trade with Britain, a route that British merchants had previously monopolized. The intercolonial coastal trade was also profitable. Hundreds of sloops, schooners, brigs, and other small sailing ships plied the waters along the Atlantic bringing Philadelphia flour to Charleston or Salem, or Yankee codfish to Annapolis or Savannah. Ships from the northern colonies also traded with Spain and Portugal—handling most of the rice, fish, flour, and other commodities that went to those places, and the wine, salt, and cash that came back. Colonial merchants also made money insuring vessels embarking on long voyages, a business later taken over by marine insurance companies (Unger 1989, 90).

THE CITY IN AMERICA

Britain's mainland colonies were overwhelmingly agricultural. Nine-tenths of the population resided in rural areas and made their livelihood from farming. Colonial cities like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston were quite small by European standards, serving mainly as gathering places for agricultural goods and for imported items to be distributed to the countryside. Nonetheless, the expansion of trade encouraged the rise of port cities, home to a growing population of colonial merchants and artisans (skilled craftsmen) as well as an increasing number of the poor. In 1770, with some 30,000 inhabitants, Philadelphia was "the capital of the New World," at least its British component, and, after London and Liverpool, the empire's third busiest port. The financial, commercial, and cultural center of British America, its growth rested on the economic integration with the rich agricultural region nearby. Philadelphia merchants organized the collection of farm goods, supplied rural storekeepers, and extended credit to customers. They exported flour, bread, and meat to the West Indies and Europe (Foner 2006, 108–9).

THE TRADES

The city was also home to a large population of furniture makers, jewelers, and silversmiths serving wealthier citizens, and hundreds of lesser artisans like weavers, blacksmiths, coopers, and carpenters. The typical artisan owned his own tools and labored in a small workshop, often his home, assisted by family members and young journeymen and apprentices learning the trade. The artisan's skill, which set him apart from the common laborers below him in the social scale, was the key to his existence, and gave him a far greater degree of economic freedom than those dependent on others for a livelihood. "He that hath a trade, hath an estate," wrote Benjamin Franklin, who had worked as a printer before achieving renown as a scientist and statesman (Foner 2006, 109).

Despite the influx of British goods, American craftsmen benefited from the expanding consumer market. Most journeymen enjoyed a reasonable chance of rising to the status of master and establishing a workshop of their own. Some achieved remarkable success. To cite one example: born in New York City in 1723, Myer Myers, a Jewish silversmith of Dutch ancestry, became one of the city's most prominent artisans. Myers produced jewelry, candlesticks, coffeepots, tableware, and other gold and silver objects for the colony's elite, as well as religious ornaments for synagogues and Protestant churches in New York and nearby colonies. He used some of his profits to acquire land in New Hampshire and Connecticut. Myers's career reflected the opportunities colonial cities offered to skilled men of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds (Foner 2006, 109–10).

THE ELITE OF COLONIAL AMERICA

Most free Americans benefited from economic growth, but, as colonial society matured, an elite emerged that, while neither as powerful nor as wealthy as the aristocracy of England, increasingly dominated politics and society. Indeed, the gap between rich and poor grew rapidly in the eighteenth century. In New England and the Middle colonies, expanding trade made possible the emergence of a powerful upper class of merchants, often linked by family or commercial ties to great trading firms in London. There were no banks in colonial America. Credit and money were in short supply, and mercantile success depended on personal connections as well as business talent. By 1750, the colonies of the Chesapeake and the Lower South were dominated by slave plantations producing staple crops, especially tobacco and rice, for the world market. Here, great planters accumulated enormous wealth. The colonial elite also included the rulers of proprietary colonies like Pennsylvania and Maryland (Foner 2006, 110–11).

America had no titled aristocracy as in Britain (although one aristocrat, Lord Thomas Fairfax, did take up residence in Virginia in 1734). It had no system of legally established social ranks or family pedigrees stretching back to medieval times. Apart from the DeLanceys, Livingstons, and van Rensselaers of New York, the Penn family in Pennsylvania, and a few southern planters, it had no one whose landholdings, in monetary value, rivaled those of the British aristocracy. But throughout British America, men of prominence controlled colonial government. In Virginia, the upper class was so close-knit and intermarried so often that the colony was said to be governed by a "cousinocracy." Members of the gentry controlled the vestries, or local governing bodies, of the established Anglican Church, dominated the county courts (political as well as judicial institutions that levied taxes and enacted local ordinances), and were prominent in Virginia's legislature. In the 1750s, seven members of the same generation of the Lee family sat in the House of Burgesses.

Eighteenth-century Virginia was a far healthier environment than in the early days of settlement. Planters could expect to pass their wealth down to the next generation, providing estates for their sons and establishing family dynasties. Nearly every Virginian of note achieved prominence through family connections. The days when self-made men could rise into the Virginia gentry were long gone; by 1770, nearly all upper-class Virginians had inherited their wealth. Thomas Jefferson's grandfather was a justice of the peace (an important local official), militia captain, and sheriff, and his father was a member of the House of Burgesses. George Washington's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been justices of the peace. The Virginia gentry used its control of provincial government to gain possession of large tracts of land as western areas opened for settlement. Grants of 20,000 to 40,000 acres were not uncommon. Robert "King" Carter, a speaker of the House of Burgesses, acquired 300,000 acres of land and 1,000 slaves by the time of his death (Foner 2006, 111).

THE ANGLICIZATION OF THE UPPER CLASS IN AMERICA

Wealthy Americans tried to model their lives on British etiquette and behavior. Somewhat resentful at living in provincial isolation—"at the end of the world," as one Virginia aristocrat put it—they sought to demonstrate their status and legitimacy by importing the latest London fashions and literature, sending their sons to Britain for education, and building homes equipped with fashionable furnishings modeled on the country estates and townhouses of the English gentry. Their residences included large rooms for entertainment, display cases for imported luxury goods, and elaborate formal gardens. Some members of the colonial elite, like George Washington, even had coats of arms designed for their families, in imitation of English upper-class practice. Desperate to follow an aristocratic lifestyle, many planters fell in debt. William Byrd III lived so extravagantly that by 1770 he had accumulated a debt of £100,000, an amount almost unheard of in England or America. But so long as the world market for tobacco thrived, so did Virginia's gentry (Foner 2006, 111–12).

Throughout the colonies, elites emulated what they say was England's balanced, stable social order. Liberty, in their eyes, meant, in part, the power to rule—the right of those blessed with wealth and prominence to dominate over others. They viewed society as a hierarchical structure in which some men were endowed with greater talents than others and destined to rule. The social order, they believed, was held together by webs of influence that linked patrons and those dependent on them. Each place in the hierarchy carried with it different responsibilities, and one's status was revealed in dress, manners, and the splendor of one's home. "Superiority" and "dependence," as one colonial newspaper put it, were natural elements of any society. An image of refinement served to legitimate wealth and political power. Colonial elites prided themselves on developing aristocratic manners, cultivating the arts, and making productive use of leisure. Indeed, on both sides of the Atlantic, elites viewed work as something reserved for common folk and slaves. Freedom from labor was the mark of a gentleman (Foner 2006, 113).

THE MIDDLING ORDER IN AMERICA

The large majority of free Americans lived between the extremes of wealth and poverty. Along with racial and ethnic diversity what distinguished the mainland colonies from Europe was the wide distribution of land and the economic autonomy of most ordinary free families. The anonymous author of the book *American Husbandry*, published in 1775, reported that "little freeholders who live upon their own property" made up "the most considerable part" of the people, especially in the northern colonies and the nonplantation parts of the South. Altogether, perhaps two-thirds of the free male population were farmers who owned their own land. England, to be sure, had no class of laborers as exploited as American slaves, but three-fifths of its people owned no property at all.

By the eighteenth century, colonial farm families viewed land ownership almost as a right, the social precondition of freedom. They strongly resented efforts, whether by Native Americans, great landlords, or colonial governments, to limit their access to land. A dislike of personal dependence and an understanding of freedom as not relying on others for a livelihood sank deep roots in British North America. These beliefs, after all, accorded with social reality—a wide distribution of property that made economic independence part of the lived experience of large numbers of white colonists (Foner 2006, 114).

THE POOR IN AMERICA

Poverty emerged as a visible feature of eighteenth-century colonial life. Although not considered by most colonists part of their society, the growing number of slaves lived in impoverished conditions. Among free Americans, poverty was hardly as widespread as in Britain, where in the early part of the century between one-quarter and one-half of the people regularly required public assistance. But as the colonial population expanded, access to land diminished rapidly, especially in long-settled areas. In New England, which received few immigrants, the high birthrate fueled population growth. With the supply of land limited, sons who could not hope to inherit farms were forced to move to other colonies or to try their hand at a trade in the region's towns. By midcentury, tenants and wage laborers were a growing presence on farms in the Middle colonies.

In colonial cities, the number of wage earners having no property subsisting at the poverty line steadily increased. In Boston, one-third of the population in 1771 owned no property at all. In rural Augusta County, carved out of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley in 1738, land was quickly engrossed by planters and speculators. By the 1760s, two-thirds of the county's white men owned no land and had little prospect of obtaining it unless they migrated farther west. Taking the colonies as a whole, half of the wealth at midcentury was concentrated in the richest 10 percent of the population (Foner 2006, 113).

Attitudes and policies toward poverty in colonial America mirrored British precedents. The better-off colonists generally viewed the poor as lazy, shiftless, and responsible for their own plight. Both rural communities and cities did accept responsibility for assisting their own. But to minimize the burden on taxpayers, poor persons were frequently set to labor in workhouses, where they produced goods that reimbursed authorities for their upkeep. Their children were sent to work as apprentices in local homes or workshops. Most communities adopted stringent measures to "warn out" unemployed and propertyless newcomers who might become dependent on local poor relief. This involved town authorities either expelling the unwanted poor from an area or formally declaring certain persons ineligible for assistance. In Essex County, Massachusetts, the number of poor persons warned out each year rose from 200 in the 1730s to 1,700 in the 1760s. Many were members of families headed by widowed or abandoned women (Foner 2006, 114).

Political Life

THE STRUCTURE OF COLONIAL POLITICS

British immigrants to America brought with them the political ideas, customs, and practices of the mother country. On the local level, for example, both the town in New England and the vestry in the South were political units transplanted from England. The colonial sheriff and the justice of the peace resembled the same officials in England, and there was an obvious parallel between Parliament and the colonial legislatures. Beginning with Virginia in 1619, settlers were empowered one-by-one to set up legislatures in each of the British mainland colonies. These were given different names in different colonies (General Court, House of Burgesses, General Assembly), but they served the colonies much as Parliament served England. And like Parliament, most colonial legislatures had a lower and an upper house (Unger 1989, 66).

Each colony also had a chief executive, the equivalent of the Crown. In royal colonies (in 1776, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia) the governor was appointed by the British sovereign. When the royal governor—or, more likely, his deputy the lieutenant governor—came to America, he represented the royal power. In proprietary colonies (Pennsylvania and Delaware, and New York, Maryland, and the Carolinas before they became royal colonies) the governor represented the proprietor, the man who held the original charter. Only in Connecticut and Rhode Island was the governor elected by the local enfranchised citizens. No matter how he was chosen, the governor usually could veto acts by the colonial legislature, much as, in theory at least, the English sovereign could veto acts of Parliament (Unger 1989, 66–67).

As time went on, the governors were forced to give up some of their power to the assemblies. At first British authorities refused to consider these bodies true legislatures. One British official described them as only "so many Corporations at a distance, invested with an Ability to make Temporary By Laws for themselves." But in time, encouraged by the growing colonial population, the distance from England, the official British policy of ignoring restrictions on the colonies to allow them to prosper and thus enrich England, and British inefficiency in administering colonial affairs, the colonial legislatures expanded their powers. Early in the eighteenth century the colonial lower houses forced the governors to allow them to debate freely without executive interference, to judge the qualifications of their own members, to exclude crown officials from their deliberations, and to meet when and for as long as they wished. Most important, they forced the governors to surrender to them "the power of the purse."

Gaining the right to control the purse strings required a long battle. When representative government was first established in the colonies, governors received an annual lump-sum appropriation from the legislature. The governors disbursed these funds as they saw fit. The system gave them the power to pursue policies without any check by the legislature. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the assemblies had stopped the lump-sum grants; instead, they earmarked appropriations for specific periods. They also began to pay the governors' salaries for a single year—and only at the end of it—to guarantee their good behavior. In several colonies these efforts to control the governors touched off furious battles. By the 1750s most of these struggles had been decided in favor of the legislatures (Unger 1989, 67).

By the end of the colonial era the provincial assemblies were miniature parliaments exercising almost all the hard-won rights of their English model. These rights included control over taxation, expenditures, the salaries of officials, military and Indian affairs, and everything that affected religion, education, and what we today would call welfare. The legislatures' power was not unlimited, however. Governors continued to veto laws they opposed. And even if the governor approved a measure, it could be "disallowed" by the Privy Council in England. Especially during the early years of the eighteenth century, however, the English government did little to restrain the colonial assemblies, and during this period of "salutary neglect" much real political power slipped into the hands of the colonists (Unger 1989, 67–68).

REPRESENTATION AND VOTING IN AMERICA

Although the framework of the colonial governments was similar to that of Great Britain, political power was more widely diffused in the colonies than in Britain. The upper houses of the colonial legislatures, the councils, were appointed and were composed of landed gentlemen, prosperous lawyers, and rich merchants. But membership was not hereditary, as it was in the English House of Lords.

More significant was the broad electorate that chose the colonial lower houses. By modern standards the colonial franchise was severely limited. Slaves, of course, could not vote, nor could indentured servants. At times some women exercised considerable public authority. For example, in the seventeenth century "Mistresse Margaret Brent, Spinster" ran her own plantation, and, as executor of the estate of Leonard Calvert, proprietor of Maryland, virtually ruled that colony's affairs. But neither Margaret Brent nor any other colonial female had the right to vote. Even free white adult males had to own land or buildings, or lease them for a long period, to qualify as voters. This was only one side of the picture, however. Property was so easily acquired and so widely held in America that the election laws disqualified relatively few free adult males from voting. Furthermore, traditional requirements linking church membership to voting privileges were undermined by the growing diversity of religions in America. The end result was a relatively broad franchise. In various Rhode Island towns in the mid-eighteenth century, for example, 60 percent or more of the total adult male population was eligible to vote. In some New York districts up to 80 percent of all adult males had the vote. In Massachusetts, according to Governor Thomas Hutchinson, "anything with the appearance of a man" was allowed to exercise the franchise.

Though many ordinary people could vote, colonial officials were not carbon copies of the colonial population. Members of the colonial assemblies were richer, better educated, and of higher status than their constituents. Colonial voters generally preferred to send the local squire, a prosperous merchant, or a rising young lawyer to the House of Burgesses or House of Assembly rather than a farmer, craftsman, or shopkeeper. Local officials were also members of the elite southern vestries who appointed their own successors and were dominated by the "squirearchy" of rich planters, who resembled the country gentry of England. Nor was the town, the basic governmental unit in New England, entirely democratic. Virtually all adult males participated in the town meeting, but town leaders were generally men of high status.

On the other hand, political deference—submission to social superiors—was decidedly weaker in America than in England. When the local squire ran for office, he had to campaign hard and promise to abide by the wishes of the voters. Candidates were expected to act democratically and avoid aloofness. During election campaigns they made it a point to mingle with the electors and offer them "refreshment," liquid or otherwise. When Colonel George Washington of Fairfax County, Virginia, ran for the House of Burgesses in 1774, he provided the "Freeholders and Gentlemen" of Alexandria with a "hogshead of Toddy." After the returns were in, he threw a victory party for the voters that was "conducted with great harmony."

Nor did representatives—once elected—forget their constituents. Colonial legislatures and governments were surprisingly responsive to the will of the citizens. By 1705, for example, the Virginia legislature had acquired a Propositions and Grievances Committee that received public petitions proposing new laws. The committee would pass along the worthiest suggestions to the House of Burgesses, which then could act as it saw fit.

In sum, colonial government was neither predominantly democratic nor predominantly aristocratic; it displayed both tendencies. Democracy as we know it did not exist anywhere in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century world, nor was it wanted as a form of government. But as political institutions were transferred from England to America, they were changed in ways that allowed greater popular freedom and self-determination (Unger 1989, 68).

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

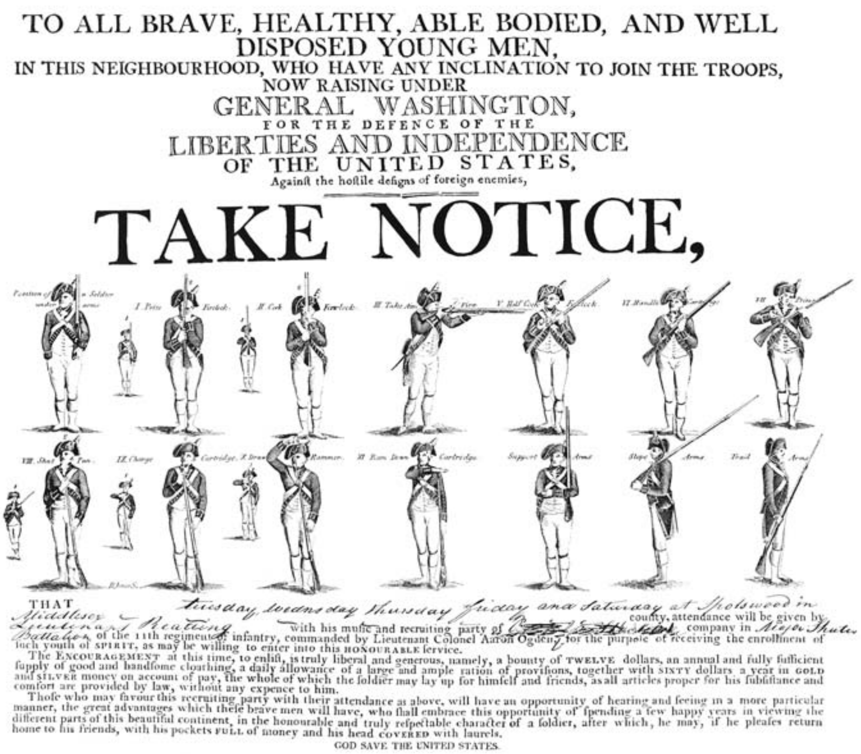
The Peace of Paris of 1763, which ended the French and Indian War (1754–1763), made Britain the unchallenged worldwide trading empire. The ministry in

London had never before attempted to rule an overseas empire of such size and complexity as the one it had just acquired from France. Although the British had an established military, naval, and colonial administration, it was under great pressure, for the empire had almost instantly outgrown the structure of government (Adams and Vannest 1935, 77) (Pearson 1972, 7).

The struggle with France for North America had required the cooperation of the colonials and the British army to a degree never before experienced. However, the effort was marred by ill feelings created during the initial tactical phases of the conflict. The crown officials felt that they should have been met with gratitude for defending the colonies. Instead, the provincial legislatures resisted their propositions and treated the British military with disdain, ridicule, and even contempt. In this regard the French wars, and the French and Indian War in particular, represent formative episodes in the history and culture of the United States.

British army officers "never tired of reminding one another that the American colonists made the world's worst soldiers." They viewed the colonials as "the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs" that could be conceived, who needed to learn "how a war should be fought." Yet many of the initial military successes against the French were directly attributable to the ceaseless determination of the provincial forces raised by the New England colonies. Provincial forces also stopped an army of French regulars from splitting the British colonies in half in 1755 at the battle of Lake George. This victory served to counter the severe psychological impact of the concurrent defeat of General Edward Braddock and his regulars on the Monongahela River, where only the cool response of the Virginia militia and the decisive actions taken by George Washington saved the majority of the survivors from total annihilation. Each success on the battlefield by colonial forces increased their sense of self-importance and lowered the prestige of the royal government and the British military in their eyes (Anderson 1981, 395) (Beard and Beard 1927, 227) (Wahll 1999, 124).

The Crown found the colonials shortsighted, selfish, and even maliciously insubordinate. A British officer wrote, "I have been greatly disappointed by the neglect and supineness of the assemblies of those provinces, with which I am concerned. They promised great matters and have done nothing whereby, instead of forwarding, they have obstructed the service." The



Recruiting poster for Continental soldiers, American Revolution. Hand-colored woodcut.

citizens of Massachusetts were particularly incensed by critical comments like these because they had answered every call by the Crown to assault the French with a laudable immediacy. Their frontier settlements bordering Canada had borne the brunt of Indian attacks, abductions, and scalpings. In the final years of the struggle one-third of all the able-bodied males in Massachusetts were in the army, and a large portion of these men died in service of wounds, neglect, or exposure. Public debt in the colony skyrocketed, and local taxes almost doubled (Wahll 1999, 354) (Koebner 1965, 94) (Leach 1986, 25–30).

Although colonial enthusiasm for fighting the French made the failure of British arms seem less disastrous, it would be an error to claim, as many Americans did, that the provincials alone had won North America for the empire. By 1763, both the regulars and the provincials had gained knowledge, discipline, and experience in warfare. However, their mutual antagonism caused respect for royal authority in the colonies to shrink to such a small measure in the interim that Parliament felt the need to exert its full authority to keep the colonists in subjection (Volo and Volo 2003, xiv).

Meanwhile, young King George III allied himself to Prime Minister George Grenville and First Lord of Trade Charles Townshend. Grenville was openly hostile to the colonial governments in America, especially with regard to the strict enforcement of the trade statutes, including the full range of duties and taxes envisioned by Townshend. A "growing interest in colonies as markets rather than as sources of raw materials . . . implied that the colonies would be constrained permanently to buy more than they sold—an economic grievance which did a great deal to link colonial planters and merchants to colonial politicians." Many Anglo-Americans came to fear that they would become perpetual debtors to the financial interests in England, living and dying in poverty regardless of their personal resolve to labor, invest, and save (Robson 1966, 8).

The Grenville program for America astounded the governing classes on both sides of the Atlantic. Yet the ministry believed that the colonials would not seriously resist these changes to their traditional political and economic status. The architects of public change rarely understand beforehand the extent of the economic, social, or political innovations their actions have turned loose. In this case the Crown grossly underestimated the reaction of the American people. Nonetheless, Grenville intended that the laws regulating trade and revenue be enforced to the letter. To that end, he sent British army officers to command the frontier outposts, Royal Navy warships to patrol the American coastline, and an army of petty bureaucrats to collect the revenue and man the government offices. In each of these acts the colonials perceived that they were the targets of imperial condescension, distrust, and animosity.

In this manner the American Revolution, like other civil upheavals before and since, began as a conservative movement calling for a return to former times. The colonials had a powerful case on their side, rooted in the British constitution and established by the precedent of more than a century of colonial self-government. They also had numerous proponents of their position—mostly moderate Whigs—to speak for them in Parliament. However, revolutions often begin by sounding orthodox, traditional, or nostalgic in their rhetoric. Handbills, broadsides, pamphlets, editorials, letters, and petitions circulated throughout the colonies. Speeches were made, sermons were preached, and enthusiastic crowds harangued public officials. In this way an essentially economic dispute between two factions of the same empire evolved into a political and military confrontation that would rip it apart. The increased commerce and contact among the colonies over the eighteenth century also made events and interests in one colony the concern of others so that a British policy directed at one activity—such as regulating and taxing the sugar trade—became the interest of all (Volo and Volo 2003, xv).

WHIGS AND TORIES

Prior to 1764 American colonists had generally accepted the doctrine that Parliament could pass acts regulating trade and imposing duties on imports. They had nullified any act that proved too irritating by smuggling, by producing enumerated goods clandestinely, or by simply ignoring the law. The importance of the reaction to the Stamp Act and Townshend Acts was that they raised to prominence a group of extraordinary radical leaders from within the provinces. After 1764 the voices of this new, more radical group were raised above the normal background of discontent common to the colonial middle classes (Volo and Volo 2003, 53).

During the 1760s colonial newspapers began to identify particular persons or groups as Whigs and Tories based on their positions on the political issues of the day. These appellations were extended from similar ones used in Britain, but they generally failed to describe the true political philosophy of either the Patriots or the Loyalists in America. A colonial newspaper explained that the term *Whig* was first given to the Presbyterians in Scotland who were forced to survive on buttermilk whig—or whey—when they were persecuted by the established church in the seventeenth century. The term *Tory*, applied to the Anglican churchmen, originally referred to Irish highwaymen who lived by plundering innocent travelers. “Whig and Tory, then, are used only with allusion to the originals,” claimed the editor. “Such as trust to our common dictionaries for an explanation, will only deceive themselves” (Callahan 1963, 68).

Illustration shows colonists preparing to tar and feather a Loyalist seated on the ground as another Loyalist hangs from a gallows with a rope around his waist. The Tory's day of judgment / E. Tisdale, del et sculpt. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

AGITATORS

The most influential agitators were those whose activities led directly to the Revolution, and they can be divided into two relatively distinct groups—one in the political arena and the other physically active in the streets. The first group attempted to radicalize the political process in the colonies by launching opposition campaigns in the legislatures and by influencing that fraction of the press that was friendly to the American cause. These men manipulated provincial legislation or cast votes meant to confound the ministry in London. Their stock in trade was logical arguments, dignified resolutions, and politely worded petitions. They were generally outspoken and wrote letters, pamphlets, and editorials about the American point of view to marshal political support for the movement among the middle and upper classes of the population. They attacked George III by disparaging his ministers in their speeches and pamphlets "a time-honored way of making the Crown reverse course while still preserving intact the dignity and independence of its sovereignty." Prominent among this group were James Otis, John Dickinson, and Patrick Henry (Schama 2001, 108).

Other radicals took a more physically active role in the conflict by inciting street demonstrations among the working classes or taking to the streets themselves at the head of groups of ruffians known as "the mob." They attempted to hijack the political dispute between the colonies and the parent state for their own ideological or social purposes. Their stock in trade consisted of the rabble and ruffians of the streets, a liberal coat of tar and feathers, and the threat of the torch. The active arm of their efforts was the Sons of Liberty. Notable among these radicals were Samuel Adams and John Hancock in Boston, and Isaac Sears and Alexander McDougall in New York City (Volo and Volo 2003, 55).

Although the political radicals are portrayed and remembered by historians as "founding fathers," the influence on the Revolution of those persons who were willing to "take to the streets" and openly confront the British authorities at the tip of a bayonet cannot be underestimated. The shift from speaking and writing to shouting and shoving was "a startling violation of decorum in an age when body language spoke volumes about authority and its vulnerability." By going beyond humble supplication, the insurgents gave an effective spur to the American cause by evoking a cry of anguish from their intended targets that was heard all the way in London (Schama 2001, 76).

THE LOYALIST PARTY

While companies of armed Patriots were rallying from every part of the country to repel the regulars, thousands of Americans of a more dignified character were practicing their own form of obstinate loyalty to the king. The formation of a Loyalist party, or Tory resistance, has been largely dismissed by generations of American historians as reactionary. Early writers, devoted to portraying the activities of the Patriots as necessary and appropriate in light of the democratic institutions that followed in the wake of the Revolution, simply ignored the existence of widespread support for royal authority among many Americans (Volo and Volo 2003, 58).

In the absence of dynastic disputes, loyalty was the normal and expected condition of colonial society, exhibited by the vast majority of Americans throughout the eighteenth century. As the patriot radicals strove to convert men's opinions to suit a new order of society, Loyalists tended to pursue their lives and business with a quiet but determined allegiance to the continuance of the existing order. Supporting the loyalist cause was the natural conservatism of those who found prosperity under the king. That same conservative spirit undoubtedly dissuaded many Loyalists from taking action against the unbridled mobs that formed about them, and they shuddered at the thought of speaking out too forcefully, lest the "gathering storm . . . should burst on their own heads." It was obvious that the vocal patriot mob would show no mercy to any person who spoke for the king or against the American cause. As a result, the majority of Loyalists "preserved for the most part an arrogant silence toward the arguments of the opposition" and kept their political opinions to themselves (van Tyne 1999, 7).

Loyalists generally came from those elements of colonial society considered to be Tories before 1775. Among these were the colonial officeholders, whose own incomes, and those of their relations and friends, depended on the continuance of the old order. Most of the Anglican clergy had loyalties similar to those of the crown officials. There were also those persons who were naturally conservative in their views, or who were honestly convinced that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies. Finally, there were the factional Tories like the DeLancey family, whose position was simply a reaction to that of their traditional political enemies, the Livingstons, who took the patriot side (Volo and Volo 2003, 59).

TORY RADICALS

It was not in the nature of the most conservative among the Loyalists to act as radicals and agitators. Not until the outbreak of hostilities did a whole new cadre of activists, fearful of being ruled by the mob, arise in support of the Crown. As the siege of Boston progressed through the summer and fall of 1775, many persons who wished to remain neutral were driven from their homes in the countryside by the more radical elements among the rebel Patriots. Timothy Ruggles, chosen as a counselor to Lieutenant General Thomas Gage, was attacked in the night, and his horse had its tail cropped and was painted over its entire body. Israel Williams, an elderly Tory, was tied in a chair by a mob. With the doors and chimney of his house closed, a fire was set in the fireplace, and the poor old man was smoked for several hours before being released. Daniel Leonard, another Tory adviser, avoided the mobs but had several musket balls shot through the windows of his sleeping chamber in the night (Volo and Volo 2003, 59).

Milder methods were also used to display the crowd's displeasure with those deemed Loyalists. A prominent officeholder in Massachusetts, Thomas Oliver, was forced to submit to a public haranguing by a mob of 4,000 people who surrounded his house.

The Reverend Edson was ignored by his congregation when he stood to read a psalm, and they refused to sing with him during the service. Even Sir William Pepperell, son-in-law of the colonial hero from the days of the French and Indian War, was denounced by his neighbors, who vowed to "withdraw all connection, commerce and dealings with him." The judges of the King's Court in Great Barrington were ordered by the Patriots to leave the district, which they immediately did. Persons chosen to serve as jurors in the King's Court refused to appear fearing their names would be published in the American press as enemies of the patriot cause (van Tyne 1999, 39).

Against all of this violence and intimidation, Lieutenant General Thomas Gage issued a proclamation that promised the arrest and prosecution of those found to have participated in antigovernment activities. Yet those persons loyal to the Crown who resided outside the town of Boston soon found themselves also outside Gage's protection, their situation quickly becoming intolerable. Consequently, the city of Boston was soon filled to overflowing with civilians seeking the protection of the army and navy. Here Tory activists canvassed for support up and down King Street, in the homes of well-disposed merchants, or along the wharves (Volo and Volo 2003, 60).

Many of the merchants of Boston had supported the Patriots, opposing the duties imposed by Parliament, because they hoped to increase commercial intercourse within the colonies, and very few refused to sign the boycott agreements. However, after the imposition of the Boston Port Act in 1774, this same body of merchants generally refused to join the Continental Association. Moderates among the Bostonians attempted, at a meeting at Faneuil Hall, to have the Committee of Correspondence censured or dismissed, but their proposals failed to be carried by those assembled there (van Tyne 1999, 32–33).

There followed a campaign of broadsides containing the names of 123 disaffected persons, published by the Patriots, along with the loyalists' occupations and places of business. Stars were placed near the names of those who were not born in America. Tax collectors, treasurers, and government clerks were distinguished by exclamation points. Of the names, 14 were of crown officers, and 63 were merchants and traders. The remainder were portrait painters, lapidaries, coachmakers, jewelers, bookbinders, and other craftsmen who owed their livelihood to the aristocracy. The prominence given to these persons was quite unwelcome (van Tyne 1999, 33–34).

The majority of Boston Loyalists assembled in the coffeehouses of the town, where their numbers were large enough to protect them if they spoke their minds. Nonetheless, they limited their public declarations to tavern talk and anonymous letters in the Tory press. British officials in London gave speeches and made positive statements about the determination of the government to support those who remained loyal to the king. These also appeared in the press. "This encouragement was welcomed by the Tories who as a rule either received no encouragement or, if they did, it was not sufficiently backed up by the British government." When Washington forced the British army to evacuate Boston in 1776, many of the most loyal colonials and their families took ship with them. These Loyalists were deposited in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where they either found transportation to England or remained as residents (Callahan 1963, 65).

Military Life: The Makeup of the American Army

THE MILITIA

For most Englishmen and Americans, "the most noxious tool of impending tyranny" was a standing army. Throughout British history, standing armies had brought increased levels of taxation, repression, or civil strife. By comparison, reliance on a militia for defense was considered a sign of a healthy and vigorous society in which citizens took on the responsibilities of actively safeguarding "property, liberty, and life itself" (Martin and Lender 1982, 8–9).

In America, independent companies of riflemen and rangers patrolled the backwoods areas of the colonies, but a well-regulated and trained militia provided the most practical solution to the defense needs of most settlements. There remains the cherished romantic concept of the militia as a mythical army of self-trained and self-armed warriors springing from the colonial soil in times of trouble. This picture hardly aligns with the facts. The colonial militia system was a carefully constituted organization, established in all the colonies by the middle of the century, and tested in the French and Indian Wars. While less than adequate to substitute for a regular army, the militia was able to defend the settlements, drive back the Indians, and hold open the newly abandoned lands for European acquisition. Such a force might have served before Lexington and Concord, but after 1775 the Revolution changed from a popular uprising into a very real war. The reality of continuing to rely on the militia for the prosecution of a political and social revolution quickly proved a disastrous illusion (Volo and Volo 2003, 100) (Gavin 1996) (Mahon 1958, 254).

A British surgeon at Boston in 1775 wrote of the patriot militia assembled there: "This army . . . is truly nothing but a drunken, canting, lying, praying, hypocritical rabble, without order, subjection, discipline, or cleanliness; and must fall to pieces of itself in the course of three months." An optimistic French spy reported, however, that the militia were "stronger than others thought. It surpasses one's imagination. . . . Nothing frightens them." The young men from the backcountry "were proud of their Indian-like dress and even wore leggings and breechclouts to church." A Tory minister, Jonathan Odell, wrote a poem describing the patriot militia that he saw gathering in New Jersey in 1775 (Commager and Morris 1975, 152–53) (Martin and Lender 1982, 32–33) (Calloway 1999, 18).

From the back woods, half savages came down
And awkward troops paraded every town.
Committees and conventions met by scores:
Justice was banished, Law turned out of doors;
Disorder seemed to overset the land;
Those who appeared to rule, the tumult fanned. (Callahan 1963, 127)

The weaknesses of the militia were obvious when it was used as a regional defense. John Adams wrote disparagingly of the militia raised to defend against Governor Tryon's raid on Connecticut in 1777. "[T]he stupid, sordid, cowardly, terrified country people let them [the British] pass without opposition" (Kwasny 1996, 125).

Ironically, even as the Patriots relied less on the militia and more on Continental regulars, the fighting became "more of a partisan war for which the militia's style of fighting was better suited." A Hessian officer wrote, "In the open field the rebels are not of much count, but in the woods they are redoubtable." A British officer also noted their "agility in running from fence to fence and thence keeping up an irregular, but galling fire on our troops." The constant string of raids and skirmishes that came to characterize the war in New Jersey, in particular, forced the British to maintain their combat readiness at all times in the face of small groups of militia. Outpost duty became continuous for the regulars, and the British could not quietly enjoy their winter quarters even in the cities. A regular noted that "being out almost every day harassed the garrison much." No small group of soldiers or train of provisions was safe outside the British lines. A Scottish officer wrote, "As the rascals are skulking about the whole country, it is impossible to move with any degree of safety without a pretty large escort, and even then you are exposed to a dirty kind of tiraillerie [skirmishing]" (Kwasny 1996, 125–26) (Cumming and Rankin 1975, 145) (Robson 1966, 153).

THE LOCAL MILITIA COMPANY

The heart of the militia was the local company. Company strengths from province to province varied from 70 to 200 men. The companies were in some measure bound by kinship ties, but it was mostly neighbors who served in the same unit. Local command was invested in a captain, subalterns, and sergeants. The officers were usually elected by the men—a facet of the Patriot army that seemingly frustrated many professional army officers. The overall command structure and the level of authority of individual militia leaders generally lacked clear definition, but their authority came from the provincial congress. Traditionally, the militia was prohibited from serving for long periods far from home or outside the colony, and in a largely agricultural and artisanal world that required daily attention, the men remained reluctant to leave their homes in time of danger to fight in other localities. These characteristics of the militia caused great difficulties for Congress when it attempted to establish the authority of the Continental army (for information on this topic see Anderson 1984; Anderson 1981, 395–417; Hirsch 1988, 1187–1212; Mahon 1958, 1676–1794; Morton 1958, 75–82; Shy 1963, 175–185; Radabaugh 1954, 2).

PROVINCIAL FORCES

Most of the colonies had formal provincial units, recruited into regiments, paid by the colony, and established to replace the less formal militia units in major operations. By 1775, provincial forces had become permanent organizations with their own cadre of officers and a fixed chain of command. During the Revolution these provincial forces slowly evolved into state troops and the officers were numbered prominently among those given authority by Congress. However, the changing, patchwork organization of the Patriot army, with its overlapping chains of command, competing systems of supply, and confusing terms of enlistment, posed severe problems for the Patriots throughout the war. Washington actually commanded three different army organizations during his tenure as commander in chief. The first was the Army of Observation, composed of the militia companies that besieged the British in Boston. The second was the Army of the United Colonies with its one-year enlistments, which was soundly defeated by the British in New York in 1776. Its remnants, pursued through New Jersey, when attached to the Continental army were nonetheless able to rout the Hessians at Trenton and the British regulars at Princeton. Finally, there was the Continental army established by the Congress in 1777, with its better organized departments, means of transportation, and ancillary units (Volo and Volo 2003, 102).

Throughout the war the armed forces of the United States would retain components from among the militia, the state forces, and the Continental regulars. Added to these were many local volunteers that turned out as the spirit moved them to be brigaded into temporary formations. Washington decried the reliance on well-disposed, but generally undisciplined and untrained volunteers, considering them no more dependable than "a broken staff" (Ward 1952, 253).

THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

In the fall of 1776, Congress decided to formalize the army structure in an act known as the 88 Battalion Resolves. This number of battalions (actually regiments) was arrived at by estimating the male population of the colonies. The provincial manpower quotas and regimental organization were little changed from those devised by Washington, but the number of regiments established in each state was modified somewhat. The details surrounding the organization of the Continental army thereafter changed constantly, but the basic regimental structure remained throughout the war (Volo and Volo 2003, 102).

In 1777 the organization was increased to 110 infantry regiments. The four regiments of light dragoons authorized in 1776 were retained, but the artillery was reorganized into just four regiments and a single regiment of artillery artificers to provide prepared charges and repair the carriages. The several independent companies of riflemen and rangers from the frontier regions remained active. A corps of engineers was cobbled together, and wagoners, teamsters, provisioners, and a small hospital staff were placed under the Quartermaster's Department. The resulting organization of infantry, dragoons, riflemen, artillery, and ancillary units was to be known as the Continental army (for more information see Schultz 1982).

INFANTRY

Each line regiment had 8 companies of 76 privates, instead of the 10 companies of 56 privates that characterized the British foot regiments. Each company was divided into two platoons commanded by lieutenants. Washington also proposed the creation of 32 field officers and 64 noncommissioned officers (NCOs) per regiment, which would give the men a greater density of leadership than their British counterparts, who had 21 field officers and 48 NCOs per unit. This was thought to improve the deployment and maneuver of the less highly drilled American infantry. Moreover, the regimental commanding officers would remain with their units, while the general officers would act independently. This was not the case in British units, where colonels were often absent and where lieutenant colonels, or majors, were sometimes detached to command brigades. This sometimes left an entire British regiment commanded by a senior captain (Volo and Volo 2003, 103–4).

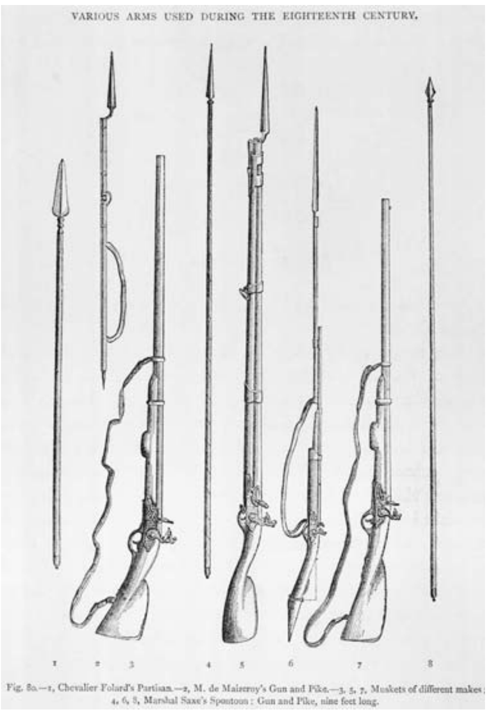


Illustration of eighteenth-century rifles and other weapons, USA: (1) Chevalier Folard's Partisan. (2) M. D. Maizeroy's Gun and Pike. (3, 5, 7) Muskets of different makes. (4, 6, 8) Marshal Saxe's Spontoon; Gun and Pike, nine feet long. © Corbis.

ARTILLERY

The Continental artillery was under the overall command of Colonel Henry Knox. His ability and foresight in organizing the artillery was remarkable. With only the knowledge acquired by his reading, Knox recommended a basic train of mobile artillery consistent with that used in Europe. He envisioned an entire train of artillery composed of brass pieces, including 100 3-pounders, 50 6-pounders, and 50 12-pounders, plus a smaller number of 18- and 24-pounders for general support and siege work. This was not possible before France entered the war (Volo and Volo 2003, 104–5).

Trained artillery crews were difficult to find. The greatest deficiency in the Continental artillery during the war was in *bombardiers* and *matrosses*. While any group of infantrymen could be drafted to move a piece, working a gun safely required the cooperation of a knowledgeable and qualified team. Shells had to have their fuses carefully timed, and the guns themselves were unforgiving; they could explode if improperly loaded, killing the men nearest them. The gunner needed to know how to vary the angle of the barrel and charge of powder to hit targets at great range. Many gunners were detached from the ships of the navy, where experienced men were more likely to be found. Moreover, artillerymen were a prime target for sharpshooters because of their value to the opposing army (Volo and Volo 2003, 105–6).

During the eighteenth century there was a shift from a battlefield dominated by cavalry to a battlefield dominated by infantry drawn up in massed formations and supported by artillery. The tactic of supporting these infantry with mobile artillery was devised by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and was refined by Frederick the Great of Prussia. There was little doubt that the offensive firepower of the infantry supported by improved and more mobile artillery was going to severely inhibit the tactics available to horsemen in the Revolution (Townshend 1997, 23–24).

DRAGOONS

In March 1776, Congress authorized 3,000 horsemen formed into four regiments of Continental Light Dragoons, one each in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, and two in Virginia. The actual number of dragoons raised was not half that envisioned. Each regiment was composed of 6 troops of only 30 men. In a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, Nathanael Greene, who was uncomfortable with an under-strength mounted arm, warned, "Enlarge your cavalry or you are inevitably ruined." His warning was validated when the British suddenly fell upon Washington's flanks at both Jamaica Pass (Long Island) and Chadd's Ford (Brandywine), although in both cases a few mounted vedettes were detailed specifically for this purpose (Herr and Wallace 1984, 18).

Considered elite troops, light dragoons were armed, equipped, and trained to be equally effective as light cavalry and as light infantry. To this end they were issued swords, pistols, and carbines. Light dragoons wore uniforms typical of the rest of the army, or short coatees, to which were added leather helmets to protect the head from sword blows, and leather breeches and knee-high boots to protect their legs from chafing on their horse furniture and stirrups. They wore none of the armor common to heavy cavalry, but they still required remounts, saddles, bridles, holsters, and other equipment unique to horsemen. The dragoons were continually plagued by deficiencies in equipment, and the troopers often provided their own horses, horse furniture, and pistols. They sometimes carried tomahawks in lieu of swords (for more information see Loescher 1977; Hayes 1975).

Dragoons were assigned as mounted vedettes, scouts, raiders, escorts, and couriers; but the bulk of their work was as foragers, advance or rear guards in the column of march, or as skirmishers on the battlefield. General Washington's life guard initially included a troop of dragoons and a company of light infantry drawn from the army on a rotational basis. It was later organized into a permanent establishment of 60 men, half of whom were dragoons. Von Herr's *Marechaussee* (military police) served as provost guards and executioners. These dragoons were widely feared and hated by the troops of their own army, and served on the flanks and rear of the battle line to prevent desertions (Volo and Volo 2003, 107–8).

There were no significant mounted charges during the Revolution and few hand-to-hand combats from the saddle. Some historians subscribe to the theory that the topography of America was simply unfriendly to sweeping maneuvers and charges by horsemen. However, this circumstance does not seem to have inhibited the cavalry during the American Civil War. In 1778, Polish Count Casimir Pulaski was made a major general and commander of all cavalry. Pulaski attempted to make the dragoons into a more traditional mounted force, training them with lances and brigading small units into larger formations. The American dragoon officers resented this imposition. One challenged a Polish comrade of Pulaski to a duel after being unhorsed in practice. Pulaski was killed in action in October 1779, in an ill-advised mounted charge against the British entrenchments at Savannah. The organization that he envisioned for the Continental cavalry died with him (Volo and Volo 2003, 108–9).

Many southern militia companies and volunteers, such as those led by Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens, came to war mounted and could not be made to give up their horses to serve on foot. These volunteers laid claim to the traditional status of mounted aristocrats while avoiding the less desirable duties of infantrymen. Although they were not used as cavalry in the classical sense, these "mounted troops were indispensable" in the southern campaigns of 1780–1781. They raided British supplies, cut off isolated units, and strangled communications. Their manner was undisciplined, their tactics with respect to Loyalists were heavy-handed, and their equipment was largely improvised. Nineteenth-century historians may have exaggerated and distorted their contributions to the war, but it is certain that these mounted irregulars were effective in galling the British to distraction (Purcell and Burg 1992, 141) (Gerson 1967, 272).

THE LEGION

An entirely new formation, known as the legion, was developed during the American war. This structure teamed dragoons with light infantry, who would sometimes ride double to cover great distances. The light infantry provided defense and firepower, while the dragoons provided flexibility and speed in the attack. Before his death, Pulaski formed a legion recruited from among British deserters and prisoners of war, but afterward it reverted to the role of light infantry. The Pulaski Legion proved to be more of a hazard to its friends than to the enemy, due to "its routinely destructive behavior…[and] it enjoyed little success at any of its assigned tasks" (Purcell and Burg 1992, 363).

The most effective legions were the Partisan Legion of Light Horse Harry Lee and that of William Washington, the commander in chief's cousin. Lee had three troops of horse (one composed of Oneida Indians) and two companies of light infantry; Washington's legion was similarly composed from the 1st Dragoons and the remnants of the 3rd Dragoons, which had been massacred at Tappan, New York. The British legion of Banastre Tarleton, a green-clad unit composed mostly of Loyalists, seems to have been the equal of all the American organizations (for more information see Gerson 1966).

The legions of Lee and Tarleton both wore dark green uniforms, and the leaders took care to make use of any mistaken identification. At Haw River, North Carolina, Lee was able to convince 400 mounted Loyalists under Colonel John Pyles that he was Tarleton! When the Loyalists dropped their guard and formed on parade to honor him, Lee's men fell upon them, killing 90 men and wounding or capturing the rest. Not one American was hurt. Tarleton, on the other hand, boldly rode into a patriot supply depot, identified himself as Lee, drew provisions for his horses and men, and signed a receipt before he quietly rode away.

Lee's and Tarleton's troopers clashed almost daily in small affairs, occasionally killing or wounding a man or horse. Such duty was tedious, nerve-racking, and very hard on both men and horses. Cavalrymen faced this form of small war, or *petite guerre*, more often than their comrades in the infantry or artillery. Hours spent sitting picket duty on a horse in the dark, on a lonely road waiting to be attacked by a lurking enemy, fell short of the gallant cavalry charges portrayed in the schoolbooks and novels of the next century.

Lee and Tarleton never came face to face. However, at Cowpens in South Carolina, the horsemen of William Washington and those of Tarleton came together with saber-clashing bravado in a brief but indecisive clash. They hacked at one another for a short time like medieval champions amid their entangled comrades, but were separated in the heat of battle. The clash was not rejoined because Tarleton's men fled the field (Volo and Volo 2003, 109).

Tarleton had a similar experience in 1781 at Gloucester Point while escorting a foraging party with the 16th Dragoons. He observed a squadron of French horsemen (hussars) of the legion of the Duc de Lauzen pursuing them. He charged the leading elements of the French in a narrow lane, sword in hand, but the confines of the pathway prevented any sword-to-sword action. Just as the two leaders were about to come into contact, Tarleton fell from his horse. Only the quick action of his men saved him from being captured. The arrival of American infantry forced the British to withdraw (Morrissey 1995, 41–42).

RECRUITS AND VOLUNTEERS

Only men between the ages of 16 and 60 were formed into units for training. This range of ages may leave the reader with an inaccurate picture of what the Revolutionary army looked like. Provincial armies were composed of adult males in the prime of life rather than of old men and young boys. Studies suggest that the average age of men serving in the army was just under 26, with 80 percent under 35 and less than 2 percent, many of them officers, over 55. Almost all of these men were true volunteers, unlike the soldiers of European armies, who may have been impressed or conscripted (Anderson 1984, 44, 231).

BLACK SOLDIERS

Free blacks and black slaves from the southern plantations were welcomed into the British army in 1775 by Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia. They were formed into the governor's Ethiopian Regiment for service against their former masters. Dunmore hoped to attract 2,000 black slaves to military service with the promise of freedom at the conclusion of hostilities. Although the northern colonies, particularly Rhode Island and Connecticut, made similar proposals to blacks willing to serve in the Patriot army, southern landowners were horrified by Dunmore's action (Volo and Volo 2003, 110).

In the northern colonies many blacks were free men, but in the southern colonies almost all were slaves. The enlistment of slaves "violated the property rights of their masters," and there was a fear that the army might become a "refuge for runaway slaves." Georgia and South Carolina were the only states to refuse to enlist blacks. Elsewhere, any blacks wishing to volunteer for the Patriot army were required to present evidence that they were free men, a requirement knowingly overlooked by many manpower-hungry recruiters. Those blacks found to have served "while a fugitive" were routinely denied pensions after the war (Volo and Volo 2003, 110) (Quarles 1996, 13) (Raphael 1991, 288–89).

There is little evidence that either Loyalists or Patriots refused to serve with black soldiers in battle. Several small groups of former slaves were reported to have raided patriot plantations in Virginia while under the command of white officers. At the battle of Great Bridge, one-third of the 400 British troops involved were of African heritage, and they were observed to serve with distinction, bravely attacking the fortified positions of their former masters even in defeat. Runaways captured in arms against the Patriots were sent to the lead mines of southwestern Virginia or were sold in the West Indies (Volo and Volo 2003, 110) (Quarles 1996, 19–32).

Many black soldiers and their families were taken aboard ship at Norfolk when Dunmore abandoned the mainland, but they were poorly treated and forced to serve as drudges aboard ship. Many enlisted as sailors, far from a unique experience for the manpower-hungry Royal Navy, which recruited among many races and nationalities around the world. The remains of a young British seaman, buried in his uniform coat, that was unearthed in an all-black cemetery in Manhattan in the 1980s is a silent testament to the extent of their service (Volo and Volo 2003, 110–11).

Most of the former slaves who volunteered to serve with the British simply disappeared into history. Hundreds may have died of a fever, possibly smallpox, reported to have swept the confines of the ships in the weeks before Dunmore burned Norfolk and sailed north. Thomas Jefferson claimed that 27 of the 30 slaves who fled his plantation to fight for the British died of smallpox or "putride fever." It has been estimated that the number of fatalities among blacks who fled to the British was approximately equal to the total incurred by white Patriots during the course of the war (Volo and Volo 2003, 11) (Raphael 1991, 298).

"Washington Crossing the Delaware" by Emanuel Leutze. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

New England enrolled more men of African descent than any other region of the country because there was a good sized population of free blacks in the seaport towns. Seamen of many races and ethnic backgrounds were a common sight in New England, and a good number of blacks served as sailors aboard American privateers. A contemporary observer noted that there were no regiments from New England that did not have some black soldiers. Estimates of blacks in New England regiments run as high as eight percent. Rhode Island had the largest proportion of blacks among its soldiers, and Connecticut had the greatest absolute number. The First Rhode Island Regiment enrolled almost 200 black light infantrymen, and the members of the 2nd Company of the 4th Connecticut Regiment of the Continental Line were all of African descent. The state outside New England with the largest enrollment of blacks was Virginia (Volo and Volo 2003, 111) (Raphael 1991, 284) (Quarles 1996, 73–74).

Dorothy Dudley noted in the journal of her stay with the Patriot army, "There is an element in our camp life not to be overlooked—I mean the negroes, many of them slaves, who, heart and soul, enter into the interests of our country and render valuable service both in tent and field. It was a colored soldier, you know, who shot Major Pitcairn at Bunker Hill. Many of them are scattered through the ranks of the army, and in the hospitals and camp faithfully fill offices of many kinds." The contemporary painter John Trumbull included two blacks in his famous painting of the death of Dr. Joseph Warren at Bunker Hill, and it is known that Salem Poor, Cuff Whitemore, and 14 other unnamed black soldiers fought there (Volo and Volo 2003, 111) (Dudley 1971, 36).

The typical black enlistee served as a private in a patriot infantry regiment. A small number served with the artillery, and only rarely was one found in the elite mounted service, usually as a servant. Former slaves fought in every major engagement of the war. Many of the black soldiers served as orderlies, or were assigned to noncombatant functions such as wagoners, farriers, guards for the stores, ditch diggers, or artillery dragropemen. Blacks who served in the Patriot army were due the same wages, enlistment bounties, clothing allowances, food, and pensions given to white soldiers (Volo and Volo 2003, 111–12).

Many black soldiers received postwar pensions under legislation passed late in the century, but others remain unknown to history because they enlisted without surnames. Petitions to the state or federal government for emancipation or pension benefits included the names of James LaFayette and Saul Matthews, who served as spies; Caesar Tarrant, who served as a harbor pilot; and Richard Pointer, who fought off Indians on the frontier. Jeru Grant served as a teamster. Ned Griffin claimed emancipation for having served in the place of his master, William Kitchen, at the battle of Guilford Courthouse; and Lambo Latham and Jordan Freeman died defending Fort Griswold in Connecticut. Men like these were just as much heroes in the cause of freedom as Crispus Attucks, who died in the Boston Massacre; Salem Poor, who shot Major Pitcairn; or Prince Whipple, who crossed the Delaware with Washington at Trenton (Volo and Volo 2003, 111–12) (Raphael 1991, 282–85).

The acceptance of black soldiers in the army was not universal, and "a pattern of exclusion" quickly developed. General William Heath of New England noted, "For my own part I must confess I am never pleased to see them [blacks] mixed with white men." After the first flush of the war, Congress encouraged all soldiers to reenlist at the end of their terms, "Negroes excepted, which the Congress do not incline to enlist again." New Hampshire refused to accept black reenlistments, and New Jersey required all black soldiers in its regiments to turn in their weapons and continue service as noncombatants, or not at all. Furthermore, Congress ordered all blacks found loitering near the camps to be seized and confined. The fate of such persons is absent from the record (Volo and Volo 2003, 113) (Quarles 1996, 13, 15) (Cumming and Rankin 1975, 158).

Men of African heritage seem to have fought well on the battlefield. Historian Benjamin Quarles has noted, "Since Negro soldiers fought side by side with whites, rather than in separate organizations, there was no battle in which black Americans were conspicuous as a racial group." Nathanael Greene's regiment of black soldiers from Rhode Island came closest to being distinct as a race-based unit. A French officer described them as "most neatly dressed, the best under arms, and the most precise in [their] maneuvers." They were one of six units of predominantly white light infantry that served with great skill at Newport in August 1778. Greene's black regiment was specifically commended for holding its position against three determined assaults by the British and the Hessians (Volo and Volo 2003, 113) (Raphael 1991, 284, 297) (Quarles 1996, 79–80).

Black troops also made up part of the French forces that came as American allies from the West Indies. The Count d'Estaing's army of 3,600 had more than 500 blacks, recruited largely in Santo Domingo. Designated Volunteer Chasseurs, they served under white officers during the siege of Savannah and prevented the success of a British counterattack at a pivotal point in the operation. When the French fleet abandoned the siege of the city, the Volunteer Chasseurs went with them, and they played no further role in the Revolution on the mainland (Volo and Volo 2003, 114).

BOYS AT WAR

Those under the age of 16 played an important part in the revolution. Most served as fifers and drummers in the army, trumpeters in the cavalry, and powder boys in the artillery. Lieutenant Colonel Harry Lee was greatly moved when the unarmed teenage trumpeter of his dragoon regiment was shot down in a road by one of Tarleton's riders. Nonetheless, even youngsters of 10 or 12 who had lived on the frontier might be experienced enough with firearms not to waste a shot in haste at an enemy. Hunting for food and defending against Indian attack made a knowledge of firearms and their use imperative. At a time when most European armies pointed their muskets in the general direction of the enemy rather than aiming directly at them, some American youngsters might be considered "expert marksmen" by comparison (Coggins 1967, 9).

Many boys enlisted and fought on board privateers or on the ships of the Continental or Royal Navy as cabin boys, cook's helpers, or powder monkeys. Many more boys went to sea than served on land simply because it was common practice in coastal towns to apprentice as a seaman at an early age. Powder monkeys of 10 or 12 years were particularly important on warships, where they brought ammunition from the powder magazines below the waterline to the gun decks during battle (Volo and Volo 2003, 114).

THE SIZE OF ARMIES

Modern researchers estimate that about half the military-age men in the population, 100,000 individuals, served in the Continental army, provincial forces, or militias during the war. General Washington never personally commanded more than 25,000 troops. Only eight times during the war did the Continental army as a whole show more than 20,000 men. Army strength varied with the seasons. As winter approached, many men would wander away from the camps to sit before the warm hearths of their own homes, and spring planting kept many men from returning to the army until late in the season. This was frowned upon by the officers, but the army was always happy to see the men return. The fighting force may have been augmented during some campaigns by volunteers who turned out in ad hoc formations. This was certainly true during the Saratoga campaign, where the appearance of Burgoyne's army of invasion drew patriot volunteers with great enthusiasm (Risch 1981, 26) (see also Lesser 1976).

The best estimate of the average size of the army under Washington is less than 10,000. He may have had 25,000 to defend New York City, but he certainly had fewer than 7,000 for the Trenton/Princeton Campaign of December 1776. A return from July 1778 showed 16,782 rank and file fit for duty in White Plains, New York. This is the largest absolute number under Washington's direct command for which there is hard evidence, but these troops were actually arranged in six divisions spread in an arc that swept across parts of New Jersey, Westchester County, and Connecticut with a radius of 42 miles from New York City. No division was actually strong enough to prevent a determined outbreak by the British, nor were they close enough to each other to provide meaningful support. Washington has been criticized by students of military strategy for dispersing his troops so widely (Volo and Volo 2003, 114–15).

The Americans were successful in driving the British from New England, but throughout the war detachments of various size were required to maintain their authority. Patriot forces became somewhat scattered by the need to stem the aggressive moves of the Royal Navy along the New England coastline and to contain the operations undertaken by the loyalists' regiments in Westchester. Moreover, in 1780 many units in the army were dispatched to the southern campaign, leaving Washington with a considerably smaller command. In 1781, he was able to field fewer than 8,500 men, and at Yorktown his immediate command was only about 5,000 Americans.

The combined armies of Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold that attacked Montreal and Quebec in the winter of 1775–1776 were estimated at 2,500 men. At Camden and Charleston, the Patriots lost two complete armies documented to contain almost 5,000 men each, one under Horatio Gates and the other under

Benjamin Lincoln. The patriot forces in the South, under Nathanael Greene, were thereby devastated, but continued to recover by the timely arrival of detachments from the North and by the operations of the militia that appeared from the back-country, foothills, and swamps of the Carolinas.

Among these were the irregular forces of Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion (the Swamp Fox), and Andrew Pickens, which harassed the British in Georgia and South Carolina after the fall of Savannah and Charleston. All three local leaders were daring, creative, and skillful, and they understood that those practicing partisan warfare must attack, avoid being pinned down, and quickly melt back into the countryside when faced with overwhelming strength. The volatile nature of these organizations makes estimating their number difficult.

The actual strength of the Patriot army, therefore, is almost impossible to measure accurately, leaving the student with only an estimate of its numbers based on its effective strength. It is safe to say that the Patriots were able to maintain an army big enough to oppose the operations of the British at most points. It is one of the failures of British strategy that their military strength was never again overwhelmingly focused on just one part of the colonies as it was at New York in 1776 (Volo and Volo 2003, 115).

RECRUITING REBELLION

The initial outpouring of patriot volunteers in 1775 and early 1776 quickly slowed as it became obvious that the war would drag on for some time. The recruits to the Continental army of 1777 were at first asked to enlist for the duration of the war. Colonial laws regarding enlistments in previous wars had traditionally limited enlistments to one year. Washington understood that he could not effectively campaign with his troops on the verge of leaving the army each winter. Yet he warned Congress that long enlistments would hamper recruitment. A three-year term, or the duration of the war, should it prove shorter, was therefore considered an acceptable compromise for Continental service.

The rules that controlled military life were known as the Articles of War. All recruits signed them when they enlisted and pledged to live by them while in service. In signing, the recruit voluntarily gave up some of his civil liberties for the sake of military order and discipline. The initial articles of the Continental army were based on earlier versions common to provincial service, but they were found deficient in deterring misbehavior among the men. In an attempt to improve discipline, Congress strengthened them. The new version had 76 clauses that defined the soldier's rights and obligations under military law and provided a uniform structure to the courts of military justice. Congress raised a number of minor acts, such as looting, to capital crimes and increased the maximum corporal punishment from the biblical limit of 39 lashes to a full 100 (Volo and Volo 2003, 116).

Many enlistees initially refused to sign the congressional version of the articles because they considered themselves provincial troops governed only by the militia regulations of their states. This was particularly true of the troops from Connecticut, who were supported in their refusal by General David Wooster. Washington would have none of this, sending one regiment of Connecticut cavalry home at a critical moment in the New York campaign because they refused to do fatigue duties. He wrote, "Men accustomed to unbounded freedom, and no control, cannot brook the restraint which is indespensible [*sic*] to the good order and government of an army; without which licentiousness, and every kind of disorder triumphantly reigns." However, with time, this peculiarity of Continental service seems to have worked itself out, and free uniforms, bounties, and increased pay for Continental soldiers seem to have overcome any lingering objections to signing the Articles of War (Volo and Volo 2003, 116) (Raphael 1991, 312).

Only once did any of the patriot forces refuse to serve while under arms. This was because their three-year enlistments had run out in January 1781. Several regiments of Pennsylvania infantry, having suffered from cold and hunger at the Morristown encampment, began an orderly march home. General Anthony Wayne initially charged them with mutiny, but the troops had not been paid for months and had indeed served out their terms. The mutiny briefly threatened the existence of the main army as two British agents among the men tried to spread the disagreement to other units. Nonetheless, cooler heads prevailed, and the troops were furloughed until the terms of their enlistments were worked out. The British agents were hanged as spies. Ironically, most of the Pennsylvania men reenlisted (Volo and Volo 2003, 116–17).

PUNISHMENTS

The Articles of War were read periodically to all the troops at mass formations so that no man could claim ignorance of them. Regimental courts-martial were held almost weekly, and those charged with infractions were judged by a panel of officers drawn from the companies. Punishments were publicly inflicted before the entire regiment or brigade as a deterrent to further violations. Gambling, fighting between the men, bad language, petty theft, and discourteous behavior to officers were considered offenses warranting the lash, hanging by the thumbs, standing upon a wooden peg with the bare foot, or straddling a rail for some hours. Each punishment was designed to chastise, but not to permanently debilitate the miscreant (Volo and Volo 2003, 117–18).

Desertion, cowardice, treason, murder, disobedience of direct orders, mutiny, sleeping on watch, looting, rape, and homosexuality could bring death, usually by hanging. James Thacher, a surgeon with the Patriot army, noted, "Five soldiers were conducted to the gallows, according to their sentence, for the crimes of desertion and robbing the inhabitants. A detachment of troops and a concourse of people formed a circle round the gallows, and the criminals were brought in a cart, sitting on their coffins, and halter [*sic*] about their necks. While in this awful situation, trembling on the verge of eternity, three of them received a pardon from the commander-in-chief. . . . The other two were obliged to submit to their fate" (Volo and Volo 2003, 118) (Thacher 1998, 161).

PROVISIONING THE ARMY

When Congress authorized the creation of the Continental army, it put aside the colonial regulations and set a uniform daily food allowance for the entire force. This allowance "compared favorably with that allowed the British soldier," and remained in effect with little change for the duration of the war.

Congress fixed the components of the daily ration as follows:

> 1 pound of beef, or 3/4 pound pork, or 1 pound salt fish, per day. 1 pound of bread or flour per day. 3 pints of pease or beans per week, or vegetables equivalent, at one dollar per bushel for pease or beans. 1 pint of milk per man per day, or at the rate of 1/72 of a dollar. 1 half pint of rice, or one pint of Indian meal per man per week. 1 quart of spruce beer or cider per man per day, or nine gallons of molasses per company of 100 men per week. 3 pounds candles to 100 men per week for guards. 24 pounds of soft or 8 lbs. of hard soap, for 100 men per week. (Volo and Volo 2003, 176) (Risch 1981, 189n)

The combination of daily and weekly allowances with monetary values in the regulations leaves the actual day-to-day diet of the American soldier somewhat obscured. In the summer of 1776, the daily ration was valued at a little over 8d (pence) New York currency, but in a single year, inflation had brought its value to 3s (shilling) 4d (40d)—a 400 percent increase. The rising cost of food simply did not permit the purchase of many of the items listed in the ration. Moreover, the substitution of plentiful foodstuffs for scarce ones required the specific authority of Congress, and this power was not granted until 1778 (Volo and Volo 2003, 176).

Until 1777, the Subsistence Department was directed by Commissary General Joseph Trumbull, who provided a more generous allowance of salt pork, fresh beef, and beer than that prescribed. As the Middle Department became almost depleted of provisions by the constant operations of the army in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey during 1777, the provisioning of even the minimum uniform allowances became infrequent. The discrepancies among those rations the men received, those to which they were entitled, and those to which they had become accustomed became a constant source of grumbling (Volo and Volo 2003, 176–77).

Beef and flour were generally plentiful "in such an extensive and abundant country" unless their transportation failed, but men could not maintain their health on an unremitting diet of bread, meat, and water. Fresh vegetables, cider, and vinegar were necessary to prevent scurvy and maintain good health. Washington wrote, "Our soldiers, the greatest part of the last campaign [1777], and the whole of this [winter], have scarcely tasted any kind of vegetable, had but little salt, and vinegar, which would have been tolerable substitute for vegetables. . . . Neither have they been provided with proper drink. Beer and cider seldom comes [*sic*] within the verge of the camp, and rum in much too small quantities" (Volo and Volo 2003, 177) (Fitzpatrick 1931–1939, vol. 8, 441) (Risch 1981, 206).

There was a great deal of waste among the soldiers. The men were ordered to combine their meat and vegetables into stews and soups in company kettles provided for the purpose, but most ignored the orders, choosing to roast the meat over open fires, thereby losing a good deal of caloric value in the wasted drippings. Heavy iron kettles, abandoned on the march, often dotted the landscape. Excess fresh beef, taken from the cattle herds that followed the army, and salt pork in opened barrels were often thrown away or left uneaten until they putrefied. Barrels of flour, once opened and allowed to be wetted, became moldy, or unscrupulous bakers took the surplus and sold it to the local population (Volo and Volo 2003, 177–78).

The soldiers could supplement their diet by purchasing food from local farmers or from sutlers who stocked such items. With little money to buy provisions, the soldiers sold their metal buttons or carried their flour allowance into the country to trade for other foodstuffs. Dorothy Dudley noted, "Many have had opportunity to work at their trades of shoemaking, tailoring, and the like, or add to their income by selling such things as nuts, apples, and cider, which make a little variety in their daily diet." However, the officers considered this commerce a pretext for malingering and an opportunity for the soldiers to defraud the local inhabitants. Washington understood the scope of these problems and took steps to offset them, but it is clear "that his orders brought no permanent improvement in conditions" (Volo and Volo 2003, 178) (Dudley 1971, 57–58) (Risch 1981, 193).

The period during which food was most scarce occurred immediately after the army evacuated New York City in November 1776. Left behind in the retreat from New York were thousands of barrels of foodstuffs. At Fort Lee alone, 1,000 barrels of flour had been abandoned because there were not enough wagons to transport them. This left the army facing the winter with as little as five days' rations. This was the most severe shortage of food during the war, but there was plenty of wheat to purchase in Pennsylvania. With Washington's army consuming 200 barrels of flour daily, Commissary General Trumbull estimated that 20,000 barrels of flour could be had from Philadelphia—enough to supply the army for more than half a year.

However, the lack of the barrels proved to be of greatest concern to the Quartermaster's Department. The demand for foodstuffs placed a great strain on the ability of the countryside to produce enough barrels to transport such huge quantities of wheat flour, pease, meal, cider, vinegar, beer, salt beef, and salt pork safely. Moreover, the barrels had to be watertight, and those used for beef or pork could not be reused for flour. The New York Committee of Safety took steps to increase the supply of these containers by exempting from their enlistments all the coopers in the counties south of Albany (Volo and Volo 2003, 178).

Bread

The Patriots utilized "hard bread," or biscuit, quite as often as the British when on campaign. The Commissary Department put many of the bakers' ovens in Connecticut into the full-time production of hard bread for the Patriot army. The cakes, or crackers, could be carried in the haversacks of the men, and several days' rations would neither spoil nor crumble. Private Martin recalled that, even newly baked, the biscuits were "nearly hard enough for musket flints." Nonetheless, when he had the opportunity to freely pilfer a cask of biscuits, he took "as many as I could . . . a dozen or more in all, and . . . I stowed them away in my knapsack" (Volo and Volo 2003, 179) (Scheer 1962, 23).

In 1777 Congress appointed Christopher Ludwick, "a skillful, patriotic German baker," as the director of baking for the Continental army, with the idea of furnishing freshly baked bread for the troops. Ludwick promptly took over the ovens near Morristown, New Jersey, and began the erection of "public ovens" in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. By the end of 1779, Ludwick was producing 1,500 loaves of fresh bread daily, but he felt that the process was wasteful of flour. He recommended that only hard bread be issued as a ration. Washington supported Ludwick, and ordered him to establish hard bread production at West Point. Here Ludwick produced a daily supply of 6,000 to 8,000 pounds of hard bread until 1781 (Volo and Volo 2003, 179) (Risch 1981, 196).

Congress then intended to stop the issue of loose flour to each man in the ration. However, Washington was quick to point out that the flour could be mixed with a little water and baked on a flat stone by the individual soldier into a "firecake" with little trouble. Unless the soldier was an accomplished fireside cook, the cake came out either soggy or burned around the edges. In any case, it definitely lacked flavor, being described as tasting like wallpaper paste or an old cedar shingle (Volo and Volo 2003, 179).

As an alternative to a constant diet of hard bread, Washington recommended that each brigade make fresh bread in camp by erecting temporary ovens made of local stone and mortar, and he ordered that portable ovens made of sheet iron be procured from the iron foundry at Ringwood, New Jersey. Although designed to travel with the army, these ovens were of considerable size; only two could be carried in a wagon. By the end of 1778 one metal bread oven had been assigned to each brigade, and bakers had been found from among the men to operate them. However, Christopher Ludwick had been correct, and fresh bread simply could not be made in camp efficiently. The army thereafter reverted to a hard bread ration in the field (Volo and Volo 2003, 179) (Risch 1981, 195).

Meat

Meat, either salted or fresh, made up the bulk of the army ration. Initially there was little concern over the ability of the provinces to supply enough livestock to meet the needs of the army. New England was, at the time, a region noted for its production of hogs and cattle. The export of salted pork and beef was a thriving industry there before the war. The most productive areas of hog and cattle breeding were solidly in the control of the Patriots and out of the reach of the British. However, it was found that even these resources became strained. The demands of two armies—the Main army, with Washington in Pennsylvania, and the northern army in New York, poised to receive an attack from Canada—drew a constant supply of meat from the same region, placing the supply of livestock under tremendous pressure. Livestock was driven to within a few miles of where it was needed and slaughtered there with greater efficiency and less cost than salting and packaging the meat and moving it by wagon. Ultimately, live cattle and hogs were secured from western New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania until the supply was exhausted (Volo and Volo 2003, 180).

Salt

Because the Commissary Department initially had planned to preserve its meat near where it was raised, most of the salt imported into the country was directed to New England, and a slaughterhouse and curing facility were erected at Medford, Massachusetts. However, as the seat of war shifted to New Jersey, and then to the south, the difficulty of transporting hundreds of casks of salted meat many hundreds of miles became apparent. Thereafter, Congress ordered that the meat be preserved in the southern states, particularly North Carolina, to which large shipments of salt from the West Indies were directed for that purpose.

Pork was favored over beef for salting because it was easier to preserve, and it tasted better than preserved beef. Salt beef sometimes tasted so bad that the soldiers referred to it as "salt horse." Veteran soldiers sometimes declined a piece of fresh beef for a good piece of salt pork, but recruits had to learn to ignore the overwhelming salty favor and appreciate its nutritional qualities. The amount of salt used in the preserving of pork was staggering, often equaling the weight of the meat itself. Salt pork needed to be soaked to remove some of the salt before it could be used, but it could last unspoiled for a long time in a properly sealed barrel. However, once the barrel was opened, it needed to be cooked quickly or it would spoil (Volo and Volo 2003, 180).

Pork was also made into bacon, and large amounts of bacon were shipped north from the southern states. Bacon was a common colonial foodstuff with a taste that was highly acceptable to most soldiers. It was made from the sides or flanks of the hog, kept in a slab, soaked in brine, and finally cured in a smokehouse. This operation flavored the meat and also retarded the growth of bacteria, so that bacon could be kept for long periods of time even under adverse conditions. Thick slices could be cut from the slabs over several days with little noticeable deterioration of the remainder. Several cooked slices of thick bacon could be placed in a haversack, wrapped in an oilcloth, and carried on the march without spoiling for several days. With this bacon and 8 or 10 hard bread crackers, the soldiers of the army could freely maneuver away from their supply lines for several days (Volo and Volo 2003, 180–81).

Foraging

Whether British or Patriot, soldiers were death to a farmstead. Acres of potatoes, cribs full of corn, fruit orchards, chicken coops, hog pens, gardens green with vegetables, and stocks of hay all went in short order once foragers arrived. Some part of the army was detailed to forage almost every day, usually protected by a detail of mounted dragoons and light infantry. Well-disposed patriot or loyalist families understood the terrible necessity of providing food for the troops who championed their cause, but they often found their larders plundered by both sides and their own families facing privation or worse. A once prosperous region could also be laid waste by runaway slaves, deserters, and other civilians searching for provision for themselves (Volo and Volo 2003, 184–85).

Joseph Plumb Martin described an incident that arose from a search for Tory refugees at Westchester, a village some miles east of the King's Bridge in Bronx County.

> We found no enemy in this place, but . . . here was a plenty of good bread, milk and butter. We were hungry as Indians, and immediately "fell to, and spared not," while the man of the house held the candle and looked at us as we were devouring his eatables. I could not see his heart . . . but I could see his face and that indicated pretty distinctly what passed in his mind. He said nothing, but I believe he had as like his bread and butter had been arsenic as what it was. We cared little for his thoughts or maledictions; they did not do us half so much hurt as his victuals did us good. (Volo and Volo 2003, 184–85) (Scheer 1962, 140)

CLOTHING

In the eighteenth century, militiamen were expected to supply most of their own arms, accoutrements, and clothing. This resulted in a wide array of individualized equipment, which was practical but lacked any hint of uniformity. Some of the militia officers may have had military uniforms, but the common soldiers did not. George Washington silently campaigned for the appointment as commander in chief by wearing his provincial uniform from the French and Indian War to Congress each day. Many officers arrived in Boston in 1775 in provincial uniforms. Colonel William Prescott wore a dark blue uniform lapelled and faced in a military manner. While supervising the construction of entrenchments in the heat of the day, he discarded his uniform coat and put on a banian, a light linen coat much like a long robe. "His hat and wig were laid aside; his bald head glistened with sweat, as he went about . . . encouraging his men or driving them to their labor with sharp commands" (Ward 1952, 81).

Evidence suggests that initially there was a little uniformity of dress among the rank and file, each man wearing what he thought best for his own comfort and circumstance. The backcountry militia companies commonly wore the same garments in which they pursued their daily life on the frontier. This would include a linen shirt and a waistcoat of wool or linen, covered with an outer garment of heavier linen known as a hunting frock, which was usually held closed with the same belt that held a knife or hatchet. The choice of wool or linen outerwear was made according to the season, but most men dispensed with woolen coats in favor of a warm woolen blanket. In an army destitute of traditional woolen uniforms, lying "on the cold and often wet ground without a blanket and with nothing but thin summer clothing was tedious" (Coggins 1967, 73).

A leather ammunition pouch, a powder horn, a haversack, and a canteen were worn on straps that crossed the chest. The straps were ordinarily of white or black leather, and the soldiers carried white pipe clay or a black ball of wax to maintain their appearance. Black wax was also used on shoes, boots, and cartridge boxes as waterproofing. Ammunition was made up into cylindrical paper cartridges for ease of distribution and loading, and a powder horn, if used at all, was only for priming powder. The haversack was usually of heavy white linen. In it the soldier carried his meager lot of personal items, such as a Bible, a razor, and a bowl or cup, as well as several days' cooked or dry rations (Volo and Volo 2003, 188).

WEAPONS: LONG ARMS AND SIDEARMS

In the eighteenth century almost all military firearms were based upon a standard smoothbore flintlock technology. Most firearms, including pistols, fired a generally large lead ball between .63 and .75 caliber and weighing almost an ounce, but more than half a dozen different calibers were used during the war. The effective range of muskets remained under 100 yards, while the visually intimidating pistols were useful only at very close quarters. Rifle fire, by comparison, was particularly accurate even at ranges of 300 to 400 yards (Volo and Volo 2003, 149).

For a rifle to be fired accurately, the soldier needed a good deal more time to load it than if firing a musket. The rifleman precisely measured his powder for the range of his target, and he laboriously seated his ball in a leather or linen patch driven down the spiraled grooves inside the barrel that gave the ball a stabilizing spin like that of a well-thrown football. A well-aimed shot taken every two minutes was considered good marksmanship for riflemen, and virtually ensured a hit on a man-sized target with every shot at 100 yards (Volo and Volo 2003, 149–50).

Musket fire at three rounds per minute, using prepared paper cartridges containing the powder charge and ball, was the standard rate of fire among trained regulars. Four rounds per minute was an ideal to which most commanders aspired, and two per minute was what they actually achieved in the heat and confusion of battle. The musket ball was also rammed home, but it was looser fitting in the smooth barrel from which it came hurling with the same precision as a poorly hit golf ball, slicing and hooking through the air. Since musket fire lacked precision, in a great volley of fire taken simultaneously, it was hoped that some portion of shot would fall among the ranks of the enemy. The training essential for the individual musket-man was in quickly reloading and obeying his officers' commands on when, where, and at what angle to fire.

The difference between the rate of fire of the musket and the rifle left the rifleman exposed to sudden rushes by light troops or Indians as he engaged in the cumbersome process of reloading his weapon. For this reason riflemen often shifted their position after firing, or worked in pairs so that one might be loaded at all times. As the war progressed, it became common practice to team musket-men with riflemen so that the quicker-loading muskets could protect the slower but more accurate rifles (Volo and Volo 2003, 150).

Most general officers carried light stabbing swords known as "court swords" or "hunting swords" that were symbols of their rank and not designed for serious hacking. Field officers usually supplied themselves with more practical weapons designed for cutting or slashing. A pistol or two might be clipped to the officer's belt or held in holsters fitted to the saddle of his horse. Most of the regular infantry were issued a bayonet in lieu of a sword, and the militia usually supplied themselves with a knife, and a hatchet or tomahawk. Some elite units carried swords as part of their regular equipment. Swords were carried by the cavalry along with a pair of pistols and a carbine. Grenadiers, light infantry, and some NCOs carried short cutting swords known as hangers. After the battle at Trenton, John Greenwood noted the need "to disarm the [Hessian] prisoners of their swords, with one of which every man was provided" (Volo and Volo 2003, 150) (Coggins 1967, 44).

By fixing a bayonet to the muzzle of his musket, a soldier changed it from a firearm to a long spear. Jeremy Black, a British historian of eighteenth-century warfare, has noted that "the introduction of the socket bayonet helped to change the face of the European battlefield." The combination of the two weapons (musket and bayonet) led to a degree of tactical flexibility and increased firepower unimagined in the previous century, when battlefields were dominated by a combination of musketeers, pikemen, and cavalry (Volo and Volo 2003, 150–51) (Black 1999, 156–57).

The American colonial tradition with regard to its militia was rooted in the obsolete deployment of pikemen, and NCOs continued to carry a seven- to eight-foot-long spontoon as a symbol of their rank. Largely because bayonets were not available, Washington, who understood their usefulness, ordered folding pikes to be manufactured for the militia. However, few if any were issued. Americans were not initially encouraged to attack with the bayonets even when they had them. The colonial bayonet drills placed their emphasis on receiving the enemy rather than making charges. The Patriots simply did not possess the discipline to maintain the linear formations employed in such attacks. Only at Stony Point, New York, did the Patriots exhibit the discipline needed to bring off a successful bayonet attack. Despite the use of bayonets, pikes, swords, knives, hatchets, and tomahawks, hand-to-hand fighting on the battlefield was relatively uncommon, and it was remarked upon by contemporary observers when it occurred. Most casualties in the Revolution were caused by musket shot or artillery fire (Volo and Volo 2003, 151).

SHELTER FOR THE MEN

When Washington arrived at Boston in 1775, he found the Patriot army housed in a wide variety of makeshift wooden and canvas shelters, which he described in a letter to Congress:

> Some are made of boards, and some of sail-cloth. Some partly of one and partly of the other. Again others are made of stone and turf, brick or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes, in the manner

> of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode Islanders, who are furnished with tent-equipage, and everything in the most English style. (Volo and Volo 2003, 195) (Risch 1981, 140)

Washington almost immediately devised a plan to erect 120 barracks near Boston, each to house 100 men. The barracks were to be 90 by 16 feet in size, and their cost was estimated at £100 each. Meanwhile, steps were taken to house the troops in private residences and public buildings. When the British evacuated Boston, the patriot militia melted back into the countryside or transferred to the city of New York. Nonetheless, barracks at Cambridge and Dorchester Heights were completed in 1776, but the owners of the land on which they were built began to dismantle the vacant buildings as early as 1779, to convert the lumber to their own use.

As the scene of the war shifted, Washington again became concerned with providing proper shelters in which his troops might pass the winter months of 1776–1777. Boards and shingles, bricks, stone, lime, and other materials were procured by the Quartermaster's Department, and three companies of carpenters, each consisting of 30 men, a captain, and other officers, were raised from among the soldiers of the army. Barracks were constructed for about 2,000 troops near the Hudson River at Peekskill and Fishkill. Each building was 36 feet long, 19 feet wide, and had side walls 7 feet in height. However, the corps of carpenters proved too few to erect all the housing that had been planned, and more than 100 militiamen were assigned to help on the project (Volo and Volo 2003, 195).

Throughout the war, additional permanent barracks (as opposed to temporary wooden huts) were raised by the Patriots at Trenton, Albany, West Point, and other places. Major General Schuyler wrote, "They [the soldiers] are crowded in vile barracks, which, with the natural inattention of the soldiery to cleanliness, has been productive of disease, and numbers are daily rendered unfit for duty." Private Joseph Plumb Martin noted that his barracks had "rats enough, had they been men, to garrison twenty West Points" (Volo and Volo 2003, 195) (Coggins 1967, 145–46).

Shelter was almost nonexistent when soldiers were in the field on active campaign. Private Martin wrote:

> The soldiers' whole time is spent in marches, especially night marches, watching, starving, and in cold weather, freezing and sickness. If they get any chance to rest, it must be in the woods or fields, under the side of a fence, in an orchard or in any other place but... a comfortable one, lying on the cold and often wet ground. (Volo and Volo 2003, 196) (Coggins 1967, 76)

Martin's journal provides detailed descriptions of how the soldiers built their own winter quarters. His regiment constructed satisfactory wooden huts in Connecticut in 1778 with little supervision from its officers. The quartermaster simply issued axes, handsaws, froes (for splitting shingles), augers (for drilling holes), mallets, and other hand tools, and set them to work. These huts had no foundations or wooden floors, and they were built directly on the ground with whole logs interlocked at the corners, in the manner of a frontier cabin (Volo and Volo 2003, 196).

In 1779, with the army in winter camp in Morristown for the second time, every facet of the construction process seems to have been more carefully supervised. The organization of the camp was so controlled that "no one was allowed to transgress . . . on any account whatever." The huts were constructed of tree trunks notched at the corners. The spaces between the logs were filled with a mixture of clay, mud, and straw known as chinking. The roof was covered with large wooden slabs made by riving, splitting lengthwise modest lengths of green logs. Riven roofing was considered quicker and easier to make than common shingles, and it required only a skeleton of rafters for support. A timber chimney plastered in clay, or one of stone if it was available, was centered on one of the short walls, and a door or window was made by sawing through the logs. The soldiers built their own huts and those of their officers (Volo and Volo 2003, 196) (Scheer 1962, 168).

Sergeant Major (later Ensign) Benjamin Gilbert of Brookfield, Massachusetts, detailed the difficulty of providing a sound chimney for his hut: "We built a chimney and it smoked like the Devil." On the following day, he noted, "We altered our chimney and it carried smoke very well." A few weeks later, he wrote again, "We pulled down our chimney and began to build anew. . . . We got our chimney up so high as to build a fire [the same day]." The increased height of a chimney improved its ability to draw away the smoke that generally filled the hut from the ceiling to within a few feet of the floor. A poorly designed chimney was inefficient in producing heat and left the choking men with red and watering eyes (Volo and Volo 2003, 196–97) (Symmes 1980, 60–61).

The huts built by the troops at Morristown were 12 feet wide, 16 feet long, and had 7-foot sidewalls. They were supposed to house 12 to 18 men each. Surgeon James Thacher noted that the "soldiers, without nails, and almost without tools, except the ax and saw, provided for their officers and themselves comfortable and convenient quarters, with little or no expense to the public." The design of these huts remained the standard for winter quarters for the remainder of the war. Barracks and huts were used as winter quarters only (Volo and Volo 2003, 197) (Risch 1981, 150).

Tents

The active campaigning season usually began in the late spring and ran into the early winter. The soldiers were, therefore, under some sort of canvas shelter for most of the year, under a wide variety of weather conditions ranging from dry heat to wet, snowy cold. When on the move, the soldiers used a canvas wedge tent, which was carried in the baggage wagons. Sometimes called the common tent, the wedge tent was formed of sheet canvas stretched over a horizontal bar some six or seven feet long, supported at both ends by an upright pole of about the same length. One end of the wedge was split up the center into two flaps, which could be opened and fixed back to provide ventilation, or tied closed in foul weather. The whole tent was sewn in one piece (Volo and Volo 2003, 197–98).

The rectangular floor space of a common tent was about six feet square. The wedge shape, which varied somewhat between armies, usually allowed a man of medium height to stand erect only in the very center under the crossbar, but six men could easily find room to store their meager equipment and sleep on the floor.

Other fabric structures set up about the encampment might include the diminutive bell tents for protecting the stack of muskets; horsemen's tents, which were much like the wedge but had an additional area at the rear for saddles and tack; wall tents, which were used for stores, headquarters, or temporary hospitals; and marquees, which were oval in outline and usually reserved for general officers. Tents provided protection from moderate rainfall, and they broke the wind somewhat. However, they did little to shelter the men in downpours, and could be ripped from their moorings by high winds (Volo and Volo 2003, 198).

Mounted men carried four-foot squares of painted canvas to protect their horse furniture, and each foot soldier was expected to have a piece of oilcloth the size of his blanket to use as a ground cloth or makeshift sleeping bag. Their main purpose was to prevent the morning dew from wetting everything and to help retain the men's body heat. Special tents of painted canvas were used for storing powder (Volo and Volo 2003, 198–99).

One of the responsibilities of the quarter guard of the army was to ensure that the tents stayed in place in high winds. They were also expected to be the first to fight fires that might break out among the canvas structures in the camp. For this reason cooking fires were always placed away from the sleeping area (Volo and Volo 2003, 199).

There were also dangers from which cloth tents could not shelter the troops. An NCO noted the danger of lightning in his diary for July 1, 1779:

> In the afternoon we had a very hard shower of rain and extreme hard thunder one clap of which struck in our regiment [in camp on Constitution Island] and not one company in our regiment but that had some men hurt. . . . One man . . . was struck dead on the spot and seven more rendered unfit for duty. There was five and thirty that was struck. . . . After the lightning left our regiment it ran down the road and crossed the river on the [West Point] chain up to Fort Clinton. Struck two men there. (Volo and Volo 2003, 199) (Symmes 1980, 54)

Like many other strategically important materials in the colonies, fabric for the construction and repair of tents was in short supply. Canvas duck was the principal textile used in the manufacture of tents, and almost 22 yards of the material were needed to make one common tent. As early as 1775, Congress took steps to develop a secure source of canvas. In 1776, "country linen fit for tents" was selling at the absurd price of 3s 6d per yard. A secret committee of Congress was assigned the task of importing canvas and stout linen sailcloth from France or Holland, and bounties were authorized for the development of domestic sources of hemp, flax, and cotton. Nonetheless, the stocks of textiles in the colonies were quickly used up. There was such a shortage of canvas that some members of the Marine Committee half jokingly feared that the ships of the navy might be "stripped of sails so that the soldiers might have tents" (Volo and Volo 2003, 199) (Risch 1981, 147).

Many of the army's tents were lost during the evacuation of New York in 1776 because of a lack of transportation. The shortage was made worse when the reserve store of tents at Danbury, Connecticut, was burned by the British in 1777. Washington shortly thereafter authorized the use of wedge tents only. This allowed "one soldier's tent for the field officers of each regiment, one for every four commissioned officers, one for eight sergeants, drummers, and fife players, and one for every eight privates" (Volo and Volo 2003, 199) (Risch 1981, 148).

Thereafter, the number of men assigned to each tent fluctuated between six and eight, and while this seems a crowded condition, the space allotted by this system was not unreasonable. It must be remembered that at least one-third of the army was constantly on guard duty, and the ranks of the men became thinner as the campaign season continued, due to sickness and battle casualties. Although six to eight men may have drawn a single tent at the beginning of the campaign, as few as four privates may have actually had to share it at any time. An NCO noted in June 1779, "I drawed a tent [all] to myself [because] Sergeant Wing went to hospital." In 1781, a conservative estimate showed that 3,000 tents were available for the American army of 12,000 and Washington's army of 5,000 at Yorktown had a total of 2,000 common tents to share among them (Volo and Volo 2003, 199–200) (Symmes 1980, 53).

CAMP LIFE

The science of setting up an encampment was called castramentation, derived from *castra,* the Latin word for a camp. An officer from each regiment was designated as the castramentation officer. He had the task of finding suitable ground, from within the area that the army commander chose, for the encampment of his regiment. A standard plan of encampment by brigade was followed, but some regiments with less able officers were too often allotted poor, wet, or rocky ground. The regimental camp was broken down into long lanes or streets of tents. In the textbook scheme the NCOs were given positions at the ends of the company streets, and the lowest-ranking officers were billeted some small distance from the troops to maintain social distinction and inhibit fraternization. By this method a hierarchy of housing passed through the entire camp, with the highest-ranking officers placed farther and farther from the troops, but always within easy access to them. The artillery, cavalry, and riflemen had camps of their own, separate from the line troops (Volo and Volo 2003, 200).

Private Joseph Plumb Martin provided evidence that the grand scheme of company streets set out in a grid was not always followed.

> At a place in New Jersey called Basking Ridge . . . it was cold and snowy; we had to march all day through the snow and at night take up our lodgings in some wood[s], where, after shoveling away the snow, we used to pitch three or four tents facing each other, and then join in making a fire in the center. Sometimes we could procure an armful of buckwheat straw to lie upon, which was deemed a luxury. (Volo and Volo 2003, 200) (Scheer 1962, 166)

Soldiers also took the step of raising their tents off the ground and filling the space between the canvas and the ground with flagstones or pieces of sod. Sergeant Major

Gilbert noted that although orders were issued against the practice, "We raised our tent two foot from the ground and made walls with flaggs." Gilbert was a sergeant at the time (1778), and his diary repeatedly noted the raising of tents with "flaggs" and "boards." Moreover, he noted, in April 1778: "We built a chimney to our tent." Certainly the individualization of the common tents must have distracted from the orderly lines of tents suggested by the regulations (Volo and Volo 2003, 200–201) (Symmes 1980, 29, 53).

DEALING WITH ARMY LIFE

The regimen of daily life in the camps allowed little in the way of free time. Drill, fatigue duty, cutting trees and brush, collecting firewood and water, foraging, and service at the outposts consumed most of the soldiers' day. Just keeping warm and supplied with dry clothes required a great deal of effort. Nonetheless, individuals and groups did find some time for entertaining activities. Writing letters and journals, reading, whittling, and drawing were common entertainments. Simple musical instruments were played in camp. Games such as checkers (draughts), chess, and dice were popular with small groups, as were card games. Board games, common in civilian life, were often drawn on a simple piece of canvas, and stones, bones, and corncobs served as game pieces. Gambling was strictly forbidden by the Articles of War, but the prohibition was almost impossible to enforce. Dorothy Dudley, who lived in camp with the Patriot army, noted in her diary, "There has been a good deal of card playing and gambling of various kinds. The enforced quiet of the soldiers has been irksome, and they enliven the monotony in any way they can devise" (Volo and Volo 2003, 201) (Dudley 1971, 57).

KEEPING CLEAN

The Patriot army was often described, even by its own officers, as filthy and nearly naked. This should not be taken too literally by students of the period. An eighteenth-century man was considered naked if he appeared in public dressed only in his smallclothes. Certainly the Patriots were ragged in their appearance, but they probably had more of their bodies covered than most persons who are considered fully clothed today. No free white male of the eighteenth century would appear in public in his shirtsleeves without a waistcoat. Those doing heavy work wore a smock or apron. Only slaves and indentured servants appeared in their shirts, and it was improper for even male slaves to go without shirts (Volo and Volo 2003, 201).

Personal cleanliness was a serious and ongoing problem in the army. Eighteenth-century persons tolerated a good deal more dirt, grime, and odor than people today. Outer clothing was brushed or sponged clean rather than washed. The bedding used by the soldiers was made of straw-filled ticking fabric that seemingly bred vermin and lice. Young John Greenwood noted in his journal:

> I had the itch so bad that my breeches stuck to my thighs, all the skin being off. There were hundreds of vermin on me owing to a whole month's march and having been obliged for the sake of keeping warm to lie down at night among the soldiers who were huddled close together like hogs. . . . When I arrived at my father's house in Boston, the first thing done was to bake my clothes [in the oven to destroy the vermin] and then to annoint [*sic*] me all over with brimstome [*sic*] [powdered sulfur]. (Volo and Volo 2003, 201–2) (Coggins 1967, 45–46)

Soap was issued to each regiment as part of the weekly ration. The men were expected to use the soap not only to clean their bodies but also to launder their smallclothes. For every 100 men, 24 pounds of soft soap or 8 pounds of hard soap was issued weekly, an allowance that fell well below what was needed to maintain cleanliness. The soldiers also sold their allowance of soap in the countryside to obtain additional foodstuffs. Washington issued numerous orders on sanitation, health, and the policing of the camps and barracks. "His soldiers, however, persisted in being woefully oblivious of the need to maintain sanitary surroundings" (Volo and Volo 2003, 202) (Risch 1981, 193).

HEALTH

The sciences of medicine and health care were in a woefully backward state in the eighteenth century. Many of the most closely held precepts of medicine, such as bleeding victims to produce a cure, were rooted in erroneous or fanciful premises concerning how the human body worked. Moreover, the concept of germs as the cause of infection was unknown, and infection was thought to be associated with bad odors and mists that crept along the ground. With sober sincerity, doctors pronounced miasmic fogs the cause of epidemic diseases. Visual cleanliness and an inoffensive smell were considered adequate in terms of sanitation, and pleasing fragrances were thought to balance out the evil effects of offensive odors.

Disease was the great killer of soldiers in eighteenth-century armies. Fever and dysentery were more dangerous than firearms and bayonets, and generals feared that sickness would overcome their armies in the field. For this reason the Patriot army—at least the Continentals—was inoculated against smallpox by 1777. This procedure should not be confused with the modern form of inoculation. All those soldiers who had not previously been exposed to the disease were given a mild case by having the scabs of a man infected with cowpox rubbed into scratches made on their skin. This commonly caused a few pockmarks, a mild fever, and a temporary disability. The inoculation itself was dreaded by the men, who did not properly understand the process, but it was seldom fatal among men in good health. The precaution taken by the

Patriots was a major innovation in military science and an advancement in health care (Volo and Volo 2003, 203).

The most feared epidemic disease for an army, however, was "putrid fever" or "camp fever," which was typically a form of typhoid or typhus passed through the water supply. There was no inoculation for this, and doctors had no clue to the source. Other diseases, such as scurvy, pleurisy, pneumonia, and the "bloody flux," seem to have decimated the army periodically. Surgeon James Thacher noted, "Their diseases . . . are so malignant, that it is feared they will baffle all the skill of the physician." Sulfur was sometimes burned to fumigate the huts, and items were washed in vinegar in an effort to stem the spread of these diseases (Volo and Volo 2003, 203) (Thacher 1998, 145).

Scurvy, most common among seamen, also attacked the army. It was thought to originate from a prolonged diet of highly salted provisions and bad water. In fact, the main cause of scurvy was a deficiency of vitamin C, which could be made up by adding fresh vegetables and fruits to the diet. It was a terribly disabling affliction, and without treatment could cause death. William Hutchinson experienced the ravages of the disease and lived to write about it. His descriptions of its symptoms are some of the most graphic recorded in the eighteenth century.

> I found myself taken with a pain under my left breast . . . [M]y armpits and hams grew black but did not swell, and I pined away to a weak, helpless condition, with my teeth all loose, and my upper and lower gums swelled and clotted together like a jelly, and they bled to that degree, that I was obliged to lie with my mouth hanging over the side of my bunk, to let the blood run out. . . . [W]ith fresh provisions and fomentations of herbs I got well . . . in eighteen days. (Volo and Volo 2003, 203) (Hutchinson 1794, 286–89)

HOSPITALS AND THE TREATMENT OF THE SICK

Wounded men, without the benefits of any painkillers save rum, faced a miserable end if infection or gangrene set in. Heavy, slow-moving bullets shattered the bones of arms and legs, injuries requiring amputation. Brave fellows whose skulls proved "too thick for a ball to penetrate" might linger in extreme agony with "no parent, wife or sister, to wipe the tear of anguish from their eyes, or to soothe the pillow of [inevitable] death." Soldiers prayed to be killed cleanly in battle rather than return with a major wound. The child's saying "Cross my heart and hope to die" was originally a soldier's prayer for a quick death on the battlefield by a bullet aimed at the straps of his equipment crossing his chest. One man, having received an apparently nonfatal bayonet wound to the thigh, died in agony three years later of the infection that set in. Nonetheless, Dr. Thacher noted that if the "patient is athletic and has not sustained a very copious loss of blood . . . he [might] eventually recover, which is to be ascribed principally to the free use of the lancet [bleeding] and such abstemious living [fasting] as to reduce him to the greatest extremity" (Volo and Volo 2003, 204) (Thacher 1998, 113, 255).

Thacher described a military field hospital at the battle of Saratoga, staffed by 30 surgeons and their assistants:

> This hospital is now crowded with officers and soldiers from the field of battle; those belonging to the British and Hessians, are accommodated in the same hospital with our own men, and receive equal care and attention. The foreigners are under the care and management of their own surgeons.... The English surgeons perform with skill and dexterity, but the Germans, with few exceptions, do no credit to their profession ... [being] uncouth and clumsey ... [and] destitute of all sympathy and tenderness towards the suffering patient. Amputating limbs, trepanning fractured skulls, and dressing the most formidable wounds ... a military hospital is particularly calculated to afford examples for profitable contemplation, and to interest our sympathy and commiseration.... Mutilated bodies, mangled limbs and bleeding, incurable wounds [are] no less revolting ... [than the] miserable object languishing under afflicting diseases of every description ... the awful harbingers of approaching dissolution [death]. (Volo and Volo 2003, 204) (Thacher 1998, 112–13)

NURSING

There was no formal corps of nurses (male or female) to staff the hospitals. Surgeons' mates did all they could in this regard. Following an outbreak of smallpox among the troops, Washington ordered commanding officers of regiments to "assist Regimental Surgeons in procuring as many women of the army as can be prevailed on to serve as nurses." He also noted that they would be "paid the usual price," suggesting that there was at least an informal arrangement for nursing staff (Volo and Volo 2003, 204–5) (Fitzpatrick 1931–1939, vol. 9, 497).

General Washington also specified the duties to be performed by these women:

> The nurses, in the absence of the [surgeons'] mates, administer the medicine and diet prescribed for the sick according to order; they obey all orders they receive from the matron; not only to be attentive to the cleanliness of the wards and patients, but to keep themselves clean; they are never to be disguised with liquor; they are to see that the close-stools or pots are ... emptied as soon as possible after they are used.... [T]hey are to see that every patient, upon his admission into the hospital is immediately washed with warm water; and that his face and hands are washed and head combed every morning ... that their wards are swept over every morning or oftener if necessary and sprinkled with vinegar three or four times a day; nor are they ever to be absent without leave from the physicians, surgeons, or matron. (Volo and Volo 2003, 205) (Raphael 1991, 110–11)

WAR ON THE FRONTIER

The American Revolution was characterized by brutal and violent warfare on the frontiers. Almost from the onset of hostilities, the British military determined to wage war by inciting the Indians to attack the outlying settlements. "The proximity and interconnectedness of Indian and colonial communities throughout large areas of North America gave the backcountry warfare of the Revolution a face-to-face nature that heightened its bitterness" (Volo and Volo 2003, 295) (Calloway 1999, 4).

Initially both Loyalists and Patriots put themselves forward as the legitimate heirs to the Native American alliances forged by the British during the French wars. The Patriots faced a more difficult task in trying to bring the Indians to their side. Their agents came to the tribes too late and with too few presents to cement many friendships. British agents, already established among the Indian nations, were more successful than congressional ones in bringing the frontier tribes to their cause (Volo and Volo 2003, 295–96).

Many tribes openly aligned themselves to the Crown at the beginning of the conflict because they thought the British would quickly win the war or because they had formed a hatred of the patriot settlers in the previous decade. The Scots-Irish settlers in particular had a long history of illegally occupying Indian land, "hewing their way through the woods, killing Indians when it suited them, and developing a righteous indignation against the restraining orders which came from the government." The frontier people "were Indian haters first, last, and always. For them, all Indians lived by murder and deserved death on sight." Some Patriots used the Revolution as an excuse to continue their murderous ways under the guise of a crusade for political rights (Volo and Volo 2003, 296) (Wright 1951, 224) (Hurt 1996, 67).

The British agents reportedly did all in their power to "induce all the nations of Indians to massacre the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia and paid very high prices in goods for the scalps the Indians brought in." From their base near Detroit, British agents Charles Langlade and Colonel Henry "Hair Buyer" Hamilton played a diplomatic tug-of-war over the Great Lakes tribes with the main American agent at Fort Pitt, Colonel George Morgan. At Fort Niagara, Sir Guy Johnson oversaw the effort to convince the Indians of western New York to take up arms against the Patriots. With the added influence of his cousin, Sir John Johnson, and of the Mohawk war leader Joseph Brant, Sir Guy was able to bring four of the six nations of the Iroquois Confederacy to the British side (Volo and Volo 2003, 296).

Sir John Johnson, son of the late Sir William Johnson, actively joined the Tories of his Royal Greens and Brant's Indians in the field. He was one of the most active loyalist leaders on the frontier. The father and son team of John and Walter Butler were also particularly active in harassing the settlements with their Tory Rangers. Dressed in short, dark green coatees, Indian leggings, and moccasins, and carrying tomahawks and muskets, Butler's Rangers accompanied the Indians in raids throughout New York and Pennsylvania (Swiggett 1933).

The Crown's agents among the Indians were effectively opposed only by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a Congregational missionary to the Iroquois. An ardent Patriot, Kirkland was able to win the help of the Oneida and Tuscarora for the Patriots by appealing to them on religious grounds, suggesting that the Crown would force the Anglican religion upon them if the Patriots lost. With the exception of Kirkland's successful appeals, only by threatening the tribes with massive retribution could the agents of Congress hope to maintain Indian neutrality. Colonel Morgan told the tribes at Fort Pitt, "If the foolish people who have struck us so often, will grow wise immediately they may yet avoid destruction." Otherwise, the Patriot army would "trample them into dust." However, Morgan found that some of the tribes "were determined not to listen." They viewed his attempts to negotiate a neutrality "with increasing contempt." However, time would demonstrate that the Indians had failed to correctly gauge the resolve of the Patriots (Volo and Volo 2003, 296–97) (Hurt 1996, 76–77).

The Indians were assured by the British agents that they need not fear to "take up the hatchet against the Americans." Convinced that the Redcoats would defeat the Patriots as they had the French, the Indians undertook a series of frontier raids that demoralized the residents of the settlements. The attack on Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, in July 1778, by Iroquois warriors and loyalist rangers under the command of Major John Butler was one of the worst of these raids. It was closely followed by the burning of Cherry Valley, New York, by a mixed force of Indians and Loyalists under Captain Walter Butler. These attacks in particular seem to have been pivotal in moving Congress to action. Immediately thereafter the Board of War concluded that a major operation against the Indians could not be avoided (Volo and Volo 2003, 297) (Hurt 1996, 65).

FROM COLONIES TO NATIONHOOD, 1763–1789
CHRONOLOGY, 1754–1789
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
MILITARY LIFE: THE MAKEUP OF THE AMERICAN ARMY
MILITARY LIFE: THE REVOLUTION ON THE HOMEFRONT
WOMEN
INDEPENDENCE AND A NEW BEGINNING

Military Life: The Revolution on the Homefront

FOOD

It was not until 1796, when Amelia Simmons published *American Cookery*, that the first cookbook written by an American author appeared. Prior to that, American cooks referred to English works for culinary guidance. Cookbooks had been published in the colonies since 1742 but, like *The Compleat Housewife* by Eliza Smith, first printed in London in 1727, these were wholesale reprints of older English works. The only acknowledgment of its American audience in the 1772 Boston edition of Susannah Carter's *The Frugal Housewife* was the inclusion of two plates engraved by Paul Revere. Hanna Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* was one of the best-selling cookbooks in 1776, and it was an essential reference for several prominent Americans. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson each owned a copy. Benjamin Franklin, an avid proponent of "American cookery," had recipes from the Glasse book translated into French in preparation for his trip to Paris in 1776 (Volo and Volo 2003, 255).

No mention was made in these books of squash, cranberries, pumpkins, or other items introduced to the colonists by Native Americans. Although certain American ingredients such as turkey, tomatoes, chocolate, and vanilla had made their way into English works by the mid-eighteenth century, their appearance in cookbooks was in no way in deference to American tastes. It merely showed the evolution of English taste. In some cases these ingredients were identified with other European countries. Ironically, the beans commonly referred to in English works as "French beans" were, in fact, American. Glasse's instructions on how "To dress Haddocks after the

Spanish-way" required the inclusion of American "love apples [tomatoes], when in season" (Volo and Volo 2003, 255–56) (Glasse 1805, 239).

RECEIPT BOOKS

Recipes, or receipts, as they were known, were copied by hand and kept in booklet form for future reference. These receipt books included far more than foods, and contained formulas for household cleaning agents, cosmetic aids, and medicine. New receipts were shared within a community or could be copied from almanacs, publications that reached a much wider proportion of the population than cookbooks, which were generally owned only by the wealthy.

Diarists and letter writers commonly documented special meals served at holidays and feasts, but little was ever written about the mundane, day-to-day fare upon which most people survived. Although they appeared on eighteenth-century menus, the average colonial never tasted ice cream or enjoyed lemon tarts. Citrus fruits, like lemons, oranges, and pineapples were available only in seaport towns, and even then their high cost was prohibitive to the average pocketbook. Pineapples brought home by seamen were left on the front steps of the home as a symbol of hospitality and welcome. Their distinctive shape was sometimes incorporated into ornaments and door knockers (Volo and Volo 2003, 256).

Some insight into dining patterns can be gained from soldiers who interacted with the local residents. A patriot colonel, a prisoner taken at Fort Washington, was paroled and billeted with a family in Flatbush, New York. While the accommodations were very clean, he initially found it difficult to adjust to the meager fare of the poor family. He recalled, "A sorry wash was made of a sprinkling of bohea, and the darkest sugar on the verge of fluidity, with half-baked bread, and a little stale butter, constituted our breakfast. At our first coming, a small piece of pickled beef was occasionally boiled for dinner, but to the beef, which was soon consumed, there succeeded clippers or clams; and our unvaried supper was supon or mush, sometimes with skimmed milk, but more generally with buttermilk blended with molasses, which kept for weeks in a churn, as swill is saved for hogs. I found it, however, after a little use, very eatable; and supper soon became my best meal." Thomas Anderson escaped from the prison ship *Jersey* and traversed Long Island, making his way to safety. He recorded the kindness of a woman in Suffolk County. "I had nothing more to say than to apprise her that I was penniless. In a few moments she placed on the table a bowl of bread and milk, a dried blue fish roasted, and a mug of cider" (Volo and Volo 2003, 256) (Ellet 1859, 112, 121–22).

DIET

Menus reflected the season's bounty and maintained a strongly regional character. Economics was also a key factor. Affluent residents in cities and on plantations dined on far more sophisticated fare than the average rural farmer. A British traveler visiting Virginia plantations in 1775 reported that the breakfast table was replete with "roasted fowls, ham, venison, game, and other dainties. Even at Williamsburg it is the custom to have a plate of cold ham on the table; and there is scarcely a Virginia lady who breakfasts without it." This could scarcely be considered a typical breakfast for those scraping out a living on a frontier farmstead, or providing for a retinue of apprentices and journeymen in a household dedicated to trade. Moreover, it was not unusual for breakfast to include leftovers from the previous evening's meal. This was not simply a thrifty practice; it was extremely practical in the days before modern refrigeration (Volo and Volo 2003, 257) (Randel 1973, 65).

Rural farmsteads produced almost all the foodstuffs required for daily use. Meat that was raised for consumption was supplemented by game. What was not to be consumed immediately was preserved by drying, smoking, pickling, or salting. Autumn's harvest brought with it several weeks of intensive labor during which nature's bounty was preserved. To survive the winter, a family needed barrels of salted pork, crocks of corned beef, and racks of smoked or sugar-cured ham, bacon, and sausage. Root vegetables such as beets, cabbage, carrots, onions, parsnips, potatoes, radishes, turnips, and winter squash were stored in root cellars, or packed in straw and stored in barrels. The straw acted as a barrier to prevent the spread of spoilage to the entire barrel. Carrots were often buried in boxes of sawdust. Other vegetables, such as corn, beans, and peas, were dried (Volo and Volo 2003, 257).

Green corn was preserved by turning back the husk, leaving only the last, very thin layer, and then hanging it in the sun or a warm room to dry. When it was needed for cooking, it was parboiled and cut from the cob. Sweet corn was parboiled, cut from the cob, dried in the sun, and stored in a bag that was kept in a cool, dry place. It could also be dried in the husk and then buried in salt. Whole string beans, and slices and strips of squash and pumpkin, were strung on a thread and hung to dry. Vegetables could also be preserved by making them into catsups and relishes. "Catsup" was the general name given to sauces that were made from vegetables and fruits. Cabbage was made into sauerkraut by pickling (Volo and Volo 2003, 357–58).

While city dwellers had access to more exotic foods and imports than country residents, they were far removed from the land's natural bounty of game, fruits, and berries. They were dependent upon rural producers to supply them with fresh foodstuffs. It was not uncommon for city residents to maintain small garden patches or fruit trees to supplement their market purchases (Volo and Volo 2003, 258).

COOKING

When the colonists first settled in America, they cooked much in the manner of the Native Americans who taught them. As time went on, they adapted their traditional ways of cooking to the foods that were available. European and native cooking techniques thereby evolved with time and the availability of cookware. It would be an error to think that cooking was done over the flames of the fire. Fireplace cooking was best accomplished by using the heat of hot coals produced at the back of the fireplace. Coals were produced by burning hardwoods, like oak and hickory, rather than resinous woods, like pine and spruce, that flamed brightly but quickly lost their heat. A family farmstead carved from a stand of pine trees, therefore, might be hard pressed to provide the proper wood for heating and cooking.

Boiling was the most common method of cooking. A boiling pot required little attention, thus allowing the busy housewife to attend to her myriad other duties. It also required only one pot that could be hung in the fireplace from a lugpole or crane. Cooking temperatures were adjusted by raising or lowering the pot through the use of pothooks, chains, or a mechanical trammel. Stews, thick soups, and porridges were commonly made by this method, and a pot of dried beans or peas might be found soaking in warm water on the hearth at almost any time of day.

Roasting was also popular. The problem with this method was that the food needed constant attention to assure even cooking. The task of turning the roast often fell to a small child. A roast or bird could be hung vertically from a pair of cords fastened inside the chimney. When twisted, the cords wound and unwound around each other for quite some time and with an amazing regularity that more evenly cooked the meat. Very wealthy families sometimes had a weighted clock-work device for the purpose of rotating meats. Reflector ovens, which reflected the fire's heat to the back of the roast as it turned, were less expensive than more intricate devices. They contained a hinged door at the back that could be opened to permit basting, and a place for a tray to collect the drippings. Meat might also be broiled on a gridiron placed over coals on the hearth apron (Volo and Volo 2003, 258).

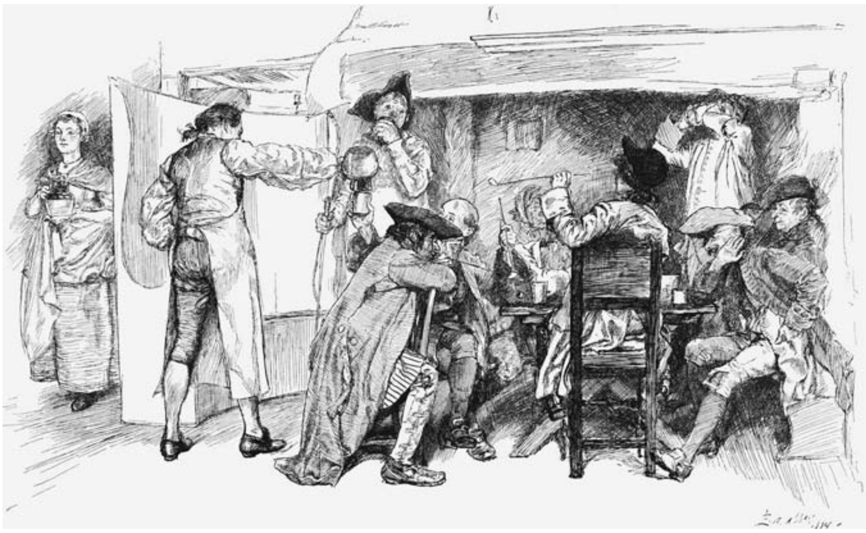
Roasting often lost the fats and drippings of the meat to the flames. Today we shun fatty meats, but maintaining the caloric count of fatty foods was important in a time when food resources were limited. Frying retained the juices of the meat and was done in long-handled, three-legged skillets called spiders. Frying pans were also used to cook food other than meats in oil, fat, lard, or butter. Flat disks of cornmeal, wheat flour, bread dough, and the meats of acorns or chestnuts were sometimes prepared in this manner into hoecakes or journey cakes. Batters of many types and spoon breads were dropped into boiling oils to cook them. Oil and lard were more easily preserved than butter, which, if unsalted, turns rancid very quickly in the absence of cool temperatures (Volo and Volo 2003, 259).

Baking was done in an oven built into the fireplace. Sometimes bake ovens were separate structures built outside the home and covered with a little wooden roof that extended a few feet in front of the oven. In either case, a fire was built in the oven and kept burning until the bricks were hot. Every baker had her own method of knowing when the proper temperature had been reached. The coals and ashes would then be swept out, the flue closed, and the food placed within. Mrs. Smith of Sharon, Connecticut, recalled to her children, "[B]y five o'clock [in the morning] the bread was ready to be molded, the hickory coals were lying in great glowing mass on the oven bottom, casting a brilliant light over its vaulted top and sending such a heat into my face when I passed by the oven mouth that it caused me to think then, as it always does, of Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace, seven times heated" (Volo and Volo 2003, 259) (Smith 1901, 229).

The majority of the baking was done once a week to best utilize the labor represented in the vast amount of firewood required to heat the oven. Breads would be baked in the hottest oven, followed by meat pies, fruit pies, and more delicate pastries. Baking could also be done in lidded cast-iron pots. These pots, sometimes called Dutch ovens by students of the period, had short legs that permitted them to sit on coals in front of the fire. The heavy lids of these pots had a raised rim that permitted the placing of coals on top of the pot. In this way the food received heat from both above and below. All types of pies could be conveniently baked in such an oven (Volo and Volo 2003, 259).

BEVERAGES

Since the quality of water was always questionable, most meals were served with beer or cider. Rural housewives brewed what was known as "small" beer every week or so, and it was consumed shortly after brewing. "Strong" beer was brewed annually in the fall, and in most cases it was made by those with expertise in the craft. Cider was an excellent way to preserve the apple harvest. The liquid from the pressed fruit was allowed to ferment naturally in jugs or barrels in the cool of the cellar until it was mildly alcoholic. Cider that was served in taverns usually had a slightly higher alcoholic content than that made at home because sugar was added during the fermentation process. New Englander Josiah Bartlett evidenced a regional preference among ciders when he wrote to his wife from Philadelphia, "I am sorry to hear there is like to be a scarcity of cider, as I sensibly feel the want of it here, where there is always a scarcity or rather where they never use much of it, and what is made is very inferior to the New England cider. If you will purchase a few barrels . . . I should be glad of a little (after so long fasting from it) when I return home" (Volo and Volo 2003, 259) (Meltzer 1987, 79).



Alehouse scene in the 1700s. Hand-colored woodcut of an E. A. Abbey illustration.

THE BOYCOTT OF TEA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

The boycott of tea was one of the most popular endeavors of Patriots during the years leading to the Revolutionary War. Eschewing tea became a badge of honor among many colonial households, although it was not always easy to abstain from this popular beverage. Throughout the colonies hundreds of women pledged to forgo the use of the unjustly taxed leaves. Newspapers waged campaigns against tea. To dissuade people from using the brew, some boycott leaders and patriot newspapers circulated stories that tea was a poisonous brew, responsible for stomach ailments and nervous disorders. They asserted that tea bred lice and fleas. It was even suggested that the tea was prepared for export by being pressed into its container by the bare, dirty feet of Chinese workers. Prior to the boycott of the Continental Association, tea was commonly served in the morning as part of breakfast or in the late afternoon as a social event. Colonials preferred their tea strong and brewed it dark. Bohea was so popular that the name came to be used as a slang term for tea itself. Lighter teas, such as Souchong and Hyson, comprised only about 10 percent of the colonial imports. The tax on tea was mainly felt by the more affluent colonists, for whom tea drinking had become a social ritual (Volo and Volo 2003, 260) (Larabee 1964, 8, 28, 144) (Raphael 1991, 17).

In upper-class households, to properly serve tea, a hostess needed a profusion of ancillary items in addition to the teakettle, teapot, and teacups. Serving tea required the right tea table, canisters, bowls, saucers, spoons, strainers, a milk or cream pitcher, sugar container, sugar tongs, and a slop bowl. Few common people could afford the tea, let alone the paraphernalia needed to serve it in proper form. Custom even dictated the arrangement of the serving pieces. On a round table the cups and saucers would be arranged in a circle. On a rectangular table, the drinking vessels would be lined up in rows. In either case, the teapot was the centerpiece of the arrangement, flanked by the sugar and creamer on one side and the slop bowl on the other (Volo and Volo 2003, 261).

Substitutes for Tea

The colonial housewife experimented with a variety of native plants in an effort to find a palatable substitute for tea. Made from the four-leaf loosestrife plant, "liberty tea" was extremely popular. The stalks were stripped of the leaves and boiled. The leaves were placed in an iron kettle and basted with the liquor from the stalks. Finally, the leaves were oven dried. Over time the term "liberty tea" has been applied to any of the homegrown tea substitutes devised by creative colonists (Volo and Volo 2003, 261).

Ribwort, strawberry, elderberry, blackberry, and currant leaves were used as substitutes, as were sassafras, dittany, sage, and thoroughwort (boneset). Some teas also included flowers, such as the blossoms of linden, elder, red clover, chamomile, violets, and roses. Other teas came from the bark of sassafras or willow trees, or from twigs of the sweet gum, seeds of fennel and dill, and the fruit of the rosebush, commonly known as rosehips. In the Carolinas a plant that thrived in the sandy soil yielded Yeepann tea. Oswego tea, which bore the name given to it by the Native Americans who originally introduced it to the colonists, was popular in the mid-Atlantic region. It was brewed from bee balm leaves and flowers, lemon balm, and mint. Hyperion tea was made from raspberry leaves. An advertisement of the day boasted, "The use of

Hyperion or Labrador tea is everyday coming into vogue among people of all ranks" (Volo and Volo 2003, 261) (Earle 1969, 181).

Forsaking their beloved tea was difficult for many. Lois Peters beseeched her husband, "I should be glad of a little tea among the rest of my wants." Baroness Frederica von Riedesel, wife of a Hessian general, sensed the depth of the colonial passion for tea during her stay in a Virginia tavern. As she prepared tea for herself and her husband, she noted that the woman of the house "watched greedily, for the Americans loved tea very much, but had decided not to drink any more, because the tea tax was the cause of the war" (Volo and Volo 2003, 261) (Guthman 1980, 35) (Williams 1976, 228).

A Boston newspaper contained the following verse in support of the tea boycott:

Throw aside your Bohea and your green Hyson tea,
And all things with a new fashioned duty;
Procure a good store of the choice Labradore
For there'll soon be enough here to suit ye;
These do without fear, and to all you'll appear
Fair, charming, true, lovely and clever;
Though the times remain darkish,
Young men may be sparkish,
And love you much stronger than ever. (Volo and Volo 2003, 261) (Larabee 1964, 27–28)

In the absence of tea, many colonists turned to coffee. Between 1770 and 1790 coffee consumption in the American colonies increased more than sevenfold. In 1774 John Adams reported in a letter to his wife the following conversation upon his arrival at the home of the Hudsons' after a long journey. He said to Mrs. Hudson, "Madam! Is it lawful for a weary traveler to refresh himself with a dish of tea, provided it has been honestly smuggled, or paid no duties?" She replied, "No, sir! We have renounced all tea in this place, but I'll make you coffee." Adams noted that he had drunk coffee every afternoon thereafter and "borne it very well." He concluded, "Tea must be universally renounced, and I must be weaned" (Volo and Volo 2003, 262) (Raphael 1991, 17) (Williams 1976, 228).

Coffee, like tea, was imported, but it never became the symbol of protest that tea was. Once trade became interrupted by the war, coffee, too, became difficult to acquire. A variety of nuts and grains were parched and boiled in an attempt to find a suitable substitute. Rye grain and chestnuts were the most common choices. Mrs. Smith recalled drinking "wheat coffee (which was all we could get in those days, and a poor substitute it was for good Mocha)." The *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* hoped to inspire women to forgo tea, reporting that a group of New Hampshire women "made their breakfast upon rye coffee" (Volo and Volo 2003, 262) (Smith 1901, 229) (Norton 1980, 159).

Chocolate was another popular warm beverage among affluent colonists. It was imported in blocks. To make a pot of chocolate, a quantity was shaved from the block and boiled in water. Milk and sugar were added according to taste. The supply of chocolate, too, soon fell victim to the war (Volo and Volo 2003, 262).

SHORTAGES

As Britain cut off the regular channels of trade to the American colonies, certain commodities became increasingly difficult to obtain. Sugar, salt, and molasses quickly fell into short supply. West India molasses nearly doubled in price. Medicine and pins were almost impossible to obtain. The shortages were exacerbated by merchants who sought to profit from the situation. In July 1777, such opportunism turned a group of Massachusetts women into a raging mob. Abigail Adams wrote, "You must know that there is a great scarcity of sugar and coffee, articles which the female part of the state is very loath to give up, especially whilst they consider the scarcity occasioned by the merchants having secreted a large quantity" (Volo and Volo 2003, 262) (Williams 1976, 264).

A similar situation occurred when a merchant's wife sought to avoid conflict by offering sugar for $4.00 a pound. An outraged group of 22 women, escorted by 2 soldiers, seized the sugar and distributed it at a considerably reduced price. Small dramas like these took place until the merchants' stockpiles were exhausted. "Some stores have been opened . . . and the coffee and sugar carried into the market and dealt out by pounds" (Volo and Volo 2003, 262–63) (Williams 1976, 264).

Colonists tapped their personal resourcefulness and natural resources to discover replacements for scarce and highly taxed foodstuffs. Sugar was used mainly by families of wealth. It came in very hard cones, called loaves, that weighed 8 to 10 pounds each. The sugar, having a consistency of hard candy, would be removed from the loaf into usable quantities by the use of a sugar nipper. Less affluent colonials made greater use of molasses, which also was imported but less expensive. In some areas, sugar and molasses were replaced by maple syrup or maple sugar produced domestically and sold for about a quarter of the price of a white loaf sugar. Honey was another alternative sweetener, but it was seasonal and not widely available. Adaptive cooks discovered that juice squeezed from cornstalks could be used as a sweetener. When dried and boiled, pumpkin pulp was found to be a substitute for molasses. Bakers wishing to sweeten a cake batter often used chopped apples, dried blueberries, pumpkin, or squash. Such ingredients added flavor as well as a bit of sweetening (Volo and Volo 2003, 263).

The difficulty of importing molasses caused a secondary shortage in the availability of rum. The average American drank almost four gallons of rum annually, a practice that colonials hoped to maintain during the war years, not in pursuit of inebriation but because rum was thought to fortify the drinker and help prevent disease. With the shortage of molasses, the price of rum soared. Some innkeepers were so outraged by the enormous increase in the price of rum that they agreed to buy no more until the price was reduced (Volo and Volo 2003, 263) (Schlesinger 1957, 590).

Salt

The lack of salt was a particularly serious problem. Salt was one of the main means of preserving meat. Congress intervened in the salt shortage, advising provincial authorities "to regulate the price." The local authorities also offered bounties for its production. Many seaside communities erected salt pans—long, covered troughs through which seawater slowly flowed. Throughout the process of passing from pan to pan, the heat of the sun evaporated the water, leaving a thick paste of sea salt that was appropriate for preserving provisions (Volo and Volo 2003, 263) (Berkin 1996, 180–81).

When a New Jersey woman received a bushel of salt as a gift from her sisters, she noted, "Being so rich, we thought it our duty to hand out a little to the poor around us, who were mourning for want of salt; so we divided the bushel, and gave a pint to every poor person who came for it—having an abundance for our own use." Alternatives to salt as a preservative were sought, and a lye extracted from walnut ashes was discovered to be an effective preservative, although it did little to improve the flavor of the food (Volo and Volo 2003, 263–64).

Foraging and raiding troops were responsible for shortages in rural areas. Loyalist raiders targeted the salt pans of the Patriots for destruction. They pillaged rebel homes, taking valuables, clothing, and food. On a farm in North Carolina, "They immediately entered and plundered the house of everything, carrying away also the corn and wheat." In Philadelphia, the Hessians "plunder[ed] at a great rate, such things as wood, potatoes, turnips &c." The nineteenth-century historian Mrs. Elizabeth F. Lumis Ellet recorded, "During the summer, families through the country, near the scene of warfare, lived chiefly on roasted corn, without bread, meat or salt." Murderous gangs of Loyalists so devastated the Carolinas that it prompted a verse:

> Carolina, South and North,
> Was filled with pain and woe:
> The Tories took their neighbors' worth,
> And away a Whig must go. (Volo and Volo 2003, 264) (Ellet 1859, 185, 215, 217) (Crane 1994, 66)

The residents of Redding, Connecticut, at first welcomed the proximity of "the dusty battalions" of friendly troops in their winter encampment, but they came to look at their presence with mixed emotions:

> A few months' acquaintance opened their eyes to some of the ways of the soldiers, and caused them to speed the army in the spring as heartily as they welcomed them in the autumn. The soldiers . . . plundered the neighboring farmers, whether Whig or Tory, with the utmost impartiality. To them a well-stocked poultry-yard or a pen of fat porkers offered irresistible inducements. . . . [U]nder cover of night droves of fat cattle . . . were killed and eaten with as little formality as they were taken. (Volo and Volo 2003, 264) (Hurd 1881, 595)

Shortages were often only regional. In need of flour, Lois Peters wrote to her husband, Nathan, that "there is flour to be bought very cheap at [New] York and it is very scarce here. If you could send me a barrel by Mr. Safford, I should be very glad." After providing medical aid to some gondola men and their wives, Mrs. Morris of Burlington, New Jersey, set about engaging one of the grateful recipients of her charity to deliver into British-held Philadelphia "a quarter of beef, some veal, fowl and flour" for her aged father and sisters in the city. Two nights later, the man returned "with a letter, a bushel of salt, a jug of molasses, a bag of rice, some tea, coffee and sugar and some cloth for coats for [her] poor boys," all of which were available in the city (Volo and Volo 2003, 264) (Guthman 1980, 35) (Ellet 1859, 68–69).

A poem by "Anonymous Molly Gutridge" summed up the concerns brought on by these shortages.

For salt is all the farmer's cry,
If we've no salt we sure must die.
We cannot get bread nor yet meat.
We see the world is nought but cheat....
These times will learn us to be wise.
We now do eat what we despis'd.
I now have something more to say.
We must go up and down the Bay.
To get a fish a-days to fry.
We can't get fat were we to die. (Volo and Volo 2003, 264–65) (Williams 1976, 264–65)

Flour

Abigail Adams painted a desperate picture of privation and need in Massachusetts when she wrote to her husband in 1777:

I wish the men of war [were] better employed than in taking flour vessels since it creates a temporary famine. Here, if I would give a guinea for a pound of flour I don't think I could purchase it. There is such a cry for bread in the town of Boston as I suppose was never before heard, and the bakers deal out but a loaf a day to the largest families. There is such a demand for Indian corn and rye, that a scarcity will soon take place in the country....The meat that is carried to market is miserably poor. (Volo and Volo 2003, 265) (Rhodehamel 2001, 302)

Leonard Gansevoort Jr. of Albany wrote to Leonard Bronk of Coxsackie in 1778, seeking his assistance in the face of dwindling supplies: "[R]especting the Flour which I spoke to you about. I would be glad if you would let me know whether you have it to spare. I am greatly in Want of it as I have not any." Gansevoort continued to rely on Bronk to help him, and in 1782 he wrote, "Hard times. I have no butter and am now obliged to send my Negro down to you for some. He has money to pay for whatever he can get....Polly says she wants vinegar. If you can help her to some you will do her kindness. We want a great many things for the Winter...which are most necessary." Four months later he wrote again, "Polly begins to grow uneasy whenever she looks at her little store of butter. If you can help her...you will greatly oblige" (Volo and Volo 2003, 265) (Beecher 1973, 23, 45, 46).

Lois Peters took a more proactive approach, writing to her husband, "[B]utter and cheese [were] never so high here since my remembrance as now. Cheese [is] six pence and butter nine and ten pence per pound. So if you could send some money by my brother, I could . . . buy me a cow and I think it would be very profitable." New Englander Juliana Smith, writing about her Thanksgiving celebration in 1779, details other shortages and how resourceful cooks coped with them. "All the baking of pies & cakes was done at our house and we had the big oven heated and filled twice each day for three days before it was all done. . . . Neither love nor (paper) money could buy raisins, but our good red cherries dried without the pits, did almost as well and happily Uncle Simeon still had some spices in store" (Volo and Volo 2003, 265–66) (Guthman 1980, 43) (Smith 1901, 292–95).

"Of course we have no roast beef. None of us have tasted beef this three years back as it must all go to the army, and too little they get, poor fellows," she wrote. For the feast Juliana's family was able to get "a fine red deer, so that we had a good haunch of venison on each table. These were balanced by huge chines of roast pork at the other ends of the tables. Then there was on one a big roast turkey and on the other a goose, and two big pigeon pasties . . . [and] an abundance of good vegetables of all sorts" (Volo and Volo 2003, 265–66).

Juliana also noted, "Our mince pies were good although we had to use dried cherries. . . . The pumpkin pies, apple tarts and big Indian pudding lacked for nothing save appetite. . . . Of course we had no wine. Uncle Simeon has still a cask or two but it must be saved for the sick, and indeed, for those well, good cider is a sufficient substitute. There was no plum pudding but a boiled suet pudding stirred thick with dried plums and cherries was called by the old name and answered the purpose." She was further delighted with a new vegetable that her Uncle Simeon had grown from seeds imported from England just before the war, and her uncle hoped to have enough the following year for everyone. "It is called Sellery [*sic*] and you eat it without cooking" (Volo and Volo 2003, 266).

THE COST OF FOOD

Food prices rose and shortages continued throughout the war. When a city was occupied or after the countryside had been ravaged by the armies, what little was left commanded enormous rates. In 1780, Abigail Adams reported the rampant inflation in Boston: "Beef, eight dollars per pound; mutton, nine; lamb, six, seven and eight. Butter twelve dollars per pound; cheese, ten. Sheep's wool, thirty dollars per pound; flax twenty." In Philadelphia, with its surrounding countryside stripped almost bare by two competing armies of foragers, "[P]rovisions are so scarce with us now, that Jenny gave 2s 6d per lb. for mutton this morning—The people round the country do not come near us with anything, what little butter is bought is 7s 6d." Mary Bartlett of Kingston, New Hampshire, noted the extravagant prices: "molasses found at six pence per gallon . . . New England rum five shillings per gallon, West India seven and six pence per gallon, cotton wool four shillings per pound, Bohea tea ten shillings per pound, and other things in proportion" (Volo and Volo 2003, 266) (Williams 1976, 264) (Crane 1994, 65) (Meltzer 1987, 78).

COMMUNITY EVENTS

Gatherings in rural communities were grounded in agricultural activities such as barn raisings, logging bees, and harvest activities. It was common for the women of the community to gather to supply a community need, such as cloth for the local minister's family. One woman who attended a spinning bee "did the morning work of a large family, made her cheese, etc. and then rode more than two miles, and carried her own wheel, and sat down to spin at nine in the morning, and by seven in the evening spun 53 knots, and went home to milking" (Volo and Volo 2003, 269) (Ulrich 1989, 226–27).

The custom of spinning bees was seized upon by promoters of boycotts who sought to commandeer the practice and to convert it to a political statement. Spinning bees took on a new meaning as women gathered together to spin not solely for charity but also to demonstrate their commitment to shun imported fabrics and their passion for home manufactory. However, "the planting and the harvests of the absent soldiers must take precedence of those who remained at home." The papers of the Smith family describe a series of "husking bees" that took place in 1777. The corn of a local "patriot who was absent in the service of his country" was brought to the largest barn in the town. There "[m]en and women, bond and free, boys and girls, 'quality' and 'commonality,' natives and refugees, all toiled together," the work "made as pleasurable as possible by songs and story telling" (Volo and Volo 2003, 269–70) (Smith 1901, 263–64).

These assemblages provided sufficient manpower for arduous or tedious labor, but they also created an excuse for a social gathering, such as this one during an otherwise bleak and serious period:

> After the evening's task was done and all had adjourned to the house, the different social grades sorted themselves apart.... In the broad and high basement were the slave quarters, where in front of blazing logs in wide fireplaces, they roasted potatoes in the ashes, and partook of apples, nuts and cider.... In the great kitchen, in whose fireplace an ox might have been roasted whole, another set enjoyed themselves in a similar manner; and in the generous dining-room...[a] more sumptuous repast was served. After the supper, reels and contra-dances, where the feet beat merrily to the entrancing strains of..."Caius Tite's" fiddle, gave a sportive finish to an evening which after all was done, had not been a long one, for all must be up and toiling again by daybreak or before. (Smith 1901, 264–65)

SEWING

Sewing was always a very important activity. The household needed bed linens and towels, clothing required mending, and growing children always needed something larger. Although sewing was a regular part of her routine chores, spinning and needlework could be a welcome opportunity for a woman to sit down and relax while still being productive. Sewing could be brought along while visiting and done while socializing. The simplicity of the task allowed it to be done by the limited light of the fire at night. Elementary sewing, such as mending and hemming, required little attention and permitted a woman to converse or to listen to someone reading (Volo and Volo 2003, 270).

Mastery of the needle was essential for all women; indeed; young girls were taught needle skills at an early age and were expected to master them. Many samplers, handed down as family treasures, demonstrate tremendous skill even though they were wrought by prepubescent girls. Young Sally Wister proudly made a note in her journal of a conversation she had with a light dragoon officer who was quartered on her family's property. "Observ'd my sampler, which was in full view. Wish'd I would teach the Virginians some of my needle wisdom; [he said] they were the laziest girls in the world." Surely the officer was flattering Sally. Even women who could afford to have servants do their sewing needed some skill so that they could instruct the servants and direct the work. Women of means also had the free time and the financial means to engage in what is referred to as fancywork. They made decorative items such as bed hangings, Bible covers, chair seats, and pot holders with involved designs done in embroidery, crewel, and tambour work (Volo and Volo 2003, 270) (Wister 1995, 46).

Once hostilities opened, women turned away from producing such luxuries and toward more basic needle skills, such as sewing shirts or knitting stockings for the troops. Awareness of the need to be productive was strong. Dorothy Dudley wrote in 1775: "[M]y life for a time runs in a different current from its wont. Our hands are soldiers' property now; jellies are to be made, lint to be scraped, bandages to be prepared for waiting wounds. Embroidery is laid aside and spinning takes its place. Oh, there is such urgent need for economy!" A young woman given refuge in the home of Major General Israel Putnam noted, "My amusements were few; the good Mrs. Putnam employed me and her daughters constantly to spin flax for shirts for the American soldiery; indolence in America being totally discouraged." John Smith, detained with his father on their journey to New Haven by a snowstorm, noted, "As no one could be allowed to remain idle in such times of pressing need, my father and I helped to mold bullets for the soldiers' muskets, while gentle Mrs. Reeve sat busily knitting on yarn stockings for their feet" (Volo and Volo 2003, 271) (Dudley 1971, 35) (Ellet 1859, 51) (Smith 1901, 306).

An event at the Morristown camp illustrates the sweeping commitment of patriot women to productivity.

> I was never so ashamed in all my life. You see, (we three wives) thought we would visit Lady Washington, and as she was said to be so grand a lady, we thought we must put on our best bibbs and bands. So we dressed ourselves in our most elegant ruffles and silks, and were introduced to her ladyship. And don't you think we found her knitting and with a (check) apron on! She received us very graciously, and easily, but after the compliments were over, she resumed her knitting. There we were without a stitch of work, and sitting in State, but General Washington's lady with her own hands was knitting stockings for herself and her husband! (Volo and Volo 2003, 271) (Braken 1997, 48–49)

As the afternoon progressed, Mrs. Washington took the opportunity to remind her visitors that it was very important "that American ladies should be patterns of industry for their country." She appealed to them, saying, "We must become independent by our determination to do without what we cannot make ourselves. Whilst our husbands and brothers are examples of patriotism, we must be patterns of industry." Nonetheless, some domestic handiwork was mandated by law because the troops were in desperate need of clothing. Several states set production quotas for towns. The residents of Hartford, Connecticut, for example, were required to produce 1,000 coats and waistcoats and 1,600 shirts (Volo and Volo 2003, 271) (Braken 1997, 49) (Gunderson 1996, 67).

READING

For those of sufficient wealth to enjoy a bit of leisure time, reading was a popular pastime. Affluent diarists often briefly noted that they spent time reading. Reading was also enjoyed as a group activity, and it was common for one person to read while others listened and worked on sewing or knitting (Volo and Volo 2003, 271–72).

With the exception of newspapers, almanacs, sermons, and political pamphlets, most reading material in the colonies, at the beginning of the Revolution, was imported from London. One rare exception was John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*. Sales of this 1768 work were so strong that it may well be considered a best seller. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) and John Trumbull's *M'Fingal* (1775–1782) were the only two other publications to attain such popularity. Other popular works were generally of British origin. These included Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son* (1774–1775), and Dr. John Gregory's *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (1774) (Volo and Volo 2003, 272) (Randel 1973, 181).

Lucinda Lee Orr spent two months visiting family in Virginia in 1782, during which time her social life was a whirlwind of visits to different plantations, dinners, teas, and parties. Nonetheless, Lucinda spent a fair amount of time reading. She had a great passion for novels, which were somewhat more popular in the South than in the North. Writing to her friend Polly, Lucinda noted that she had read *The History of Lady Julia Mandeville*. "I was much affected. Indeed, I think I never cried more in my life reading a novel; the style is beautiful, but the tale is horrid." In certain quarters, novels were thought to be too stirring for female minds. Lucinda may have agreed. "I have for the first time in my life just read Pope's *Eloiza*. . . . [C]urioussity [*sic*] led me to read it. . . . [T]he Poetry I think beautiful, but do not like some of the sentiments. Some of *Eloiza* is too amorous for a female I think." Lucinda also reported, "Mrs. A. Washington has lent me a new novel called *Victoria*. I can't say I admire the tale, though I think it prettily told." She read *Malvern Dale*, which she fancied was "something like *Evelina*," and passed an evening reading *Belle Strattagem* to her guests (Volo and Volo 2003, 272) (Earle 1962, 192–93).

Sally Wister, a 15-year-old Quaker, made several notations of having "read and work's in turns," one person reading aloud while others worked. She reported that one evening a dragoon officer billeted in her home outside Philadelphia "took up a volume of Homer's Illiad [*sic*], and read to us." To her delight, "He [read] very well, and with judgment." She was overjoyed to have been brought "a charming collection of books" that included *Joseph Andrews*, *Juliet Grenville*, *Caroline Melmoth*, and some of *Lady's Magazine* (Volo and Volo 2003, 272) (Wister 1995, 38–39, 40, 50).

Generally, even young women's taste in reading material favored religious, philosophical, or practical topics rather than fiction or humor. Mercy Otis Warren, herself a writer of poetry and plays, counseled her niece, Rebecca Otis, "Throw away no part of your time, in the perusal of…the puerile study of romance.…[L]eave your leisure to improve your taste, to cultivate your mind, and enlarge your understanding by reading." Young Lucinda Lee Orr cautioned a friend, "[R]ead something improving. Books of instruction will be a thousand times more pleasing (after a little while) than all the novels in the world. I own myself I am too fond of novel-reading; but by accustoming myself to reading other books I have become less so. I have entertained myself all day reading *Telamachus*. It is really delightful and very improving." Anna Rawle Clifford of Philadelphia wrote in her journal, "Reading French this morning. We have got into *Telamachus*, which is much more interesting than the little fables we were reading before." Anna Rawle Clifford had a particular treat when she spent the day "in looking over the magazines from New York which Benjamin Shoemaker had brought down in the morning." She also reported, "I amuse myself in the evening with Rochefoucault's moral maxims" (Volo and Volo 2003, 272–73) (Kerber 1980, 240, 253) (Earle 1962, 193) (Evans 1975, 290, 291).

Among the most popular practical works of the period were Jonathan Edwards's *Sermons* (1739–1742), John Witherspoon's works on the Gospels, George Whitfield's *Domestic Medicine or the Family Physician*, Bishop Burnet's *History* (1724–1734), Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1734), Joseph Priestley's *Experimental Philosophy*, and Clarendon's *History of the English Rebellion*. Wealthy patrons also sought to anchor their libraries with reference works such as Duhamel's *Husbandry* (1768), Bailey's or Johnson's *Standard Dictionary*, or the *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*. *The Frugal Housewife and Complete Woman Cook* was popular among women (Volo and Volo 2003, 273) (Schouler 1906, 122–23).

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Only those of comfortable means could afford to own books. Booksellers in larger cities, like Henry Knox of Boston, had to diversify their offerings if they were to enjoy financial success. They often advertised that they carried ledgers, account books, and stationery; books on divinity, history, law, physics, and surgery; schoolbooks on mathematics, grammar, the classics, and geography; and Bibles. A nineteenth-century study of printing calculated that there were, however, more than 50 booksellers in the colonies. Philadelphia led the way with 21. Boston had 17. New York had 4. New Haven and Charleston each had 3. Newburyport, Salem, Newport, Providence, Hartford, Lancaster, Germantown, Wilmington, Annapolis, and Savannah each had 1. Many southern aristocrats had developed an appetite for the accumulation of literary works, and some private plantation libraries were impressive in their size and breadth of subject matter. Thomas Jefferson drew up a list of titles for "the common reader" of his own class "who has not leisure for any intricate or tedious study" that comprised 379 volumes worth more than £100 "in plain bindings" (Volo and Volo 2003, 273) (Randel 1973, 181) (Middleton 1952, 3).

LITERARY CLUBS

One area of Connecticut seems to have been particularly ripe with avid readers and inquiring minds. Prominent residents of Sharon founded the Sharon Literary Club in January 1779. The purpose of the organization was "to promote a taste for the study of *Belles Lettres* (fine writing) and of logic, and to gain some skill in the useful Freeman's *Art of Debate*." Literary clubs of this type were very popular during the nineteenth century, but this must have been quite unusual in its time (Volo and Volo 2003, 274) (Smith 1901, 270–71).

Meetings were held on every Monday evening throughout the year, except from May to the end of September. They would commence with selected readings from books that the members were supposed to be pursuing, such as Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars,* Plutarch's *Life of Hannibal,* and Fenelon's *Telemachus* (1699). The readings were then subject to the criticisms of the club's members. After the meeting ended, refreshments were served. This was sometimes followed by an hour of dancing. There were 17 dwellings mentioned as hosting meetings. At alternate meetings the club was mainly a debating society for the men (Volo and Volo 2003, 274).

In October 1779, the club established a publication so that the talents of the members might be cultivated in writing as well as reading and speech, and each was expected to make a periodic contribution. The *Clio* was a "Literary Miscellany" issued bimonthly. It contained odes, essays, proverbs, puzzles, sketches, and jokes. "The large, coarse-textured sheets of foolscap [were] ruled down the center of each page to form two columns, and the several sheets are tied together by cords of braided, home-spun, unbleached linen thread." The pages were "legibly written in the script of different hands." The contents compared favorably with those of printed literary periodicals of the day. Absent from the paper was any commentary on political issues. This is very odd, considering that the community strongly supported the patriot cause (Volo and Volo 2003, 274–75) (Smith 1901, 277–78).

NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers enjoyed a broader readership than books. The newspapers of the time differed greatly from the daily papers of today. Most were published weekly. Subscriptions were costly. Exclusive of postage or carrier fees, weekly papers averaged

8s a year. Readers of one publication often exchanged their paper with subscribers of another. Colonial papers carried local "news" but also copied articles that appeared in other publications in other cities that may have been weeks old. The news was anything but "late breaking." A report of an important battle or a measure passed in Parliament was more likely to have arrived by a courier or traveler. To fill space, newspapers relied on prose and poetry heavy with sentimentalism, reflection, and affectation of virtue, often copied from London magazines to give the publication an air of sophistication (Volo and Volo 2003, 275).

Newspapers commonly accepted the contributions of patrons who fancied themselves writers. As political tensions heightened, flowery verses were replaced by Whig rhetoric or Tory recriminations. Local political and religious leaders took up the pen to rouse public opinion to one cause or the other. Using classical pseudonyms such as "Lucius" and "Brutus," young men, often collegians, were welcomed contributors who passionately spread patriotic fervor. Publications such as *Rivington's Gazetteer* became vehicles for loyalist propaganda, while others, such as Boston's *New England Chronicle,* promptly changed its name to the *Independent Chronicle* and added to its bannerhead "An Appeal to Heaven" with the "figure of a Continental soldier on one side . . . and a scroll 'Independence' on the other" (Volo and Volo 2003, 275) (Schouler 1906, 153).

Newspaper editors controlled the tenor of their publications, and those who supported positions unpopular in the region they served suffered harsh consequences that ranged from lost revenue to broken presses. Some Tory papers folded. In Boston the Tory editor of *The Chronicle* closed his doors and fled to England. After 72 years of publication, the colonies' oldest paper, the *News-Letter,* printed its last issue in 1776. Some newspapers with a divided readership sought to maintain their income by trying to be objective and neutral, but impartiality was often viewed as a lack of patriotic spirit. Many truly objective publications suffered as much as those blatantly pro-British. The *Boston Evening Post* prided itself on presenting both sides of controversial issues, but following the events at Lexington and Concord, it suspended publication (Volo and Volo 2003, 275–76).

Some newspaper editors changed their politics completely. The *Massachusetts Spy,* printed by Isaiah Thomas, initially took a bipartisan position, but shifted support to the patriot party after the fighting at Lexington. When the British occupied New York, John Gaine moved the *New York Mercury* to Newark, New Jersey, to avoid persecution by the regulars. When he returned to the city, he renamed the publication the *Gazette and Weekly Mercury* and gave it a decidedly Tory slant (Volo and Volo 2003, 276).

James Rivington's *Gazetteer* started out maintaining a neutral position, but was stormed twice by Liberty Boys for printing pro-Tory articles. After Lexington, Rivington felt obliged to place the following public notice:

As many publications have appeared from my press which have given great Offense to the Colonies, and particularly to many of my fellow Citizens; I am therefore led, by a most sincere regard for their favorable Opinion, to declare to the Public, that Nothing which I have ever done, has proceeded from any Sentiments in the least unfriendly to the Liberties of this

Continent, but altogether from the Ideas I entertained of the Liberty of the Press, and of my duty as a Printer. I am led to make this free and public Declaration to my Fellow Citizens, which I hope they will consider as a sufficient Pledge of my Resolution, for the future, to conduct my Press upon such Principles as shall not give Offense to the Inhabitants of the Colonies in general, and of this City in particular, to which I am connected by the tenderest of all human Ties, and in the Welfare of which I shall consider my own as inseparably involved. (Volo and Volo 2003, 276) (Randel 1973, 211)

The *Gazetteer* eventually had to cease publication for a time, but resumed throughout the British occupation of New York as the *Royal Gazette*. Ironically, Rivington experienced a good deal of personal popularity in the city in the postwar years.

In Philadelphia the *Evening Post* began by supporting the patriot party. When the British took the city, it joined two other city newspapers in promoting the Tory position. Once the British pulled out, the paper resumed its pro-patriot stance. This was too much for most readers, who resented any publication that could undergo such frequent and dramatic ideological changes, and the publication's readership declined dramatically (Volo and Volo 2003, 276).

It was not unusual for women to be newspaper publishers. Margaret Draper continued the publication of the *Boston Newsletter* after the death of her husband in 1774. An advocate of Tory politics, the paper continued in print until the evacuation of the British from the city. Mary Katherine Goddard assumed control of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advisor* from her brother, and published the newssheet from 1775 to 1784.

As the war raged on, printers were faced with a severe shortage of paper, which prior to the nineteenth century was produced from rags. Rag paper is acid free, sturdy, long-lived, and does not yellow. Many eighteenth-century documents, written on this paper, are in better condition than those more than a century younger printed on wood pulp paper. While rag paper mills existed in both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, the scarcity of cloth fiber seriously curtailed paper production. In some cases collectors went door-to-door to obtain fabric remnants. This naturally caused the price of newspapers to rise considerably and, in some cases, the quality of the paper to diminish (Volo and Volo 2003, 276–77).

ALMANACS

A number of almanacs enjoyed widespread popularity from colonial times through the Revolution and into the nineteenth century. Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which was published from 1732 to 1757, is without a doubt the most famous one of the colonial period, but it was not the only one. Almanacs were printed as pamphlets. They contained a mixture of practical suggestions for managing the home or farm, vague weather forecasts, sagacious maxims for living, and appealing stories for entertainment. In addition to a chronicle of dates, and calculations of the phases of the moon, eclipses, and tides, a typical issue might contain "a prescription for using asses' milk to cure consumption, a poem on the universe, together with receipts for making quince wine, and for the cure of worms in sheep, or of the swollen head for young turkeys." The *Boston Almanac* also printed stage distances between chief towns, the civil list of the Massachusetts province, and the dates of court sessions. This combination of utilitarian and recreational reading made the almanac very popular with the sensible American (Volo and Volo 2003, 277) (Schouler 1906, 140).

Like other native publications during the war, almanacs showed their Whig or Tory support. Portraits of John Hancock, George Washington, and other patriot leaders appeared in issues, accompanied by suitable lyrics or acrostics. One almanac printed the "Speech of Galagacus to the North Britons," in which he incited his army to fight for their liberties. A bookseller advertising in the *Independent Chronicle* argued, "This speech alone breathes such a spirit of heroism and liberty that it ought to be read by every friend of his country, and is alone worth treble the price of the almanac." Almanacs that continued in print during the Revolution included Gleason's *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanac* (1766), Rivington's *New Almanack & Ephemeris* by "Copernicus" (1775), and Rittenhouse's *Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania Almanac* (1791) (Volo and Volo 2003, 277) (Schouler 1906, 141).

PAMPHLETS

The most influential and widely read medium of communication of the day was the pamphlet. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) is the best illustration of the effectiveness of this printed form. No other work of patriotic fervor was so well received or so widely quoted by the American public. Pamphlets were more affordable than books, and their ability to respond to the immediacy of an issue made them highly desirable. Theological discourses and sermons, printed in pamphlet form, were particularly popular. Well-advertised pamphlets of this genre included *Heaven upon Earth*, *A Penitential Crisis*, *The Whole Duty of Women*, *The Religious Education of Daughters* (1787), and *Serial Sermons for the Days of the Week* (Volo and Volo 2003, 278).

GAMES AND WAGERING

Not all recreational time was spent in lofty pursuits. In higher social circles an evening might well be spent playing chess, checkers, or backgammon. Cards were widely denounced from the pulpit, but both men and women of leisure passed a great deal of time playing card games. Tokens in the shape of fish or other animals, fashioned in bone or ivory, were often used in place of coins as table stakes. Whist and cribbage were particularly popular.

There was a genre of board games involving dice and token pieces moving about a predetermined path, similar to the modern children's game Chutes and Ladders. Very popular as tavern games, these included Snake and The Game of Goose. Wagers were made and forfeits were added to the pot according to the play of the game. Other games, such as Shut the Box and Shove Ha'penny, utilized real boards and mechanical devices. Many of these involved wagers on every round or turn. A good deal of money might be in the pot at the end of the game (Volo and Volo 2003, 278).

Despite the unfavorable attitude toward wagering, men of the Revolutionary era were passionate gamblers. They would bet on virtually anything: dice, cards, elections, horse races, shooting matches, or the fall of a leaf. The Marquis de Chastellux had the opportunity to observe a popular diversion and gambling opportunity. He came upon the Willis Ordinary, which he described as "a solitary place." He was surprised to find there a "numerous assembly, and was informed it was a cockfight. [A] diversion…much in vogue in Virginia" (Volo and Volo 2003, 278) (Morris 1922, 43).

HORSE RACING

Horse racing was much favored by those in the upper classes, and regular race courses were maintained. A traveler in Virginia, Thomas Anbury, noted: "At Williamsburg there is a very excellent course of two, three, or four mile heats." Races were held throughout the colonies before the Revolution, and match races between two contestants were advertised and well attended by all classes of people with money to bet. Well before the identification of the modern quarter horse breed, Anbury was quite amazed at the colonial fascination for racing horses over a course just a quarter-mile long. He wrote:

> Near most of the ordinaries there is a piece of ground cleared in the woods…where there are two paths about six or eight yards asunder which the horses run in. I think I can say without the slightest exaggeration…that even the famous Eclipse could not excel them in speed.…These [quarter horses] are trained to set out in this manner at the moment of starting. It is the most ridiculous amusement imaginable, for if you happen to be looking another way, the race is terminated before you can turn your head.…[V]ery considerable sums are billeted on these races. Only in the interior parts of this province are these races held, for they are very much laughed at and ridiculed by the people in the lower parts, about Richmond and other great towns. (Volo and Volo 2003, 278–79) (Morris 1922, 28)

The love of horse racing led to an interest in breeding racing stock, particularly of horses tracing their lineage to one of three Arabian stallions of the previous century: the Byerly Turk, the Darley Arabian, and the Godolphin Arabian. These horses were the foundation sires of thoroughbred racing in Britain. The famous Eclipse, mentioned by Anbury, traced his lineage to the Darley Arabian, and was the sole ancestral sire of all American racing thoroughbreds. Horses were also developed for the more personal diversions offered by hunting and saddle riding. Outstanding horseflesh was extensively bred in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Connecticut. The Morgan breed, whose sire was an outstanding stallion born during the Revolution, was not identified until after the war (Volo and Volo 2003, 279) (Volo and Volo 2000, 132–33).

LOTTERIES

Churches and colleges, as well as towns, seized on the gambling mania as a vehicle for raising capital. Public lotteries were held to fund construction and to pay off public debt. New York held a lottery in 1780 to fund fire buckets for the city. The following year another was held to raise funds to relieve the plight of needy loyalist refugees. Lotteries were even held to help fund the patriot military. One such was organized by Benjamin Franklin to pay for cannons for the army. The success of public lotteries inspired private parties to hold their own lotteries, which offered books, furniture, jewelry, real estate, and the like rather than cash prizes. Deceitful practices led to legislation that severely limited lotteries, and even reputable organizations had to file documents in advance that detailed the method of the drawing, the names of the managers, the number of tickets and the number of prizes, and the amount to be deducted from each award, which generally ranged from 12.5 to 15 percent of the pot (Volo and Volo 2003, 279–80).

PUBLIC HOUSES

The differences between inns, taverns, and ordinaries are lost on students of the period today, but they seem to have been clear enough at the time. In an era before the demonization of alcohol as the cause of social ills, taverns were a popular gathering place for men of all classes. Some served food, and all served liquor. The bar, which was often secured by a slatted gate after closing, was generally the center of attention. Johann David Schoepl wrote, "I stopped at the Tavern Formicola which was naturally much crowded. . . . Every evening there came generals, colonels, captains, senators, delegates, judges, doctors, clerks and gentlemen of every weight and caliber to sit around the fire, drink, smoke, sing, and swap anecdotes or political theories. Very entertaining, but Formicola's not being a spacious house, I found the crowd embarrassing" (Volo and Volo 2003, 280) (Morris 1922, 55).

The taverns of Philadelphia had a particularly unsavory reputation as tippling and disorderly houses, filled with drunks and prostitutes, respectively. The Indian King was the oldest and most reputable of the city's public houses, and it was here that Benjamin Franklin and his associates met. Other prominent taverns included the Crooked Billet and the City Tavern. The Tun Tavern was the main source of volunteers for the newly formed corps of American marines. In New York City, Bolton's Tavern was renowned for its food. It was here that Washington gathered with his chief officers for a farewell glass of wine at the conclusion of the war. Fraunces Tavern was another establishment of high repute in the city. Boston's Green Dragon was used by the Order of Masons as a meeting place, and the patriot agitators Joseph Warren, Samuel Adams, James Otis, and Paul Revere often met there to solidify their arguments against British rule. In Virginia, Gadsby's Tavern was popular with the residents of Alexandria, and Christina Campbell's, Chauning's, and the Raleigh

Tavern were popular with the members of the House of Burgesses in Williamsburg (Volo and Volo 2003, 280).

Inns and ordinaries furnished lodging and food to travelers. Accommodations were designed for male travelers only. While traveling, the Marquis de Chastellux complained, "They make nothing in America at an inn of crowding several people into the same room." Few places offered private quarters, and the weary traveler often had to share a room as well as a bed with another guest. Ladies who traveled at this time prearranged their journey, making provisions to stay with relatives, friends, or friends of friends. When this was not possible, a lady would write to a clergyman, who would arrange for lodging with a suitable family. Larger inns often had one spacious public room that could be rented for a concert, lecture, or ball, or for use by sleigh ride parties stopping for supper and dancing. The prominence of these places and their convenience to travelers made them obvious choices for public auctions, meetings, and political rallies (Volo and Volo 2003, 280–81) (Schouler 1906, 80).

Prior to the war, many public houses bore names such as The King's Arms or The Royal George in honor of the Crown. As tensions heightened, many changed their names to less politically charged ones, such as The Punch Bowl or The Bull's Head, not to alienate any patrons. Following the siege of Boston even the British Coffee House was rechristened the American Coffee House. In Tory strongholds the retention of a British name generally advertised the politics of the patrons who frequented the establishment (Volo and Volo 2003, 281).

DANCING

An extremely popular diversion, which was enjoyed equally by men and women, rich or poor, was dancing. Rural dances often took the form of an informal frolic composed of square dances and reels held after a community gathering. In cities, more formal balls were held. The Marquis de Chastellux described a ball that took place in Philadelphia in 1780.

> At Philadelphia, there are places appropriated for the young people to dance in. . . . A manager or Master of Ceremonies presides at the methodical amusements; he presents to the gentlemen and lady dancers, billets folded up containing each a number; thus fate decides the male or female partner for the whole evening. All the dances are previously arranged and the dances are called in their turns. These dances, like the toasts we drink at table, have some relation to politics; one is called *The Successful Campaign*, another *Bourgoyne's Defeat*, a third *Clinton's Retreat*. The managers are generally chosen from among the most distinguished officers of the army. (Volo and Volo 2003, 281) (Earle 1962, 213–14)

Some managers may have been carried away by their military habits. A story was told of "a young lady who was figuring in a country dance, having forgot her turn through conversing with a friend, [the manager] came up to her and called out loud, 'Give over, Miss, take care what you are about. Do you think you come here for your pleasure?' "

Balls were so much a part of the social life of the "genteel class" that they were even held by the officers during military encampments. Nathanael Greene recalled a particular visit by Washington. "We had a little dance at my quarters.... His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without once sitting down.... Upon the whole, we had a pretty little frisk." Following the alliance with France, Henry Knox wrote, "We had... a most genteel entertainment given by self and officers.... We had above seventy ladies... and between three and four hundred gentlemen. We danced all night—an elegant room, the illuminating fireworks, &c. were more than pretty" (Volo and Volo 2003, 281–82) (Earle 1962, 214) (Tebbel 1954, 140).

THEATER

Stage acting was a late arrival to the colonies. Religious prejudices against theatrical entertainment greatly limited its appeal. It was not until September 5, 1752, in Williamsburg, Virginia, that the first dramatic performance ever given by a regular company of actors in an auditorium was presented in the English colonies. Audiences in Maryland and Virginia were more open to theater than those in New England with their Puritanical heritage, but gradually attitudes toward stage performances changed. By 1761 a regular theater was opened in New York City under the patronage of Governor DeLancey despite vigorous opposition by the assembly and the city's religious leaders. By 1772, performances were commonly given once or twice a week in both New York and Philadelphia. The strong religious beliefs of Puritan New England supported laws that strictly forbade theatrical performances, especially the comedies and farces of playwrights like Sheridan and Molière. More serious works, like the plays of Shakespeare or Thomas Mallory, attracted less bitter criticism, but still fell under the proscription. Many Britons disagreed with colonial bans, and asserted that an act of Parliament allowing public exhibitions had the effect of overriding such provincial prohibitions. Theatricals thus became identified with the Tory cause, and attracted passionate acrimony from among the most conservative Whigs. Once war broke out, many plays and other frivolous amusements were prohibited by local laws throughout the colonies. While the British were in possession of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, performances were given for officers and Tory sympathizers. One such performance was *The Blockade of Boston*, a play written by General Burgoyne to mock the Continental troops (Volo and Volo 2003, 282).

LECTURES

In some communities elocution plays were executed as a series of readings that eventually merged into the complete recitation of a play or of a whole opera. Presented as a public speaking exercise, these performances, or lectures, were a means of circumventing local theatrical bans. Nonetheless, the lecture was an established and legitimate form of amusement that was sometimes advertised as a philosophical experiment "for the entertainment of the curious." Lectures were generally presented as a vehicle to expand the mind. One lecture in Philadelphia was touted as a discourse on "pleasant and useful geography," in which the figure and motion of the earth and the moon's effect on the tide and wind were revealed. Some lecturers conducted experiments with electricity that perpetuated, expanded, and popularized Franklin's work of midcentury. Others produced suction with a vacuum pump, presented botanical or zoological information, or pretended to show how iron could be heated by cold water (Volo and Volo 2003, 282) (Schouler 1906, 110).

MUSIC

Audiences also gathered for musical performances. Balls, concerts, recitals, and chamber performances were commonly done by subscription, and they attracted a "very polite company." In larger cities a series of performances might take place weekly over a period of six or eight weeks, in what was referred to as a concert hall. These concerts could be vocal solos, duets, or occasionally a chorus. Instrumental performances on the violin, French horn, hautboy (oboe), or harpsichord were popular. On a special occasion of public note, a regimental band might perform. Occasionally concerts were given as benefits for a local music teacher or church organist who arranged and conducted the performance himself. Most musical performances were private affairs at social gatherings in homes where young ladies and gentlemen demonstrated their talents to the guests (Volo and Volo 2003, 283).

PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES

Outdoor pastimes included a form of bowling, quoits, shooting, horseback riding, fishing, hunting, ice skating, and swimming. Benjamin Franklin was renowned for his swimming ability, as a young man even teaching swimming in England. Social class dictated the degree of organization and flamboyance of any physical activity. Horseback and carriage riding was done individually or in parties. In warm weather carriage parties might be the prelude to a picnic where, in addition to the food, participants enjoyed fishing, kite flying, and games of blindman's buff or of forfeit. Winter brought sleighing and skating parties that sometimes culminated in an evening of dinner and dancing at a local inn (Volo and Volo 2003, 283).

Naturally, once fighting broke out in an area, all frivolous activities ceased. The war, however, tended to move from one region of the colonies to another over eight years. After the active fighting moved on, many resumed the amusements they had enjoyed prior to the war. A high social life flourished in areas under British control, which ignored local bans and social correctness. Rebecca Franks of Philadelphia wrote of her stay in New York in 1778, "You have no idea of the life of con-tinued [*sic*] amusement I live in; I scarce have a moment to myself.... I have a ball this evening at Smith's where we have one every Thursday.... [Y]ou [can] chose [*sic*] at either Plays, Balls, Concerts or Assemblys" (Volo and Volo 2003, 283–84) (Earle 1894, 30–31).

FASHION

The way people dressed in the eighteenth century identified their social class and often their profession as well. Fashion defined the person, and people did not aspire to dress outside their class. A somber suit of sturdy woolen broadcloth was the standard daily wear for most professional men, such as lawyers, doctors, clerks, and public officials. Black was the choice for almost all clergymen. Warm weather brought out suits of lighter colored linen. Ostentatious colors and impractical fabrics, characteristic of gaudy young aristocrats known as Italian Macaronis, were generally used by the upper classes only at the most fashionable social gatherings. The term *Macaroni* was applied to an outlandish style of male dress made popular in Europe in midcentury. It appears in a derisive context in "Yankee Doodle," which was written by a British officer in 1757 and set to a tavern tune by the Americans, who adopted it, along with the tune "Chester," as an unofficial national anthem.

Yankee Doodle went to town,
A'riding on a pony.
Stuck a feather in his hat,
And called it Macaroni. (Volo and Volo 2003, 287–88)

People living in the rural areas of the colonies were much less affected by the extremes of fashion. Since they generally had to rely on homespun linen and wool, they were more concerned about practicality than style. Nonetheless, on the eve of the Revolution, prosperity had propagated a small social class in the colonies that was infatuated with fashion and finery. Styles mimicked those found in London or Paris, and affluent city dwellers anxiously awaited the arrival of "fashion babies" to learn what was in vogue across the ocean. These dolls were meticulously dressed, male and female, in the latest fashions and were the precursors of the printed fashion plates of the next century. Colonists of means became accustomed to importing the finest wools, linens, silks, satins, brocades, and other products of British mills. Listings of fabrics for sale made up perhaps the single greatest category of newspaper advertisements (Volo and Volo 2003, 288).

WIGS

The wig (periwig or peruke) was a symbol of rank and position among merchants, planters, clerics, and professionals. Wigs were common among the fashionably attired, particularly in urban areas, and the hair could be arranged to suit a wide spectrum of tastes. Popular styles included the "bag wig," in which long hair was tied into a "tail" at the back and secured in a small silk bag. Dandies favored the "cadogan," which secured the long hair in two places. The "square wig" had hair that fell in a loose, shoulder-length, page style that was greatly favored by judges and clergy. Most men preferred the more conservative "major bob," which kept the hair close to the head and was accentuated by two or three rows of tight curls at the temples. Apprentices or other men of lower station generally chose the "minor bob," a bushy style with a center part and secured tail (Volo and Volo 2003, 288).

The cost of a wig varied with the quality of its construction and the materials used. Complexity and quality were a symbol of a person's social status. Therefore, there was no effort made to conceal the fact that one wore a wig. A contemporary wigmaker's advertising claimed:

> To ecclesiastical perukes he gives a certain demure, sanctified air; he confers on the tye-wigs of the law an appearance of great sagacity and deep penetration; on those of the faculty . . . he casts a solemnity and gravity that seems equal to the profoundest knowledge. His military smarts . . . [endow] the wearer [with] a most warlike fierceness. (Volo and Volo 2003, 288) (Bullock and Tonkin 1959, 16)

A wig of high-quality human hair might cost as much as £3. Less expensive wigs made of the hair of cow, goat, or horse could be purchased for as little as 10s. Colors favored in the eighteenth century included white, black, grizzle (a mix of white and black), brown, and flaxen. Reds, like auburn and chestnut, were less fashionable. Maintaining the wig could be costly, and the more complex styles had to be professionally reworked every couple of weeks. Simpler styles could be brushed and cleaned much like one's own hair, and curling irons and ceramic rollers that looked like scissors and pieces of chalk, respectively, could be heated and used to set curls.

To ensure a good fit and to increase comfort, many wig wearers shaved their heads. They often wore a simple turned-up cap when relaxing indoors, working in their shop, or taking an informal walk. These caps could be of simple linen or fancy brocade, and they were often embroidered by a loved one as a gift. Some members of the upper classes affected an oriental style by wearing turbans while lounging at home or talking with neighbors. It was not uncommon for a man to greet guests in his home dressed in a banian (a formal robe) and an embroidered cap.

Many men of high social rank did not follow the fashion of wearing wigs during the Revolutionary period, and those of the patriot party generally eschewed wigs entirely. These men would dress their own hair in the prevailing style. Most men of the yeomanry queued or clubbed their hair, wearing the tail tied with a ribbon or in a black silk bag. For more formal occasions they might turn a pair of curls at the temples, and would grease their hair and dust the coiffure with white powder (Volo and Volo 2003, 289).

HAIR HALF-A-YARD HIGH

Women in the colonies generally did not wear wigs, although they did add in hairpieces to provide extra volume to their own hair or to enhance an arrangement with curls. This was in sharp contrast to the fashion in Europe, where some ladies sported hairstyles of such outlandish width and height that the hair had to be supported by wire frames and wads of wool or tow padding. The back hair was strained up in a maze of loops or short curls. All was kept in place with globs of pomade, dusted with white powder, and surmounted with lace, ribbon, pom-poms, gauze, beads, jewels, flowers, or feathers. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century these towers, or "talematongue," had risen until some structures measured half a yard in height. The style, like that of the male Macaroni, was farcical and the subject of many caricatures (Volo and Volo 2003, 289).

Colonial women, however, endeavored to create certain elements of that look. The fashionably high forehead that was accentuated by the absurd hairdos of European gentry, was achieved by severely brushing the hair back to reveal a full face. Additional height was achieved with padding. A Salem, Massachusetts, hairdresser advertised in 1773: "Ladies shall be attended to in the polite constructions of rolls such as may tend to raise their heads to any pitch they desire." A Philadelphia newspaper of the same period carried an advertisement by a wigmaker that he had created a hair roll that weighed only three ounces, compared to the former eight ounces. The remainder of the long tresses were secured back in some way or worn tightly curled. Prepubescent girls usually wore their hair loose. A Hessian officer made note of women's hairstyles during the war. "They friz their hair every day and gather it up on the back of the head into a chignon at the same time pulling it up in the front . . . sometimes, but not often, they wear some light fabric on their hair" (Volo and Volo 2003, 289–90) (Earle 1969, 295) (Schouler 1906, 90) (Earle 1894, 31).

Overdone hairstyles, like men's wigs, quickly dropped out of favor when the war began, as can be seen in a poem by a patriot urging moderation with respect to hairstyles.

Ladies you had better leave off your high rolls
Lest by extravagance you lose your poor souls
Then hand out the wool, and likewise the tow
'Twill clothe our whole army we very well know. (Volo and Volo 2003, 290) (Earle 1969, 292)

Women

HOMESPUN

The political fracture with England also spawned a fashion break. Colonists who once anxiously awaited news of the latest styles from the homeland shunned English fashion. Eliza Wilkinson noted in a letter, "[N]ever were greater politicians than the several knots of ladies, who met together. All trifling discourse of fashions, and such low little chat was thrown by, and we commenced perfect statesman." Although the importation of cloth from France or Holland would not violate the boycott, whimsy and ostentation in dress were abandoned. As anti-British sentiment grew, many of even the wealthiest colonists became resolved either to make or to buy coarser American cloth as a statement of their devotion to the cause. It became a matter of genuine pride for a woman to use the spinning wheel on behalf of her country. Just as Daughters of Liberty agreed to drink no tea, they also swore to wear no garments of foreign make (Gilman 1969, 17).

Spinning bees became so popular that it was not uncommon to see groups of women carrying their spinning wheels through the streets as a political statement. At Rowley, Massachusetts, "Thirty-three respectable ladies of the town met at sunrise with their wheels to spend the day at the house of the Rev'd Jedekiah Jewell, in the laudable design of a spinning match. At an hour before sunset, the ladies there appearing neatly dressed, principally in homespun, a polite and generous repast of American production was set for their entertainment." Even Martha Washington served as an active supporter of the movement. She told a friend that she kept 16 spinning wheels in constant operation at Mount Vernon. Although these were probably powered by her slaves, Martha was not beyond spinning for herself (Volo and Volo 2003, 290–91) (Holliday 1968, 111).

The *Massachusetts Gazette* of November 9, 1767, contained a poem that suggested that women might renounce marriage to any man who did not join the ladies in their boycott of British manufactures.

First then, throw aside your topknots of pride,
Wear none but your own country linen,
Of Economy boast, let your pride be the most,

To show clothes of your own make and spinning.
What if home-spun they say, is not quite so gay,
As brocades, yet be not in a passion.
For when once it is known, this is much worn in town,
One and all will cry out—'Tis the fashion.
And as one and all agree that you'll not married be

To such as will wear London factory,
But at first sight refuse, 'till e'en such you do choose
As encourage our own manufactory. (Volo and Volo 2003, 291) (Holliday 1968, 160) (Williams 1976, 229–30)

The continued desire for finer fabrics called for resourcefulness. Some families attempted to grow their own mulberry trees and cultivate silkworms. However, the silk-making process required too much labor to support any large-scale commercial production of fabric. Fringe-and-lace maker James Butland advertised in the August 1774 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* that "any person having silk of their own may have it manufactured into . . . silk stockings, sewing silk, ribbons &c." Tory Louisa Susannah Wells wrote an account of her discomfort in America. She complained, "I used to darn my stockings with the ravellings of another, and we flossed out our old silk gowns to spin together with cotton to knot our gloves." Martha Washington showed two of her own dresses of cotton striped with silk with great pride, explaining that the silk stripes in the fabrics were made from the unravellings of brown silk stockings and old crimson damask chair covers (Volo and Volo 2003, 291) (Swan 1995, 18–19) (Williams 1976, 258–59).

Simplicity of dress and the use of fabrics of home manufacture became synonymous with patriotic fervor. Dorothy Dudley attended a reception given by General Washington and his wife in January 1776 and recorded the event in her diary. She noted, "Of course simplicity of dress was noticeable—no jewels or costly ornaments—though tasteful gowns, daintily trimmed by their owner's own fingers, were numerous." In less formal situations Martha Washington chose to dress with great frugality. When she arrived at her husband's winter quarters in a private home at Morristown, she was initially mistaken by the homeowner for a domestic "in a plain russet gown with a white handkerchief neatly folded over her neck" (Volo and Volo 2003, 291–92) (Dudley 1971, 56) (Ellet 1859, 73).

As the conflict dragged on, the use of homespun became somewhat less voluntary. Temperance Smith of Connecticut noted, "[T]he extractions of the Mother Country had rendered it impossible for any but the wealthiest to import anything to eat or to wear, all had to be raised and manufactured at home from bread stuffs, sugar and rum to the linen and woolen for our clothes and bedding." Lois Peters wrote to her husband, "You talked of sending back…some old shirts.…I stand in great need of them to clothe my children. New [clothing] is not to be had and what I shall do I can't tell." Lois Peters bemoaned the fact that she could not meet her husband's request to send him new shirts. "[T]here is not a yard of hollon [Holland linen] to be had here" (Volo and Volo 2003, 292) (Smith 1901, 226–27) (Guthman 1980, 16, 32–33).

Those who lived behind British lines had no difficulty in obtaining imports, particularly if they were willing to supply desperately needed fresh produce in exchange. Rebecca Franks of Philadelphia was visiting New York in 1778 when she wrote of New York society, "The Dress is more ridiculous and pretty than anything I ever saw—great quantity of different colored feathers on the head at a time. The Hair dress'd very high.…I have an afternoon cap with one wing, tho' I assure you I go less in the fashion than most of the Ladies—[There is] no being dress'd without a hoop" (Volo and Volo 2003, 292) (Earle 1894, 31).

Once independence was declared and the separation of colony and mother country became established, some people felt less compelled to display their patriotic fervor by abstaining from imported articles. A Hessian officer observed that when the women in New York "go out, even though they be living in a hut, they throw a silk wrap about themselves and put on gloves. They also put on some well made and stylish little sunbonnet…[they] have fallen in love with red silk or woolen wraps." He speculated that "the wives and daughters spend much more than their incomes allow. The man must fish up the last penny he has in his pocket.…Nearly all articles necessary for the adornment of the female sex are very scarce and dear. For this reason they are wearing their Sunday finery. Should this begin to show signs of wear I am afraid that the husbands and fathers will be compelled to make peace with the Crown if they would keep their women folk supplied with gewgaws" (Volo and Volo 2003, 292) (Earle 1894, 32).

Some enterprising people realized that this returning taste for articles of dress and luxury presented an opportunity for great profit. In January 1779, Benjamin

Franklin's daughter noted, "There never was so much dressing and pleasure going on in the capital." General Wayne received a letter echoing this sentiment. "[E]very lady and gentleman endeavors to outdo each other in splendor and show." General Greene remarked that the luxury of Boston was "an infant babe" to that of Philadelphia. With avarice a stronger motive than patriotism, a new business, referred to as the Illicit Trade, persisted on Long Island during the entire war. Smugglers bought goods in the city of New York under the guise of offering them for sale to the King's loyal subjects on Long Island. The goods were, however, secretly loaded onto small vessels that were then "run" across Long Island Sound, to be delivered to certain dealers who were willing to pay the high prices in anticipation of a large profit for themselves. Lois Peters's husband was serving with the Patriot army in New York when she wrote, "It is almost impossible to buy cloth here for one shirt. Hope you will be able to buy all you can that is a good penn'worth" ("Penn'worth," a contraction of "penny's worth," was used to indicate good value). (Volo and Volo 2003, 292–93) (Ellet 1859, 164) (Earle 1894, 34) (Guthman 1980, 29).

The cunning of profit seekers spawned many frauds and schemes related to scarce goods. Sometimes the owner of a well-filled store on Long Island would conspire with whaleboat men to carry off his goods at night and convey them to Connecticut for their mutual financial advantage. The next day the claim of a rebel raid was asserted, and suitable rewards were offered by the appropriately indignant merchant.

While government policy prohibited any intercourse with the enemy, some officials, knowing there was little likelihood they could eliminate the activity, simply shared in the profits. At other times, provincial committees sought out illicit traders. In need of clothing for the troops, the state of New York was forced to employ secret agents to enter into a clandestine arrangement to procure British cloth. Connecticut dabbled in unlawful traffic until the popular outcry became unbearable. Even the British took part when it seemed in their best interest. In 1778, Governor Tryon used an intermediary to offer rum, sugar, and tea in exchange for American beef.

The British commandant in New York employed every possible means to restrict the illicit trade. Those wishing to transport goods out of the city were examined to ascertain their loyalty to the king and were required to have a permit that specifically detailed every article purchased. Stories circulated of victimized shoppers who, having made a purchase on impulse that was not listed in their permit, had their items seized by watchful guards, motivated by their ability to confiscate contraband and turn it to their own use (Volo and Volo 2003, 293).

Even when prohibited goods were not expropriated, the guards were given a share of their value as a reward for vigilance. Even this was not without its conspiracies. The owner of a boat loaded with another man's imports would set out from Long Island and conspire with the crew of an American privateer to have it captured. The goods would then be taken to a New England port, where the Admiralty Court would condemn and sell them, sometimes at outlandish prices. Later, the conspirators would divide the profits. By this means British merchandise became available without violating any prohibitions. In Norwich, Connecticut, auction sales "of a variety of European and other goods by piece or pattern" were held twice weekly (Volo and Volo 2003, 231) (Ellet 1859, 128).

WOMEN EMBRACE THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTION

It did not take much convincing for some women to join the patriot effort, and it became somewhat fashionable in certain circles to do so. On January 31, 1770, almost four years before the Boston Tea Party, a group of 426 women of Boston signed an agreement not to drink any tea until the tax upon it was repealed. Even nine-year-old Susan Boudinot embraced the pledge. While a guest in the home of New Jersey's loyalist governor, William Franklin, the young girl was offered a cup of tea. Susan accepted the refreshment, curtsied, raised the cup, and threw the liquid out the window (Volo and Volo 2003, 231) (Berkin 1996, 175).

Editors of patriot newspapers, always searching for propaganda pieces, began capitalizing on the "spinning bee." Women had long participated in spinning bees, usually held at the minister's home, to spin fiber that would later be made into cloth for his personal wardrobe. Following the imposition of the Townshend duties in 1767, this traditional activity, now redirected to the purposes of the boycott by producing cloth, was given prominence in certain papers and exalted as having the most patriotic of motivations. The *Boston Evening Post* reported, "[T]he industry and frugality of American ladies must exhaust their character in the eyes of the world and serve to show how greatly they are contributing to bring about the political salvation of a whole continent" (Volo and Volo 2003, 231) (Kerber 1980, 42).

Many members of the clergy promoted such domestic activities. Congregational ministers in New England were particularly active in emphasizing the frugality, economy, and industry characteristic of traditional Puritanism. Peter Oliver, a Loyalist, charged that rebel ministers preached "manufactures instead of Gospel. They preached about it and preached about it, until the women and children, both within doors and without, set their spinning wheels a whirling in defiance of Great Britain. The female spinners kept on spinning for 6 days of the week; and on the seventh, the parsons took their turns and spun out their prayers and sermons to a long thread of politics." Jack Smith, a college student at the time of the Revolution, noted, "There was no hesitation about preaching political sermons in those days. Ministers would have deemed themselves to have entirely failed their duty, had they not expressed their views in regard to what was right and wrong on public questions" (Volo and Volo 2003, 232) (Raphael 1991, 108) (Smith 1901, 301–2).

In urban areas across the colonies, young women began to assemble with their spinning wheels in daylong demonstrations of patriotic fervor. A New York teenager, Charity Clarke, wrote to an English cousin that "[h]eroines may not distinguish themselves at the head of an Army," but "armed with spinning wheels," women could contribute to the preservation of colonial liberties. For women in rural areas and those of limited means, spinning was less a trendy expression of patriotic ideals than a more genuine domestic necessity; yet the symbolism of the act could be considerable. A Connecticut farm girl, Betsy Foote, noted in her diary in 1775 that she had carded wool all day and spun 10 knots of wool in the evening. This was a likely day's work for a young woman at any time, but Betsy added to her entry, "and felt Nationly into the bargain" (Volo and Volo 2003, 232) (Norton 1980, 169).

What began as symbolic support for an economic and political ideal quietly crept into a way of life. Dorothy Dudley summed up the situation in a letter in 1776: "This year had been one of severe trial for us all. Of course there has been reason for great economy both in household and dress. Tea is a comfort put from us with resolution, though its absence from our tables is cuttingly felt by many. As far as possible we patronize only home manufactures, and ourselves use the spindle to diminish the necessity for foreign material" (Volo and Volo 2003, 232) (Dudley 1971, 67).

As the war raged on, women engaged in a variety of activities to support the troops in the field. Many of their methods capitalized on domestic skills and were almost an extension of their household work. The family papers of Helen Evertson Smith reveal that "[s]pinning yarn and knitting stockings, preparing bandages and scraping lint, filled every patriotic woman's every moment that could be spared from the daily cares of her family." Some of these endeavors took on the form of community action. The Literary Club of Sharon, Connecticut, for instance, passed a resolution that at debating meetings, "all of the women and such of the men as were not engaged in speaking or reading are expected to knit stockings or do some other work to help [the] brave and suffering soldiers in their desperate struggle to gain Liberty" (Volo and Volo 2003, 232–33) (Smith 1901, 263, 275).

On a spring evening in 1777, Mrs. Smith invited her neighbors to come to her home with "every pewter dish they could spare." By the evening's end "many gallons of good bullets had been made from the cherished pewter articles, which had been melted and merrily run through bullet molds." For many evenings following this event, there were "trencher bees" at which young men "cut and shaped maple and poplar wood into dishes, which the women made smooth by scraping with broken glass, and polished with the clean white sand of powdered limestone." ("Trenchers" were wooden bowls and plates common in the eighteenth century.) Undoubtedly these ladies possessed some imported china dishes that they could have used instead of these wooden replacements. However, they may have been hesitant to use such fragile items, knowing that under the restraints of war they would be impossible to replace if broken, and impossible to use without seeming less than fully dedicated to the patriotic cause (Volo and Volo 2003, 233) (Smith 1901, 245).

CLOTHING FOR THE SOLDIERS

Women of prominence used their position to rouse support for the troops. In June 1780, Ester Reed of Philadelphia published a broadside, *The Sentiments of an American Woman*, which declared that American women were resolved to do more than dispatch "barren wishes" for the army's success. She desired women to be "really useful," like the "heroines of antiquity." Drawing upon role models of strong women from the Old Testament, Roman and Greek legends, and a history of female monarchs on the English throne to argue her case, Reed outlined a plan for women to donate the money now saved by shunning imports to the American troops. The broadside proved to be highly inspirational. Within three days after it appeared, 36 prominent women of Philadelphia met to develop a strategy to actualize the scheme. The ladies began a fervent campaign to solicit funds, which were to be known as "The Offering of the Ladies." No donation was too small, and no one was excluded from their appeal, including servants. By the completion of the campaign in July, more than $300,000 in Continental dollars had been collected from 1,600 individual supporters (Volo and Volo 2003, 233) (Norton 1980, 178–79).

The endeavor garnered considerable notoriety in the press that helped in spreading the plan. Reed and the other organizers wrote to prominent women in neighboring regions, imploring them to implement a similar effort. Women's associations in New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia took up the challenge, and many variations of the idea were initiated. Geography and limited financial resources prevented all the campaigns from having the same degree of success as that in Philadelphia, but they did raise additional funds (Volo and Volo 2003, 233–34).

Reed's original plan called for the donations to be presented to Martha Washington, who would see that they reached the soldiers and would not be spent on items that Congress should be supplying to the army during the normal course of its operation. By the time the collection was completed, however, Mrs. Washington had returned to Virginia, and Reed had to deal with General Washington himself. The general was concerned that giving funds to the soldiers directly might cause "irregularities," "disorders," and "discontent" among the troops, and he countered with a plan of his own to use the money to supply the soldiers with much-needed shirts. He suggested that the ladies make the shirts themselves, to eliminate the cost of seamstresses. Recognizing that Washington would not yield in his opinion, the ladies altered their plan (Volo and Volo 2003, 234).

Reed died before the process was completed. However, under the guidance of Sarah Franklin Bache, country linen was purchased, and the women commenced to put their needles to work. The Marquis de Chastellux, a general officer with the French army in America, described a visit to Bache's house: "She conducted us into a room filled with work lately finished by the ladies of Philadelphia. This work consisted neither of embroidered tambour waistcoats, nor of network edging, nor of gold and silver brocade. It was a quantity of shirts for the soldiers of Pennsylvania. The ladies bought linen from their private purses, and took pleasure in cutting them out and sewing them. On each shirt was the name of the married or unmarried lady who made it, and they amounted to twenty-two hundred." Bache once told Washington, "We wish them to be worn with as much pleasure as they were made" (Volo and Volo 2003, 234) (Ellet 1859, 254) (Norton 1980, 187).

WOMEN AND THE TROOPS

There are countless instances of women bringing food and supplies to the troops and providing aid to the wounded when the army was encamped nearby. The diary of Elizabeth Drinker, a Quaker, contains a number of entries similar to this one:

"[W]ent this afternoon in the rain . . . with a jug of wine-whey and a tea-kettle of coffee for the wounded men." Many such endeavors were casually recorded with equal brevity in diaries, journals, and letters written during the natural flow of women's daily activities. Such deeds were not portrayed as acts of radical patriotism nor feats of heroism. They were recorded simply as the fulfillment of a woman's natural duty to her community (Volo and Volo 2003, 234) (Crane 1994, 65).

Yet it was not always easy to reach the needy troops. A contemporary observer recounted how the resourceful women of Charleston managed to deliver supplies to patriot troops outside the British-held city. "The women would often procure passes [from the British] to go to their farms or plantations in the country. They seized this occasion for carrying forth supplies of cloth, linen, and even gunpowder and shot to their countrymen. . . . These commodities were concealed beneath their garments; and, in preparation for their departure, the dimensions of the good women were observed sensibly to increase. At length it was noticed by the officers on guard, that the lady, who when she left the city was of enormous bulk, would return reduced to a shadow . . . [and] a jury of spinsters was provided and the fat ladies were taken into custody" (Volo and Volo 2003, 234–35) (Ellet 1859, 224–25).

Many towns served as storage facilities for supplies for the troops. Here, too, it was the women who took charge. "Almost all of the able bodied male inhabitants more than seventeen years of age were enrolled in the armies, and the work pertaining to the stores was carried on by the women and children under the direction of a few old men." The British raid on Ridgefield, Connecticut, must have dealt a huge emotional and economic blow to those charged with overseeing the stores. "[A] large quantity of the public stores had been deposited in the Episcopal church, and the first work of the soldiers was to remove them into the street and burn them. . . . In a few hours eighteen hundred barrels of pork and beef, seven hundred barrels of flour, two-thousand bushels of wheat, rye, oats, and Indian corn, clothing for a regiment of troops, and seventeen hundred and ninety tents were burned. The smoke arising from the destruction of this property was strangulating and filled the whole air, while the streets ran with the melted pork and beef" (Volo and Volo 2003, 235) (Smith 1901, 311) (Hurd 1881, 642).

Having a husband away at war increased the physical burden of an already demanding lifestyle even when families were safe from marauding troops. A man, who was a child during the war, remembered: "My mother had the sole charge of us four little ones. . . . When my father was permitted to come home [on leave], his stay was short. . . . Sometimes we wondered that [Mother] did not mention the cold weather, or our short meals, or her hard work, that we little ones might be clothed, and fed, and taught. But she would not weaken his hands, or sadden his heart, for she said a soldier's life was harder than *all*" (Volo and Volo 2003, 235) (Williams 1976, 255–57).

Temperance Smith recalled what life was like after her husband, a parson, left to minister to the troops.

> I had no leisure for murmuring. I rose with the sun and all through the long day I had no time for aught but my work. So much did it press upon me that I could scarcely divert my

thoughts from its demands, even during the family prayers. . . . I should have been sending all my thoughts to heaven for the safety of my beloved husband and the salvation of our hapless country. Instead of which I was often wondering whether Polly had remembered to set the sponge for the bread or to put water on the leach tub, or to turn the cloth in the dying vat, or whether the wool had been carded for Betsy to start her spinning wheel in the morning, or Billy had chopped light wood enough for the kindling, or dry hard wood enough to heat the big oven, or whether some other thing had not been forgotten of the thousand that must be done. (Volo and Volo 2003, 235–36) (Smith 1901, 226–27)

The letters between Captain Nathan Peters and his wife, Lois, provide an insight into the adversity faced by the wives of the men who went to serve in the army. When Nathan, a saddler and leather worker, set out in 1775 to respond to the fighting around Boston, he left his pregnant wife to care for a small child of less than a year, to manage their home, and to run their business. From the beginning, Lois found that continuing what she referred to as "the Trade" was not going to be easy. She complained, "I can't collect one penny." She soon asked Nathan to "send home a power of attorney" so she could pursue clients who were avoiding their debts to him. Lack of cash confounded her operation of the saddler's shop, and Lois sought Nathan's approval for an arrangement with a journeyman, who agreed to work in the shop and take his pay in board and stock for his labor on completed saddles. "It is so difficult to carry on the Trade that I see no way possible at present, for we can't get our plush nor trimming without money." Two months later she wrote, "[I] have done the best I could to carry on the Trade but can't any longer for want of stock of all kinds" (Volo and Volo 2003, 236) (Guthman 1980, 10, 15, 21, 24).

While trying to run the business, Lois constantly made shirts to send to her husband despite the difficulty in getting the necessary fabric. "I shall send by [H]errick 1 cake of chocolate and some of my good old cheese." Lois also continued to manage the homestead. "I have been very much put to it to get help to cut our hay. I am like to have it all cut today. The drought has been very severe and the grass is very poor." In another letter she wrote, "I have got my corn harvested and have about eighty bushel[s]" (Volo and Volo 2003, 236) (Guthman 1980, 19, 20, 25).

As both Christmas and the birth of their child drew near, Lois's situation grew worse. "I shall hope that you will by that time be home and see about your business yourself for I am almost tired of the fatigue of it. I have nobody to do one chore for me only what I hire. [I] should think it would be well to send Joseph [Joseph Crary, Lois's brother] home if he is willing to come and you can have him dismissed for it grows cold and I am not so well able to undergo hardships at some times and I want wood cut at the door and fires made and many things done that I am obliged to hire some done and some go undone." Although Lois gave birth soon thereafter, her worries about her family continued. "[O]ur dear son is sick. [I] am in hopes it [is] only a great cold and worms. Our daughter is well. Mother is sick with camp distemper but is better" (Volo and Volo 2003, 236) (Guthman 1980, 27, 45).

Perhaps the most telling remarks of hardship and suffering are those dealing with Nathan's absence. Two days after Christmas, Lois wrote, "I have looked for you 'til I am almost out of hope of your coming home at all. It would be a great comfort to me to have you come home and stay this winter. . . . I live a very sorrowful and lonesome life. Our dear son is well and says he wants Daddy." Later she wrote, "[I]f you lived as lonesome and felt as melancholy as I do you would be glad of a line from me. . . . If I could only have the enjoyment of my dear husband to live with me, I should think myself as happy as this world could make me." After more than a year's separation, Lois's agony deepened: "My only comfort is at present in the dear little pledges of our love. When I see them, I see my dear. Must I deny myself the pleasure of him? I was going to say, 'No!' I must refuse myself that pleasure when so glorious a cause calls him away from my arms. My country! Oh! My country! Excuse, my love, the anguish of a soul that has you always painted before her" (Volo and Volo 2003, 236–37) (Guthman 1980, 28, 34, 48).

Prolonged separation of husband and wife brought anxiety, longing, and pain. Mercy Warren wrote to her husband, "Oh! these painful absences. Ten thousand anxieties invade my bosom on your account and some times hold my lids waking many hours of the cold and lonely night." Mary Bartlett penned the following to her spouse: "Apples scarce, plumbs in the garden plenty. Pray do come home before cold weather, as you know my circumstances will be difficult in the winter, if I am alive." Abigail Adams became so desperate for news of her husband that her nine-year-old son, John Quincy, became post rider for her, traveling the 11 miles between Braintree and Boston with the latest reports of the war (Volo and Volo 2003, 237) (Holliday 1968, 101, 304) (Meltzer 1987, 78).

While the men went off to meet the war, too often the war came to meet the women who were left behind. Abigail Adams detailed the events of one night: "I went to bed about twelve, and rose again a little after one. I could no more sleep than if I had been in the engagement; the rattling of the windows, the jar of the house, the continual roar of the twenty-four pounders; and the bursting shells give us such ideas, and we realize a scene to us of which we could form scarcely any conception" (Volo and Volo 2003, 237) (Holliday 1968, 308).

The stress brought on by the bombardment of the Boston suburb of Charles Town by the Royal Navy took its toll on all family members. John Quincy Adams recalled:

> For the space of twelve months my mother with her infant children dwelt, liable every hour of the day and the night to be butchered in cold blood, or taken and carried into Boston as hostages. My mother lived in unintermitted danger of being consumed with them all in a conflagration kindled by a torch in the same hands which on the 17th of June [1775] lighted the fires of Charlestown. I saw with my own eyes those fires, and heard Britannia's thunders in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and witnessed the tears of my mother and mingled them with my own. (Volo and Volo 2003, 237) (Holliday 1968, 304)

Such fears were not unfounded. Eliza Wilkinson wrote to a friend of facing British foragers bent on robbing her home outside of Charleston, South Carolina.

> I heard the horses of the inhumane Britons coming—the raiders bellowing out the most horrid oaths and imprecations. I had no time for thought—they were up to the house—entered with drawn swords and pistols in their hands crying, "Where are those women rebels?" The moment they spied us, off went our caps, to get a paltry stone and wax pin, which kept them

on our heads; at the same time uttering abusive language, and making as if they would hew us to pieces with their swords.... They began to plunder the house of everything they thought worth taking; our trunks were split to pieces, and each mean wretch crammed his bosom with the contents. I represented to him the times were such we could not replace what they had taken from us, and we begged him to spare me only a suit or two; but so far was his callous heart from relenting, that casting his eyes toward my shoes, "I want them buckles," said he.... They took my sister's earrings from her ears, her and Mrs. Samuell's buckles, demanding her ring from her finger, and after bundling up all of their booty, mounted their horses; each wretche's bosom stuffed so full, they appeared to be afflicted with some dropoisal disorder. (Gilman 1969, 28–30)

Some years later Wilkinson described the accumulated emotional toll of incidents like this one on her family and herself.

The whole world appeared to me as a theatre, where nothing was acted but cruelty, bloodshed and oppression; where neither age nor sex escaped the horrors of injustice and violence; where lives and property of the innocent and inoffensive were in continual danger.... We could neither eat, drink nor sleep in peace; for as we lay in our clothes every night, we could not enjoy the little sleep we got. The least noise alarmed us; up we would jump, expecting every moment to hear them demand admittance. In short, our nights were wearisome and painful; our days spent in anxiety and melancholy. (Gilman 1969, 31, 43)

CAMP FOLLOWERS

As the war dragged on, many women joined their husbands in the patriot camps rather than face humiliation and starvation. Such a drastic move would be taken only in the most dire circumstances. The large body of civilians, collectively referred to as camp followers, traveled with the army, providing supplies, services, and emotional support. Camp followers usually included servants, slaves, sutlers (merchants who sold liquor and basic staples to soldiers), contractors, bureaucrats, and military employees, but as the war progressed, it was increasingly composed of the displaced families of soldiers. A British intelligence report regarding the Patriot army at White Plains in 1778 found that "Women and Waggoners [make] up near half of their army" (Volo and Volo 2003, 241) (Mayer 1996, 1).

Many women camp followers took on additional duties to alleviate the added stress their arrival placed on their husband's meager pay. The army had a need for laundresses, cleaning women, seamstresses, and nurses. Colonel Ebenezer Huntington wrote to his brother in 1780, "[M]y washing bill is beyond the limits of my wages. I am now endeavoring to hire some woman... to do the washing for myself and some of the officers." By providing services that were still within the gender-specific roles expected of them in the eighteenth century, women helped to legitimize their presence with the army. A body of enterprising women could fill some of the voids left by the inadequately run Quartermaster's and Commissary Departments. When a woman joined her husband in the field, she generally exposed herself to many of the same dangers he faced. General Washington asked Sarah Osborn if she was not afraid of the cannonballs, to which she replied, "It would not do for men to fight and to starve, too" (Volo and Volo 2003, 241) (Blumenthal 1992, 63) (Meltzer 1987, 145).

It is important to note that the rough jokes and snide remarks of a sexual nature often associated with women camp followers are more characteristic of the armies of the American Civil War than those of the Revolution. The role of women with the army, outside of any personal relations with their husbands, was to remain of a nonsexual nature. Married women were to be provided with certificates to that effect, which detailed the name of their husband and his regiment. Unmarried women were ordered to be "sent off," but no distinction was made for older girls, perhaps the daughters or siblings of the soldiers. Officially prostitution was banned in the camps, and those found practicing the trade were made to feel unwelcome. Confirmed prostitutes would have found the hard coin of the British paymaster far more attractive than the paper currency of the Patriots in any case. However, it proved impossible to police all the hundreds of legitimate sexual relationships among husbands, wives, and lovers in the camps to cull out the illicit ones (Volo and Volo 2003, 241) (Kerber 1980, 56).

LIFE WITH THE ARMY

Patriot women rarely sought refuge in the cities, as loyalist women did, because the urban centers were largely controlled by the British. In the absence of a sanctuary with family or friends, they were forced to follow the Patriot army to come under its protection. The lot of these women was one of hardship and sacrifice. The army was described in a letter written by a lady outside of Boston in 1777 as having "great numbers of women, who seemed to be the beasts of burden, having bushel baskets on their backs, by which they were bent double. The contents seemed to be pots and kettles, various sorts of furniture, children peeping through gridirons and other utensils—some very young infants, who were born on the road—the women barefoot, clothed in dirty rags." An officer described these women as "the ugliest in the world. . . . [T]he furies who inhabit the infernal region can never be painted half so hideous as these women." Most were reported to have one or more children with them, "few with none" (Volo and Volo 2003, 242) (Ellet 1859, 93) (Mayer 1996, 126).

The presence of wives and children with the army, although it could not be avoided without creating distress among the supporters of the American cause, was generally thought to be a great burden. In August 1777, Washington wrote, "In the present state of the army, every incumberence [*sic*] proves greatly prejudicial to the service; the multitude of the women in particular, especially those who are pregnant, or have children, are a clog upon every movement. The Commander-in-Chief therefore earnestly recommends it to the officers commanding brigades and corps, to use every reasonable method in their power to get rid of all such as are not absolutely necessary." Washington hoped to limit "the proportion of women which ought to be allowed to any number of men, and to whom rations shall be allowed." From time to time, quotas were discussed, but they were never really put into practice (Volo and Volo 2003, 242–43) (Fitzpatrick 1931–1939, vol. 9, 17, 203).

In this regard, the total of women's rations was established at a 15th of the issues for noncommissoned officers and privates. The wives could earn their rations by taking up work, and rates of pay were established for washing and other duties. However, in a cash-starved army, "the soldier, nay the officer, for whom they wash has naught to pay them." However, the general understood that ultimately he "was obliged to give provisions to the extra women in [the] regiments, or lose by desertion, perhaps to the enemy, some of the oldest and best soldiers in the service" (Kerber 1980, 56) (Fitzpatrick 1931–1939, vol. 9, 78–80).

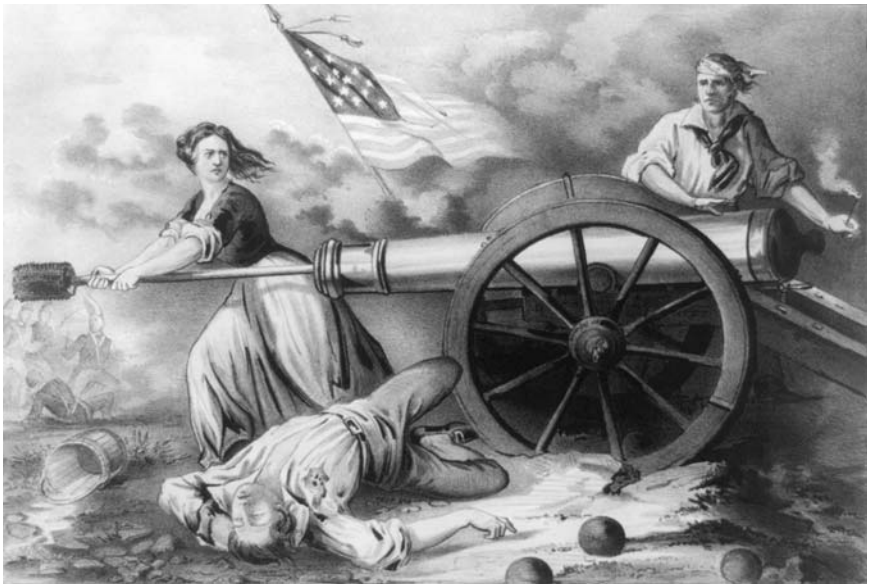
It was generally expected that the camp followers would refrain from marching among the ranks of men. When the army marched into Philadelphia in 1777, Washington gave detailed orders as to the appearance and decorum of the column. "If any soldier shall dare to quit his ranks, he shall receive thirty-nine lashes at the first halting place afterwards.... Not a Woman belonging to the army is to be seen with the troops on their march thro' the City." An eyewitness recounted, however, that the women were determined to be with their men, although they were "spirited off into the quaint, dirty little alleyways and side streets." Nonetheless, the army had barely passed through the main streets of the town before the women "poured after their soldiers again, their hair flying, their brows beady from the heat, their belongings slung over one shoulder, chattering and yelling in sluttish shrills as they went, and spitting in the gutters" (Volo and Volo 2003, 243) (Fitzpatrick 1931–1939, vol. 9, 126) (Preston 1933, 179).

Approximately 25 general orders were issued by Washington concerning women among the forces. The majority of them dealt with women riding in the wagons of the army: "Any woman found in a wagon contrary to this regulation is to be immediately turned out." The repeated requests for women to refrain from riding on the wagons suggests that they largely failed to comply with the general's expectations. Nonetheless, women who could ride on horseback were considered an asset if they would serve as drovers and thereby "diminish the number of drivers taken from the army" (Volo and Volo 2003, 243) (Fitzpatrick 1931–1939, vol. 9, 347) (Kerber 1980, 56).

ON THE BATTLEFIELD

There are several stories of heroic actions by women camp followers who took up their husbands' posts when they fell in battle. Over time it is likely that many of the details of their service have become mythologized or otherwise exaggerated. Mary Ludwig Hays, who has come to be known as "Molly Pitcher," may well be the best-known woman to have served in battle. Hays, like many other women known as "Molly Pitchers," carried water to relieve the thirst of soldiers in battle. The legend claims that at the battle of Monmouth, Mary Hays saw her husband, an artilleryman, hit by a British shell. She dragged him out of the way of further harm, and then returned to the battle, taking his place at the cannon. While Mary Hays is believed to have been present at the battle, there is evidence that her story may be an amalgamation of the deeds of many women. Private Joseph Plumb Martin recalled a scene he witnessed at the battle of Monmouth that day.

> A woman whose husband belonged to the artillery and who was then attached to a piece in the engagement, attended with her husband at the piece the whole time. While in the act of reaching a cartridge and having one of her feet as far before the other as she could step, a cannon shot from the enemy passed directly between her legs without doing any other damage than carrying away all the lower part of her petticoat. Looking at it with apparent unconcern, she observed that it was lucky it did not pass a little higher, for in that case it might have carried away something else, and continued her occupation. (Volo and Volo 2003, 244) (Scheer 1962, 132–33)



This idealized Currier and Ives print shows Molly Pitcher using a rammer on a cannon during the Battle of Monmouth. Her dead husband lies at her feet and a soldier prepares to light the fuse. In the background, the American flag. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Margaret Cochran Corbin served at her husband's side when he fell at his artillery piece at Fort Washington. It is said that she immediately took his place and continued there until she, herself, was wounded. Margaret Corbin was the first woman to receive a lifetime pension from the United States for her service-related disability received in action (Volo and Volo 2003, 245).

OFFICERS' WIVES

The wives of officers in the American army were not as likely to accompany their husbands on campaign as were those of the lower classes. Nor were they considered camp followers. Being from that part of colonial society that was generally better off financially allowed the wives and families of officers to find sanctuary among a wider range of friends and relatives capable of supporting them in the interim. The massive redistribution of populations during the war severely strained these resources, however, and individual households thought to be out of the way of the enemy swelled to accommodate fleeing friends and relatives. Jean Blair voiced her frustration when 20 "guests" sought refuge in her home in 1781. "I hardly ever knew the trouble of house keeping before, a large family and continual confusion and not any thing to eat but salt meat and hoecake and no conveniences to dress them" (Volo and Volo 2003, 245) (Norton 1980, 200).

Traveling with an army was both arduous and dangerous even for the wives of officers. The baggage train of the army, complete with women, children, and wounded, might be attacked by the enemy, and detachments were made from the army to deter such operations. Any man with the means to provide for his family away from the army would never willingly subject them to such experiences. Nonetheless, some officers' wives did meet their husbands in winter quarters when the army was not on the move. The practice was begun when Martha Washington and some other ladies joined their husbands outside Boston for the winter of 1775–1776. In 1778, Lafayette wrote to his wife in France from the encampment at Valley Forge, "Several staff officers are having their wives join them in camp. I am very envious—not of their wives, but of the happiness that this opportunity brings them. General Washington has also resolved to send for his wife" (Volo and Volo 2003, 245) (Mayer 1996, 15) (Blumenthal 1992, 86).

The official attitude toward these women was greatly different from that toward soldiers' wives. Officers' wives were considered ladies, and as such were accorded respect appropriate to their social station or the rank of their husbands. These women also made contributions to the war effort in their own way, by mending uniforms, sewing shirts, and knitting stockings for the soldiers. From time to time they visited the camps, dispensing food to the hungry and offering encouragement to the sick or emotionally distressed (Volo and Volo 2003, 245–46).

The gathering of the officers and their ladies during the winter created a kind of social season complete with dinners and dances, albeit considerably subdued from those of the prewar period. Dorothy Dudley wrote on January 30, 1777: "Madame Washington has enlivened the monotony of her winter among us by a reception, on the seventeenth anniversary of her wedding day. The fine old Vassall mansion was in gala dress, and the coming and going of guests brightened the sober aspect of the General's head-quarters." Several months later Dudley further elaborated on the event in a letter to a friend, "No display, no extravagance; but simple taste suited to this time of universal economy, characterized all the arrangements" (Volo and Volo 2003, 246) (Dudley 1971, 55, 69).

Major General Nathanael Greene wrote of the social regime he experienced during the winter of 1778–1779: "I spent a month the most agreeable and disagreeable I ever did a month in my life. We had the most splendid entertainment imaginable; large assemblies, evening balls, etc. It was hard service to go through the duties of the day. I was obliged to rise early and to go to bed late to complete them. In the morning a round of visiting came on. Then you had to prepare for dinner, after which the evening balls would engage your time until one or two in the morning" (Volo and Volo 2003, 246) (Tebbel 1954, 308).

WOMEN IN UNIFORM

Deborah Sampson (who is often known under her later married name of Gannett) took a bold step when giving her support to the cause of liberty. One night the young woman left home and journeyed 30 miles north to another community, where, dressed as a man, she enlisted in the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment as a youth, "Robert Shurtleff." Sampson was slightly wounded in battle several times. Fearing detection, she insisted each time upon treating her own wounds. Her fraud was uncovered when she contracted a fever and was hospitalized. "Private Shurtleff" was then honorably discharged from service in October 1783. Sampson's experience was not unique. Military records show that in August 1777, "Samuel Gay" of Massachusetts was "discharged, being a woman, dressed in men's cloths." Another woman, Sally St. Clair, is said to have kept her gender concealed until she was killed during the battle of Savannah. These are only a few women known to have served. There may have been others of whom no record exists, or those whose secret was never discovered. In every case where a woman was discovered passing as a man, she was discharged from the service (Volo and Volo 2003, 249) (Raphael 1991, 125).

It may seem strange that a woman living in such close quarters with men could conceal her gender for so long, but several eighteenth-century social presumptions made such a deception much easier than it would be today. Clothing did much in this period to establish the trade, wealth, and gender of the wearer. If you dressed as a merchant, it was assumed that you were a merchant. People did not generally dress out of their station, and women did not dress in male attire. Biases about the physical, emotional, and intellectual abilities of women, as well as limitations regarding acceptable female roles, forestalled the concept of a female soldier and minimized the likelihood of the men raising suspicions about another soldier's gender. It is likely that a young, thin woman in disguise would be seen as a male youth of frail physique who had not yet begun to shave. The disguise would be even more complete if the woman was physically strong and able to sustain the rough language and behavior of her fellow soldiers (Volo and Volo 2003, 249–50).

Independence and a New Beginning

FROM COLONIES TO NATIONHOOD, 1763–1789
CHRONOLOGY, 1754–1789
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
MILITARY LIFE: THE MAKEUP OF THE AMERICAN ARMY
MILITARY LIFE: THE REVOLUTION ON THE HOMEFRONT
WOMEN
INDEPENDENCE AND A NEW BEGINNING

VICTORY

If one simply tallies the military strength and resources available, Americans entered the revolution with little prospect of military victory over Britain. Only the intervention of France, and support from Spain and Holland, allowed the war to end as it did. The many victories won by British arms on American soil prior to Yorktown should have proved decisive in ending the Revolution. The series of defeats suffered by Washington's army in New York alone should have ended the war in November 1776. The subsequent loss of Newport, Savannah, Charleston, and the nation's capital at Philadelphia should have ended the war by 1780. That they did not makes the War for Independence that much more remarkable.

The battles of the American Revolution were fought by relatively small armies, compared to the giant forces that swarmed across Europe during the eighteenth century. This is important to better understanding the nature of the conflict in North America. Decisive battles in Europe involved many more men, and the killed and wounded often numbered one-third of those on the field. In America not only were the armies smaller, but so was the number killed and wounded. Generally low casualty rates allowed both armies to survive repeated tactical defeats to fight again (Volo and Volo 2003, 339).

Small armies rely more on capable leadership and creative strategy than do larger ones. The Patriots seem to have been blessed with both. A limited number of troops also emphasizes the importance of terrain, of unit morale and cohesion, and of the concentration of fire upon the enemy. Small unit operations, the interdiction of supply lines, the use of surprise and other stratagems, and a reliance on the effects of partisan warfare were never more important than they were in the Revolution (Volo and Volo 2003, 339) (Black 1999, 105).

Washington quickly surmised that he could win the war only by keeping his army intact until Britain tired of fighting. Both he and his opponents considered the war one of outposts and ambuscades. The Patriots won few pitched battles, but their victories came when they were most needed. The continuance of the war hinged on the successes at Trenton and Princeton in the winter of 1776–1777. Without these victories the Patriot army might easily have dissolved into the footnotes of history. Likewise, an otherwise indecisive battle fought in the heat of late June 1778 at Monmouth, New Jersey, showed that the Patriots could face adversity in a European-style engagement. The training and discipline acquired by the Patriots during the Valley Forge winter were evident even to their opponents, making Monmouth the last major battle fought in the North. Thereafter, British strategy turned to the southern colonies (Volo and Volo 2003, 340).

INDECISIVE WARFARE

Much of America was never firmly controlled by either side through eight years of warfare. Whole armies were surrendered, and strategic positions were taken and retaken, without a decisive determination of victory or defeat. It may be that decisiveness simply eluded military strategists throughout the struggle. Even after their defeat at Yorktown, the British retained undisputed control of many of America's major urban centers, and they had more than 30,000 troops on station in America. The Revolution was a war waged "upon territories already fought over, sometimes more than once, by the contestants in conflicts over and done with." Nonetheless, many historians rank Saratoga and Yorktown among the dozen most decisive battles in military history (Volo and Volo 2003, 340) (Keegan 1997, 138).

COMMON CAUSE

It seems clear that the Patriots were unprepared to found an entirely new form of government when the war ended. The immediate reaction to victory was one of sometimes violent retribution directed at the loyalist population. At least 100,000 Loyalists fled to England or Canada during the course of the Revolution. Many waited until 1782 to take ship with the last of the Redcoats to leave New York City, hoping in vain for a positive turn in British fortunes. One historian has noted, "The formation of the Tory or Loyalist party in the American Revolution; its persecution by the Whigs during a long and fratricidal war, and the banishment or death . . . of these most conservative and respectable Americans is a tragedy but rarely paralleled in the history of the world" (Volo and Volo 2003, 340) (van Tyne 1999, 182).

In March 1783, two seditious papers were circulated among the patriot officers at the encampment at Newburgh, New York, suggesting that the army overthrow Congress and the state governments, and set up a monarchy or dictatorship. The papers were unsigned. Washington was apprised of the situation, and at a meeting in the Temple, a large building used for church services, he quietly defused the potential disaster by employing a simple piece of theatrics. As he rose to speak, he took out his eyeglasses to scan the offending papers. He then said:

> Gentlemen . . . I have not only grown gray, but almost blind in the service of my country. . . . Let me plead with you . . . that you express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes to overturn the liberties of our country and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord and deluge our rising empire in blood. (Volo and Volo 2003, 341) (Wainger et al. 1956, 107)

Washington took formal leave of his officers at Fraunces Tavern, at the corner of Broad and Pearl Streets in New York City, some months later. It was a tear-filled scene as the former commander in chief shook the hand of every man in attendance. He said only a few words: "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your later days may be as prosperous as your former ones have been glorious and honorable" (Volo and Volo 2003, 341–42) (Wainger et al. 1956, 108).

In forming a new national administration, there were many Patriots with reservations about the exact limits of power to be given to the federal government and what authority should remain with the states and the individual citizen. A central government without proper limits to its power would result in trading a tyrannical monarch for a despotic congress. The founders, therefore, designed a government under the Articles of Confederation that would possess only those powers necessary to provide for the common needs of the 13 states. In this regard Congress may initially have gone too far. The obvious weakness of the Articles quickly threatened the existence of the nation. Thus, less than five years from the end of the war, the entire problem of governance had to be revisited again by the Constitutional Convention (Volo and Volo 2003, 342).

The Patriots were all volunteers—citizen soldiers—and they fought for independence under the specters of impoverishment, imprisonment, disability, or even death without resorting to European-style conscription. John Marshall, who served in the army and later became chief justice of the Supreme Court, wrote, "I found myself associated with brave men from different states who were risking life and everything valuable in a common cause" (Volo and Volo 2003, 342) (Purcell and Burg 1992, xi).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Adams, James Truslow, and Charles Garrett Vannest. *The Record of America.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

Alexander, William. *The History of Women from the Earliest Antiquity to Present Time: Giving An Account of Almost Every Interesting Particular Concerning That Sex Among All Nations, Ancient and Modern.* Vol. 2. Philadelphia, PA: J. H. Dobelbower, 1796.

Anderson, Fred W. *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

———. "Why Did Colonial New Englanders Make Bad Soldiers? Contractual Principles and Military Conduct during the Seven Years' War." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 38 (1981): 395–417.

Beard, Charles A., and Mary R. Beard. *The Rise of American Civilization.* New York: Macmillan, 1927.

Beecher, Raymond, ed. *Letters from a Revolution 1775–1783.* Albany: Greene County Historical Society and New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1973.

Berkin, Carol. *First Generations: Women in Colonial America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

Black, Jeremy. *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Cassell, 1999.

Blumenthal, Walter Hart. *Women Camp Followers of the Revolution.* Salem, NH: Ayer, 1992.

Braken, Jeanne Munn, ed. *Women in the American Revolution.* Carlisle, MA: Discovery Enterprises, 1997.

Bullock, Thomas K., and Maurice B. Tonkin. *The Wigmaker in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg.* Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1959.

Callahan, North. *Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution.* New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Coggins, Jack, ed. *Boys in the Revolution: Young Americans Tell Their Part in the War for Independence.* Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1967.

Commager, Henry Steele, and Richard B. Morris. *The Spirit of Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants.* New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Crane, Elaine Forman, ed. *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker: The Life Cycle of an Eighteenth Century Woman.* Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1994.

Cumming, William P., and Hugh Rankin, eds. *The Fate of a Nation: The American Revolution through Contemporary Eyes.* London: Phaidon Press, 1975.

Dow, George Francis, ed. *The Holyoke Diaries.* Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1911.

Dudley, Dorothy. *Theatrum Majorum: The Diary of Dorothy Dudley.* New York: Arno Press, 1971.

Earle, Alice Morse. *Colonial Dames and Good Wives.* New York: Frederick Ungar, 1962.

———. *Costume of Colonial Times*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894.
———. *Customs and Fashions in Old New England*. Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1969.
Ellet, Elizabeth F. Lumis. *Domestic History of the American Revolution*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1859.
Evans, Elizabeth. *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.
Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
Fitzpatrick, John C., ed. *The Writings of George Washington*. 30 vols. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931–1939.
Foner, Eric. *Give Me Liberty: An American History*. Vol. I. Seagull Edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006.
Fox, Vivian C., and Martin H. Quitt. *Loving, Parenting, and Dying: The Family Cycle in England and America, Past and Present*. New York: Psychohistory Press, 1980.
Gavin, John R. *The Minute Men, The First Fight: Myths and Realities of the American Revolution*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1996.
Gerson, Noel B. *Light Horse Harry: A Biography of Washington's Great Cavalryman*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.
———. *The Swamp Fox, Francis Marion*. New York: Doubleday, 1967.
Gilman, Caroline, ed. *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson during the Invasion and Possession of Charleston, S.C. by the British in the Revolutionary War*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
Glasse, Hannah. *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. Alexandria, VA: Cottom and Stewart, 1805.
Gunderson, Joan R. *To Be Useful in the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740–1750*. New York: Twayne, 1996.
Guthman, William, ed. *The Correspondence of Captain Nathan and Lois Peters*. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1980.
Hayes, John T. *Connecticut's Revolutionary Cavalry: Sheldon's Horse*. Chester, CT: Pequot Press, 1975.
Herr, John K., and Edward S. Wallace. *The Story of the U.S. Cavalry, 1775–1942*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1984.
Hirsch, Adam J. "The Collision of Military Cultures in Seventeenth-Century New England." *Journal of American History* 26 (March 1988): 1187–1212.
Holliday, Carl. *Women's Life in Colonial Days*. Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1968.
Hurd, D. Hamilton. *History of Fairfield County, Connecticut*. Philadelphia, PA: J. W. Lewis, 1881.
Hurt, R. Douglas. *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720–1830*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996.
Hutchinson, William. *A Treatise on Naval Architecture*. Liverpool: T. Billinge, 1794.
Johnson, Claudia Durst. *Daily Life in Colonial New England*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
Keegan, John. *Fields of Battle: The Wars for North America*. New York: Vintage Press, 1997.
Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.
Koebner, Richard. *Empire*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1965.
Kwasny, Mark V. *Washington's Partisan War, 1775–1783*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1996.

Larabee, Benjamin W. *The Boston Tea Party*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
Leach, Douglas E. *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677–1775*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
Lesser, Charles H., ed. *The Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army*. Chicago: n.p., 1976.
Loescher, Burt Garfield. *Washington's Eyes: The Continental Light Dragoons*. Fort Collins, CO: Old Army Press, 1977.
Mahon, John K. "Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare, 1676–1794." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45, no. 2 (1958): 254–75.
Marcus, Robert, David Bruner, and Anthony Marcus. *America Firsthand*. Volume I, *Readings from Settlement to Reconstruction*. 7th ed. Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007.
Martin, James Kirby, and Mark Edward Lender. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic, 1763–1789*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1982.
Mayer, Holly A. *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.
McElrath, Joseph R., Jr., and Allan P. Robb, eds. *The Complete Works of Anne Bradstreet*. Boston, MA: Twayne, 1981.
McWilliams, James E. "Cuisine and National Identity in the Early Republic." *Historically Speaking* (May/June 2006).
Meltzer, Milton, ed. *The American Revolution: A History in Their Own Words, 1750–1800*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1987.
Middleton, Arthur Pierce. *A Virginia Gentleman's Library*. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1952.
Middleton, Richard. *Colonial America: 1585–1776*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
Morris, Alfred J., ed. *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*. Lynchburg, VA: J. P. Bell, 1922.
Morrissey, Brendan. *Boston 1775*. London: Osprey, 1995.
Morton, Louis. "The Origins of American Military Policy." *Military Affairs* 22 (1958): 75–82.
Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1980.
Pearson, Michael. *Those Damned Rebels: The American Revolution as Seen through British Eyes*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1972.
Preston, John Hyde. *Revolution 1776*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933.
Purcell, L. Edward, and David F. Burg, eds. *The World Almanac of the American Revolution*. New York: Pharos Books, 1992.
Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
Radabaugh, Jack. "The Militia of Colonial Massachusetts." *Military Affairs* 18 (1954): 1–18.
Randel, William Peirce. *The American Revolution: Mirror of a People*. New York: Routledge, 1973.
Raphael, Ray. *A People's History of the American Revolution: How Common People Shaped the Fight for Independence*. New York: New Press, 1991.
Rhodehamel, John H., ed. *The American Revolution: Writings from the War of Independence*. New York: Library of America, 2001.
Risch, Erna. *Supplying Washington's Army*. Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military Studies, 1981.

Robson, Eric. *The American Revolution in Its Political and Military Aspects, 1763–1783.* New York: Norton, 1966.

Schama, Simon. *A History of Britain: The Wars of the British: 1603–1776.* New York: Hyperion, 2001.

Scheer, George E., ed. *Private Yankee Doodle.* New York: Eastern Acorn Press, 1962.

Schlesinger, Arthur Meier. *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution 1763–1776.* New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957.

Schouler, James. *Americans of 1776: Daily Life during the Revolutionary Period.* New York: Dodd, Mead, 1906.

Schultz, A. N. *Illustrated Drill Manual and Regulations for the American Soldier of the Revolutionary War.* Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1982.

Shipton, Clifford K. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates.* Vol. 17. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1975.

Shy, John W. "A New Look at Colonial Militia." *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1963): 175–85.

Smith, Helen Evertson. *Colonial Days and Ways.* New York: Century, 1901.

Swan, Susan Burrows. *Plain and Fancy: American Women and Their Needlework, 1650–1850.* Austin, TX: Curious Works Press, 1995.

Swiggett, Howard. *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.

Symmes, Rebecca D., ed. *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert in Massachusetts and New York.* Cooperstown: New York Historical Association, 1980.

Tebbel, John. *George Washington's America.* New York: E. P. Dutton, 1954.

Thacher, James. *Military Journal of the American Revolution, 1775–1783.* Gansevoort, NY: Corner House Publishing, 1998.

Thomas, M. Halsey, ed. *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729.* Vol. 2. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.

Tindall, George Brown, and David E. Shi. *America: A Narrative History.* 6th ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004.

Townshend, Charles, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. "Daughters of Liberty: Religious Women in Revolutionary New England." In *Women in the Age of the American Revolution,* eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989.

———. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1550–1750.* New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Unger, Irwin. *These United States: The Questions of Our Past.* 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989.

van Tyne, Claude Halstead. *The Loyalists in the American Revolution.* Ganesvoort, NY: Corner House Historical Publications, 1999.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life during the American Revolution.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Volo, James M., and Dorothy Denneen Volo. *Daily Life on the Colonial Frontier.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000.

Wahll, Andrew J., ed. *The Braddock Road Chronicles, 1755.* Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1999.

Wainger, Bertrand M., Dorothy W. Furman, and Edith Brooks Oagley. *Exploring New York*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956.
Ward, Christopher. *The War of the Revolution*. New York: Macmillan, 1952.
Williams, Selma R. *Demeter's Daughters: The Women Who Founded America 1587–1787*. New York: Atheneum, 1976.
Wister, Sally. *Sally Wister's Journal: A True Narrative*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1995.
Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. *As Various As Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans*. New York: Harper Collins, 1993.
Wright, Louis B. *The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization, 1607–1763*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

2

THE NEW NATION TAKES SHAPE, 1789–1820

Chronology, 1789–1820

1789 January: Georgetown University, the first Catholic college in the United States, is founded

February: Electors cast ballots in the first presidential election, selecting George Washington

March: Pennsylvania lifts its ban on stage plays

April 30: George Washington is inaugurated as the first president of the United States

May 7: U.S. Protestant Episcopal Church is established

May 12: Society of Saint Tammany is founded in New York City

September 29: Congress establishes an army of 1,000 men

October: George Washington tours New England

November 26: First national Thanksgiving Day

1790 First U.S. census tallies a population of 3,929,625

Prison reformers apply the idea of rehabilitation at Philadelphia's Walnut Street Prison

Duncan Phyfe begins making furniture in New York City

Revivals that foreshadow the Second Great Awakening begin in New England

Mercy Otis Warren's *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous* is published

The *Universal Asylum, and Columbian Magazine* begins publication in Philadelphia

The *New-York Magazine, or Literary Repository* first appears

February: Quakers petition Congress to abolish slavery

March: In Philadelphia, John Martin gives the first major stage performance by an actor born in America

April 17: Benjamin Franklin dies at age 84

May: Adherents of Universalist religious doctrines meet in Philadelphia

Washington signs into law the nation's first copyright statute

The *Philadelphia Spelling Book* is the first book to receive a copyright under the new law

August: The merchant vessel *Columbia* arrives in Boston after circumnavigating the globe

John Carroll becomes America's first Roman Catholic bishop

October 18: General Josiah Harmar's expedition against northwestern Indians is defeated near Fort Wayne

December: Congress relocates the national capital from New York City to Philadelphia

In Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Samuel Slater opens America's first cotton mill, the start of U.S. industrialism

1791 John Adams's *Discourses of Davila* is published

William Bartram's *Travels* is published

Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* is published

Benjamin Banneker begins publishing an almanac

Massachusetts Historical Society is founded

John Fitch receives a patent for a steamboat

February: Bank of the United States is chartered

April–June: Washington tours the South

November 4: Northwestern Indians defeat a U.S. force under General Arthur St. Clair

December: Virginia ratifies the Bill of Rights, providing the necessary approval by three-quarters of the states to make it part of the U.S. Constitution

1792 February: Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man,* part 2 is published

Jedidiah Morse's *The American Geography, or, a View of the Present Situation of the United States of America* is published

Noah Webster's *An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking* is published

The *Lady's Magazine and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge* appears in Philadelphia

Old Farmer's Almanac appears for the first time

The Boston Crown Glass Company begins producing window glass

April: Kentucky rejects measures that would exclude slavery and enters the Union as the 15th state in June

The National Coinage Act establishes a mint in Philadelphia, a decimal system for coins, and a 15:1 ratio of silver to gold in the U.S. dollar

May: Robert Gray sails his ship *Columbia* into the mouth of the great watercourse he will dub the Columbia River

The New York Stock Exchange is established

August–September: Opposition to the government's excise tax on whiskey grows in Pennsylvania and certain parts of the South

November: Second presidential election takes place

December: When electoral votes are counted George Washington wins a second term

1793 Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* is published

The periodical the *New Hampshire Magazine: Or, The Monthly Repository of Useful Information* begins publication

Published quarterly in New York, the *Free Universal Magazine* addresses religious topics

The first daily newspaper is Noah Webster's *American Minerva,* published in New York

Samuel Slater opens a Sunday school for children working in his Pawtucket factory to teach them basic educational skills

Eli Whitney invents the cotton gin

January: First hot air balloon flight in the United States takes place in Philadelphia

February 1: France declares war on Great Britain, Spain, and the Netherlands

February 12: Congress passes Fugitive Slave Act

April 22: Washington declares American neutrality concerning the European war

July 31: Thomas Jefferson resigns as secretary of state, to become effective on December 31

September 18: Washington lays the cornerstone for the U.S. Capitol in the new federal capital

November: Slave riots break out in Albany, New York

1794 *The Monthly Miscellany, or Vermont Magazine* begins publication

March: U.S. Navy is established

April: Pennsylvania abolishes capital punishment except for murder

May: Philadelphia shoemakers organize the first trade union in the United States

July: Whiskey Rebellion breaks out in Pennsylvania; it is quickly suppressed

August 20: U.S. Army defeats northwestern Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers

November: Jay's Treaty with Great Britain is concluded

1795 Several periodicals begin publication in Philadelphia, including the *American Monthly Review* and the *Philadelphia Minerva*

An inclined wooden railroad is built on Beacon Hill in Boston

January 31: Alexander Hamilton resigns as secretary of the treasury

June 24: Jay's Treaty is ratified despite its unpopularity

August: Treaty of Greenville signed with Ohio Indian tribes

October: Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney's Treaty) is concluded with Spain

1796 Amelia Simmons's *American Cookery* is the first American cookbook

March: The U.S. Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of a 1794 congressional statute, the first time that the Court renders such a decision

Pinckney's Treaty is ratified

May: Congress passes a land law to facilitate the sale of public lands in the Northwest Territory

June 1: Tennessee becomes a state

September 17: George Washington's Farewell Address appears in the Philadelphia *Daily American*

October: The *Otter* is the first American ship to explore the California coastline

November: France suspends diplomatic relations with the United States

December: John Adams is elected second president of the United States

1797 Jedidiah Morse's *The American Gazetteer* is published

January: New York moves its capital to Albany

March 4: John Adams is inaugurated as the second president

May: The frigate *United States*, the first vessel in the new U.S. Navy, is launched

June: Charles Newbold patents a cast-iron plow

September: The frigate *Constellation* is launched

October: The French rebuff an American peace commission unless it offers bribes, a continuing demand that will result in the XYZ Affair

The frigate *Constitution*, destined to become known as "Old Ironsides" during the War of 1812, is launched

1798 January–March: Negotiations in Paris break down completely

April: President Adams reports on the XYZ Affair to Congress

The Mississippi Territory, which embraces the eventual states of Alabama and Mississippi, is created

June: Congress abolishes debtor prisons

June–July: Congress passes the Alien and Sedition Acts

July: As potential war looms with France, George Washington is appointed commander in chief of the U.S. Army

Congress creates the U.S. Marine Corps and establishes the forerunner of the U.S. Public Health Service

September: Benjamin Bache, Benjamin Franklin's grandson, is arrested under the Sedition Act for allegedly libeling President John Adams

November: The Kentucky Resolutions protesting the Alien and Sedition Acts are adopted by the Kentucky legislature

December: The Virginia Resolutions protesting the Alien and Sedition Acts are adopted by the Virginia legislature

Eli Whitney begins an attempt to make guns with interchangeable parts

1799 Deerfield Academy is founded in Massachusetts

The shoemakers' trade union in Philadelphia (officially the Federal Society of Cordwainers) stages the first successful strike in American history

January: Congress passes the Logan Act, making it unlawful for American citizens to engage in private diplomacy with foreign governments

February: Congress passes the first law authorizing federal help to cities implementing health quarantines

A taxpayer revolt led by Pennsylvanian John Fries collapses after his arrest

March: New York enacts measures to facilitate the gradual emancipation of slaves within its borders

May: After months of undeclared war on the high seas, France offers to open peace talks

December 14: George Washington dies at age 67

1800 Second U.S. census counts about 5.3 million people, marking an increase of 35 percent in the population

The *Waverly Magazine* and the *Literary News, a Monthly Journal of Current Literature* begin publication

Pennsylvanian John Chapman begins his 50-year campaign to grow and tend apple trees in the Ohio River Valley, a vocation that will earn him the nickname "Johnny Appleseed"

George Washington's widow Martha is granted free mail service

Congress founds the Library of Congress

January: Philadelphia free blacks unsuccessfully petition Congress to end slavery and repeal all legislation supporting it

April: The first Federal Bankruptcy Act is enacted

May: The Land Act of 1800 revises policies for the sale of public lands

June: The federal government moves from Philadelphia to the new capital at Washington, D.C.

August: The Gabriel slave rebellion is prevented outside Richmond, Virginia, when it is prematurely discovered

September: France and the United States end their undeclared naval war with the Treaty of Montefontaine to take effect on December 21

October 7: Gabriel, leader of the slave rebellion, is hanged

November: Congress meets for the first time in Washington, and John Adams moves into the unfinished Executive Mansion

December: The quadrennial presidential election is held, but electoral ballots are not counted until the following February

1801 *The American Ladies' Pocket-Book* appears, describing itself as a "useful register of business and amusement, and a complete repository of fashion, literature, the drama, painting, and music"

The New York Academy, a public art museum, is founded but will cease to exist in 1805

January: John Marshall appointed chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court

February 17: Thomas Jefferson becomes the third president-elect after a tie with Aaron Burr in the Electoral College throws the election into the House of Representatives

February: Judiciary Act revising the federal court system is passed

March 4: Thomas Jefferson is inaugurated as third president of the United States

August: A massive camp meeting revival at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, gives momentum to the Second Great Awakening in the West

December 8: Jefferson establishes the custom of sending annual messages (the equivalent of the State of the Union message) to Congress rather than delivering them in a speech, a tradition that continues until Woodrow Wilson departs from it in 1913

1802 *Catalogue of the Books, Maps, and Charts, Belonging to the Library of the Two Houses of Congress: Apr, 1802* is published

John James Beckley becomes first librarian of Congress

James Stevens designs a screw propeller

March: Congress repeals the Judiciary Act of 1801

Congress authorizes the establishment of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York

The Peace of Amiens temporarily ends the European war

April: Rumors circulate that Spain has ceded Louisiana to Napoleon's France

July 4: The United States Military Academy formally opens

October: Spain unexpectedly closes New Orleans to American commerce, a violation of Pinckney's Treaty

November: In preparation for statehood, Ohio holds a state constitutional convention

1803 February: The Supreme Court ruling in *Marbury v. Madison* establishes the principle of judicial review

March 1: Ohio becomes the 17th state

April: Spain restores the right of deposit at New Orleans

May 2: The Louisiana Purchase Treaty is signed in Paris

August: The Corps of Discovery led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark starts its westward journey beginning on the Ohio River

December 20: United States takes possession of the Louisiana Territory

1804 The first part of John Marshall's five-volume biography of George Washington appears, to continue through 1807

The New-York Historical Society is established

February: New Jersey institutes the gradual emancipation of its slaves

March: Congress revises land policy with the Land Act of 1804

May: The Lewis and Clark expedition embarks from St. Louis

Napoleon Bonaparte crowns himself emperor of France

July 11: Aaron Burr mortally wounds Alexander Hamilton in a duel at Weehawken, New Jersey

August 20: Charles Floyd succumbs to appendicitis, the only member of the Lewis and Clark expedition to die on the journey

December 5: Thomas Jefferson is reelected president

1805 Mercy Otis Warren's three-volume *The Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution* is published

Charles Willson Peale founds the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art, a public art museum

Ice is first exported from New England to the Caribbean

January: Part of the Indiana Territory is used to create the Michigan Territory

March 1: The Senate acquits impeached Supreme Court justice Samuel Chase

March 4: Thomas Jefferson is inaugurated for his second term as president

May: A strike for higher wages by the trade union of Philadelphia shoemakers fails when its leaders are arrested

The Lewis and Clark expedition sights the Rocky Mountains

July: Britain restricts U.S. trade with the French West Indies

August: Lieutenant Zebulon Pike leads an exploratory expedition into the Minnesota region

November: Lewis and Clark see the Pacific Ocean and establish a winter encampment at the mouth of the Columbia River

1806 Noah Webster's *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* is published

Williams College students found the Brethren, the first American society to promote foreign missionary journeys

January 17: The first child born in the new Executive Mansion is Thomas Jefferson's grandson, James Madison Randolph

March: Congress authorizes the construction of the National Road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, Virginia

April: Congress begins a long experiment using commercial restriction to persuade Britain and France to respect American commercial rights

May 30: Andrew Jackson kills Nashville attorney Charles Dickinson in a duel

July: Zebulon Pike leads another exploratory expedition, this time into the Southwest

September: The Lewis and Clark expedition arrives in St. Louis

November: Zebulon Pike's expedition sights the mountain that will later be named Pikes Peak

Napoleon issues the Berlin Decree

December: Jefferson requests that Congress prohibit slave importation as of January 1, 1808

1807 Essays by New Yorkers Washington Irving, William Irving, and James Kirk Paulding inaugurate a style that features American subjects and is gradually identified as the Knickerbocker School

Robert Fulton's *Clermont* is the first successful steamboat

January: Britain's Orders in Council restrict American shipping in response to Napoleon's Berlin Decree

February: Aaron Burr is arrested in the Mississippi Territory and will later be indicted for treason

March: Congress prohibits the foreign slave trade, to take effect on January 1, 1808

June: The British frigate *Leopard* fires on and boards the USS *Chesapeake* to remove alleged British deserters

September: Aaron Burr is acquitted of treason in Richmond, Virginia

December: Napoleon issues the Milan Decree, an additional insult to American neutrality

Congress enacts the Embargo Act, which bans all trade with foreign countries

1808 The *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis becomes the first newspaper west of the Mississippi

The public art museum is revived in New York with the establishment of the New York Academy of Fine Arts

The opulent opera house Theatre d'Orleans opens in New Orleans

A temperance society is formed in New York City

January 1: The foreign slave trade is abolished

July: William Clark and others establish the Missouri Fur Company in St. Louis

December: James Madison is elected fourth president of the United States

1809 Washington Irving's *History of New York* is published under the pseudonym Diedrick Knickerbocker

James Stevens's steamboat cruises from Hoboken, New Jersey, to the Delaware River, the first ocean journey by a steamboat

January: Congress enacts legislation to enforce the increasingly unpopular embargo

February: Anger about, and resistance to, the embargo increases, especially in New England

March: Jefferson signs legislation that repeals the embargo and replaces it with less severe restrictive measures

The Illinois Territory, embracing present-day Illinois, Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota, is created

March 4: James Madison is inaugurated as president

July: The Shawnee Tecumseh begins laying plans for an Indian confederation to resist American expansion in the Northwest

1810 The third census shows a 36.4 percent increase in the U.S. population to 7,239,881

The Boston Philharmonic Society establishes America's first symphony orchestra

One hundred cotton mills are operating in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania

Hot air balloonists A. R. Hawley and Augustus Post travel more than one thousand miles from St. Louis to Canada

May: Congress passes Macon's Bill No. 2, yet another variation of its increasingly ineffective effort to coerce British and French respect for American neutral rights

July: The New York trial of striking shoemakers in that city follows Philadelphia's 1806 lead in determining that such strikes are criminal conspiracies

September: Americans in the western part of West Florida rebel against Spanish authority and request annexation by the United States, a request to which the Madison administration consents in the following month

October: Country fairs have their origin in the Berkshire Cattle Show in Massachusetts

1811 Astoria, the first permanent American settlement in the Pacific Northwest, is established at the mouth of the Columbia River

The steamboat *New Orleans* completes a four-month passage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans and commences riverboat service between New Orleans and Natchez

January: Congress secretly authorizes the annexation of Spanish East Florida if residents agree or if another foreign power moves to occupy the province

March 4: Bank of the United States closes because Congress has refused to renew its charter

November: Construction of the National (Cumberland) Road commences

November 7: William Henry Harrison's force fights the Battle of Tippecanoe and destroys the principal village of Tecumseh's confederation

December 16: Centered at New Madrid, Missouri, one of the strongest earthquakes to occur in North America rocks the Mississippi River Valley

1812 David Rice's pamphlet *A Kentucky Protest against Slavery* is published

January 23: Another, stronger earthquake occurs at New Madrid, Missouri

February: Massachusetts governor Elbridge Gerry signs a bill that creates voting districts deliberately drawn for partisan advantage; their cartographic resemblance to a salamander gives rise to the term "gerrymander" to describe the practice of using redistricting to marginalize political opponents

February 7: Possibly the most powerful earthquake ever to occur in North America strikes New Madrid, Missouri, causing the Mississippi River to flow backward and resulting in thousands of aftershocks

April: As war looms with Britain, Congress enacts an embargo and authorizes President Madison to call up the militia

April 20: Vice President George Clinton's death leaves that office vacant for the remainder of Madison's first term; Elbridge Gerry will become vice president–elect in December upon Madison's reelection

April 30: Louisiana enters the Union with its capital of New Orleans the fifth largest city in the country

June 19: The United States declares war on Great Britain, thus beginning the War of 1812

July–August: Opposition in New England prompts Connecticut and Massachusetts to withhold their militias from the American war effort

August 16: Detroit is surrendered to British forces

August 19: USS *Constitution* defeats HMS *Guerrière* and is dubbed "Old Ironsides"

September: Russian tsar offers to mediate the Anglo-American war

October 25: USS *United States* defeats HMS *Macedonian*

December: James Madison wins reelection to the presidency

The British Royal Navy blockades the mid-Atlantic Coast

December 29: USS *Constitution* defeats HMS *Java*

1813 January 22: Following an American defeat at Frenchtown just west of Lake Erie, Indians massacre American prisoners on the River Raisin

March: United States accepts the Russian mediation offer, but Britain rejects it

March 4: James Madison is inaugurated for a second term

April: U.S. forces occupy Spanish Mobile

April 27: U.S. forces burn York (modern Toronto)

May: British extend their blockade southward into the Gulf of Mexico

June 1: HMS *Shannon* defeats USS *Chesapeake*

American captain James Lawrence is fatally wounded but shouts, "Don't give up the ship!"

September 10: Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's U.S. squadron defeats its British counterpart in the Battle of Lake Erie

October 5: William Henry Harrison defeats the British and their Indian allies at the Battle of Thames, where Tecumseh is reportedly killed

November: In the Creek War that overlaps the War of 1812, Tennessee militia forces under Andrew Jackson converge on the Creek Nation to fight a series of bloody but indecisive battles against Indians there

December: The Niagara frontier becomes the scene of retaliatory violence by American and British forces

1814 At Waltham, Massachusetts, Francis Lowell opens the first factory that integrates powered textile machinery for spinning and weaving, the forerunner of his factory complex at Lowell, Massachusetts

March 27: Andrew Jackson ends the Creek War by decisively defeating nativist Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend

April: Napoleon Bonaparte is defeated and removed from power, freeing British veterans for the American war

The Royal Navy extends its blockade to New England

July 25: A stalemate at Lundy's Lane near Niagara Falls is the bloodiest battle of the war

August 9: Treaty of Fort Jackson cedes 23 million acres of Creek land to the United States

August 24–25: British forces occupy Washington, D.C., and burn its public buildings, including the Executive Mansion

September 11: A British invasion of New York is repulsed at Plattsburgh

September 12–14: The British effort to take Baltimore fails after an extended bombardment of Fort McHenry

Francis Scott Key writes "The Star-Spangled Banner" to commemorate the American victory

November 23: Elbridge Gerry dies at age 70

December: The British begin their campaign against New Orleans

New England Federalists convene at Hartford, Connecticut, to protest the war

December 24: Peace commissioners meeting at Ghent sign a treaty ending the War of 1812

1815 The *North American Review* is published in Boston

Jedidiah Morse's pamphlet *Review of American Unitarianism* traces the growing controversy caused by the doctrine

John Stevens receives the first charter in the United States to build a railroad, but the project will languish for more than a decade

Baltimore's streets are illuminated by gaslights as the city's Gas Light Company becomes the first firm of its kind

January: The Hartford Convention adjourns after adopting resolutions that oppose the war and seek to redress New England's waning political influence

January 8: Andrew Jackson defeats the British at the Battle of New Orleans and becomes a national hero

February 17: The War of 1812 officially ends with the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of Ghent

February–March: Congress reduces the size of both the army and navy

July–August: The U.S. Navy forces the North African sponsor states of the Barbary pirates to sign treaties

December: Madison proposes a public works program and the establishment of another national bank

1816 John Pickering's *Vocabulary* catalogs indigenous American words and phrases

March: Congress establishes the Second Bank of the United States

April: The African Methodist Episcopal Church is established in Philadelphia

June–August: Volcanic eruptions in Indonesia alter the world's climate, depriving New England of a growing season as almost a foot of snow falls in June and hard frosts occur throughout July and August

December: James Monroe is elected fifth president of the United States

The American Colonization Society is organized to colonize freed blacks in Africa

Indiana is admitted to the Union

Boston's Provident Institution is the first savings bank in the United States

1817 John Kenrick's *Horrors of Slavery* is published

Henry Shreve's steamboat *Washington* begins commercial service between Louisville, Kentucky, and New Orleans

January: Second Bank of the United States (known as the BUS) opens for business

March: Work begins on the Erie Canal to connect the Hudson River with Lake Erie, a project that will be completed in 1825

The Alabama Territory is created out of the eastern portion of the Mississippi Territory

March 4: James Monroe is inaugurated as president

December: Mississippi enters the Union

1818 The steamboat *Walk-in-the-Water* begins carrying passengers on Lake Erie from Buffalo to Detroit

March: Congress passes legislation granting lifetime pensions to all Revolutionary War veterans

March–May: Andrew Jackson leads an army into Spanish Florida to punish Seminole Indians, but in violation of his orders, he seizes Spanish forts and towns

June: Connecticut ends property ownership as a requirement for voting rights

December: Illinois enters the Union

1819 A serious financial panic ushers in a wide-ranging depression that sets off many bank failures and foreclosures throughout the year

The *Savannah* steams part of the way and sails the rest from Savannah, Georgia, to Liverpool, England, completing the first transatlantic voyage of a steamship

William Ellery Channing delivers a seminal sermon on Unitarianism

January: Congress refuses to condemn Andrew Jackson's behavior during the Florida invasion

February: A crisis over slavery in the prospective state of Missouri develops

Spain formally agrees to cede Florida to the United States for $5 million

March: Congress enacts measures to stop slave smuggling

June: An expedition under Major Stephen H. Long departs from Pittsburgh to explore the region south of the Missouri River, the Great Plains, and part of the Rocky Mountains

December: Alabama enters the Union

1820 January: Eighty-six free blacks embark from New York bound for the British colony of Sierra Leone

February–March: After a lengthy process of negotiation and adjustment, Congress enacts the Missouri Compromise, which temporarily quells arguments over the slavery question

The agreement to admit Missouri to the Union as a slave state is balanced by the admission of Maine as a free state

March: New England missionaries arrive in Hawaii

April: Congress revises the policy and procedures for the sale of public lands with the Public Land Act

December: James Monroe is reelected president of the United States

Overview

The Americans of the early Republic lived through some of the most exciting and perilous years of the nation's history. Having successfully gained independence from Great Britain, a feat whose sheer audacity astonished the world, Americans suddenly found themselves facing an even sterner challenge. They would have to shape diverse elements, different religions, and enormous geographical spaces into a new nation that could remain politically free and become economically prosperous. The great figures and events that shaped their country's destiny moved on a larger stage while they, American individuals, went about their daily routines (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 1).

Many Americans understood the momentous questions of their time with great clarity. Many, for instance, entirely grasped the arguments that caused the American Revolution, especially because years of closely followed debate had broken those arguments down to their barest essentials. The quarrel between Great Britain and its North American colonies is popularly depicted as centering on taxes levied by London, but taxes were a symptom of a more basic argument. Many colonists were disturbed by what they perceived as the steady erosion of their political rights under policies designed by distant and faceless authorities. In the years before the American Revolution, a series of measures by the British king and Parliament sought to strengthen and organize the British Empire, but many colonists in North America were increasingly alienated by this policy. Finally, the belief that their liberty was being systematically weakened caused Americans to take up arms and then, after considerable debate, to declare their independence (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 1–2).

In its simplest terms, the American War of Independence was fought to secure the right to regulate one's own affairs. To understand this is the key to understanding the political events that unfolded during and after the Revolution. The colonies that had transformed themselves into states during the conflict were not willing to relinquish local control to another distant and faceless authority merely because it was based in Philadelphia or New York. Committed to protecting themselves from intrusive regulations imposed by any remote authority, the states agreed only to a central government so weak that it turned out to be largely ineffective—or so argued the nationalists who feared decentralized power threatened the fate of the new republic. From 1781 to 1789, the United States government operated under a document called the Articles of Confederation, which denied the central government the power to tax, always the most irritating manifestation of regulation. Other attitudes etched by the revolutionary experience also appeared in the Articles. They did not create an executive (or president) because a president resembled a king. The government instead consisted of a unicameral legislature in which state delegations voted as blocs, each having one vote regardless of its size or population. Small states consequently felt protected from behemoths such as New York, Virginia, or Pennsylvania.

This system satisfied people who worried over losing what they had fought for—the right to regulate their own localities as they saw fit—but the system's weakness gradually became so apparent that it compelled reevaluation. Most ominous was the financial emergency that engulfed the government and disrupted the economy. The United States carried a staggering debt from the Revolution, and without the power to levy taxes, the Confederation government had no way to fund that debt. The government's sinking credit created uneasiness in the states, whose own debts were frequently just as much a problem. Commerce was crippled, and some states contemplated erecting separate economic systems, which to some Americans seemed a sure prelude to the states breaking away from the United States to establish separate political systems. The experiment in liberty, won with great patriotic sacrifice, seemed fated to fail in its first decade. European monarchies, especially Britain, looked on with unconcealed pleasure (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 2).

Scholars continue to argue over how close to collapse the American government actually was during the Confederation period. Although some claim that the economic and governmental problems were not really that dire, a sense of growing alarm nevertheless prompted Americans to amend the Articles of Confederation.

Ultimately, a major convention of all the states (but Rhode Island) elected to discard the Articles of Confederation and craft a new instrument of government. The result was the Constitution of the United States of America, drafted in 1787 and ratified by the states in the months that followed. Under the Constitution, three separate and distinct branches of the national government would each serve to regulate the behavior of the other two. The legislative branch, consisting of a bicameral congress, would make laws, regulate the currency, and levy taxes; the executive branch would administer and enforce domestic laws and, subject to the consent of Congress, direct foreign policy; and the judiciary branch would administer justice by hearing disputes arising from the law. In theory each branch would exercise vigilance to make sure that the Constitution, both in spirit and in letter, was protected from abridgment or change unless under clearly prescribed processes. The Constitution made the central government strong enough to fulfill its function, but its system of internal checks and balances promised to prevent the government from becoming so powerful as to threaten the liberty of the people (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 2–3).

Of course, people went about the everyday business of expanding the new nation as the Constitution established this new government. In 1790 the first official census counted the American population at nearly four million people, a figure that doubled in the 30 years that followed. About nine-tenths of America remained rural, but cities like Philadelphia (42,000 people), New York (33,000), Boston (18,000), Charleston (16,000), and Baltimore (13,000) were ripening into a rough urbanity. In 1790 few Americans lived beyond the Appalachian Mountains—95 percent of the population resided east of that rolling range—and those who had moved west were mostly in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, but their growing numbers made it possible for those regions to become states in only a few years rather than many generations. Foreigners observing the rough-and-ready life of American city dwellers and their wilderness cousins were more frequently carping than complimentary. Yet they grudgingly admitted that the strange people in this exotic new land were an enterprising and assured lot, blessed with abundant resources and possessed of the will to make the most of them (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 3).

It is worth remembering that the business of establishing another new government did not always proceed smoothly. Despite the promising opportunities provided by the land's sheer size and the citizens' intention to use it, the sheer size also posed a problem. Americans' traditional distrust of central authority was especially pronounced in the West, where hardy and self-sufficient pioneers cleared forests, slept lightly, and nursed deep suspicions about losing their independence to distant influences. The Mississippi River, more accessible and useful than rough trails through dark forests and over rugged mountains, was their lifeline to the outside world, including the eastern United States, but the Mississippi's southern currents passed through land owned by Spain. For years there would be the question of whether the U.S. government or the Spanish crown could offer these western dwellers the best future. For many years, the U.S. government was not favored in such a contest. Directing domestic affairs was also awkward. The American government's solvency remained uncertain as its revenues dried up while its debt, including a mounting wave of interest, swelled to a crest. The circulating currency was almost worthless, and many states still stumbled under their equally overwhelming indebtedness (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 3–4).

In short, the Constitution and the government it created did not magically solve the new nation's problems. The greater part of that task fell to ordinary Americans, a motley collection of folk who Europeans concluded were not much to look at. Most of the world's people existed in drudgery, many under fierce oppression, and the bosses who superintended that oppression or dictated that drudgery, whether from ornate thrones or rude lairs, were too often complacent in their power. They watched with attitudes ranging from bemused skepticism to outright hostility as ordinary Americans undertook to build a republic so geographically immense and so idealistically principled that there had never been anything like it in the world. The countless names of these Americans would not make it into any history book, nor would likely any of them ever regard their daily customs as particularly influential. But as individuals independently pursuing what turned out to be a collective dream, they were so different from anything before them that they not only conquered their lands but also changed the world beyond them. With callused hands and sweat-soaked clothes, occasionally bloodied by a fight, they proved that courage, tenacity, and endurance could secure liberty and court fortune. There had never been anything like it, or them, in the world.

Under the Constitution's provisions for selecting a president, the Electoral College in 1789 unanimously chose George Washington, greatly admired for his service as general of the Continental army during the Revolution and trusted as a man never to abuse power. Washington remains the only person placed in the presidency honored by such universal accord. Tall for his time at 6'2"—the average height was about 5'7"—Washington was physically imposing but retiring by nature and most reluctant to assume the burdens of the presidency. In his youth, he could be hotheaded and impetuous, but age and experience had steadied him, and though he never claimed great mental agility or pretended to wide learning, his character was as strong as it was stable. His countrymen revered him, and his journey from Mount Vernon to the new temporary capital in New York City showed it. Cannons thundered, bells tolled, and citizens cheered in celebrations that continued even after he took the oath of office on April 30, 1789. Sadly, as virtually all his successors would discover, there would come a time when the ovations became more subdued (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 4).

RIGHTS, REVENUES, AND REBELLION

Persisting in their revolutionary outlook, opponents of the Constitution had criticized it during the ratification debates for failing to pledge that the new government would respect freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and other individual rights. Indeed, the Constitution won ratification in part because of the unspoken promise that it would be amended to include such promises. Although theoretically the Constitution could be changed by a new convention at the request of two-thirds of the states, Federalist proponents such as Virginia congressman James Madison worried that another convention might thoroughly reverse the work of the first one. Consequently, Madison persuaded the necessary two-thirds majorities in both houses of Congress to authorize the simpler amending process of having changes proposed by Congress and put before the states for approval. Madison also drafted the amendments that he then efficiently steered through Congress (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 4–5).

The prescribed three-fourths of the states approved the first 10 amendments to the Constitution in 1791. Known as the Bill of Rights, these measures sought to preserve the most prized American principles of government and society, including freedom of religion, assembly, and speech. They guaranteed a press free from federal government control and a citizenry with the right to bear arms. Citizens are guaranteed trial by jury and can, without fear of reprisal, petition the government for redress of grievances. The Bill of Rights proscribed cruel and unusual punishment and forbid the federal government from seizing private property without due process.

To prevent such a specific list of guaranteed rights from creating the impression that they were the only ones protected, the 9th Amendment stated that identifying these particular rights "shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." The 10th Amendment also reserved all rights not explicitly delegated or prohibited by the Constitution "to the States respectively, or to the people." Thus a robust central government spelled out protections for individual liberty and thereby helped to secure not just the grudging consent but the approbation of many of the Constitution's most vocal opponents.

The first Congress also passed the Judiciary Act of 1789, which organized the Supreme Court to be composed of a chief justice and five associates. New York's John Jay became the first chief justice. The Judiciary Act also established federal district and circuit courts and created the office of attorney general.

President Washington's official circle was small, consisting only of three department heads. Alexander Hamilton was secretary of the treasury, Thomas Jefferson was secretary of state, and Henry Knox secretary of war. Jefferson and Hamilton were arguably the most talented men ever to serve a U.S. administration. Because of the government's dire financial problems, the treasury was considered the most important of the executive departments, and its first secretary, Alexander Hamilton, assumed the most prominent role in conducting domestic affairs. Only 34 years old, Hamilton had been a boy wonder, but he had his detractors, who doubted his integrity and suspected his devotion to Republican government. Such qualms were intensified when Hamilton unveiled his plan to repair the country's financial situation (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 5).

Hamilton's first and foremost job was to restore confidence in the government's credit (known as the public credit), something he intended to do not only by funding the total national debt but by assuming all state debts as well. He insisted that ensuring the financial security of the nation at large would require that the credit of constituent parts of the Union, the states, be restored also. Under his plan, the federal government would retire its debt at face value in addition to about $13 million of accrued interest, a huge sum of more than $54 million. Because many supposed that such a massive debt would never be paid off, government bonds had decreased in value to as little as 10¢ to 15¢ on the dollar. The virtual worthlessness of these securities meant that mostly speculators had bought them, but now those speculators stood to reap incredible profits. Widows and war veterans who had sold their worthless government securities for a song felt cheated and betrayed.

The plan to assume state debts—tallied at about $21.5 million—was even more controversial. Hamilton believed that assumption, as the plan regarding state debts was called, would more thoroughly tie the states to the Union by making their wealthy creditors dependent on the federal government for their money. Although Hamilton also reasonably described the states' debts as part of the national obligation because they had been acquired during the Revolution, the plan appeared to states' rights advocates as a devious way of accomplishing centralization. Hamilton's plan elated states like Massachusetts that carried large debts, but states that had pinched pennies to stay solvent, like Virginia, believed they were being exploited to assist spendthrifts. Hamilton ultimately overcame these objections by agreeing to place the nation's capital on the Potomac River in exchange for Virginia's support of his economic plan. He was even able to persuade Thomas Jefferson to back the Hamiltonian system and thus secured the necessary majorities to pass it in 1790.

With the country's debt now ballooning to $75 million, Hamilton had to find sources of revenue to pay the continuing interest on it. He chose to rely heavily on tariff duties that would result from a dynamic import trade. Congress had already passed a tariff law in 1789, and the rate of roughly 8 percent on certain imports promised to fill the bill. At the same time, Hamilton hoped to use the tariff as a way of encouraging domestic industries to take root, but he was less successful in this endeavor. Farmers and merchants controlled Congress during the 1790s, and only two small tariff increases were approved in the following eight years (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 6).

Excise taxes on domestic products—especially a tax on whiskey—generated additional revenue, but they were by far the most unpopular taxes the government levied. Frontier farmers had been distilling their grains into whiskey for years, a process that made corn less unwieldy as well as more profitable for shipment. In regions where whiskey was used like money—even some preachers were paid with whiskey—the tax was detested, and by 1794, resistance in backwoods Pennsylvania was creating a serious domestic crisis. When "revenoors," as these moonshiners derisively labeled tax collectors, were intimidated into inaction, some by physical assault, President Washington perceived a grave challenge to federal authority. Hamilton agreed. The president mustered militias from surrounding states and personally led about 13,000 men part of the way into Pennsylvania, a gesture that was as significant as it was symbolic. Never much of an insurrection in the first place, the Whiskey Rebellion quickly collapsed before the show of federal force, and Washington pardoned the two offenders later found guilty. Yet the repercussions of the little Whiskey Rebellion were momentous, for the question of whether the central government would have the support of the states in times of crisis was decisively answered. Equally telling, on the other hand, were the rising voices of critics who denounced the large militia demonstration as an overreaction and again pointed to Hamilton as the serpent in Washington's garden (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 6–7).

THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

To Hamilton's thinking, the most important part of his financial system was a national bank, and his efforts to have Congress authorize the establishment of one sharply divided Washington's cabinet and spurred the formation of factions that evolved into political parties. Hamilton modeled his Bank of the United States on the Bank of England, and like the British institution, the American version would be a private establishment with the government acting as a significant stockholder and principal depositor. The bank would print currency to provide a fluid but stable medium of exchange while regulating credit to stimulate business.

Jefferson, who had grudgingly supported Hamilton's funding and assumption plan, balked at the idea of the bank. In fact, in a written opinion produced at Washington's request, Jefferson forcefully argued against it. His main objection, he claimed, was constitutional. The Constitution, he said, contained no explicit sanction for such a financial institution. Furthermore, since the 10th Amendment (which with the rest of the Bill of Rights was on the verge of being ratified) reserved to the states all powers not specifically granted to the central government, only states had the tacit constitutional authority to establish banks. By interpreting so narrowly the meaning of the Constitution, Jefferson voiced a theory of constitutional understanding called "strict construction" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 7).

Washington asked Hamilton for a written opinion as well, in which the secretary of the treasury answered Jefferson's objections. In Hamilton's view, the Constitution granted the authority to exercise necessary powers, not impede them. He specifically cited the constitutional directive that Congress could pass "necessary and proper" laws to empower the government to carry out its duties. Because the government had the explicit power to collect taxes and control trade, the government had the implied power to erect such institutions as would assist those activities, such as a Bank of the United States. In direct contradiction to Jefferson's strict construction, Hamilton used the doctrine of implied powers to interpret the Constitution broadly, a reading of the document called "loose construction" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 7–8).

Ultimately Washington cautiously sided with Hamilton on this issue to sign the bank into law. The Bank of the United States was licensed for 20 years, with its offices in Philadelphia. The institution was capitalized at $10 million, of which 20 percent was held by the federal government, and stock was sold publicly to an enthusiastic response. Yet the congressional debate over the bank had been jarringly venomous on both constitutional and financial grounds. Hamilton had won the day, but Jefferson and his followers, shocked by this defeat, were energized to challenge the secretary on any and all subsequent political fronts (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 8).

FACTIONS BECOME PARTIES

With relative swiftness, Hamilton's policies restored the government's credit, but they did so at a high political price. Funding the debt, assuming state debts, imposing the unpopular excise taxes that had spurred the Whiskey Rebellion, and establishing the Bank of the United States produced a wide array of enemies and gave them common purpose. Soon enough, systematic resistance grew out of the dispute between Hamilton and Jefferson, and acrimonious political debate became customary.

Americans resisted the idea of political parties, however, because many deemed parties to be pawns of special interests and havens for political corruption. During the colonial and revolutionary periods, factions formed over specific issues, flourished briefly during fierce debates, and then withered once the issues were resolved or fell from interest. In addition, the hardships of the Revolution had united all but the most incorrigible dissenters, and as the government drew legitimacy from the consent of the governed, those who opposed it seemed intent on thwarting the will of the people.

Jefferson and Madison's organized opposition to Hamilton was not only an innovation; it was close to being perceived as a dangerous one. Yet an energetic press campaign by the Jeffersonians, countered by Hamilton's supporters in newspapers of their own, both informed ordinary people of the debate and compelled them to take sides in it. From these shadowy factions, political parties took shape and gradually transformed into regular organizations that sponsored candidates and pushed programs. Hamilton's faction became the Federalists, and Jefferson's became the Democratic-Republicans, frequently abbreviated to Republicans (but not to be confused with the modern-day Republican Party, which came into being over the slavery controversy in the 1850s). Nobody at the time thought this was a helpful development—Jefferson and Madison themselves thought their faction would, like others before them, be a temporary arrangement to meet a passing need—but time would demonstrate otherwise. Despite the bickering and apparent stalemates they frequently engendered, political parties became a crucial element of democratic government. Debate from organized opponents kept in check the political behavior of those in power (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 8).

FOREIGN PROBLEMS: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Domestic policies encouraged the formation of factions that became parties, but arguments over the U.S. response to the French Revolution hardened the divisions and made party formation unavoidable. When the French Revolution began in 1789, most Americans applauded what they perceived as a striving for liberty and equality similar to their own recent revolutionary experience. Yet as Washington's first term drew to a close, revolutionary idealism in France increasingly gave way to paranoia and radicalism. Fearful that other European monarchs intended to restore Louis XVI to complete authority, French revolutionaries inaugurated what would become an almost uninterrupted quarter century of conflict. In late 1792, France proclaimed itself a republic, a move greeted with wild acclaim in the United States, but within months the new republic's most radical elements, styling themselves the Committee of Public Safety, initiated the Reign of Terror, the program of weeding out supposed counterrevolutionaries. In addition to sending thousands to the guillotine, the radical government abolished Christianity, among other sweeping reforms.

Such developments deeply divided American opinion. Federalists were already vaguely suspicious of the extremism early evidenced by some French revolutionaries, and the Terror confirmed their worst fears. Jeffersonians, however, insisted that the ends of liberty occasionally justified even the most excessive means. The debate over such diametrically opposite perceptions was disturbing enough, but when Great Britain joined a coalition—the first of four in the next 20 years—to fight France, the conflict threatened to involve the United States. Specifically, the possibility that France would invoke the Franco-American Alliance of 1778 cast a long shadow in American councils. The 1778 alliance had proved indispensable in helping the United States win independence from Great Britain, and Jefferson and his supporters argued in 1793 that the American debt to France for this assistance required honoring the treaty. President Washington, however, thought that impetuous participation in the European war could be catastrophic for the new nation, and he consequently proclaimed U.S. neutrality. Pro-French Jeffersonians seethed over what they saw as another example of Hamilton's deceit and unseemly manipulation of the aging Washington.

Neutrality became an even harder pill to swallow when Britain consistently provoked Americans by refusing to relinquish northwestern posts in U.S. territory, by stirring the Indians to violence on the frontier, and by assailing American shipping on the high seas. A diplomatic effort to adjust Anglo-American relations led to the unpopular Jay's Treaty, which only enraged the Jeffersonians further and even hurt Washington's personal popularity with the people at large. This agreement was informally named after John Jay, who had negotiated it. Despite its unpopularity, Jay's Treaty led to a felicitous arrangement with Spain. The mere fact of its existence so alarmed Madrid that Spain hurriedly granted the United States free navigation of the Mississippi and abandoned claims to a large stretch of territory in the U.S. southeast (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 9).

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON RETIRES

President Washington's growing dismay over partisan strife in the government was matched by his profound sadness at being the target of increasingly personal attacks in the press. Extremely dispirited, he chose to retire from office after his second term, a decision that surprised his foes as well as his friends. Both camps thought that Washington would remain president until his death, and the news of his departure alarmed them. The quarrels that had marred his second term would now be given free and perhaps disastrous rein in a contest for the presidency—the first truly competitive contest for that office. Given the political climate, some thought it might be the last (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 9–10).

Washington's decision established the tradition for American presidents of limiting their service to two terms, which lasted until 1940, when Franklin D. Roosevelt ran for and won an unprecedented third term. In 1951, the 22nd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution institutionalized the two-term limit for the presidency.

Although Alexander Hamilton was the most eminent member of his faction, his unpopularity precluded him as Washington's successor. Virtually by default, the budding Federalist Party chose Washington's vice president, John Adams. Emerging Republicans united behind Thomas Jefferson. The campaign took a nasty turn with searing personal attacks leveled by the opposing camps, and Jeffersonians reminded the country of the vigorous suppression of the freedom-loving Whiskey Boys and the alleged surrender of American honor in the negotiation of the British treaty. Despite such rancor, the election was held without violent incident, and John Adams narrowly claimed victory without his opponents threatening to void the results with revolution. In fact, under the rules of the day, Jefferson, as runner-up, became Adams's vice president. (In 1804, the 12th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution changed the process to prevent such a politically awkward situation from recurring.)

Hailing from Massachusetts, Adams had a distinguished record as one of the most constant champions of liberty before and during the Revolution, but he was never admired, and though he seemed indifferent to popularity, he nevertheless fretted over his role as Washington's successor. Hamilton intensely disliked him, adding to the uncertainties Adams confronted as the second man to become chief executive of the still-fragile republic. Hamilton had left the treasury in 1795, but he still exercised considerable control through his lieutenants in Adams's cabinet. For his part, Adams completely reciprocated Hamilton's feelings, which did not bode well for a tranquil time in office (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 10).

THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND DISSENT

Adams inherited a deteriorating international situation that soon embroiled the United States in an undeclared war with the French. Angry over Jay's Treaty, France began to waylay American shipping and snubbed Adams's diplomatic envoy. Although the country was incensed, President Adams again tried diplomacy by appointing a three-man commission to meet directly with Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, the French foreign minister. Arriving in Paris in late 1797, the commission discovered that Talleyrand would not meet it unless the United States agreed to substantial bribes and concessions. When news of this behavior reached the United States in 1798, it seemed certain that American anger would lead to war. Overcoming Jeffersonian opposition in Congress, the government expanded the navy and created a sizable army, at least on paper. Meanwhile, shooting broke out on the high seas as U.S. warships clashed with their French counterparts in the West Indies (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 10).

At home, the excitement generated by the conflict resulted in instances of appalling legislative excess. Anti-French sentiment allowed Federalists to pass a series of laws designed to shrink their opponents' numbers and suppress their right to political dissent. A new naturalization law raised the residence requirement for citizenship eligibility from 5 to 14 years, and the Alien Act authorized the president to expel foreigners he deemed dangerous. The worst of the lot was the Sedition Act. Under its provisions, anyone who obstructed government policies or wrongly disparaged government officials, including the president, could be prosecuted and, if found guilty, fined and imprisoned. The Enemy Alien Act carried similar provisions in the event of formal hostilities but was never invoked because Congress never declared war. In any case, President Adams never used the Alien Act.

Despite its clear violation of the First Amendment's protection of free speech, the Sedition Act appeared to Federalists as the only way to contain the violent language that pro-French Jeffersonian newspapers heaped on the government's policies. Scores of editors were charged, and of the 10 who stood trial, all were found guilty by juries frequently badgered by Federalist judges.

Alarmed by these political persecutions, Jefferson secretly drafted a set of resolutions that the Kentucky legislature approved in 1798 and 1799, and James Madison drew up similar though more moderate resolutions that were adopted by the Virginia legislature in 1798. Both sets of resolutions were a skillful statement of the Union from a states' rights perspective, but because no other state would endorse them, they were ineffective in resisting the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Sedition Act expired in March 1801, but before its termination, the measure persuaded many to join the Jeffersonian camp, and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions helped to focus opposition to the Federalist Party and rally the Jeffersonians against Federalist tyranny in the presidential election of 1800.

In the meantime, full-scale war with France was averted by the happy coincidence that neither Adams, despite his clamoring country, nor Talleyrand, despite his imperious behavior, wanted it. France already had too many enemies to add the United States to the list. And true to his fundamental disdain for easy popularity, Adams resisted the swelling call for war against France because he, like Washington before him, believed that the country was still too weak to play at such a perilous game. His return to diplomacy enraged his own party and did little to endear him to suspicious Republicans, but it did lead to the Convention of 1800, a treaty signed in Paris with the new government of Napoleon Bonaparte (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 11).

EXPANSION AND DISCORD: 1800–1810

The presidential election of 1800 sharply defined the formation of the Federalist and Republican parties. Federalists promoted a robust central government that encouraged rather than regulated private enterprise, a stand popular with commercial interests, who generally supported the Federalists. Because this group saw trade with Great Britain as essential to maintaining the country's economic vitality, Federalist foreign policy favored Britain, especially after the outbreak of the French revolutionary wars, although it was hardly the fawning strategy that Jeffersonians depicted (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 11–12).

On the other side, followers of Thomas Jefferson who crystallized into the Republican Party embraced the notion that the government that governed least governed best. Desirous of a weak central government, Republicans harkened back to the Revolutionary generation's worries by proposing that local control of affairs was the surest safeguard against tyranny. They regarded the national debt as a burden on the backs of the people for the benefit of special interests, and they objected to special considerations given to manufacturing interests. In fact, Jefferson and his followers saw agriculture—and with it the implicit result that citizens would be independent landowners—as the bulwark of purity in the Republic. A man who owned his farm was, in Jefferson's view, beholden to no national politician, no British member of parliament, or even a French revolutionary. Nevertheless, Republicans favored the French in foreign policy because they sincerely supposed that the liberal ideals of the French Revolution advanced human freedom, while the British response suppressed it.

As might be deduced, Republicans tended to come from agricultural regions, such as the South and Southwest, while Federalist strength was in commercial New England and the mid-Atlantic coastal areas. Such regional differences coalescing into political parties was not seen as a healthy development, and at the end of the 1790s, the Republic's future seemed in ominous jeopardy. The presidential election of 1800 was to be another challenge for the political stability of the nation, and many were not certain the Union possessed the political maturity necessary to survive it (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 12).

The Election of 1800

As he had in 1796, Jefferson again challenged John Adams for the presidency in 1800, but this time the Federalists were encumbered by the perception that they had suppressed liberty with the Alien and Sedition Acts and by serious divisions in their own ranks. Hamilton's private attacks on Adams were made public and hopelessly split the party. Beset by harsh criticisms from all quarters, the Federalists responded by lashing out at Jefferson personally, accusing him of everything from adultery to atheism (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 12).

Despite such attacks, Jefferson bested Adams in the Electoral College by 73 to 65 votes, largely because of winning New York, but the vote also resulted in a startling stalemate. Ironically, Jefferson had won New York because of his running mate, New Yorker Aaron Burr, but at the same time Burr had received an overall equivalent number of votes as Jefferson in the Electoral College. Voting procedures that did not strictly designate votes for president or vice president caused the difficulty. Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution stipulated that the House of Representatives would resolve such a tie, but the lame-duck Federalist majority in the House was willing to elect Burr over the hated Jefferson. A deadlock ensued in which a frustrating series of ballots rendered no decision until a few Federalists, more fearful of Burr, abstained. Jefferson was finally elected (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 12–13).

Jefferson would refer to this presidential contest as "the Revolution of 1800," but his narrow victory hardly signaled an immense political change. More important and possibly revolutionary in the innovative sense was the orderly transfer of power through a hotly contested and controversial election. Doubts about the growing maturity of the American political system were, at least for the time being, laid to rest.

Less obviously, a great deal had changed, but nobody could have seen it clearly at the time. John Adams would be the last Federalist president, and the Federalist Party itself, once the supreme political statement of the age, would gradually wither and ultimately disappeared after the War of 1812. The party served a vital function in the formation and maintenance of the nation in its early days, but it gradually lost its relevance, especially when it retreated to parochial regionalism and preservation of the status quo. Tending toward elitism, the Federalists became the victims of their own arrogance and were unable to attract the loyalty of ordinary people. That inability, in the changing political and social fortunes of the early Republic, was the surest way to political extinction (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 13).

The Clash with the Judiciary

Thomas Jefferson took the presidential oath on March 4, 1801, the first president to do so in the new national capital of Washington, D.C. The setting was more a village than a town, and its pastoral situation seemed to match the thrift and plainness of the new administration. Indeed, such qualities were mirrored in the simplicity of the new chief executive, who exhibited his connection to ordinary people by strolling to his inauguration. In a famous phrase of his inaugural address—"We are all Republicans," Jefferson said, "we are all Federalists"—he tried to dispel concerns that he would completely overturn the government. Some things, however, were bound to change. Official etiquette was democratized to remove seating arrangements at formal state dinners, and Jefferson adopted surprisingly casual dress for official foreign visitors.

Although determined to preserve continuity in the government, Jefferson was also resolved to reverse intolerable Federalist measures. He pardoned those convicted under the Sedition Act and persuaded Congress to pass a revised Naturalization Act that returned residency requirements to five years. The only part of Hamilton's financial organization that Jefferson touched, however, was the excise taxes, which Congress repealed. Otherwise, he and his secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, did not alter the funding and assumption arrangements or seek to dismantle the Bank of the United States (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 13).

Most of all, Jefferson and his party could not abide what they regarded as a dishonest ploy by the retiring Federalist majority in the final days of the Adams presidency. The Judiciary Act of 1801, passed by lame-duck Federalists, established 16 new federal judicial appointments, as well as additional posts, all of which Adams understandably assigned to Federalists. Although virtually all had been dispensed in the light of day, these appointments were scornfully referred to by Republicans as "midnight judges" to emphasize the alleged deceit behind the Federalist scheme to ensconce partisan obstructionists in lifetime posts (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 13–14).

The Republican Congress repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801 and thus legislatively removed 16 judges by abolishing their posts. Republicans, however, were unable to touch the new Federalist chief justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, who had also been appointed by Adams in the final months of his presidency. Marshall and the Supreme Court were soon embroiled in the struggle between president and courts in a pivotal incident that ended up establishing judicial independence. Adams had appointed William Marbury a justice of the peace for the District of Columbia, but Jefferson's secretary of state James Madison refused to award the commission. When Marbury requested that the Supreme Court compel Madison to make the appointment, Marshall faced a seemingly insoluble dilemma: The executive branch was empowered to enforce the Court's decisions, so how could one compel the executive branch to enforce a decision against itself?

Marshall's decision in the 1803 case of *Marbury v. Madison* was a tour de force, asserting the overarching preeminence of the Court in such a way that the president could not challenge it. Marshall prevented a political confrontation by dismissing Marbury's case, but he did so, he explained, because Marbury's direct application to the Court had been lodged under an unconstitutional federal law, specifically Section 13 of the Judiciary Act of 1789. By altering the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, Congress had legislatively modified the Constitution, something that could be accomplished only through the amending process. Therefore, by denying himself the power to challenge the Jefferson administration, Marshall established the Supreme Court as possessing an even higher authority, which was that of being the final arbiter of the Constitution through judicial review (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 14).

The implications of Marshall's decision were immediately apparent to the Jeffersonians. They resolved to tame the independent (or, in their view, obstructionist) Federalist courts by removing obnoxious judges through impeachment. Jefferson urged that Supreme Court justice Samuel Chase, who had been particularly fervent in enforcing the Sedition Act, be the first target. In early 1804, the House of Representatives impeached Chase for "high crimes and misdemeanors" as stipulated in Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution. The attack on Chase filled John Marshall with considerable apprehension because he believed that its success would set the precedent for removing judges on the flimsy grounds of unpopularity, a lethal blow to judicial independence. Yet when the case was heard in the Senate, it became clear that Chase, while unpleasant, had broken no laws. He was accordingly acquitted, and the precedent was set the other way. The impeachment process would not be an elaborate method of removing judges merely on a vote of no confidence. Judicial independence had survived this serious attack (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 14–15).

Pirates and Property: The Barbary War and the Louisiana Purchase

Americans traditionally distrusted large standing armies, and Jeffersonian Republicans accommodated those misgivings by reducing the military to a constabulary force of less than three thousand officers and men. Interested in retiring the national debt as quickly a possible, the Jefferson administration also reduced naval expenditures. Yet the world proved too dangerous to allow a sweeping dismantling of the navy. Barbary pirates, so named because they operated off the North African (Barbary) coast, practiced a crude form of ransom and blackmail by preying on merchant shipping in the Mediterranean to extract protection money for their rogue governments. For years, the United States had paid such tribute, but in 1801 the greedy pasha of Tripoli upped the stakes by capturing a U.S. warship and enslaving its crew. Jefferson sent the small American navy to punish these brigands, and over the next few years, U.S. frigates in conjunction with U.S. Marines intrepidly suppressed North African piracy. Aside from taming a barbarous lot in the Mediterranean, the exploits of the U.S. Navy fostered in foreign capitals a grudging admiration of American pluck.

More serious and closer to home, the United States faced a grave threat to its security when alarming reports told of a secret bargain in which Spain planned to cede to France vast holdings in the trans-Mississippi region called Louisiana. As if to verify such rumors, in 1802 Spanish authorities in New Orleans revoked the American right of deposit pledged by the 1795 treaty, enraging western farmers who depended on the Mississippi as a way to transport their produce. The domestic upheaval was worrisome, but the possibility of the region passing from weak Spain to the rapacious Napoleon Bonaparte was terrifying. In 1803 the United States mounted a major diplomatic effort to offer France $10 million for at least New Orleans. Indicating the gravity of the American predicament, Jefferson intended to negotiate a British alliance if France would not sell (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 15).

Fortunately for the United States, Napoleon's plans for Louisiana abruptly changed when an ongoing slave rebellion in the West Indian French colony of Saint Dominigue proved impossible to suppress. He was also cash strapped just as he was contemplating reviving the war with Britain. Consequently, he quickly offered not just New Orleans but the entire Louisiana region to the United States. On April 30, 1803, American envoys James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston signed a treaty with France that ceded Louisiana to the United States for about $15 million. Although Federalists objected that the Constitution did not authorize the president to make such arrangements, and Jefferson's strict constructionist philosophy troubled him about the matter as well, the dazzling prize of Louisiana was too tempting to resist. The Senate quickly ratified the treaty, and public opinion registered overwhelming approval for the arrangement (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 15–16).

The Louisiana Purchase was an astonishing transaction that would profoundly alter American lives for generations to come. It provided a measureless expanse for swelling American settlement while establishing the basis for American power in North America and eventually the world. An expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark explored the northern reaches of the Purchase all the way to the Pacific Coast, and one led by Zebulon Pike traced its contours in the Southwest. They were heralds of a rising tide of American pioneers who were already dreaming of populating Jefferson's "Empire of Liberty" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 16).

The Embargo

Jefferson easily won reelection in 1804, but his second term was buffeted by the European war that started up again shortly after Napoleon's sale of Louisiana. The conflict, in fact, would outlive Jefferson's presidency, continuing without interruption for the next 11 years. In 1805 Britain and France began campaigns of economic warfare that gradually entangled U.S. neutral shipping, intimidating it with decrees and regulations designed either to prevent American merchantmen from aiding one side or the other or to prevent American merchantmen from showing any profits at all. Added to this injury was the insult of Britain waylaying American merchant vessels to conscript sailors from their crews, a practice called impressment. The Royal Navy claimed it was only retrieving deserters, but it was difficult to determine whether a seaman was an American citizen or a British runaway, and impressment officers did not usually take much trouble to find out. In 1807, the policy produced a serious crisis when HMS *Leopard* attacked the USS *Chesapeake* off the Virginia coast, killing and wounding several of her crew and forcibly removing four of her sailors. American outrage could have meant war, but Jefferson believed a thorough stoppage of all trade with the world would force France as well as Britain to respect American neutral rights. Accordingly, he persuaded Congress to pass the Embargo Act in December 1807, which stopped all exports from the United States whether in American or foreign ships (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 16).

Jefferson's grand experiment in economic coercion failed miserably. Rather than injuring France and Britain, the embargo devastated the American economy. As Americans increasingly violated the embargo with smuggling and other deceptions, the government employed increasingly draconian measures to maintain it. Eventually Americans were comparing Jefferson's extreme enforcement of the embargo to the excesses of British policy before the Revolution, and some in New England were discussing disunion. Congress finally abolished the embargo on March 1, 1809, by replacing it with the Non-Intercourse Act, a measure that banned trade with only England and France. Beginning with this modification of the embargo, both Congress and Jefferson's successor, James Madison, searched for an effective form of economic coercion for the next three years as they tried to protect American interests and rights with peaceful gestures rather than belligerent ones. Ultimately, they failed (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 16–17).

WAR AND RESURGENCE: 1810–1820

Coping with the European war dominated James Madison's presidency. Madison was more of a scholar than a politician, and he lacked the magnetism that Jefferson had used to lead the Republican Party. Even Jefferson's ability to beguile the nation had waned at the close of his administration. Madison did not fare any better at the start of his.

When James Madison took office on March 4, 1809, the Non-Intercourse Act was less than a week old and would never prove effective during the year of its existence. Congress replaced the act with Macon's Bill No. 2 in 1810, an even less effective measure that merely encouraged Napoleon Bonaparte to hoodwink Madison into believing that France alone was ending its depredations against U.S. shipping. Ignoring evidence that Napoleon was continuing his rapacious policies, Madison exclusively targeted Britain, a move that had momentous consequences. The administration's anti-British policy was not necessarily pro-French, but it essentially inclined America toward France and therefore made war with Britain more likely (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 17).

The War of 1812

The 12th Congress, which convened in late 1811, contained a number of firebrands, mostly from the West and the South, whose passionate calls for war against Britain would earn them the name "War Hawks." They were young men who not only chafed under the insults of British depredations against U.S. neutral rights but also were convinced that Britain was responsible for Indian uprisings on the western frontiers. With the cry of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," the War Hawk faction was instrumental in forcing the reluctant Madison to a moment of decision with Britain. Finally the president sent a war message to Congress in June 1812, and after a heated and divisive debate, the United States declared war on Great Britain at the end of the month.

From the outset, it was an unpopular war, especially in New England, where public displays of dissent gradually evolved into a serious antiadministration movement among New England Federalists. Although the war's main support was from agrarian sections, it was truly fought for seafaring rights, seen by farmers as imperative for protecting the honor and preserving the credibility of the flag. Yet the war disrupted the New England economy, and its origins struck many Federalists, who regarded Napoleon's France as the greater enemy of liberty, as shrouded in Republican duplicity. As a consequence, New England militias frequently refused to serve outside their state boundaries, hobbling the prosecution of the war (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 17).

Indeed, the War of 1812 was badly fought from the outset. The populace was never enthusiastic about it; therefore, the country was at best largely indifferent and was at worst divided by serious political disagreements. The country was also unprepared for the conflict. Its economy was weak, its regular army was meager, undisciplined, and commanded by aging fossils, and its militia was inadequately trained and occasionally spineless. Laboring under such disadvantages, the government in 1812 sought to mount aggressive campaigns on the Canadian border, but each effort proved predictably ineffective. British and Canadian forces, aided by Indian allies, met American invasions with vigorous defenses. Only scanty British numbers and London's preoccupation with the war against Napoleon prevented the affair from becoming an American disaster.

Meanwhile, heavy frigates in the small U.S. Navy bested British counterparts in several single-ship engagements that so disturbed the British Admiralty that it ordered captains to avoid individual actions against Americans. The boost to American morale was brief, though, for in 1813 the Royal Navy arrived off North America in such force as to blockade the American coast and bottle up the U.S. frigates. The British also carried out raids on Chesapeake Bay and by 1814 had extended their blockade from New England to Georgia while seizing parts of Maine.

Americans fared better on the Great Lakes. In 1813 Oliver Hazard Perry's Lake Erie squadron defeated a British flotilla off Put-in-Bay on September 10, 1813, and opened the way for American land forces to shatter the Anglo-Indian alliance in the region. Also in 1813, war erupted in the South between Creek Indian nativists (called Red Sticks) and U.S. forces, but in the following year, Andrew Jackson ended the Creek War by crushing the Red Sticks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on March 27. Such military successes were alloyed by the occurrence of atrocities and reprisals directed against civilians. In late 1813, retreating U.S. forces destroyed the village of Newark on the Niagara Peninsula, and the British response was a harsh campaign of devastation on the New York frontier. Likewise, the British cited the American destruction of York (present-day Toronto) in 1813 as justifying their capture of Washington on August 24, 1814, during which they burned several public buildings, including the Capitol and the Executive Mansion, which was not known as the White House until after its renovation, when it was whitewashed (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 18).

Napoleon's defeat in 1814 freed up British forces in Europe to prosecute the war in America with greater vigor. In addition to the assault on Washington, a veteran British army invaded upstate New York but was repulsed after the U.S. Navy defeated a British squadron on Plattsburgh Bay on September 11, 1814. In the same month, a combined British naval and army assault on Baltimore failed when American defenders withstood the naval bombardment of Fort McHenry and held off a land attack on the city's outskirts. An American lawyer named Francis Scott Key commemorated the U.S. victory in his poem "The Star-Spangled Banner." As British forces left Chesapeake Bay to mount an operation against New Orleans on the American Gulf Coast, New England Federalists, unable to contain their anger about the war any longer, gathered at Hartford, Connecticut, to consider ways of remedying their complaints. The Hartford Convention met from December 15, 1814, to January 5, 1815, approving a set of relatively modest resolutions. Yet the convention's actions prompted the rest of the country to suspect the Federalists' patriotism, suspicions that eventually doomed the party as a viable political force (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 18–19).

Although the British had refused Russian mediation offers immediately after the war broke out, their initial attempts to secure an armistice were telling. The overarching concern of the British government was always to defeat Napoleon, and London viewed the American conflict as a distraction from that primary task. After some protracted diplomatic maneuvering, peace talks between American and British envoys commenced at Ghent in August 1814, but the timing persuaded the British diplomats to stall the negotiations. Napoleon's defeat in the previous spring and the corresponding expansion of the British military in North America made decisive victories against the United States more likely. Yet news of British setbacks at Plattsburgh and Baltimore chilled those hopes. In addition, the nearly quarter century it had taken to defeat France had fatigued both the British public and its government. The longing for peace was reinforced when Britain's premier military hero, the Duke of Wellington, advised London to make arrangements quickly with the Americans on the best terms possible.

The talks in Ghent subsequently sped to a conclusion. Because the end of the war in Europe removed the practical necessity for impressment, Americans were able to discard their demand for its formal renunciation. In a similar gesture of practical conciliation, the British gave up their plans to alter the U.S.-Canadian border and set up a northwestern Indian barrier state between the United States and Canada. With the removal of these mutually unacceptable conditions, a treaty was signed on December 24, 1814, based simply on the *status quo antebellum*—the state of affairs before the war. Although hostilities closed with virtually all of the war's official causes unresolved, both time and circumstances had made those issues less relevant. Moreover, by the time the treaty arrived in the United States for Senate deliberation and ratification, a significant event persuaded many Americans that the United States had won the war. Unaware of the close of negotiations two weeks earlier, the British had assaulted New Orleans on January 8, 1815, and had been crushed by a makeshift force mainly composed of frontiersmen under Andrew Jackson. Raucous celebrations of this astonishing battlefield success accompanied unanimous Senate ratification of the Treaty of Ghent, convincing many that the two events were related and hence indications of U.S. victory (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 19).

The United States thus emerged from the War of 1812 surprisingly energized by the experience. The controversy and angry debate that had impeded the war effort, the political alienation of New England, and the generally miserable showing of U.S. forces in the field were quickly forgotten as swelling patriotism and pride inspired Americans to pursue expansive national aspirations. The removal of British power in the Northwest and the defeat of the region's Indians during the war accelerated settlement on that frontier. Similarly, Jackson's devastation of Red Stick Creeks in the South encouraged rapid settlement of that frontier as well. Americans thus looked westward, and pioneering again became a foremost part of the national philosophy (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 19–20).

The Indomitable American

Amplified American nationalism was the most obvious result of the war, and it worked a palpable change on American life. The unexpected triumphs at the end of the War of 1812 were a factor in the creation of this new nationalistic spirit, but there was more to it than simply a visceral pride over presumably besting Britain. For the first time since the Revolution, the United States could assert a real economic and political independence from European powers. Literature and art began to focus more exclusively on American settings, depicting admirable American characters and celebrating fabulous American landscapes.

Napoleon Bonaparte once said, "There is only one step from the sublime to the ridiculous." The observation was particularly, but differently, applicable both to him and to the United States in 1815. Refusing to accept defeat, Bonaparte had tried to recapture his imperial throne in France, escaping from exile on the cloistered little Mediterranean isle of Elba. But his fortunes collapsed at Waterloo in June, and he was permanently banished to the forlorn Saint Helena, a South Atlantic island half a world away from Europe. Meanwhile, across the Atlantic in the fall of 1814, the third session of the 13th Congress could not meet in the Capitol because the British had gutted it in August. Instead, representatives and senators crowded into the Patent

Office, one of the few public buildings the British had spared. Congress thought about moving the nation's capital from Washington but finally decided to keep the government there and restore its buildings on the Potomac. As a testament to this faith in the future, Congress also voted to reestablish its library. Thomas Jefferson's massive private collection of books, purchased from the former president, formed the basis for this new Library of Congress, a repository that eventually dwarfed those of ancient Alexandria and Athens. Bonaparte would likely have sneered at such a gesture. Yet those congressmen had actually reversed Napoleon's aphorism, just as the advent of the United States had reversed the era's ugly tendency to despotism manifested, for one, in people like Napoleon Bonaparte. Neither Napoleon nor the succession of autocrats in various lands who followed him down through the twentieth century ever understood why those Americans in the ridiculous setting of their smoldering capital could, with one small step, envision a sublime tomorrow framed by new buildings and informed by old books (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 20).

A New Economy

The government chartered another Bank of the United States in 1816. Anti-bank sentiment had allowed the first bank to lapse in 1811, but the clear requirements of financing the conflict with Britain turned the opposition of Jeffersonian Republicans, who had been harshly tutored by the war, into support for the new national bank.

Americans also had a growing manufacturing capability after the war, partly boosted by the U.S. policy of commercial restriction in the years before the conflict. When British merchants tried to muscle in on the American market after 1815, they cut their prices so drastically that American factories could not compete, and Congress responded by passing a protective tariff. Rather than having as its main purpose the raising of revenue, the Tariff of 1816 was designed to shield American manufacturers from foreign competition by placing as much as a 25 percent duty on imports. The move was extremely popular in manufacturing regions, for obvious reasons, but southerners also supported the tariff in the interest of promoting American economic independence. Parts of New England, however, opposed it because of qualms that it would hinder their shipping trade. Ironically, these regional attitudes would be reversed in a few years as the agrarian South caviled over having to purchase northern manufactured goods made more expensive by protectionism. New England would increasingly move toward manufacturing as the famous textile mills sprouted in the years after the war and would accordingly call for increasing levels of protection.

After the war, Kentuckian Henry Clay, the most prominent War Hawk in the 1812 Congress, hatched a plan of interlocking initiatives designed to accelerate and sustain American economic independence. Dubbed the American System, Clay's plan would protect American industry with high protective tariffs, whose revenues would be managed by the national bank to fund the construction of an elaborate transportation system of roads and canals. Debate over the viability, fairness, and constitutionality of Clay's tripartite system of tariffs, national bank, and internal improvements would frame the American economic conversation for a generation.

In the short term, Republican presidents James Madison and his successor James Monroe drew back from wholeheartedly endorsing the use of federal money for projects within a single state, occasionally wielding their veto to cancel undertakings that would do so (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 21).

Beneath the exhilaration and confidence of the Era of Good Feelings, then, were signs of brewing trouble. Arguments over Clay's American System unsettled political discourse, and the new Bank of the United States (BUS) was increasingly at the center of the quarrel. Ultimately an attack on the BUS by a state government came before the Supreme Court in the 1819 case of *McCullough v. Maryland.* The case involved the constitutionality of a tax that Maryland had imposed on the BUS and by extension the constitutionality of the bank itself. Chief Justice John Marshall, who had bolstered the central authority of the government in previous key decisions, spoke for a unanimous Supreme Court. He ruled that the BUS was constitutional on the basis of implied powers that sanctioned the central government's employing necessary and proper means to promote the public welfare. Furthermore, the Court ruled that Maryland (and by extension all the states) had no authority to tax federal institutions. Marshall observed in one of his most famous pronouncements that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy" and rejected the notion that the people of the United States would consent to grant individual states with such power (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 21–22) (Hall et al. 1991, 131).

Marshall's decision could make the BUS legitimate (at least for the time being), but it could not make it popular. In 1819, the same year as the McCullough case, a severe financial panic littered the economic landscape with failed banks, mushrooming unemployment, and ruined investors. Part of the cause for the disaster was an overexuberant speculation in western lands and other speculative projects, a bubble that was bound to burst sooner or later. Yet the early policies of the BUS, which encouraged rather than restrained reckless credit ventures, were also to blame, and the central bank's efforts to control irresponsible local banks in the wake of the crash worsened hardship by forcing foreclosures and bankruptcies. The years of heady boom had suddenly turned to catastrophic bust, and the many who blamed the BUS would not forget the hard times (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 22).

Expanding America

James Monroe, elected to the presidency in 1816, enjoyed a brief period of national unity and goodwill prompted by heightened patriotism and economic optimism. During his presidential tour of New England in 1817, a Boston newspaper giddily announced the dawning of a new age in American politics and auspiciously, if somewhat awkwardly, christened it the "Era of Good Feelings" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 22) (Dangerfield 1965, 35).

During the years after the War of 1812, the United States also exhibited a more aggressive foreign policy. Monroe was fortunate to have John Quincy Adams as his secretary of state, for the erudite son of the second president was an extraordinary statesman and a match for any diplomatic adversary. Under Adams's stewardship, the United States finalized an important treaty with Britain in 1818 that settled the U.S.-Canadian border westward to the Rocky Mountains and arranged for mutual access to the Oregon country in the Pacific Northwest (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 22).

The status of Spanish Florida proved even more challenging for the Monroe administration, especially when Latin American revolutions threatened to collapse the Spanish Empire. As Madrid tried to summon the resources to suppress revolts in Argentina, Venezuela, and Chile, the Spanish drastically reduced garrisons in Florida, with the result that lawless anarchy became the prevailing condition on the Georgia border. When Florida's Seminole Indians took to raiding into Georgia, Monroe authorized Andrew Jackson to pursue them into Florida. Jackson was under orders to steer clear of any Spaniards, but his 1818 campaign completely disregarded the government's instructions for restraint. He executed two prominent Indians without a hearing and summarily put to death two British subjects after a quick court-martial. He marched on and seized two Spanish posts, including the Spanish capital of West Florida at Pensacola (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 22–23).

Several factors complicated framing a response to Jackson's flagrant violation of his orders. The most prominent was his great popularity—he was routinely referred to as the Hero of New Orleans—but another equally significant point was his obvious disregard for constitutional restrictions that made declaring war the exclusive prerogative of Congress. As Congress investigated the matter, the Monroe administration debated behind closed doors about the proper stand to take. Almost everyone wanted either to repudiate Jackson's behavior or to chastise him, but Adams persuaded the president to use Jackson's precipitous invasion as a way to pry Florida from Spain. Presented with the stark alternative of possibly losing Florida to the United States through military fiat or negotiating its cession through diplomatic procedure, Madrid chose the latter. The result was the 1819 Florida Purchase Treaty, somewhat misnamed because Spain also consented to draw a transcontinental line from Louisiana westward to the Rockies and then up to the 42nd parallel, extending to the Pacific Coast. By separating American and Spanish possessions in the whole of North America, the 1819 treaty not only presented the United States with Florida but also bolstered American claims to the vast Oregon country in the Pacific Northwest. Congress consented to this arrangement, and the essential illegality of Andrew Jackson's conduct was brushed away by his immense popularity and the success of the mission (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 23).

Slavery

Heated quarrels over slavery and its future soon troubled the Era of Good Feelings. The introduction of slavery early in the colonial period had been one of the most troubling developments of English colonization. The revolutionary generation struggled with the inconsistency of fighting for liberty while holding people in bondage, but southern economic dependence on slaves compelled the Founders to compromise on this most fundamental principle of human freedom. The result was an elemental inconsistency in the American social and political structure that could not be ignored forever. As slavery was ultimately confined to the agrarian South, the budding controversy became a sectional issue that would increasingly pit the South against the North, especially concerning the possible extension of slavery into the West (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 23).

In 1819, the Missouri Territory sought admission to the Union as a slave state and set off a furious debate. It had become clear that the South was falling behind the North in population, as the growing northern majority in the House of Representatives showed. With free and slave states each numbering 11, southern equality in the Senate would be jeopardized if Missouri became free, but such cold calculations of political power struck antislavery advocates as amoral at best. In 1820, the Missouri Compromise finally broke the congressional stalemate by admitting Maine as a free state to balance Missouri's admission as a slave state. In an effort to forestall future disagreements, the southern boundary of Missouri, the line of 36°30', was designated as the northern boundary of slavery for the rest of the Louisiana Purchase (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 23–24).

In this episode, the country had its first taste of the controversy that would eventually split the Union and plunge its people into the Civil War. Events leading to that cataclysm would unfold in the four decades following 1820, evolving so gradually that those living through them did not altogether grasp their ominous significance. It is not surprising, then, that most Americans in 1820 only vaguely comprehended the dreadful potential of the slavery debate. In fact, most were relieved that the difficult question of Missouri had been politically resolved with such an orderly solution. The moral inconsistency of slavery in a free republic, however, remained, and the debate that contemplated that moral question was a monster that in 1819 had stirred but not completely awakened. It would not slumber forever (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 24).

Domestic Life

The Republic's first three decades saw both remarkable change and admirable stability. The country experienced incredibly divisive political debates during the 1790s, but successfully managed a real transition of power without succumbing to violent passions that could undermine the government and weaken the constitutional framework. Instead, the United States was strong enough to withstand threats from abroad and tolerate dissent at home. Economic misfortunes, some quite serious, and even war with powerful Britain did not corrode the American spirit or daunt the American purpose. At the end of the War of 1812, a renewed sense of determination accompanied a surging patriotism to promote nationalism and unity. Pioneers trekked westward while back East, surveyors, engineers, and architects cut roads, dug canals, and raised cities along them. Thoughtful men penned stories and narratives celebrating the American spirit, and artists depicted the boundless optimism of a land without limits and a people eager to populate it (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 24).

By 1820, many of the problems of the so-called Era of Good Feelings seemed solvable, and it appeared that extraordinary accord would be the order of the new day dawning. Yet as the Federalist Party fell victim to charges of disloyalty and saw its program co-opted by the opposition, Republicans saw less need for unity and more reason to argue with each other. Southerners still grumbled over what they perceived as a shifty assault on slavery in the Missouri debates, while antislavery forces muttered that the resulting compromise revealed the nation's moral compass as badly askew. The economic crash in 1819 and subsequent depression replaced prosperity with poverty, substituted empty storefronts for bustling emporiums, and made eager workers into idle debtors (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 24–25).

The American experience of the day, contrasting periods of glowing confidence suddenly overshadowed by the appearance of hardships and uncertainties, is both sobering and inspiring. Despite the real bounty of the American land, it required great toil and considerable sacrifice to develop it. The native populations who inhabited the land posed an impediment to white settlement, and the resolution of that issue became a moral dilemma of considerable importance. Although the wide happiness of human liberty was truly extraordinary, the legions of slaves exposed the fact that liberty was imperfectly realized and incompletely enjoyed. The great promise of financial security could prove fleeting, an ephemeral dream knocked into reality by events far from one's home and unfathomable to one's imagination. And through it all, the ordinary man, woman, and child moved with a mixture of hope and hesitation into the future (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 25).

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Most marriages during the colonial period were arrangements whose primary goal was to benefit the families involved, a practice that emulated European traditions colonists had brought with them to British North America. For instance, it was not unheard of for a father to withhold the inheritance of a son who married against the family's wishes. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, courting couples themselves increasingly decided whom to marry and when. And just as the philosophy of marriage changed to deem the happiness of the couple as most important, so a couple's affection for each other became the crucial factor for starting a courtship and sustaining it to the altar. Parents, then as now, especially fathers, continued to express opinions about the suitability of suitors or prospective brides, but their children more and more made their own decisions of the heart. The new emphasis on affection as the basis for marriage also afforded young people more freedom during courtship rituals. Unchaperoned couples took strolls to steal kisses and attended parties where dancing allowed a degree of public intimacy. Not until later, in the mid- to late nineteenth century, did the Victorian era become so preoccupied with public appearance and private morality that middle- and upper-class couples had little time alone before marriage. The early Republic, on the contrary, was more broad-minded and less prudish. Without chaperones, for instance, premarital sex occurred on occasion, but young women during these years were not sexually reckless, and promiscuity was almost unheard of (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 27).

Given more say about whom they married, couples waited longer to wed. Part of the delay was born of caution, for given the freedom to choose a mate, they tended to be more deliberate and less impetuous. Also postponing marriage allowed for the male to acquire enough resources to start a family. Women married between their late teens to mid-twenties and men usually in their mid-twenties.

After a couple decided to marry, few family obstacles stood in their way. During the colonial period, fathers rarely allowed a daughter to marry before her older sisters because doing so could dissuade possible suitors from calling on them. In the new climate, older sisters still tended to marry first, but only because they reached marriageable age earlier. Their weddings were no longer required before the family's younger girls could be courted.

Marriage ceremonies in the early Republic were simple and unpretentious. They usually took place at the bride's home. Couples wore their best clothes, but only the wealthy bought special attire for the occasion. Neighbors treated weddings as a chance to socialize and made the events more celebratory than serious. Newlyweds made merry with the guests before retiring at the home of either the bride's or the groom's parents. During the night, wedding guests often serenaded them with both ribald and romantic songs (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 28).

Married Life

Because of the difficulty of travel and the need to earn a living, wedding trips were a thing of the future and even then generally only enjoyed by the wealthy. Instead, most couples quickly settled into a routine after the wedding. At most, newlyweds might briefly visit nearby friends before embarking on the hard work of setting up a household. Most people believed marriage should bring happiness and fulfillment to husband and wife alike, a relatively new idea that differed from prevailing attitudes during earlier times. Couples in the early Republic sought loving companionship and affectionate devotion, a sentiment reflected by literature, letters, and diaries that spoke of romantic love as the most important factor in a blissful and gratifying marriage. Changing expectations likewise brought changes in behavior. A marriage that emphasized affectionate friendship tended to be happier and thus reduced incidents of infidelity, especially by husbands, and married life exhibited new habits of demonstrative familiarity that would have been unthinkable in former years. Couples openly expressed their feelings, calling each other by first or even pet names, and frequently disclosed to each other in intimate letters their sexual yearnings, especially when apart (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 28).

The hope for happiness also meant that its absence was something to be corrected. Couples who found themselves mismatched were able to seek remedies that at best had been extremely rare for earlier unhappy marriages. Divorce was certainly not widespread, but neither was it unimaginable, especially when its emotional liberation was likened to the political liberation that resulted from the Revolution. Women no longer had to tolerate in silence their husbands' adultery, and men whose wives had deserted them no longer had to live like widowers to preserve the fiction of the union. New England and Pennsylvania made significant changes in their divorce laws to allow easier dissolution of marriages, and though several decades passed before laws were similarly liberalized in other parts of the country, attitudes about this difficult and previously forbidden subject were changing everywhere (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 28–29).

Despite the emphasis on companionship in marriage, sharply defined gender roles described differing responsibilities both to society and within the family. In both urban and rural settings, women took the primary part in nurturing the family's children. Unlike in earlier times, couples seldom toiled together to produce or acquire the family's basic material needs, especially in villages and towns, where men left the home to work at day jobs while their wives cared for the children. A mother's task included the cultivation of her children's talents and their preparation for adult responsibilities (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 29).

Sexual Relations and Childbirth

During the early Republic, most people got married and had children. Though families were usually smaller than during the colonial period, numbering about four children and two parents, they were still larger than the average western European family. Ignoring increase through immigration, a healthy American appetite for sexual activity is indicated by the considerable population growth between 1790 and 1820. A comparison of birth and marriage records also shows that in some parts of the country, a third of brides were already pregnant when they went to the altar. Premarital sex has always occurred, of course, but the greater freedom for courting couples everywhere and the persistence of bundling in rural areas likely contributed to this large number. In any case, bundling was an eccentric custom, especially for New England, where it had been most prevalent, and by the early nineteenth century, it was in disfavor, for obvious reasons. A suitor who stayed late was spared a long trip home in the dark by sharing his girl's bed, sometimes with a board between them or some other equally ineffective method, such as remaining clothed, to prohibit sexual intimacy.

Illegitimacy was quite rare, but it did occur. Growing cities meant an increase in the vices encouraged by the anonymity of large populations and the corresponding absence of social constraints. Prostitution consequently increased the number of illegitimate children in urban areas (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 29).

Childbirth everywhere was usually looked on as a hallowed and celebratory event, but it was also an occasion for great anxiety. Complications were common and could be deadly for both mother and infant, and the absence of routine antiseptic medical practices imperiled even the most robust newborns. A local midwife—in the South, she was often a female slave—usually presided over the delivery with other women from the community and family assisting. The protracted nature of labor, the shared purpose of the midwife and her assistants, and their expectations for a happy result often imparted the flavor of a party to the occasion. It was hardly a merry event for the prospective mother, however. Rather than reclining on a bed, she squatted on a midwife's stool to facilitate the birth and prayed that her trust in tradition was not misplaced. Midwives varied greatly in their skill levels. An older practitioner in the community usually trained apprentices, a form of mentoring that was not as detailed, of course, but otherwise resembled that for most physicians. Late in the period, some urban areas boasted deliveries performed by doctors, but their skill levels often varied as much as those of midwives. In addition, a male doctor not only deprived childbirth of the shared joviality of bustling women but in some ways increased the risks of the actual delivery. A male doctor was bound by canons of modesty that severely hindered any special proficiency he brought to the task. The woman was cloaked in such way that the doctor, unlike a midwife, could not watch the progress of delivery but could only feel it with his hands and instruments (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 29–30).

In farming communities, most births occurred in early spring, indicating that conception took place in early summer. Slaves, however, tended to conceive in the fall and had their babies in mid- to late summer. With the exception of women on the western frontier, women in the early Republic had fewer children during their most fertile years. In earlier times, married women usually were pregnant every other year, but between 1790 and 1820, the birthrate dropped steadily, particularly among the middle and upper classes, as many couples consciously used birth control to limit the size of their families. The decision was partly an economic one and was partly motivated by the belief that fewer children allowed the mother more time for individual nurturing. In established areas of settlement, even farmers ceased to view a large family as the blessing it had been before labor-saving implements reduced the need for many hands in the fields (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 30).

The decline in birthrate indicated a greater degree of cooperation between husbands and wives over the most intimate matters of their relationship. It certainly pointed to the wife's developing importance in making essential family decisions, even in the face of the traditional view that a woman's primary duty was bearing and raising children. Only a minority of the medical community sanctioned birth control, and most doctors actively discouraged it as unnatural. In any case, all methods of contraception were unpredictable at best. The primary method was male withdrawal before ejaculation, a technique called *coitus interruptus*. It was not a sure guard against pregnancy, however, and some doctors warned that the practice could be psychologically harmful and in some cases physically injurious by leaving the woman sexually unfulfilled. Condoms made from animal bladders were available but unpopular because they dulled penile sensation. Couples might attempt a pseudoscientific version of the rhythm method, but nobody really understood how a woman's menstrual cycle influenced fertility, the mechanics of conception not being discovered until 1827 (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 30–31).

Unintended pregnancy was consequently a likely possibility. Most women who became unexpectedly pregnant either greeted their condition as a happy accident or grimly reconciled themselves to the duties of expectant motherhood. Very few resorted to abortion, a practice that ironically increased dramatically during the later Victorian era. The early Republic had no specific laws against abortion, but most states recognized English common law, which made it illegal to kill a fetus after it quickened, meaning after its movements indicated life in the womb. The first state laws prohibiting abortion did not come until after 1820, so it is not clear why the early Republic essentially rejected abortion as a method of birth control. Perhaps the Second Great Awakening, a widespread revival of evangelical Christianity in which women played a major role, restrained the practice on moral grounds. In addition, surgical abortions were extremely dangerous procedures that could trigger hemorrhaging and frequently caused serious infections. Abortions induced by drugs were also risky and always painful. In this case, moral compunction and physical fear were far more powerful curbs than legislation (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 31).

Republican Mothers

Most wives became mothers within a year and a half of marriage and usually nursed their babies for about one year. In some cases, particularly in the plantation South, wet nurses, frequently slaves who had infants of their own, nursed the baby. During these years, however, the use of wet nurses was in decline. Most new mothers were allowed a period of rest or confinement for about one month. This period varied, depending on how much the new mother was needed for work around the home or business. Slave women were given much less time to recuperate from childbirth (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 31) (Kerber 1997, 58).

Before the Revolution, women led lives of relative isolation. Restricted by poor transportation and saddled with never-ending chores, most women cooked, cleaned, bore and raised children, and finally died without having set foot much beyond sight of their modest homes. Then dramatic changes loomed. In one respect, the American Revolution's exhilarating rhetoric of liberty was not limited to the political arena, as women made considerable contributions to the drive for independence. Many women enthusiastically sustained boycotts of British goods during the growing tensions before the war, and women provided significant moral and material support to patriot armies after the war began. Afterward few people seriously considered giving women any role, let alone an important one, in the running of the government, but perceptions nonetheless dramatically changed about women's responsibility to preserve what the Revolution had achieved. In sharp contrast to earlier views of women as morally fragile, spiritually delicate, intellectually anemic, and physically weak, women were now described as the morally superior sex and therefore uniquely competent to mold the next generation of Americans, the one that would either sustain the brittle experiment in liberty or lose the Republic to tyranny. The concept of republican motherhood that exhorted women to impart their superior virtues to their children was more than a plan to create good citizens; it was a way to fashion a great nation. While the men of the new republic supported their families, the nation's women would prepare their little boys to maintain democratic government and teach their little girls how to become republican mothers themselves. For years, tradition had dictated that women almost exclusively rear their children because men were busy doing more important things. Now, for many, there was the realization that "the formation of the moral and intellectual character of the young is committed mainly to the female hand." In the early Republic, raising a child to meet the nation's challenging and uncertain future became the most important job in the world, one far too vital to entrust to the workaday practicality of men (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 31–32) (Mintz and Kellogg 1988, 57).

At least that was the theory. In application, it lost some of the luster. In preparing for their key role in shaping society, young American women enjoyed more opportunities for education and relations outside the home than their European counterparts, but the education was of a sort and the relationships were of a type calculated to promote a specific purpose. Because men still viewed women as intellectually unqualified to absorb political theory, girls' curricula consisted of texts that celebrated the virtuous life and guided them to cultivate a pure heart. They were to pass on these virtues to their offspring. Such as they were, even these tedious educational experiences usually vanished after a woman married and had children. Republican mothers were too busy for much else besides motherhood. It would be wrong to suppose that all women felt trapped by their place in life or deprived because of the distinctive burdens that station placed on them. Contentment in family and a sense of making important contributions to society by raising good children seems to have fulfilled all but the most restless women of the early Republic (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 32).

Fatherhood

Fatherhood did not so much involve power and authority over wife and children as it did a duty to provide for them. Like mothers, fathers were expected to be more nurturing than authoritative in meeting their responsibilities. The father had an obligation to ensure the family's material comfort, support his wife's efforts to instill Republican values in the children, and serve as an example of upright behavior. Since work usually took him away from the household during the day, his family became a refuge from the routines of his job, and children, who in earlier times had represented a source of income or labor, now became a solace. Farmers taught their sons horticulture, and artisans in towns and villages trained their sons in trade (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 32).

FAMILY LIFE

By the early nineteenth century, the urban family no longer acted like an economic enterprise for which all members except the youngest children worked. Even on many farms, this significant change evolved as the family became less self-contained and began purchasing goods rather than making them. Parents bought cloth rather than weaving it and even shopped for ready-to-wear clothes. Items such as candles, soap, and shoes, previously produced by tedious labor, were becoming available at stores and freed family members to spend more time together in leisure and recreational pursuits. Almost all families read the Bible aloud, and particularly pious homes featured morning and evening prayers. More secular readings included newspapers, various instructional and religious tracts, periodicals, and even novels. Sunday morning church attendance was customary, with families always sitting together during services in most churches (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 33).

Dwellings

The family spent most of its time together at home. The average house was larger than most colonial homes, but still small by modern standards. An ordinary farmer or his urban counterpart, the artisan or laborer, seldom had more than two or three rooms in his house. The front or public room served as the cooking area, the sitting and eating area, and usually the sleeping area for younger children. Only parents had a private bedroom. Children slept several to a bed, segregated by gender, usually in the public room or a loft. If prosperous, the family might have separate bedrooms for girls and boys, but even the wealthiest households seldom boasted private bedrooms for children. Except for the cradle, beds were sized for adults and could accommodate several children.

Bedrooms were functional sleeping quarters rather than aesthetic retreats, containing only those items of furniture needed for a night's rest. Beds were valued as among the most precious furnishings in a house—people often specifically bequeathed them along with other household treasures—while other fine furniture was kept in the house's public areas. A straw-stuffed mattress was the usual bedding for the poor, while the affluent had feather beds. Only the wealthiest people used more than one room for entertaining visitors, and even middle-class homes generally lacked a separate dining area. Most people ate in the kitchen. In the South, wealthy planters placed kitchens in separate buildings to reduce heat and avoid fire dangers in the main house. As a result, the convention evolved of having a room set aside especially for dining (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 33).

Most houses were decorated quite simply, with few if any floor coverings and no artwork or decorations on the walls. Instead, walls served as a place to hang utensils, clothes, or guns. The public area had only enough chairs, stools, and benches to seat the family and a few guests. Clocks and mirrors were luxuries until late in the period, when better manufacturing methods made them affordable. Until then, only the affluent possessed a clock, usually placed on the mantel, and mirrors were quite rare (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 33–34).

Nearly all houses were constructed simply. They were framed with mortise-and-tenon joints and covered with whatever material was locally available and readily made, such as boards, clapboards, stone, or brick. Log houses were built only on the frontier. In rural areas, the community might pitch in to build a neighbor's house; otherwise, local carpenters fashioned and assembled most dwellings. Though each region of the country had its own distinctive style, some features were common to all. Except in the cities, for instance, houses rarely sat parallel to the closest road. Instead, they were situated to take advantage of the angle of the sun. In the North, most houses faced east so that the morning sun would warm them quickly.

For most Americans, houses were functional and reasonably comfortable dwellings that seldom featured fashionable architecture or pointless frills. Only the wealthy painted their houses or landscaped their grounds, and the area around ordinary houses was usually cluttered with debris and rubbish. Animals roamed the yard, their droppings remaining where they fell, and garbage was simply tossed out of windows and remained on the ground until a sizable accumulation signaled the time to bury it. Gardens were for vegetables rather than scenery, and no one but the affluent ever considered the wasteful practice of planting a lawn. Most wives worked at keeping the inside of their houses tidy and fairly clean, but even the most fastidious housekeeper lost the battle to dust, especially in the summer, when windows always remained open. By the end of the period, manufactured brooms were making housekeeping a bit easier, a sign that cleanliness in general was becoming more important.

The rich in both cities and countryside, however, set the standard to which many lower- and middle-class families aspired. Their affinity for Georgian architecture imported from Britain created the popular Federal style, a uniquely American version of the Georgian motif widely displayed in mansions that celebrated order and symmetry. Only a privileged few ever lived in such homes, but the middle class began to emulate the habits of the affluent in dining, leisure, and child rearing. By the end of the period, people saw the home as the place where the family should be most comfortable, the better to enjoy each other's company (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 34).

Relationships

During the early Republic, the family changed from an economic unit into a social refuge whose leisure time was increasingly separate from the outside world. Some historians have argued that this transformation was a result of the period's developing market economy, which made both work and economic transactions less personal than in previous times. Others have suggested that this type of family not only predated an industrial economy but also made the transition to it easier. For whatever reason, the family became less an economic entity whose main purpose was the material security of its members and more an emotional support system whose primary goal was preparing the next generation of citizens. The Enlightenment played a part in promoting the change, especially because of its emphasis on individual rights, an idea conveyed in popular novels, poems, and other texts that appeared throughout the period. Such works described parental love and obligations as more important than patriarchal authority while celebrating marriage as a union based on love and respect rather than an arrangement for economic benefit (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 34–35).

Modern conceptions of how families lived years ago frequently suppose that they were usually extended families, meaning that they included relatives beyond the so-called nuclear family of parents and children. The extended family of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins certainly existed and in some instances resided in some form under one roof. In the rural South and on the frontier, the extended support network provided by such a wide number of relations remained important for survival and companionship. Yet the nuclear family became far more common during the early Republic.

As children became the center of the loving family, some observers noted that the family became preoccupied with child rearing. In middle- and upper-class homes, the parents no longer kept the cradle in the home's public area but instead placed it in the parents' bedroom or in a separate nursery. Particular home furnishings exclusively designed to meet the needs of small people also appeared during this period. For example, the forerunner of the modern high chair was introduced to help mothers feed toddlers, and craftsmen began making small chairs and tables specifically for children.

Possibly as a result of a rising middle class and its emphasis on democratic values, many saw the family's real purpose as properly molding children. Declining birthrates made children more emotionally precious as parents came to know them better as people rather than unformed family adjuncts. A child's death marked both the loss of a loved one for the family and an unfulfilled potential for the world at large.

Unquestionably, children became a much more important part of American society during these years, more so than they had at any previous time (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 35).

Childhood

Children grew up quickly during the colonial period. They were expected to make a real contribution to the household by no later than age seven. A physical manifestation of this abrupt and premature end to childhood was the practice of dressing children like miniature adults, usually beginning in their seventh year. After the Revolution, though, parents of middle- and upper-class children increasingly deferred both the trappings and obligations of adulthood. Children in poor families remained destined to take up labor quite early, particularly by hiring out to craftsmen or formally becoming apprenticed to them. The rising middle class, however, embraced childhood as essential for a person's proper development (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 35).

During the colonial period, parents, especially those grounded in Calvinist beliefs on the essential depravity of humankind, believed that they had to control the bad urges of inherently wicked children while compelling them to acquire basic skills such as walking and talking. Told that their children were potential vessels for Satan and that only strict supervision and constant useful activity would shield little souls from evil, mothers often proved demanding overseers, taking to heart the idea that idle hands were the devil's workshop. Conversely, late-eighteenth-century parents strove to develop their children's potential instead of merely fashioning them into obedient workers. Children learned to make decisions for themselves to enable them to live independently as adults. Children were also viewed as innocents whose boundless potential needed only correct guidance, not relentless correction, to reach its fulfillment. Poignant signs of this changing perception of children were their grave markers during the period. Whereas a common symbol on such headstones in earlier years was a death's head, these later gravestones often depicted angels or cherubs.

The new belief in childhood innocence prompted some experts to discourage strict forms of punishment, but not all parents agreed. A persistent view of human nature as intrinsically evil held that children were just as iniquitous as anyone else and to rear a child properly required the subjugation of his or her will. Despite the similarity of this attitude to that of earlier periods, the motive was nonetheless different. Rather than disciplining children as merely a higher form of domestication—in essence, why we housebreak dogs—people believed that strict discipline was crucial to make children better people by improving their character. Experts even counseled that guilt and embarrassment, rather than spankings, were more effective for altering unruly behavior. Many parents refused to abandon the maxim that sparing the rod spoiled the child, though, and corporal punishment continued as the most widely used penalty for misbehavior, especially for young children (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 36).

Authors of child-care books in the early Republic aimed their message at mothers rather than fathers and advocated a more natural approach to skill development. Mothers were encouraged to allow children to learn to walk and talk at their own pace. Enlightenment thought defined natural law as a set of patterns in which human behavior was a normal part of the universe's routine mechanics. As one intellectual of the period noted, "the first seven years of life are a period of greater importance, in the business of education, than is generally imagined." Childhood, with all its tempers and silliness, was merely one of the natural stages of life, an idea reinforced by the growing awareness that childhood experiences shaped the adult character. Raising a child should thus be done according to natural laws, expected developments, and steady progressions. In this philosophy, children were actual people with individual personalities and distinct temperaments. Rarely in their diaries and letters had parents of earlier times referred to the gender of newborn babies or even noted them by name, but early nineteenth-century parents did. Rather than depict children in portraits as diminutive adults complete with coiffures and mature attire, painters of the early Republic dressed them as children and set them among toys and other trappings of childhood. These children were seldom named after a dead older sibling, a practice that suggested parents were merely replacing one unformed person with another. Rather, children were deemed people in their own right whose unique qualities merited their own names (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 36–37) (Calvert 1992, 61).

Changes in how children were clothed also reflected the natural Enlightenment approach. Responding to warnings from physicians that swaddling infants could physically deform them, many parents abandoned the practice and dressed babies in loose smocks. (Immigrants, especially those from Germany, nevertheless tightly wrapped their babies well into the nineteenth century.) Careful mothers still placed a band of cloth around the baby's middle for back support and tended to overdress infants, even in the summertime. When child-care books criticized the custom, however, a reaction set in against layering children with heavy clothes, and the pendulum swung to the opposite pole. Experts believed that "a new-born infant cannot be too cool and loose in its dress" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 37) (Calvert 1992, 64).

Mothers came to believe that constantly shielding babies from cold air made them susceptible to its ill effects as adults, an old idea that John Locke had endorsed a century before. At the end of the eighteenth century, parents gradually but avidly embraced it. The belief that cold temperatures made babies robust fostered the absurd notion that bathing children in cold water was good for them.

The way that older children were treated also began to change. Children's clothes, for example, became more practical for active little people. Upper- and middle-class boys of toddler age still wore a sort of gown, but it looked far less like a woman's dress than before. After a boy reached the age of four or five, he could wear long trousers and short coats over simple shirts, an outfit sometimes called a skeleton suit. At age 10, he began wearing a less formal version of his father's clothes. Prepubescent girls usually wore a loose-fitting frock, and after they reached the age of 12 or 13, they wore dresses more like their mother's. They were even fitted with stays to shape their developing figures according to the current fashion. Even after American women adopted, in the early nineteenth century, the looser Empire style of dress, stays remained an essential part of a woman's ensemble. Until puberty, children of both sexes wore their hair very simply. Upon reaching their teens, they sported the adult hairstyles appropriate to their sex (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 37).

The simplicity and practicality of dress and haircuts were partly to accommodate play. The colonial period regarded child's play as something to occupy those too young to work while parents and older children went about their labors. In contrast, the early Republic judged play as essential for a child's natural development. Again, children's portraits from the era tell a tale wherein the presence of toys for both genders exemplified this changed thinking about the importance of play. Because play was seen as key to physical and mental preparation for adulthood, children beyond the toddler stage were separated for play by gender. Girls played with toys and pretended at games that prepared them for marriage and motherhood. Their main toys accordingly were dolls. Boys, on the other hand, were expected to develop physical strength and mental agility. Their games were livelier, and their toys were balls, hoops, and marbles—the kind of playthings that were generally used out of doors (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 37–38).

The new emphasis on play did not affect the lives of poor children or the children of slaves. The poor often apprenticed their children to craftsmen, sometimes as early as their sixth birthday. The custom removed hungry mouths from meager larders or provided a way for a community to deal with orphans while preparing them for a trade. The arrangement was a formal one, delineated by a contract called an indenture, which spelled out the obligations of both parties. In exchange for room, board, and instruction in the arts and mysteries of a particular trade, the apprentice pledged to labor in his master's service for a specified number of years, usually at least four, or until reaching 21 years of age. Many masters treated their apprentices with kindness, but some simply exploited them for their labor while ignoring the obligation to teach them anything at all. The apprentice had a difficult life in either case. Many fled out of homesickness; many were returned to their masters. Masters were legally bound to provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, and training, but a child had little chance of successfully challenging violations of his indenture. If placed with a negligent, indifferent, or malevolent master, the apprentice donned his shabby clothing to work from sunup to sundown, ate unpalatable food, and finally bedded down in crowded, unheated quarters. Given enough of such treatment, many apprentices simply ran away. If they were clever enough to stay clear of their parents, they were hard to catch. Cities, especially in the Northeast, attracted relatively large numbers of such runaway boys. Those who became indigent usually joined roving gangs that staked out streets as their territory in the poorer sections of the city.

Slave children went to work at a very early age. By the time they were six, they were expected to perform light labor around the plantation or farm, such as feeding chickens or watching after younger children. A slave child's mother returned to regular tasks within a few weeks of childbirth, and the elderly women who cared for her child during the day usually left constant supervision to older children, usually under the age of 10. Slaves not much older than 10 were expected to help in the fields. On cotton plantations, they trailed behind adult slave gangs to pluck stray bits of cotton from stalks (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 38).

These unfortunate children, whether from impoverished families or as part of a slave community, suffered in varying degrees from inadequate diets and negligible childcare, deprivations that along with a regimen of grueling work made them much more susceptible to disease and accidents than their counterparts in the middle and upper classes. Yet moderately prosperous and even affluent children died in startling numbers. Part of the cause was an incongruous combination of avid attention and casual neglect at all levels of society. Wealthy mothers certainly supervised the rearing of their children, but servants or slaves often tended to their daily care. In middle- or lower-class homes, mothers were normally too busy to watch over young children all the time and left the chore to their older children, a circumstance fraught with potential calamity in any century. Childhood accidents that resulted in serious injury or death were numerous.

The relatively primitive state of the medical arts meant that any disease had the potential to be fatal for child and adult alike. Efforts to reduce infant mortality focused on prevention more than cures. During colonial days, infants were literally strapped into cradles constructed from solid pieces of wood to promote straight bone growth. Parents in the early Republic tried to preserve air circulation around sleeping infants by employing new cradle designs featuring slats or spindles on the sides. Nonetheless, children sickened and sometimes died from a variety of ailments. They were most susceptible in their first 10 years. About one in six babies died in the first year. Approximately 10 percent of children died before reaching adulthood. High infant mortality rates paradoxically made even doting parents wary of becoming too attached to newborns, and some did not name children until they were at least a few months old.

Children were especially vulnerable to intestinal diseases, but respiratory infections were the most lethal. Whooping cough, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and secondary infections from measles and chicken pox killed countless children during the period. Few effective treatments existed, and parents generally relied on traditional remedies such as potions laced with alcohol or opiates. Mothers regarded alcohol as preventive medicine and routinely dosed their children, including infants, with it at the earliest sign of illness. It was the rare child, in fact, who had not been introduced to some sort of alcohol from the time it was weaned. The growing influence of temperance movements after 1810 persuaded mothers to use a variety of syrups purportedly designed for children, but most still contained alcohol or other drugs. Children were thus treated for illnesses in the same manner as adults. As a result, the cure was almost as likely to kill them as the disease (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 39).

Intellectual Life

EDUCATION

The role of education in forming an intelligent citizenry became an important concern in the early Republic. During the colonial period, education beyond teaching the rudiments had been an academic exercise carried out by "Latin" schools, primarily in New England, whose principal purpose was to put boys on the path to college that would prepare them for the pulpit, the classroom, or the courtroom. Curricula were inflexibly limited to subjects inherited from the classical educational tradition in Europe, courses that focused on language, philosophy, and rhetoric rather than matters of practical utility. In part, this was a reflection of the old British idea that education was the special preserve of the upper classes (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 39–40).

In colonial New England, which was heavily influenced by Congregationalists, another purpose of primary education was to make people godly. The ferment of revolution, however, helped change these attitudes, and the years following American independence were to see marked transformations in beliefs about the purpose of education. "Speaking generally, it may be said that every New Englander receives the elements of education," a British visitor said several years after this period (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 40) (Hamilton 1833, 127).

In addition to leveling tendencies that dismantled British notions of aristocratic privilege, new ideas about the utility of education appeared. Book learning for some became a viable alternative to apprenticeship, providing a way to get ahead in a competitive world while simultaneously promoting solid principles of patriotism. Yet ordinary Americans were basically of two minds about education, and the early Republic was illustrative of that ambivalence. On the one hand, they were suspicious about education as simply an impractical pretension offering little of practical value for the great bulk of the population, those young men who would have to make their way behind plows and workbenches, or those young women who would spend their days at cradles and cookstoves. On the other hand, people intuitively believed that both the future welfare of the country and the prospects of enlarged opportunity for their children required an education. "Larning is of the gratest importance to the seport of a free government," conceded William Manning, a marginally literate Massachusetts farmer, who nevertheless noted that "costly collages, national acadimyes & grammar schools" were merely ways for the powerful "to make places for men to live without work" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 40) (Morison 1956, 202–54).

Such mixed assessments about the worth of education resulted in mixed applications in the establishment of schools. Popular nostalgia imperfectly recalls that rural areas boasted the little one-room schoolhouse whose prim schoolmarm presided over students ranging in age from very young children to relatively mature young adults. The myth of avid learners and enthusiastic teachers frames this picture, but the reality was not as ideal. The building was typically makeshift and dark, the pupils often were unruly, and the teacher was usually a marginally skilled young man whose primary qualification for the job was an ability to maintain order, often with brute force. As to education, at most he could impart the rudiments of the three Rs—readin', writin', and 'rithmetic. The emphasis was on routine and drill, with a heavy reliance on recitation from the Bible and worn and tedious texts, a pedagogical method that rightfully earned these common schools the informal name "blab schools." The school day was also long, usually beginning at first light. Breakfast was at eight o'clock, followed by several hours of recitation until lunch. Several more hours of study and recitation followed lunch, and the day finally ended at five o'clock with prayers. These schools were privately and therefore inadequately supported, either through affiliation with the church or by modest tuition fees paid by parents, sometimes with something as simple as room and board for the teacher. Because older children were needed for chores on the farm during the growing season, their attendance tended to be spotty during those months. The customary pattern of school years broken by summer holidays is a holdover from the necessity of accommodating an agricultural economy, when children were especially needed for labor in the fields during the summer months (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 40–41).

Urban schools likewise relied on rote memorization and ceaseless drill, but they also attempted innovations necessitated by rapidly increasing populations of students. Desiring to impart moral virtue and mental discipline, some urban schools experimented with a teaching method invented by Englishman Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker convert troubled by the plight of the ignorant poor. Using teaching assistants called monitors, the Lancastrian system sought to increase class size to promote efficiency without diminishing the quality of instruction. A master teacher first taught the monitors, typically older students themselves, who then simultaneously ran pupils seated in groups through their drills. A total of nine different recitations could be conducted at the same time. In the morning, students gathered under the watchful eye of their monitor to recite their lessons in reading and spelling and progressed to advanced levels based on their rate of learning. Quakers established the first Lancastrian school as a charitable organization in New York City in 1801 and later opened a similar school in Philadelphia. In Virginia, Norfolk and Richmond also adopted the Lancastrian model in schools supported by a mixture of private donations and city taxes.

The apparent efficiency of such schools appealed to communities who resisted taxation for even the most basic city services. There was also the fascination of applying the concept of the factory to the education of children, especially for an age impressed with the wonders of mechanized routines. Yet the Lancastrian method was in the end more a fad than a lasting solution to the problems of mass education. In the first New York schools, for example, the classrooms were designed to accommodate as many as 500 students, certainly a tribute to economy of effort, but ultimately too great a sacrifice to the real business of instruction. In short, the Lancastrian system's methods were superficial, and its results increasingly unsatisfactory. It was eventually abandoned in all but a few places (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 41).

As a matter of tradition, all but elementary schooling was aimed at educating males. During the period, though, schools for girls were founded, and some exclusively male schools began admitting girls as well. Accordingly, literacy among women increased during the early Republic. Women were not encouraged to pursue significant intellectual endeavors, but the increasing number of educated women gradually opened the way for new careers. In New England, women began teaching younger children the rudiments of reading and writing, especially because such jobs were often seen as too unprofitable for men. The practice began in so-called summer schools while boys were working on farms. These schools admitted girls, who were instructed by the young women of the community. Gradually it became more acceptable for women to teach full-time, and educated single women thus had a respectable way of earning a living. It would have been unheard of, however, for a woman to remain employed in such a position after she married. Motherhood was considered her natural calling (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 41–42).

Throughout the period, primary schools supported by taxes—what became known as free public schools—were quite rare. Where they did exist, they were largely philanthropic enterprises established to educate impoverished children and were consequently considered inappropriate for middle- and upper-class children, who either attended private academies or, if sufficiently wealthy, were instructed by tutors. In this, as in many other aspects, the early Republic was a time of transition. The rise of common folk in the 1820s with the advent of Jacksonian Democracy persuaded the upper classes that educating the American masses was necessary in their eyes to preserve the country from mob rule. In the decades that followed, reformers and activists argued that society had an obligation to educate the people for the health of the country as well as their own well-being. Free public education was slow in coming and often sectional in nature, but the chance for its realization was born during the early Republic (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 42).

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The constant threat of disease and the chances for contracting a serious illness cut across all ethnic groups and economic classes during these years. Most diseases were not fatal, but the scarcity of reliable medicine meant that they could be debilitating. Because sickness was omnipresent and its effects were possibly dire, Americans seemed almost obsessed with the topic of health, whether that of family or friends. Letter writers almost always opened with, and sometimes repeated in closing, news detailing the good or bad health of family members. Americans suffered pain, bowel ailments, and breathing problems with stoic resignation because they had little choice but to accept these events as normal and expected parts of life (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 42).

Diseases

Americans of the early Republic suffered from intestinal complaints with disconcerting frequency, and such illnesses could be dangerous, especially when they caused dysentery, a debilitating inflammation of the bowels that causes bloody diarrhea. Adults were better able than children to ward off the potentially fatal effects of intestinal ailments, and they more or less expected them to be part of life. Poor sanitation, bad water, and spoiled food caused most outbreaks, especially when these circumstances occurred in conjunction with lax personal hygiene. People on farms usually wore grimy clothes and grubby shoes that created an unhealthy mix of dirt, animal manure, and perspiration. The stench of privies, chamber pots, and soiled diapers pervaded towns and farms alike (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 42–43).

Americans also suffered from a wide range of respiratory complaints that ranged from common colds to serious influenza. Flu had not yet mutated to produce the deadly strains that would appear in the later nineteenth and the early twentieth century, but pneumonia and tuberculosis could kill and frequently did. Tuberculosis, often called consumption by the people of the time, was especially virulent in crowded cities and in homes where large families suffered from poor ventilation. In fact, incidence of tuberculosis mounted so rapidly in the United States that it was the leading cause of death by disease among adult Americans. Some studies estimate that 23 percent of New Yorkers who died in 1804 did so of tuberculosis or its related maladies. Boston and other large cities experienced similar ravages. Because tuberculosis is transmitted by saliva, eventual laws against public expectoration were prompted more by health concerns than by a prim sense of etiquette, but during much of the period, tuberculosis was viewed as a hereditary disease, and so even people who were infected were not isolated from the general population. Many times a person infected with tuberculosis did not immediately develop symptoms because the dormant bacterium waited until a different illness weakened its victim. Several years might pass before tuberculosis finally claimed the sufferer.

Epidemics were limited during the colonial period because most people were young immigrants whose exposure to the many diseases in Europe had improved their immunity. Succeeding generations, however, possessed diminishing levels of resistance to what in turn became increasingly uncontainable diseases. Meanwhile, the increasing population and its growing interaction allowed infectious diseases to spread more easily. The result was a greater incidence of epidemics in the later eighteenth century, when diseases like whooping cough and chicken pox were rampant. Why the incidence of some serious illnesses increased, however, remains a mystery. Scarlet fever had rarely been fatal during the colonial period, but it and other diseases might have mutated in the early nineteenth century to become successful killers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 43).

Smallpox was always dangerous, disfiguring its victims, sometimes horribly, when it did not kill them. Colonial Americans lived in dread of it. Yet during the early

Republic, smallpox inoculations—the process of injecting a small amount of the disease into a healthy patient—made it much less common. Inoculation was controversial, though, and many people opposed it because it could make an otherwise healthy person seriously ill, and some of those inoculated actually died. The introduction in 1796 of a new type of vaccine using cowpox virus greatly improved inoculation's safety and effectiveness, although risks associated with smallpox inoculation remained, just as they do to this day (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 43–44).

Population growth and trade interaction made yellow fever even more terrifying than smallpox. Because Europeans had limited exposure to yellow fever, it had a higher mortality rate than smallpox, and no one knew how it spread. Not until a century later would scientists determine that people catch the disease from the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito. The unwitting partnership of infected people and carrier mosquitoes could allow the illness to cover astonishing distances with amazing speed. A person with yellow fever who traveled to an area inhabited by the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito or who traveled on a ship with such mosquitoes could trigger an epidemic. Adults of European ancestry were the worst yellow fever cases, while children of any race and those of African ancestry were the mildest. Symptoms included jaundice (hence the name), fever, and bloody vomit, often called the black vomit. "Some lost their reason and raged with all the fury madness could produce, and died in strong convulsions." About a quarter of those who contracted yellow fever died, but survivors were protected from its recurrence. Because mosquitoes need warm temperatures to survive, the disease occurred only in summer, and outbreaks did not necessarily take place in consecutive years, because carrier mosquitoes did not convey yellow fever in larvae. Instead, new outbreaks hinged on infected people being bitten by the *Aedes aegypti* (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 44) (Grob 2002, 75).

Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemic of 1793 was the most notorious incidence of the disease during the early Republic. The outbreak probably occurred as a result of the slave uprising on the Caribbean island of Saint Dominigue that drove thousands of refugees into Philadelphia during the hot summer of 1793. By August, the disease had reached epidemic proportions. Black men drove carts through deserted city streets dolefully ringing bells for households to bring out their dead for speedy burial. As one observer noted, "the wealthy soon fled; the fearless or indifferent remained from choice, the poor from necessity." More than 5,000 people died, about 10 percent of the population, most of them previously healthy adults. Over the next 30 years, outbreaks of yellow fever ravaged New York, Baltimore, and Boston, areas that were not native habitats of the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito and whose cold winters eventually wiped out mosquito populations that had been brought in by ship. The South, on the other hand, was not so blessed (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 44) (Hart 1897–1901, vol. 3, 40).

In the Deep South, the carrier mosquito is indigenous. Many southerners succumbed to yellow fever and malaria (also a mosquito-borne disease), but the wealthy escaped the worst outbreaks by relocating to higher, interior terrain during the summer, for although yellow fever's cause was unknown, experience had taught that low-lying regions were most at risk. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, New Orleans alone experienced five yellow fever epidemics, each of them effectively shutting down the city. Shops closed, artisans ceased their trades, wharves fell silent, residents tightly shuttered their windows, and the grim population of mausoleums swelled (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 44–45).

The Medical Arts

Ailments were treated with a wide range of herbal medications and nostrums dispensed by folk healers, mothers, and wives. Meanwhile, an increasing number of trained physicians used both herbal and pharmaceutical medicines. Doctors of the period were usually educated in their profession in one of two ways. A few went to medical schools, but most went through a process similar to that of any artisan learning the arts and mysteries of any trade, apprenticeship to an older practitioner. No level of government required a license to practice medicine, and quacks could represent themselves as doctors after casually studying only a few books.

The medical arts were mainly a static set of skills and knowledge in any case, marked by few innovations and as little understanding about what caused disease and what promoted good health as the ancient world had possessed. The Greek Galen was still a primary authority, for example, and his theory about the four humors of the body was a guiding principle. Keeping the four humors of black bile, bile, phlegm, and blood in deft balance was believed to be imperative for good health. Illness was simply a sign that one of the humors was in excess and required purging. Methods for eradicating excessive humors varied, but they commonly included blistering the bottoms of the feet, the belly, the back, or head with heated goblets. Purgatives were administered to induce diarrhea or vomiting. By far, though, drawing blood was the most universally applied therapy for almost all ailments. Needless to say, these debilitating treatments further weakened an already fragile patient and were almost always the worst course of action.

Doctors employed a wide range of medicines, but many were more harmful than effective. The most commonly used medication was calomel, or mercurous chloride, a chemical compound that in its mildest form could seriously damage gums and teeth when taken with any regularity. Because anesthesia had not yet been invented and infection was almost certain, surgery was a last resort. Tooth extraction and amputations were fairly common, the former because of poor dental practices and the latter because of limb-crushing accidents or rampaging infections from wounds. Such procedures were extremely painful, and amputees often died of shock during the operation if not from the inevitable infection that usually set in days later. Tooth extractions could also lead to acute infections. During the period, advocates for better dental hygiene began with some success to encourage people to brush their teeth regularly, a regimen that could avert painful trips to barbers who frequently doubled as dentists (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 45).

Some American physicians studied in Europe, where advances were being made in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases, but these individuals were few in number and had relatively little influence when they returned to the United States. Some American doctors, particularly those affiliated with the few medical schools in the country, conducted medical research, but most of it was of little value. The majority of Americans remained skeptical about changing the way things had always been done. Even as avid a devotee of science as Thomas Jefferson said, "Some diseases not yet understood may in time be transferred to the table of those known. But were I a physician, *I would rather leave the transfer to . . . accident*, than hasten it by guilty experiments on those who put their lives into my hands" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 46) (Shryock 1960, 73).

Hygiene

Overall hygiene generally improved during the early Republic, though baths in which the entire body was immersed in water remained rare. Daily cleaning consisted of splashing cold water from a basin usually situated in the household's kitchen area or, in warmer weather, outside near a well. Most people washed only their face and hands during this daily ritual. Soaps were normally too harsh for skin and were used exclusively for cleaning house and laundering clothes. The most affluent Americans used milder soaps imported from Europe and, by the end of the period, had begun acquiring tubs for soaking the entire body. Even primitive showers were installed in some homes. Convincing most people to bathe on a regular basis, however, proved difficult. One woman wrote after experiencing her first shower that she "bore it better than I expected, not having been wett all over at once, for 28 years past." Ordinary folk had to settle for ceramic basins and pitchers to wash up privately in their bedchambers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 46) (Shryock 1960, 91).

Bathing might have become somewhat more customary, but other sanitation practices promoted rather than discouraged disease. Disposing of garbage and clearing away human and animal waste remained problems. Farm families piled up their garbage and periodically buried it, but urban areas had limited choices. Most towns had large numbers of feral pigs to roam streets and eat garbage tossed there by householders and business owners. Such pigs not only cleared refuse but also provided a food source of sorts for the most impoverished of the community, although the pigs carried more parasites than farm-raised pigs and passed them on to anyone who ate them. Human waste was also more of a problem in cities and towns than in the countryside, where it was buried or given to pigs to eat. Most households in both town and country featured privies placed away from the main residence, hence the "outhouse." Some rural poor simply answered the call of nature in the woods. No matter where privies were placed, they reeked in the summer and afforded ample opportunity for breeding diseases. Affluent city dwellers had their privies empty into a chamber that was periodically cleaned by itinerant laborers. Loading human waste into what was sardonically called a "honey wagon," the workers trundled this "night soil" out of town to sell to farmers for fertilizer. Most people generally used a chamber pot during the night, and only the poorest families did not have at least one chamber pot for use at night or by sick family members, giving rise to the expression "without a pot to piss in." The woman of the house or her servants emptied the home's chamber pots, so it is little wonder that homeowners increasingly sought new ways to make the disposal of human waste more convenient and agreeable (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 46–47).

Even with improvements in hygiene, life expectancy remained fairly stable during the period. Americans did generally live longer than people in other parts of the world, with people in the rural Northeast enjoying the longest life expectancy. Americans who survived childhood could expect to live into their 60s (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 47).

THE NEW NATION TAKES SHAPE, 1789–1820
CHRONOLOGY, 1789–1820
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE
SOCIAL LIFE
MILITARY LIFE
EPILOGUE

Economic Life

LIFE ON THE LAND

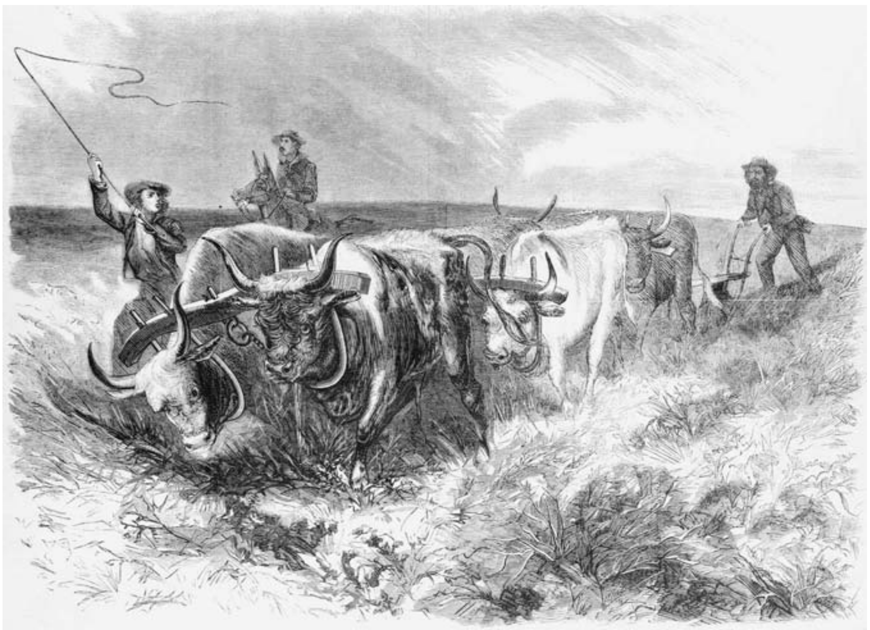
From the beginning, the most urgent human need has been to produce enough food to sustain life. Only in the modern period has abundance made for surpluses of food that permit other human endeavors, for without enough food there can be no cities, no arts, no culture, no progress. The reality of this fundamental human necessity and the relatively recent conquest of it is attested to by the fact that most Americans during the early Republic were farmers. In 1790, approximately 90 percent of the population cultivated the land. Yet the remarkable agricultural advances that would become so much a part of the American story—advances that in the early twenty-first century would have about three percent of the American population supplying most of the world's food—were already under way in the years following the American Revolution. In fact, the three decades after 1790 rank among the most extraordinary for agricultural advances. "Agriculture here assumes her most cheerful aspect," a traveler earnestly reported (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 51) (Wright 1963, 99).

By 1820, about 72 percent of Americans were farming, still a remarkably high figure by today's standards, but also marking a sharp decline during the preceding 30 years that would not be matched again until the next century. (During the next 20 years, for instance, progress slowed, so that in 1840, farmers still made up about 70 percent of the population.) The figures reveal that in the early Republic, Americans were employing significant mechanical advances in farming equipment and adopting innovative practices for the use of the land (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 51).

Plowing

Equipment and innovation aside, wherever and whenever growing things on the land has been practiced, it has always required four clearly defined steps: (1) soil preparation, (2) planting and tending, (3) harvesting, and (4) processing. In the beginning of all farming, there must be broken ground, and hardly anything is as physically demanding and tedious as preparing a field for planting. Changeless for centuries, the plow was the principal tool for turning the earth, and its design as well as the way it was pulled over the ground decided where farms would lie and how extensive they could be. Plows consisted of three basic parts: the blade that cut the earth was called the "plowshare"; the "moldboard" caught the broken soil and turned it away to create a furrow; and the "land side," the flat surface opposite the moldboard, provided the plowshare with a firm grip on the soil. Plowing appeared quite simple—it seemed that one need only direct the blade in a fairly straight line for the length of the field. Actually, though, plowing required considerable skill, and the cruder the plow, the more astute the successful plowman needed to be. Setting too fast a pace caked up the moldboard and spoiled the furrow. Going too slow prevented the share from properly cutting the ground. Old hands claimed—with good reason before the days of standardization—that each plow had a different temperament, requiring a different pace and a different way of handling to work the soil well. Oxen were frequently used as draft animals, but the preferred work animal for plowing was eventually the mule. Mules had long been in North America when, in a famously generous gesture, the Marquis de Lafayette sent George Washington a pack of asses from the Mediterranean island of Malta. Washington bred them to produce mules at Mount Vernon, joining a growing number of farmers who judged the mule superior to any other working animal. Given their tendency to kick, mules could be bad tempered, but they were generally steadier than horses and rarely ran away. They thrived on the simplest diet of corn husks and straw, while horses could be finicky and preferred a varied menu. Mules were healthy and hardy, did not require much attention, and withstood physical injury with remarkable stoicism (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 51).

Agricultural progress was closely tied to advances in plow designs and plowing methods, and important improvements occurred during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As in many changes of the time, the Enlightenment played an important part in this process, because the Age of Reason did not concern itself only with political philosophy and intellectual inquiry. A strong practical bent emerged from Enlightenment thinkers whose contemplation of how to make the world more efficient encouraged them to apply systematic, mathematical principles to everything from rocking chairs to stovepipes. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, a true child of the Enlightenment, always regarded himself as a farmer as much as the world marked him a statesman, and many credit him with creating the first improved plow design in America. Though Jefferson's plow was an advance—John Randolph, one of Jefferson's enemies, acidly remarked that his plow was the only worthwhile



Plowing on the prairie beyond the Mississippi. Sketched by Theodore R. Davis. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

idea he had ever had—his dream of it being produced on a large scale was never realized (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 52–53) (Heidler 1994, 6).

Instead, plows were painstakingly hewn from wood on homesteads or, if the luxury of iron was available, pounded out, glowing red hot, under pinging hammers by leather-clad blacksmiths. Because iron was scarce and therefore costly, wood was used to fashion all but the working parts of plows until the eighteenth century. Plowshares and moldboards, the surfaces that cut and turned the soil, were frequently made of iron or at least had iron straps protecting a wooden base, but after the American Revolution, rising iron production meant the increasing appearance of entirely metal plows. The first U.S. patent for a cast-iron plow was granted in 1797 to Charles Newbold of New Jersey, whose design was a sturdy implement of one piece. Newbold's plow, however, had limited appeal because it was both expensive and difficult to repair. In fact, its one-piece design meant that damage to any part of the plow frequently rendered it useless. Sixteen years later, Baltimore inventor R. B. Chenaworth was selling a cast-iron plow with a removable plowshare, moldboard, and land side, a feature that facilitated replacement when parts were worn or damaged. In 1814 New Yorker Jethro Wood patented a similar plow with several additional improvements including superior and less expensive parts. Eventually Wood's plow set the standard for the implement, and when Edwin Stevens discovered a way to make the plowshare more durable in 1817, Wood integrated the process in his 1819 design.

Widespread use of the iron plow with interchangeable parts revolutionized farming during the early Republic. Like most machines, the plow was designed to allow more work to be accomplished by fewer people. In the South, the use of slave labor discouraged labor-saving innovations, so that hoeing and chopping persisted as the means to prepare soil for planting. Small southern farms tended to employ trowel-hoe plows and shovel plows. The trowel-hoe broke ground by slicing a single trench rather than a furrow. The shovel plow, on the other hand, was a simple device resembling a large spade with handles. It did not so much cut the soil as scratch it to about a three-inch depth, a result that restricted its use to certain types of soil unless it was supplemented with hoe and ax. The shovel plow was popular on poorer farms because it did not require as much animal power or skill as moldboard plows, and cotton planters preferred it because they could use it to cross-plow while not producing the large chunks of earth the moldboard plow did (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 53).

Even in the North, the American plow was lighter than its European counterpart. In part the difference stemmed from the American practice of regarding all innovations as temporary milestones on a path to something better. Utility was more important than sturdiness, and the lower cost of today's less durable product was appealing when gauged against the belief that clever improvements would make something superior available tomorrow. In addition, American farmers only rarely needed heavy plows in soils that gave fine yields with shallow cuts and small furrows. Labor saving was the main object of improved plows, which were able to accomplish half again as much work as their predecessors using half the number of animals. As the size of farms increased and the need for animal power and human labor lessened, the limitations on production ceased to be a problem during the planting phase and instead emerged during the harvest season. Not until the advent of mechanical reapers in the 1840s would the harvesting problem be mastered, but the road to an amazing increase in food production began in these years with these humble but important American innovations on one of the world's oldest farm implements (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 53–54).

Planting and Cultivation

Moldboards slowly drawn over fields tended to leave large lumps of soil unsuitable for planting, so plowing was only the first stage in preparing the ground for seeding. Horses or mules then pulled a harrow over the ground to produce the right soil consistency. The harrow was simply a wooden frame with attached spikes or metal disks that could break up large clods. Occasionally farmers hitched heavy round logs on axles behind a horse to squash down furrows and break up small earthen chunks.

How one planted or seeded depended on the type of crop. Many plants require space for proper growth and to ease cultivation once they take form, but some general procedures applied to all. Using a hoe or a similar implement, the farmer opened holes in plowed furrows and placed seeds in them. Grass, grain, and some vegetable seeds were usually broadcast, literally strewn by hand in sweeping motions over broken ground and then later thinned or transplanted. Tobacco was planted this way in seedbeds for transplanting, a tedious and backbreaking chore (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 54).

Corn planting went faster with two workers, one to work the hoe and the other to place a half-dozen seeds in the hole and close it with his heel to make a small hill. Hand corn-planting devices—tubes that dispensed a measured amount of seeds—were occasionally used, but they did not solve the problem of covering the seed, so they were mainly employed in gardens rather than large open fields. Nonetheless, the relatively large seeds in corn planting made them tempting candidates for mechanizing the seeding process, usually through the use of drills, which were in limited use after the Revolution. Jefferson, for example, experimented with seed drills in his fields at Monticello. Seed drills could be quirky tools, though, because they had to place a certain number of seeds in consistent patterns along set intervals. The slightest irregularity in the ground could disorder the machinery, and the occasional rock could damage it. The advantages of mechanical seeders were obvious in the diminished wastage and larger yields they produced, but during the early years of the Republic, farmers found them expensive and temperamental experiments rather than useful tools (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 54–55).

Cultivation commenced once plants sprouted. It took different forms depending on the crop. Wheat, for instance, required little attention, while almost all other crops needed some degree of thinning and weeding. Depending on the availability of labor and the method of planting, weeding was done with hoes or plows during the growing season. The era knew nothing of pesticides, so insects were removed by hand. Some larger farms employed irrigation if near a source of water, but for most, rainfall was the main irrigator, and droughts could devastate a crop; several years of drought could destroy a farm. By far the greatest enemy of the American farm during the period was soil exhaustion caused by repeated overplanting. Fields worn out by such a practice were frequently deserted and allowed to return to native grasses. Farmers would put in "Mays [corn] as long as it will grow, perhaps to two or three crops: the land is then left to nature, and fresh land resorted to and worn out in its turn" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 55) (Strickland 1971, 126).

Conscientious farmers let fields lie fallow for one or two years and sometimes as long as four years. By the late eighteenth century, some were planting clover, a restorative plant, to replenish fallow fields while providing pasturage for livestock. Most livestock roamed free, however, and manure was not widely used for fertilizer. Near coastal regions, diligent farmers applied fish and seaweed. Indian lore prescribed one fish per maize mound; seaweed was spread at a ratio of 10 loads per acre, usually every third year. In the South, the repeated planting of tobacco and cotton so rapidly depleted the soil that when yields declined, people tended to move west to settle on relatively cheap, fertile land. These migrations resulted in tobacco culture spreading to the Piedmonts of Virginia and North Carolina and cotton into the Piedmont regions of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Writers like John Taylor of Caroline County, Virginia, encouraged soil conservation during this period, and some began early efforts at it, but the most important writings on the subject came after 1820. Meanwhile, a few farmers experimented with lime, marl, and gypsum, but the abundance of land to the west and the ease of migration away from depleted farmsteads discouraged systematic and widespread efforts to sustain and replenish the soil (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 55).

Harvesting

Climate, weather, and pests dictate farming techniques as much as soil conditions, and the natural rhythm of seasonal change made farming a strange mixture of the routine occasionally interrupted by the disagreeable and unexpected. The routines of spring planting, summer cultivation, and fall harvest were the constants, but sometimes things went awry. Wheat farmers in the mid-Atlantic states and New England were devastated by the invasion of the Hessian fly in 1797. In 1816 the weather turned bitterly cold and remained subnormal for several years afterward. People who lived through this peculiar chill referred to 1816 as the year without summer or, more colorfully, "eighteen hundred and froze to death." Rather than merely diminishing the growing season, the climatic change almost eliminated it in New England when even the summer months experienced killing frosts. Food shortages resulted, some farmers were ruined, and a westward exodus commenced to what migrants hoped would be more temperate climes. The cause for the abnormal cold was unknown to those afflicted by it, but we now know that a violent volcanic eruption in Indonesia in 1815 hurled so much debris into the air that the Earth cooled noticeably in the years following (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 55–56).

All this is to say that farmers have always been hostages of fate even as they have always been reassured by the regularity of seasonal change. Just as the farmer can be sure that the sun will rise each day, he knows that the approach of autumn will require him to harvest and handle his crops, and much of his labor all year long is directed to that final, key process (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 56).

Agricultural scene around 1860. Farm with early McCormick reaper. © Corbis.

Harvesting requires speed, and new tools for reaping grain that appeared after the Revolution helped. For years, farmers had used sickles or scythes to cut grain. The sickle, with its dramatic arc and sharp blade, could cut grain stalks close to their tops, but the scythe's tendency to smash grain usually restricted it to grass and hay cutting. Whatever the case, wielding these tools was difficult and exceedingly time-consuming work. Near the end of the Revolutionary War, American farmers began harvesting grain with a device called the cradle. An imported European invention, the cradle was a scythe fastened to a wooden frame from which extended curved metal fingers set just above and back from the blade. Competently swept, or "thrown," the implement sheared the wheat stalks into the fingers (hence "cradle"), from which the reaper could toss them to the ground for bundling into sheaves. Americans could "mow *four acres* of *oats, wheat, rye,* or *barley* in a day," marveled one observer, possibly with some exaggeration. Harvesting with a cradle was physically demanding but relatively fast, allowing a strong and experienced reaper to cut twice as much acreage in the same amount of time as someone wielding a sickle. Cradles, undergoing various improvements in design, would persist well into the nineteenth century as the preferred implement for reaping, until mechanical harvesters gradually began replacing them in the 1840s and 1850s (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 56) (Cobbett 1818, 190).

Cutting the grain was only the first step in harvesting. As the reaper threw the cradle, another worker followed with a hand rake to bind the stalks into sheaves that were in turn bundled together into shocks for drying in the field. The grain then had to be removed from the husks by threshing. As the name indicates, threshing was long accomplished by simply beating (thrashing) the husks, and New England farmers who grew grain for their own food stores usually threshed it by striking it with flails. Commercial growers in the mid-Atlantic region threshed their larger quantities by trampling it with livestock, a process called treading. Because the ground considerably dirtied treaded wheat, a better quality resulted from treading on platforms to produce cleaner and more expensive grain. The process used depended on the intended market, with southern farmers, whose wheat would be sold locally, using less costly ground treading. Large commercial operations aimed at international markets always used platforms (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 56–57).

The corn shock of stacked stalks with fat pumpkins resting in between has been emblematic of harvest season in America since the beginning of agriculture. Indians were planting pumpkins and corn to ripen together long before the first white settlers arrived. Corn's high yield in proportion to acreage had always made it a staple of human and animal diets in America, yet planting, harvesting, and processing corn required considerable effort because everything had to be done by hand. Expensive and unreliable seed drills obliged the farmer to put in seeds by hand; at harvest time, he had to remove the ears from their stalks, husk their thick shucks, and remove their kernels, all by hand.

Different techniques for harvesting corn either had harvesters shearing cornstalks or pulling the entire stalk from the ground, but whatever the method, the cornstalks had to be bunched into shocks in the open field for ripening and drying. When using corn for fodder, the farmer could pulverize the cob and the kernels together, but ideally corn was shelled from the cob. Some writers have suggested that the early use of seashells to scrape kernels from corncobs was the origin of "shelling" to describe the procedure. In the South, shucked corn was sometimes shelled by setting it on gapped shelving and flailing it with poles to beat the kernels from the cobs, but the method wasted a considerable amount of corn. Hand shellers used metal scrapers to rasp corn kernels from ears, a slow and tiresome chore that encouraged Americans to invent machinery for the job. The simplest mechanical sheller was also the most enduring basic design. It comprised a set of drums with spiral teeth through which the ear was cranked, stripping off the corn along the way. Mechanical shellers tended to miss a portion of the corn by leaving the tapered ends of the cob untouched, but improved designs gradually diminished the waste, and shellers were slowly introduced in all parts of the country (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 57).

Farmers in all regions made whiskey by distilling grains. Corn or rye in liquid form was frequently easier to transport across difficult terrain and fetched better prices. In remote western Pennsylvania, farmers even used whiskey as currency and thus were especially resentful when the new federal government levied a tax on it in the 1790s. The result was the notorious Whiskey Rebellion, which quickly dissolved when George Washington summoned militia to suppress the uprising. The Whiskey Rebellion indicated, however, how widespread and important personal whiskey making was in the early Republic. The availability of West Indies molasses in New England ports encouraged rum making, and farmers everywhere distilled whiskey, gin, and brandy. An avid taste for spirits led to the creation of factory distilleries that provided an important market for farm commodities as well, as commercial distillers needed countless wagonloads of grain, potatoes, and apples. Distilleries could also profit by selling grain residue for animal fodder. By the same token, brewers created a demand for barley and hops that led some farmers in various parts of the country to devote extensive tracts to these crops (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 57–58).

LIVESTOCK AND DAIRYING

For most of the colonial period, livestock on farms were a marginally domesticated lot of free-roaming animals that foraged for themselves. They were fenced out of crop-producing fields and were periodically rounded up from open woods for slaughter. Pigs, for instance, ran free and were largely feral, such as the razorbacks that came to be associated with western areas. A traveler in Kentucky noted that "of all domestic animals, hogs are the most numerous." Even large towns had marginally tame pig populations that roamed muddy streets and scavenged garbage-strewn back alleys, and it was true that the most omnipresent farm animals were pigs. Pork rather than beef was the much more prevalent dietary meat. Pigs ate anything, making them easy to sustain, but they were runty and stringy unless the farmer took care in feeding and finishing them. Successful pig growers supplemented garbage with beans, fruits, vegetables, and cornmeal. Beechnuts were said to improve the taste of pork noticeably (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 58) (Thwaites 1906, 245).

Everyone grew poultry of all sorts, both for home consumption and for market. The woman of the house generally tended the poultry, and the so-called egg money she earned at the local farmers' market helped meet household expenses. Chickens were most numerous, but geese and turkeys were plentiful also. Several times a year, women plucked goose feathers to stuff in bedding and mattresses and to sell for fashioning quill pens.

Improving roads saw the colonial oxcart gradually replaced by horse-drawn carriages and wagons. New England in the 1790s was the origin of a particular breed of horse whose short, muscular legs and fast gait made it especially desirable. Named after Justin Morgan, the owner of the breed's progenitor, a stallion named Figure, Morgan horses were sought out in New England and, with westward migrations, moved to newly settled regions as well. In due course, Kentucky, with its ample expanse of bluegrass, would establish itself as the premier horse-producing region in the country.

Many New England farmers began raising sheep when they found they could no longer compete with the longer growing seasons and more fertile soils of western settlements. Sheep supplied both wool for local textile mills and mutton for the table. At the turn of the century, the introduction from Spain of long-staple Merino sheep rapidly transformed New England sheepherding into a major enterprise that encouraged investment in textile factories and contributed to making the region the nerve center of American manufacturing (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 58).

Eighteenth-century agricultural advances in fodder crops and the better understanding of how animal manure replenishes the soil promoted more vigilant animal husbandry, especially for sheep and dairy cattle. When properly tended, sheep could yield two to three pounds of wool per animal. Farmers in all regions began to pasture their cattle during the summer. The South's warm climate allowed farmers to graze their animals in pastures throughout the winter as well, but by 1810, many southerners were emulating their northern neighbors in feeding their animals fodder in the colder months. Dairy farmers took care to shelter their animals in stables, where they fed them hay, corn, and oats. As western migration increased after the War of 1812, newer and more fertile wheat-growing areas in the West encouraged eastern farmers to emphasize animal husbandry and boost dairy farming. As a consequence, hay production to increase stores of winter fodder became important. Farmers planted large stands of hay and rapidly harvested it in autumn with scythes, clearing as much as two acres per day. After drying on the ground, hay was raked up for use in the winter. Better grades of fodder produced better milk, so care went into the feeding of livestock, a routine called "finishing." Farmers forked fodder into feedlots or brought it into barns on carts to toss into stalls. It was commonly pitched onto the ground in both barns and stockyards, a practice that both wasted fodder and undernourished animals, but the custom remained in force through the middle of the nineteenth century.

Virtually all dairy products were processed on farmsteads during the early Republic. Cows' milk, drawn by hand, was transferred into tubs and stored in a relatively cool place, such as a cellar or an outbuilding called a springhouse, so named because it was situated over or near a stream (or spring). The brick floor of the springhouse usually had several inches of water diverted onto it, where the milk tubs sat while the fatty, lighter portions of the milk (cream) rose to the top. If the farmer desired whole milk, he let the cream sit on the top long enough to sour a little before skimming it off with a ladle; skim milk resulted from ladling off the cream sooner. The springhouse did little more than slow the souring of milk and at best cooled it as a beverage to tepid temperatures (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 59).

Butter was produced by churning cream, a laborious and lengthy procedure that was never done to whole milk. Instead, farmers skimmed the cream and placed it into a churn, a tall, enclosed wooden vessel where the cream was agitated with a paddle to congeal it into butter. The farmer then placed the butter in a tub or a large cask called a firkin. Because subsequent churnings were added until the firkin was filled, farm butter varied greatly in quality; the oldest layer in the lowest part of the cask would be rancid, while the most recent on the top was relatively sweet. Nothing was wasted: rancid butter could be used to coat milk curds as they ripened into cheese. Because the cream had reached some degree of sourness before churning, even the topmost butter had a strong tang that probably would not appeal to today's palates. After 1810, commercial dairy farmers who produced butter for market had pioneered the use of sweet cream churned in large vessels that could hold many gallons at a time. These commercial churns were connected to treadmills or wheels powered by small animals, such as dogs. After the cream had turned to butter, it was set in large tubs or casks and covered, sometimes with cloth but usually with salt, and sealed to produce a consistently sweet butter. Nonetheless, butter did not travel well in the absence of refrigeration or pasteurization (the process of heating and rapidly chilling to kill bacteria), and such advances were still decades away in 1820. Consequently, butter was a local product, and only places near dairy regions could regularly enjoy it (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 59–60).

Cheese, on the other hand, profits from age and thus could travel far beyond the point of its creation without refrigeration. Cheese traveled so well that communities sometimes offered it in tribute to acclaimed events or people. In one celebrated episode, dairy farmers in the small Massachusetts town of Cheshire commemorated Thomas Jefferson's election to the presidency by combining a single day's milking of their thousand cows to make a giant cheese more than a yard across, almost two feet thick, and weighing about 1,200 pounds. A committee of Cheshire's citizens transported this enormous cheese by wagon and boat to the new capital of Washington, where it was presented to Jefferson on New Year's Day, 1802.

Cheese was sometimes made on farms by simply allowing milk to sour, a bacterial process that produces a thick precipitate (curd) and a watery residue (whey), which was removed. Cheese makers could speed curdling by heating the milk and adding rennet, the lining of a calf's stomach. The curd was then salted, for taste and curing, and ladled into a cheese press, a barrel with a perforated bottom lined with cheesecloth. After weight applied to the top pushed out additional whey, the curd remained for two or three days in the barrel. It was then taken out of the press, placed in molds, smeared over with something to seal it, such as lard or sour butter, and stored in a cool place for ripening. Ripening took anywhere from weeks to several months, during which the curing cheese was occasionally turned. All the cheese types during this period were of European origin; Dutch Edam is said to have been the first (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 60).

Life and Labor

Farmhouses were usually extremely simple frame or log cabins. More prosperous farmers might have clapboard houses, but they were rarely painted until later in the period, when the increasing manufacture of linseed oil made paint available as well as affordable. Farms obtained their water from wells with buckets or, if near a spring, from crude aqueducts fashioned by boring holes in logs (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 60).

All the tasks of farming were accomplished only by unremitting toil performed by many hands. In the North, if the farm was too large for the family to work, extra hands were hired. As in other trades, young boys could be apprenticed to farmers who would teach them how to farm while providing them with clothing and shelter. The apprentice was usually indentured to work under this arrangement until reaching 21 years of age, when he was released from his obligation, almost always leaving with gifts and money to help him make his start in the world. The apprenticeship system could be cruel and exploitative, depending on the temperament and character of the master, but it could also be instructive and familial. In any case, at most the system prescribed a term of limited service that helped young men get a start rather than ensuring, as southern slavery did, that they would never have a chance. In contrast, bondage in the South not only offset the high labor demands of growing and tending crops but tainted honest labor with the brush of slavery, discouraging whites from working anywhere but on their own land (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 60–61).

When hiring extra labor often proved too difficult or expensive for farmers who needed it only briefly, such as during a hectic season like the fall harvest or for specific chores like raising a barn, neighbors could band together for a "bee," an event that underpinned a festive social gathering with hard work. The men labored, and the women cooked; after the task was completed, jugs were raised and hearty appetites satisfied in a ritual that fostered neighborly cooperation and encouraged reciprocal generosity.

On the less settled, remote frontier and in poorer regions such as the marginal lands of the South, women might work alongside the men at all but the most physically demanding farming chores, although one observer in Kentucky noted that "women seldom assist in the labors of the field." Women in more established farming communities only took to the fields when an emergency required all hands to save the crop. Women toiled at equally demanding jobs, though, such as tending poultry and livestock, especially dairy cows, in addition to concentrating on their principal responsibility, the household. There a woman's days were filled from before dawn to well after dark with cooking, cleaning, spinning thread, weaving cloth, stitching clothes, making candles, molding soap, and raising children, a duty that frequently included their basic education as well as their moral improvement. She was the family's doctor of first and sometimes only resort, its moral arbiter, its chief confessor, and its primary comforter. The old homily about man working from sun to sun but a woman's work never being done persisted because it was so true (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 61) (Thwaites 1906, 250).

SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE

The South has a growing season with killing frosts in the winter, but unlike the North, the region enjoys much warmer temperatures for a longer period. In the upper South, across the region spanning from Maryland through Missouri, the growing season lasts about six months. The region from the Virginia coast south to northern Georgia and east to western Tennessee has a growing season of about seven months, the Piedmont regions of the Carolinas about eight months, and the Carolina Low Country and coastal regions of the Gulf of Mexico a luxurious nine months. The length of those various seasons determined the most prevalent crops in them. Generally speaking, tobacco flourished in the upper South, cotton would come to thrive in the middle regions, and rice, indigo, and sugarcane grew in areas with the longest summers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 61–62).

Where rice was grown in abundance, such as the Low Country of South Carolina, it was the principal dietary cereal grain. Otherwise, corn held pride of place, specifically the variety called "Indian corn." In those early days, yellow corn was almost always used for animal fodder. Southerners prepared corn in a variety of ways, from roasting or boiling whole ears to shelling the kernels and boiling them to a mush, a concoction called hominy. Coarsely ground corn produced grits (always in the plural: there is no such thing as a "grit"), while a finer grind produced cornmeal for corn pone, which was corn bread usually made without eggs. Corn muffins and spoon bread, so named because it remained doughy after baking and required a spoon for eating, were also traditions. Southern corn bread was never sweetened with sugar, as it frequently was in the North. Because Irish potatoes did not store well in the South's hot climate, the southerner's substitute was the yam, which was called a "sweet potato." Sweet potatoes ripened slowly in autumn and were only bested by corn as the main staple of southern diets. Amid their stands of corn, southerners grew cowpeas, a legume that more resembled a lima bean than an English sweet pea, which required cooler weather to prosper. Apples grew in higher regions, and peaches flourished in the hot, humid weather of lower areas. Melons, especially watermelons, thrived throughout the region (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 62).

Common but inaccurate conceptions of the Old South have been formed by motion pictures in which opulent homes with white-columned terraces are surrounded by lush gardens and extensive fields of cotton. Actually, the South's large plantations constituted a very small fraction of the land and were lived on by an even smaller portion of the population. A visitor in 1825 to the Georgia frontier noted that the plantation he was visiting, "like all others, is made up of log houses. Through our quarters the wind blew to its heart's content; no light could keep burning, so that we had to see by the flames of the great fireplace. There was no ceiling, only the shingle roof directly above us through which the light penetrated" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 62) (Handlin 1949, 161).

In any case, by 1800 the plantation system was not fully developed throughout the South, and cotton had not yet become the region's dominant staple. In 1820, cotton was gaining rapidly in importance, but its days of overarching importance in both the southern and national economies still lay ahead. That said, it should be noted that as the plantation system evolved in the South, small subsistence farms, inhabited by the poor whites of the region, tended to be less prosperous than northern farms. The result was a strangely oligarchic culture, extremely stratified, with a small proportion of wealthy planters at the top, a larger number of middling planters and farmers below, and the great majority of the white population in the lower class. That is not to say that the South did not have a middle class, but its members were more likely to be in commerce, banking, and the professions (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 62–63).

Slavery

Slave labor was used in the South, but its scale was more limited than commonly believed. During this period, only about a quarter of the white population of the South was even indirectly involved in slavery, and a much smaller percentage owned slaves. In addition, most slave owners were not plantation grandees but rather were farmers who owned a few slaves and usually worked with them in the fields.

Wealthy planters constituted a very small minority of the population, and even their homes were usually more practical than splendid. Very few planters had inherited their wealth during this period. Most were self-made men who ran large working farms rather than lavish agricultural showplaces. Generally, the largest houses consisted of two stories divided into 10 to 15 rooms, the lower level serving as a social area with a dining room, parlor, and perhaps a library, the second floor containing the bedrooms. Because of fire danger and to keep the heat of cooking fires away from the main house, the kitchen was a separate building, as was the smokehouse. Stables also sat some distance away. Larger plantations also featured a cotton gin and separate offices to oversee operations. Rather than exhibiting affluence, the planter was expected to behave as a gentleman with honor and to fill his proper place in society. A visitor to a crude log plantation in Georgia in the mid-1820s was pleased with the fine meal and "surprised to see the works of Shakespeare" on his host's bookshelves (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 63).

Yet the plantation culture, for all its intended graciousness, promoted and preserved the degrading institution of human slavery. Immediately after the American Revolution, slavery was actually in decline because the decrease in foreign markets depressed prices for plantation products such as rice, indigo, and tobacco.

Consequently, some planters began freeing their slaves, partly for idealistic reasons, but also because economic trends encouraged them to do so. Troubled by the incongruity of slavery in a free republic, several southern churches began to question the institution of slavery, and after 1817 some southerners joined the American Colonization Society, a group organized to promote the transport of freed slaves to the West African country optimistically named Liberia. Yet significant changes in southern agriculture undermined and ultimately destroyed these benevolent impulses. In the 1790s Georgia and South Carolina kept the slave trade open to repopulate these low country estates ravaged by the American Revolution. In 1803, with the admission of Louisiana to the Union, the need for laborers in the sugarcane fields increased the demand for slaves in that region. By then, more importantly, the cotton gin was revolutionizing cotton growing in the South, and the need for an abundant labor supply to grow and harvest cotton unfortunately solidified slavery as a southern institution. Significantly, southern slavery grew by natural increases rather than continual importation after Congress closed the United States to such practice, effective January 1, 1808. The vast majority of slaves in the American South were already American born so that an African American culture grew among the slave population (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 63–63) (Handlin 1949, 161).

Tobacco

Grains dominated the agricultural landscape of the North, and while corn and wheat were obviously grown in the South, they were rarely grown commercially. The exception was in northern Virginia, where a fading tobacco culture was gradually replaced late in the period by wheat farming on a scale comparable to that in the North. In the main, though, tobacco, cotton, rice, indigo, and sugarcane were the prevailing southern crops.

Tobacco was the principal crop during most of the colonial period because it enjoyed the best market, especially because cotton was difficult to process until the invention of the cotton gin in the 1790s. Tobacco, on the other hand, posed special difficulties in planting because its seeds are minuscule: about 10,000 will fill a teaspoon. Because sowing such small seeds in an open field was a pointless exercise, they were mixed with sand or ash and broadcast in seedbeds prepared by mixing in cinders, both to enrich the soil and hinder the growth of competing plants, weeds, and grasses. Planting was done near the end of winter to give the small plants the best chance of surviving relocation to open fields during spring rains. As the plants germinated in the seedbeds, growing fields were plowed and then fashioned into small mounds at three-foot intervals. At the first rain, slaves worked frantically to move the small plants from the seedbeds to the muddy fields, the best receptacle to prevent transplant shock. When the fields went dry, the transplanting ceased to await the next rain. A cycle of idleness and frenzied activity continued until the entire crop was transplanted. As the plant leafed out during the summer, considerable care had to be exercised in tending it. Those with experienced eyes knew just the right time to cut off the uppermost section of the stalk to promote sizable leaf growth. Shoots that sprouted between leaf and stalk—called suckers because they literally sucked out the plant's vitality and inhibited large leaf formation—were immediately pinched off throughout the growing season. Both the tops and undersides of leaves were regularly inspected for voracious hornworms, which could strip every plant in the field if left alone (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 64).

In early autumn, yellowing leaves signaled harvest time. Stalks were cut and laid in the fields for wilting before being strung on racks to dry. Prosperous planters could dry tobacco by hanging it from the rafters of tall barns. Outdoor curing was sometimes accelerated with low fires. Cured leaves became brittle and crumbled if handled too much, so the dried plants were left alone for the bulk of the winter. The return of humid weather in early spring made the leaves pliable and ready for final processing. Stalks were taken down and piled to preserve foliage texture as leaves were stripped and sorted into three grades of quality: the prime bright leaf, the less desirable darker leaves, and lugs from the lowest part of the plant. Bundling took place in wet weather for prizing, the packing of the bundles into casks called hogsheads. Weights and presses ensured that a hogshead was packed tightly to weigh about a thousand pounds when sealed off. The hogsheads' considerable weight meant that their transport was most easily accomplished by rolling them to river landings that served as shipping depots, a trip almost always undertaken in summer because roads were driest then. As this was taking place, the new crop had already been seeded, transplanted, and was under cultivation. It was all hard work with little idle time, since last year's crop was being processed while the current year's was being tended in the fields. Harvesting was backbreaking, curing required skill, and sorting and packing were arduous. "Nothing but a great crop, and the total abnegation of every comfort, to which the Negroes are condemned," wrote one traveler in 1788, "can compensate for the cost of raising this product and getting it to market" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 64–65) (Handlin 1949, 86).

Rice

Rice was grown only where a large supply of water was readily available and fields could be designed to dam it and drain it away, a procedure that required elaborate levees and networks of ditches. Consequently, rice was grown in the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia. Brooks or swamps were the ideal location for this thirsty crop. Certain other necessities were required as well. Fields had to be situated in freshwater tidal floodplains to facilitate flooding and draining. Considerable ingenuity and vigilant maintenance were always necessary, and almost everything that could go wrong usually did. River creatures often damaged the dams, unexpectedly draining the crop and sometimes ruining it. Too much water was just as bad as none at all. Bad weather could bring freshets that scoured the fields, and coastal hurricanes could shove the ocean far up estuaries to turn freshwater tides brackish.

After the fields were broken, broad hills about a foot apart received broadcast rice seeds. If the hills were already muddy, they were covered; if dry, the field was flooded (or flowed) to promote sprouts. A set pattern of flowing and draining the rice fields could vary, but generally fields were flowed after the plant's first appearance, again in midseason, and finally when the mature stalks needed support to keep from breaking under the weight of the grain. Flows were interspersed with draining for cultivation to remove weeds and grass with hoes. Upon draining the final flow, harvesting commenced as the stalks were cut with a sickle and put aside for sheaving and drying. As with wheat, threshing was done by flailing or animal treading in preparation for milling. Unlike the grinding of wheat, which is meant to separate the chaff and break the kernel, rice milling seeks only to remove the husk. Rice mills thus resembled great mortars and pestles, with larger timbers mechanically raised and dropped to hammer the rice rather than smash it. After milling, the rice was winnowed, sifted, polished, and packed into barrels, the whole grain for market and broken kernels for the farmer's family. The chaff was either sold to brewers or fed to livestock (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 65).

Indigo

Although planted and cultivated in the same way as cereal grains are, indigo is actually a legume. Because it was a valuable source of dye and ink—its leaves yield a dark blue resin when fermented—the whole object of indigo growing was the reclamation of this dyestuff. After the plants bloomed, they were carefully harvested to preserve the leaves intact. The whole leaves were soaked in vats of water to produce a slurry that fermented in another vat while being violently agitated. At just the right moment, fermentation was halted with a stop agent, such as limewater. When the suspension settled, the water was drained off, leaving a solid, foul-smelling residue that was scooped, strained, pressed into cubes, and dried for market. Indigo was a demanding crop whose yields were relatively light—frequently less than a hundred pounds of dyestuff per acre. In its heyday, however, it offered a moderately good return for the investment of time and labor. In due course, West Indies indigo supplanted the American variety, especially because British bounties for growing it ended with the Revolution. By the late 1790s, some indigo growers were turning to long-staple cotton (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 66).

Sugarcane

Sugarcane grows only in regions with long summers. Cane fields did exist as far north as middle Georgia, but southern Louisiana had the best growing conditions. Despite its demanding cultivation requirements and difficult characteristics, sugarcane could be a lucrative crop. Some plantations by the late 1790s were producing a high grade of sugar that netted as much as $12,000 per season, the modern equivalent of almost $200,000.

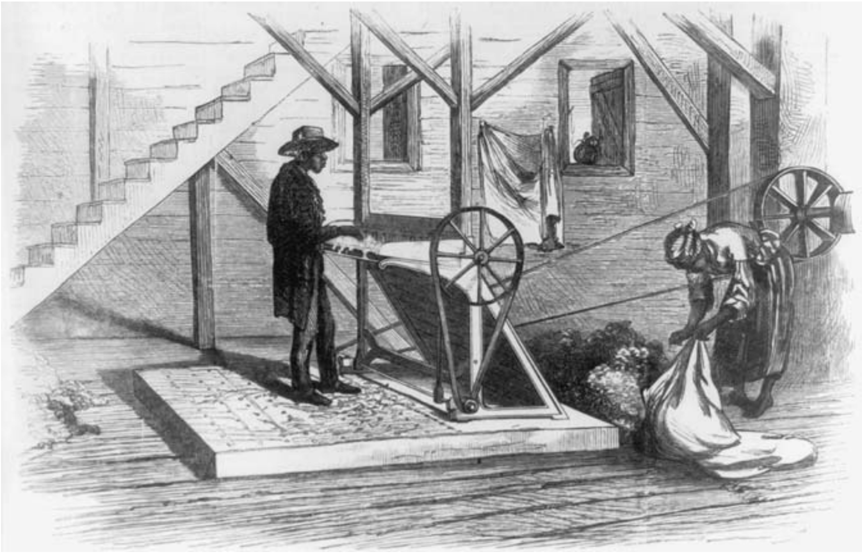
Cane growers planted their crop in deep, parallel furrows as early as possible in the year to take advantage of a long growing season. Even so, cultivation would not seriously commence until late summer. Because frost ruined the crop, cane was reaped anytime after reaching some level of maturity. Harvesting occurred in two stages. The first consisted of cutting a portion of the crop for seed cane that would remain in the field for reseeding in the following year. The second stage consisted of stripping and cutting the cane stalk by swinging a large machete in four rhythmic swipes: two to remove leaves, one to chop off the stalk at its base, and the final to remove its top. Gathered up on carts and taken to the plantation's mill, the cane was run between heavy rollers that mashed the stalks to squeeze out a clear liquid-sugar solution. Harvesting and milling could take place simultaneously, but a threat of frost focused all attention on clearing the fields. The necessity for speed at harvest made for a relentless schedule of virtually nonstop labor, especially at the mill (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 66).

Extraction was a wasteful business because the spongy stalks tended to reabsorb some of the liquid sugar as they exited the rollers. The smashed stalk also released impurities that had to be removed to permit the sugar to crystallize. Boiling the solution in a series of cauldrons brought up this residue as a scum that was repeatedly skimmed off to clarify the solution. The boiling also reduced the mixture to create concentrated slurry that, when cooled and drained, became a mass of crystals, tinted brown because of the high molasses content. During the first 20 years of the nineteenth century, improvements in beet processing, especially in France, were successfully used to process sugarcane. Pressure cookers and condensers allowed for higher temperatures that increased clarification and reduced molasses to produce a higher-quality, whiter sugar. Also, by 1817, new types of sugarcane, such as rapidly ripening variegated ribbon cane, shortened the growing season and increased yields. Despite such advances American sugarcane was never able to match West Indies varieties, which reseeded with little trouble and flourished in the much longer growing season. Sugarcane in the West Indies was so abundant, in fact, that much of it was only partly processed to extract a heavy molasses for making rum, one of the ingredients in the infamous triangular slave trade. Slave traders bartered West Africans for West Indies molasses, which they sold to New Englanders at significant profits. In contrast, the relative smallness of the Louisiana crop, the considerable domestic demand for refined sugar, and the competition of Kentucky and Ohio corn and rye whiskey meant that Louisiana cane was rarely used to make rum (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 66–67).

Cotton

There are many varieties of cotton, but only two grew in the American South. The most common was short-staple cotton, produced from green seeds with a velvet covering that clung tightly to the short fibers in the boll. Short-staple cotton thrived in the uplands, while the other variety, long-staple cotton, flourished only in the special climate and high moisture provided by coastal regions. It was frequently called Sea Island cotton because it was best grown on the islands off the South Carolina and Georgia coasts. Grown from shiny black seeds, long-staple cotton was relatively new to the continent in the 1790s. When indigo was waning as a lucrative crop, farmers in the coastal regions sought to replace it by importing seeds from the Bahamas, by most accounts beginning in 1786. Sea Island cotton was noted for its long, silky fiber that was ideal for lace or fine linens; short-staple cotton was more suited for coarser fabrics.

Carefully nurtured, long-staple cotton could yield as much as three-quarters of a million pounds in one season, valued at more than $300,000, the equivalent of



Scenes in cotton land: The cotton gin. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

about $4 million today. Despite its great value, long-staple cotton posed special difficulties. It could flourish only in the special conditions along the coast, limiting the amount of acreage the crop could occupy. Planters preferred to prepare the ground for Sea Island cotton by hoeing rather than plowing because they claimed that even shovel plows clumped the soil. After harvest, seeds could be removed with relative ease by hand, and that practice continued even after the invention of the cotton gin. Ginning tended to break the long fibers and robbed the lint of its most desirable characteristic. Sea Island cotton required cleaning by hand (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 67).

Until Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793, cotton of the more abundant short-staple variety stood little chance of becoming a viable cash crop. Whitney's cotton gin had a profound impact on southern culture, but it also had a significant influence on national and international finances. Cotton became profitable as its more efficient processing coincided with the advent of textile mills in the North and in Great Britain. Over the next few decades, cotton production and export grew at a slow but steady pace, and the insatiable search for new places to plant cotton was one of the reasons for the rapid settlement of Mississippi and Alabama, which became states in 1817 and 1819 (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 68).

Although planting, tending, and harvesting cotton was extremely hard work, the greater problem had always been processing it. Short-staple cotton's green seed clung tenaciously to the fibers in the boll, and removing it by hand was so time-consuming that progress was measured in ounces rather than pounds. Whitney, a northerner who had been a mechanic in his youth, was visiting a Georgia plantation when he set out to conquer the age-old problem of removing seeds from short-staple cotton. The device he contrived was remarkably simple but remarkably effective. Two cylinders sat in a box, one bristling with fine wires, the other covered with brushes. The bristles protruded through a slotted side of the box against which the cotton was pressed. As the bristles rotated, they pulled cotton lint through the slots but left its thick seeds behind. The brush cylinder removed the clean cotton from the wires. His original design "required the labor of one man to turn it and with which one man will clean ten times as much cotton as he can in any other way before now, and also cleanse it much better than in the usual mode." Based on this prototype, large gins (short for "engine") could clean enormous amounts of cotton, making it profitable and hastening the transformation of what had been predominantly a tobacco-growing culture into the eventual Cotton Kingdom of the antebellum South (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 68) (*Annals of America,* vol. 3, 1968, 551–52).

Economics drove the change. In 1799, South Carolina planter Wade Hampton produced 600 bales that sold for about $90,000, a result that was at first tempting and then irresistible. As more planters and farmers planted increasing acres of cotton, the market fluctuated annually, occasionally falling precipitously when bad news from foreign markets suppressed demand. Such an event occurred in 1812, when the news of war with Britain saw the price plummet a whopping five cents per pound in one day. In addition, cotton made for other maladies. In spite of appeals for farmers to raise corn and other food grains, cotton continued to dominate southern agriculture for the rest of the nineteenth century (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 68).

The problems of processing solved, cotton nonetheless remained a demanding crop to plant and harvest, requiring prodigious labor from start to finish. The usual planting routine was to prepare fields with shallow-draft shovel plows that were driven over fields twice to break the ground more thoroughly. Then, moving single file over the tilled ground, one slave shaped a hill with a hoe and opened a hole in it, a second seeded, and a third scraped the soil to cover the seed. The process was carried out simultaneously by slave trios working in tandem across large acreages, moving side by side along lengthy rows from dawn to twilight. To keep down weeds, fields required backbreaking hoeing during the high heat of summer, and in the autumn, cotton was harvested by hand. Picking cotton was simply grueling because the low plants bent backs and the tough fibers of the cotton boll cut and cracked all but the most callused hands (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 68–69).

Cotton rapidly depletes the soil, but drives for replenishment through fertilization were slow in coming. Instead, there was a tendency for centers of high cotton production to move west, with new settlements established in the search for fruitful soil. By 1820, the richer earth of Alabama and Mississippi had already made the region, known as the Old Southwest, much more important for cotton growing than the eastern areas of the South. Southwestern planters could rely on the westward-spreading wheat boom in the North for food and could thus focus exclusively on cotton production. Slaves spent relatively little time producing food on these plantations, and planters worked these slaves intensely to swell production. Most crucial in cotton growing was assessing how much the labor force could harvest, for planting and tending a crop grown exclusively for commercial outlets was pointless if it could not be brought to market.

Small farmers took their cotton to gins throughout the South, and large planters frequently installed their own to clean their cotton and that of neighbors for a fee. During the 1790s, ginned cotton was stuffed by hand into hemp or burlap sacks and tamped down for baling, a slow process that could take a laborer a full day to fill one sack. Many planters used a lever press to pack their cotton, but gradually the more powerful screw press replaced it and by the early 1800s was the most prevalent method of sacking. Usually worked by two men and a mule team, the screw press could produce about 15 bales a day. Even so, planters rarely packed their cotton compactly enough to suit cotton brokers, whose shipping costs were determined by weight instead of volume. Consequently, southern ports featured large presses that further compressed the cotton before shipment, ideally to a standard weight of 500 pounds per bale. Brokers also erected fireproof cotton houses to store bales safely before they were shipped. Once the cotton was sold for shipment, slaves would roll the 500-pound bales to docks where stevedores, wielding hooks and tugging on block-and-tackle rigs, hoisted the bales into the ships' holds, their destination northern or British ports. Planters commanded prices for their cotton according to quality determined by the excellence and length of its fibers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 69).

BUYING AND SELLING

Isolated farmers bought many goods from peddlers, the fabled traveling salesmen of so many ribald jokes featuring farmers' comely daughters. More established farming communities had access to the general store, which stocked everything from barreled pickles to shiny plowshares. Farmers were almost always cash poor, with prospects heavily reliant on a good crop, so transactions with rural merchants usually resorted to barter or credit with crops or the expected profit from them as collateral. Small farmers sold produce, eggs, butter, and cheese beyond what they did not need for their own larders at village farmers' markets not unlike those that can be found in small towns and cities today (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 69–70).

Brokers and Factors

Larger commercial farmers and southern planters placed their produce in larger markets, either in urban areas or for shipment abroad, a design that usually required middlemen, for even the most prosperous farmers lacked the contacts and expertise to exploit fluctuating profits and vague markets. Middlemen took the form of jobbers, brokers, or factors and could be expensive. Brokers acted as buyers' agents and could charge commissions as high as 20 percent; factors were sellers' agents who usually handled both the sale of the agricultural commodities and the financial affairs of their clients, such as securing loans and making purchases of goods in urban markets. Middlemen frequently owned warehouses in transportation hubs, such as cities along major roads, river towns, or coastal ports. Goods destined for shipment abroad would be purchased by middlemen from the farmer at wholesale and stored for sale to retailers or for oceanic delivery. The middleman could also serve as a central hub gathering diverse types of farm products to distribute to specialized sellers. Jobbers rarely owned storage facilities and most often focused on selling goods directly to the public, at auctions, for example. The exception to reliance on a broker-factor system was the case of small farmers. Wool growers also frequently sold directly to local textile plants in New England. In any case, because the undeveloped transportation network of the early Republic made markets regional for most farm products, the broker-factor system was in its infancy throughout the period.

Livestock marketing was a case in point. Farmers infrequently put their own livestock in retail markets because of the expense and complexity of doing so. Instead drovers bought livestock from farmers and herded the animals into towns or cities, a difficult chore fraught with risks because the journey usually killed some animals and wore down the rest. Before going on the auction block, animals had to recuperate from the journey with ample feed and water, an additional expense for the drover (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 70).

Crops such as grains, cotton, and tobacco enjoyed much wider markets. Grain farmers sold their product to middlemen who stored it in sacks in large warehouses. Corn was usually sacked, while wheat was occasionally kept in barrels. Grain middlemen were frequently mill owners who would sell flour locally. Wheat shipped abroad was always unmilled and was simply poured into the ship's hold. In any case, the considerable expense and labor necessary to turn wheat into flour made specialization a necessity. Wheat grains had to be lifted to a mill top, dropped into chutes, and funneled between the grinding stones, a labor-intensive job made potentially easier by a chained series of buckets invented by Oliver Evans in 1785. Yet even this first, crude grain elevator did not come into wide usage until the 1840s (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 70–71).

Southern planters who grew tobacco, rice, or cotton were completely at the mercy of the broker-factor system. Because most capital originated in Europe, for years the main brokerage houses were in London, but gradually Americans took over these transactions. American brokers and factors would station themselves in southern ports, but they usually had ties to banks in the North. Certain cities became the centers for the large cash crops associated with their regions. Richmond was the center for tobacco, for instance, Charleston and Savannah for cotton and rice, and New Orleans for cotton and sugar (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 71).

Perishables and Preservation

While the undeveloped transportation system of the early Republic meant that most farm products were marketed regionally, there were some notable exceptions. In 1787 South Carolina watermelons and sweet potatoes, carried by ship, were marketed in Boston. Nonetheless, perishable items such as produce and fruit were always unavailable out of season. Farmers tried to overcome the problems of perishables with a variety of ingenious solutions. Orchard tenders sun-dried apples, pickers pulled green corn from stalks and parched it, women of the house piled potatoes, carrots, and cabbages in cool root cellars and corn in cribs. Yet things simply did not keep for long, and such simple methods of preservation only slightly retarded spoliation. Meat was pickled, salted, or smoked (methods designed to remove excess moisture, the great accelerant of decay), but pickling altered the taste, and salting the texture. The art of curing meat in smokehouses is now regarded as a way of producing an appetizing delicacy; in the early Republic, it was a necessary process to prevent spoilage. Because city dwellers lacked an effective way to store food or dry meat, most perishable food remained on farms, even if destined for urban markets, until it was to be consumed (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 71).

Meanwhile, the period's inventive minds tackled the problem of food preservation. When Napoleon Bonaparte sponsored a contest for a method to preserve food for armies on the march, Nicolas Appert devised a process to vacuum-seal food in glass jars. Because the detection of bacteria, let alone their role in food spoilage, was decades away, nobody was sure why the simple application of high temperatures to containers that then sealed themselves upon cooling resulted in extending the life of fresh food. Yet by performing the relatively easy procedure of "canning" food, summer fruits and vegetables could be enjoyed in January. By 1819, transplanted Englishman William Underwood was canning seafood in a Boston factory, sealing his jars with tar, and another British immigrant, Thomas Kensett, was establishing a similar plant in New York, an establishment that in a few years would substitute tin cans for glass jars (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 71–72).

Self-Sufficiency

Self-reliance was the custom of farm life, and remote farmsteads were by necessity self-sufficient. Although the practice varied depending on the locality, even southern plantations preoccupied with tobacco or cotton growing set aside a certain portion of their fields to grow food. Meanwhile, the South Carolina Low Country, which primarily produced rice and sweet potatoes, became dependent on other areas for corn. Nothing went to waste, and everything had a use. Extra grain was distilled into whiskey or fruit into brandy by countless stills; at the hearthside, women pumped spinning wheels to spin thread from wool or cotton and weave it into cloth, creating aptly named homespun clothes. Tallow from animal fat was extracted during slaughtering to make candles and soap (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 72).

A Changing Economy

Part of America's revolutionary legacy included the fundamental belief that work was a noble enterprise. The Puritan work ethic, which extolled the busy life and warned against idleness, reinforced the repudiation of languid European aristocrats as part of America's revolutionary philosophy. Work was decent in itself. Americans of the early Republic embraced gainful employment as another mark of good citizenship, and political and social leaders endorsed work as essential for the free exercise and proper appreciation of political liberty. In that regard, the American Revolution was truly innovative, as it profoundly revised the customs of old Europe. Aristocrats might be better educated and more grounded in the theories of government, but they were so far removed from working people that they were not suitable to govern them. From Benjamin Franklin's homey advice about work building character to the realities of men like Washington and Jefferson being gentleman farmers, the Republic was steeped in the belief that work not only informed citizens but ennobled them. Historians have noted how Americans developed a uniquely heightened sense that labor carried its own worth, evidence of which was the belief that hard work justified private property much more than mere birthright did. The bitter arguments over Alexander Hamilton's plans to fund the national debt were rooted in these attitudes. Not only did it seem unfair that speculators would profit from Hamilton's plan, but the plan itself seemed to run counter to fundamental beliefs about fairness and equality in the American setting. The claims of original bearers of government securities were more legitimate because their motives for purchasing them were purer. Original bearers had supported the country, while speculators merely wanted to make money. Original bearers had worked for the money they had invested in the country; speculators preferred the leisure of cunning to accumulate their profits (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 75–76).

Those who worked with their hands—be they artisans, mechanics, or farmers—were not inclined to show much deference to anyone in any case, whether in matters of political leadership or social status. The attitude of an apprentice carpenter in rural Massachusetts is instructive. As part of a program of cultural improvement, he attended a literary club's debate on the question of who had more benefited society, lawyers or mechanics. He was pleased that mechanics won the day. The 1790s saw the formation of the country's first working-class associations, the forerunners of labor unions. Primarily aimed at promoting the interests of skilled artisans, these associations were also the symbol of the working class's new political and social independence from the landed gentry. More than coincidence had working-class associations appearing at the same time as Democratic Societies, the political action groups that protested political elitism in general and such measures as the whiskey tax specifically. The 1792 Association of Connecticut Artisans stretched across craft lines and was formed primarily to protest burdensome taxation. Mechanics with soiled hands, village artisans in leather aprons, and distilling farmers in the Pennsylvania backwoods foreshadowed Jacksonian Democracy, eventually to win voting rights for all adult white males during the 1820s. During the early Republic, the clanging hammer in small workshops throughout the country amounted to a death knell for the old ways of doing things socially as well as politically (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 76) (Bell 2003, 97–99).

Yet such gains did not occur overnight. Before the American Revolution, Pennsylvania abolished property qualifications for holding office, but other states not only sustained them; in some instances they increased them. The influence of the Revolution, however, was as telling in this regard as in others. Towns and cities saw growing working-class participation in political affairs, and legislative representatives from the working class gradually increased in number throughout the country. It marked a dramatic change from colonial times, when legislative assemblies were almost exclusively preserves of the landed elite.

More immediate was the disappearance of a class consciousness inherited from England that gauged artisans and mechanics as socially inferior. Instead, little distinction marked highly skilled laborers from people in the professions. Work meant economic independence, and economic independence meant status as well as freedom. It cannot be stressed enough how uniquely American this new reality was to the development of modern life. So universal was this understanding that by the end of the period, the federal census included a query about occupation (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 76).

Work not only had the appeal of functioning as a civic virtue; it provided practical benefits of material progress. America's promise was as apparent as it was abundant for the young man willing to learn a craft and work hard at it. Cities were growing at extraordinary rates, and the economy was expanding to include financial interactions that were more complex. Family enterprises of small scope became embryonic factories of ever-widening reach. And some changes foreshadowed modern problems. The old system of skilled craftsmen and their relations with apprentices rapidly unraveled. Instead of craftsmen acting as masters to apprentices, they became employers of wage earners, reflecting the new realities of a market economy in the dawning industrial age. The breakdown of the craft-guild system removed traditional controls on young men by hierarchical authority. The system that for ages had substituted for patriarchy simply disappeared as apprentices became employees. They enjoyed larger measures of economic freedom, but they also were not socially tethered, often too soon for their own good, and became denizens of the streets, creating unforeseen social problems (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 76–77).

ARTISANS

In the preindustrial economy of the early Republic, the artisan's special skills distinguished him from ordinary laborers and made him an important member of the community. He was an independent craftsman with liberty to work where and how he wished. He attained his station through a ritualized form of promotion in his craft, a system that was as old as the venerable guilds of the Middle Ages. The arrangement featured the process whereby one learned the "arts and mysteries" of a craft, a specific wording that denoted the importance of both expertise in workmanship and gratification in craftsmanship. The artisan did not merely produce material goods; he maintained an ethos of excellence imperative for his community to function properly.

The early Republic saw the last days of an arrangement that had dictated the relationship between, and responsibilities of, masters toward journeymen and apprentices. Derived from time-tested practices, the system was supposed to provide for the needs of pupils while they learned skills of a craft at the hands of an expert. The process was lengthy because acquiring proficiency with tools and materials took time, but it also sought to season young men by imparting an appreciation for the worth of good work. The good and conscientious master was not only charged with teaching his charges about how to make a living. He was also responsible for teaching them how to make a life (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 77).

Apprenticeship

The path to becoming a skilled craftsman followed one well marked by European tradition. Fathers taught their sons while accepting other promising young men to help in the shop in exchange for instruction. The understanding was framed by a legal agreement negotiated by the boy's parents, who paid the craftsman a small fee for his pledge to care for and teach his new apprentice. The contract establishing this relationship was, in fact, an indenture with clearly outlined responsibilities for both parties. The artisan would supply the apprentice with food, shelter, and instruction, including a basic education in reading and mathematics in addition to his craft work. In exchange, the boy would labor in his master's shop for a stipulated time, typically at least four years, sometimes seven. In any case, the indenture expired when the apprentice reached age 21. While in service, the apprentice was expected to preserve the mysteries of the master's trade, protect the privacy of his home, respect his property, and maintain a good moral character. What little courtship that might be allowed was closely supervised and could not in any case result in marriage until the expiration of the indenture. In fact, virtually all activities of the apprentice fell under the watchful eye of his master, who in theory had the authority to know where his charges were at all times of the day or night. The apprentice, for example, had to secure permission to leave the shop during the day and the premises during the evening. Many did not have the energy for mischief after workdays that could easily stretch into 14 hours (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 77–78).

Even under benign tutelage and benevolent regulation, apprentices were in for long, difficult, and tedious years, made especially unhappy by a system that denied them the open enjoyment of even the most harmless enthusiasms of youth. In addition, as earlier noted, some masters worsened this already despondent existence with inexcusable negligence or deliberate cruelty. Although the legal system tried to protect badly treated apprentices, haphazard and infrequent efforts at intervention were at best imperfect remedies. Apprentices frequently sought their own salvation by running away.

As the early Republic absorbed and implemented the lessons of the American Revolution, reformers increasingly criticized the apprentice system not just for these occasional barbarities but also as a vestige of medievalism out of place in the new nation. The absolute authority enjoyed by artisans under the terms of indenture was compared to a kind of quasi-slavery even as doubts arose about the artisan's exclusive ability to teach his craft, especially in a literate society whose youth could consult handbooks with greater ease and less trouble than toiling for years in a dark workshop. The indenture became less common, and the mutual obligations of master and apprentice transformed into the duties of employer and employee. The change carried advantages, but as with any change, it also was alloyed. Just as the apprentice no longer owed unconditional loyalty to his master, so the security afforded by careful masters who fed and clothed their apprentices was gone as well. Some prospered in the new, evolving system. Others fell through its cracks (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 78).

Journeymen

Nothing illustrated the troublesome aspects of this dying system better than the example of the journeyman. Under the old system, the apprentice's goal was to acquire skills sufficient to allow him to seek employment as a journeyman for wages. In that position, he could count pennies and through heroic frugality save enough money to set up his own shop and assume the role of master. Accordingly, the journeyman was better than an apprentice in both skill and situation, but he was not a self-sufficient craftsman. He was paid for his work, but he also usually lodged in quarters provided by his employer (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 78–79).

During the early Republic, a trend that had been developing during the colonial period continued. A noticeable disparity had become apparent that increasingly separated the master and the journeyman in social and economic standing.

The system of labor ensured that masters rose on the backs of journeymen as well as apprentices, accumulating personal property and economic security while the apprentices who toiled in their shops were exploited and journeymen were frozen in place. In part, this was a function of the age-old economic reality that scarceness enhances value: the few skilled craftsmen who owned shops could obviously claim the lion's share of profits, while the partially skilled and more numerous journeymen had to pay their dues while accepting modest wages. Yet the system promoted and then sustained this arrangement into an artificial stagnancy in which masters deliberately kept their numbers low to enhance their worth. The result was that journeymen found their situations increasingly immobile.

The lucky journeyman became a master. Most stayed put in their social and economic place, if not their jobs, as they became permanent itinerants (hence the name "journeyman") searching for work. They coped with competition from immigrants and apprentices who would often work for food and lodging in the North and watched talented slave artisans do the same thing for the same compensation in the South. During the early Republic, this unformed army of luckless laborers began to form associations that at first filled the role of benevolent clubs by aiding sick members and looking after the families of dead ones. Eventually, though, these groups encouraged journeymen to adopt tactics familiar to modern labor organizers, including public relations initiatives and strikes (what were then called "turnouts") against a specific trade. A host of difficulties, however, frustrated the formation of an influential labor movement during these years and for decades afterward. Workers found it difficult to cohere in large numbers across different skill levels, the pride of competent craftsmen a conceit that was impossible to shake. They stumbled over other differences as well, such as gender, race, and nationality. Hard economic times made immediate employment more important than farsighted ideals. Therefore their efforts were small, insignificant, and unsuccessful throughout the period. The day would come, though, when that changed as well (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 79).

Masters

The development of modern labor relations flew in the face of the traditional system in which masters defended their trades from overproduction by limiting apprenticeship and the dissemination of purportedly arcane expertise. In response to these changes, masters continued to establish their own trade organizations, a practice that for them dated from the early eighteenth century. In addition, they began to fulfill roles normally associated with entrepreneurs and middlemen. They haggled with suppliers, bargained with journeymen, and adjusted the way they sold their products, sometimes eliminating themselves from retail operations altogether to have their operations perform only production chores similar to those of a modern manufacturing plant. They became politically active as well, especially to prevent statutory regulations and to encourage the adoption of protective tariffs (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 79–80).

Yet their time as master artisans was waning, a circumstance over which they ultimately had little control. They inherently opposed factories as directly contrary to their ancient codes of craftsmanship. In thus opposing mass production, they were on the wrong side of economic history, for the dawning market economy of the nineteenth century would clamor for more things made more affordable for more people. Opposed to upward social mobility for their workshop employees, they were behind the changing times in social awareness as well, no matter their ongoing but threadbare attempts to disguise economic self-interest as compassionate paternalism. The years of this period were the beginning of this dramatic shift, and sometimes its advance was marked more in stalling fits than starts, but it was a shift inevitable in any case. Its acceleration in the latter part of the nineteenth century would make the master craftsman a nearly extinct species of worker. The artisan as artist, surrounded in his workshop by racks of tools passed down through the generations of his family, would be at best a quaint remnant of a time when the nation was new and its promise of explosive economic energy yet unrealized (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 80).

Preindustrial Work Ethics

Machines produced a few products during the early Republic, but craftsmen working in shops with uncomplicated tools made most things during most of the period. The pace of work was hardly constant. Visits from fellow craftsmen and customers frequently interrupted work, and pauses for conversation and refreshments were regular. In any case, a craftsman took his time, often varying his tasks, sometimes according to nothing more pressing than his mood. The craftsman measured his progress by the quality of the work rather than the time it took to complete it. Consequently, the particular days of the week held little importance for him. Mondays, for example, did not necessarily require steady labor, for he could always accelerate his pace during the balance of the week to finish a pending project (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 80).

A typical week of work for an artisan and his shop might pass as follows. Monday was frequently a day of preparation for the real work of the following days, and there were practical reasons for this. What were called "blue Mondays" saw the artisan and his charges tending their tools, collecting materials, and arranging for work to begin in earnest on Tuesday. The rest of the week would pass in labor at the pace already described. Journeymen were paid on Saturdays, and they frequently did not put in much effort that day, especially when kegs of beer might be brought into the shop to celebrate the end of the workweek. The journeymen's celebration continued on Saturday night, in the town and in saloons, with rollicking merriment that stretched into Sunday, making the shop on blue Monday a sluggish and listless place (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 80–81).

What appears to modern eyes as a languid work rhythm should not be confused with idleness, though. People generally accepted the Puritan work ethic that extolled labor as virtuous. They also accepted the idea that an industrious people were an imperative ingredient for the maintenance of Republican liberty. Moreover, artisans firmly embraced the notion that economic independence through discipline and self-sufficiency was the surest path to individual freedom.

In an ideal world, such noble sentiments would have been uniform, contributing to a high standard of behavior and an infallible quality of workmanship. But the early years of the American nation were no more ideal than those of any time. Shoddy craftsmen did exist then who produced inferior goods, and local governments tried to install regulations to ensure that such shady characters did not bilk unwary buyers with substandard materials and slapdash workmanship.

In an ideal world, too, the honest, hardworking craftsman would have made a success of his trade, but events and fate sometimes made that impossible. The challenge of operating a shop, laying aside capital to keep tools current, paying for the repair of those that broke, tutoring apprentices, managing journeyman, taking commissions, and fulfilling those commissions in a timely manner with excellent products was a tall order for the most talented and diligent of artisans. Many were not capable of meeting the varied demands of the shop while ensuring the happiness and safety of a household, and shop failures were more the routine than the exception, especially in risky economic times.

Moreover, the work ethic of the day was simply running out of time. A workweek that at best consisted of four days could not survive the scrutiny of the reform-minded nineteenth century, with its temperance movements and clanging factory bells. Teetotalers frowned on the Saturday beer and Sunday revels as sinful; manufacturing managers scowled at employees who showed up late to run machines that were never late, and at workers who rested to leave idle machines that were never weary. The transition that began in the early Republic from the artisan economy to the industrial one had a profound impact on the sense of how work was done as well as what work meant for Americans (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 81).

FACTORIES

The clanging hammer of the artisan's workshop sounded a knell for the old politics of class and privilege, but it was also the sound of a dying system gradually passing from the scene. The early Republic was mainly a preindustrial society of farms and workshops, but the seeds of a factory system were planted in the earliest years of the period. "It may be worth observing," said a visitor in 1819, "that there is something in the character of the American population, as well as in the diverse products of the soil, which seems favorable to the growth of manufactures" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 81–82) (Wright 1963, 200).

In 1787, investors founded the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, which established a textile factory in that city. When it burned down, the charitable Guardians of the Poor replaced it with another plant that operated until 1812 as a way to employ the impoverished. Both of these manufactories foretold the future of labor in an industrial setting: weavers gathered in one building where their labor was supervised and scrutinized in a way that would have been unimaginable to the average craftsman in the average workshop. In this new world, traditional permanent wage labor would virtually eliminate apprenticeship. Conversely, master craftsmen would become less definable as an economic and laboring class as they combined shop ownership with administrative functions associated with management rather than production (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 82).

All this was happening more rapidly than the misleadingly unhurried pace of the times might have suggested. The accomplished political economist Tench Coxe prepared a telling report that detailed the progress of manufacturing in the United States from 1787 to 1804, a snapshot of the remarkable variety already embraced in what was becoming a vigorous transformation of the American economy. Coxe noted that Americans had

> invented or acquired the machinery for freeing cotton wool from the seed, the spinning jenny, the spinning mule, the roving, twisting and carding machinery, the perpetual carding and spinning water mill, the flying shuttle with its appropriate loom, the machinery for coining or stamping metals, leather, &c., that for cutting card wire and nails, for reducing old woolen cloths or rags to the state of wool, for boring cannon which have been solidly cast, for pressing, packing and lading cotton, for spinning flax, hemp and combed wool, for various operations in the staining and printing of cotton and linen cloths, for rolling the finer metals, for plating the coarser metals with silver, for steam-engines, for grinding, in quantities, optical lenses, for fine turning in wood, metal, stone and other substances.

Textile workers in a northern mill, mid-1800s. Hand-colored woodcut. © North Wind / North Wind Picture Archives—All rights reserved.

In 1810, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin issued another report that was even more enlightening about the rapid progress of American industrialism. Gallatin detailed the production of everything from soap and tallow candles to pottery and windowpanes (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 82) (Coxe 1804, 23–24).

Much manufacturing during this transitional time was the result of the "putting-out" system, an early form of factory labor that had been in use for decades. Merchants provided materials to workers, primarily women, who labored in their homes to make a variety of products for which the merchant paid them by the piece. The regions near American cities became busy scenes of household manufacturing, providing work for thousands of people who made everything from straw hats to tallow candles (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 82–83).

Just as in England, though, it was in the production of textiles that the emerging American factory system recorded its greatest gains. The first spinning mill in the United States was erected in Rhode Island in the year 1791, and others quickly followed. At the end of 1809 alone, 87 new mills were either put in operation or were being established, making the number of additional whirring spindles at the start of 1811 an astonishing 80,000 (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 83).

The Factory System

The unique concept of the factory consisted of placing machinery and workers into a building or collection of buildings to create constant production. Modern conceptions of factories always picture workers in orderly arrangements stationed at points along an assembly line. Early factories, however, were simply large workshops where artisans worked independently. As new machines increasingly mechanized textile processes such as spinning and weaving, artisanship became unnecessary. Unskilled machine operators with a minimum of training produced cloth quickly and cheaply on equipment too costly for any place but a heavily capitalized factory.

For the United States, the main impediment to establishing factories was Great Britain's prohibition on the export of both machines and the plans for them. The enterprising Englishman Samuel Slater solved the problem of acquiring machinery. Slater had been an apprentice to a partner of British inventor Sir Richard Arkwright and had carefully committed to memory Arkwright's designs for textile machinery. When the fledgling United States offered bounties to prospective inventors, Slater leaped at the opportunity, immigrating to America and, at the request of wealthy investors, opening a profitable spinning mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. Soon merchant investors eagerly founded additional mills under New England's new laws of incorporation (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 83).

Finding ways to power machinery was a predicament, and its solution ironically made it difficult to find a ready supply of laborers. New England boasted an abundance of running streams and rivers that could supply power to textile mills, but these rural settings were relatively far from population centers. Booming job markets in cities made it difficult to entice laborers to countryside factories. Samuel Slater solved part of the problem by hiring entire families to work in his mills, but male laborers were increasingly difficult to come by, leading the large-scale mills of Francis Cabot Lowell's textile empire to employ farm girls from the surrounding countryside. Dexterity rather than strength was important to operate the increasingly complex machinery, and most women brought a basic knowledge of spinning and weaving to the task. In 1812, 87 cotton mills employed 3,500 women and children and only 500 men. With minimal training, women performed the tasks in Lowell's mills, working a six-day week, 12 to 13 hours a day. They were supervised by matrons, housed in dormitories, and forbidden to marry. For most of them, employment in a mill was a temporary state of affairs that ended when marriage removed them from the workforce. They were consequently a passive body of laborers with little interest in long-term labor improvements such as better wages or shorter hours, at least at first. Eventually, mill owners would face growing complaints about working conditions and poor pay that actually resulted in a few strikes by angry women workers, but those occurred in the 1830s and after (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 83–84).

The Spread of Factories

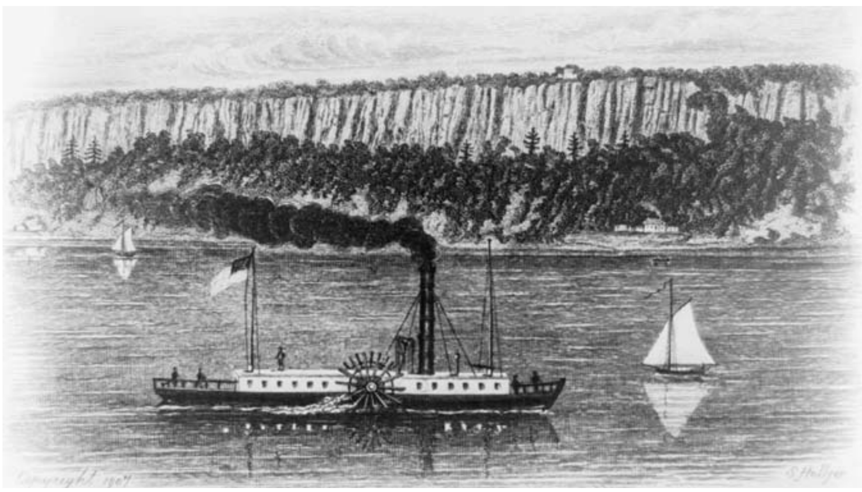
The embargo of 1807 and subsequent nonimportation measures passed by Congress quickened the pace of American industrial growth as domestic manufacturers tried to fill the gap left by absent British imports. That situation continued and the tempo of industrialization even accelerated after the War of 1812. Labor shortages forced American manufacturers to use machines for as many tasks as possible, but the unexpected industrial dynamic meant that the greater number of machines required a greater number of operators, increasing rather than diminishing the problem of the inadequate labor supply. Not until the widespread application of steam power would factory development become less dependent on natural sources of power, allowing for the placement of factories at the manufacturer's convenience.

Designing machines that could be repaired easily by relatively unskilled mechanics was necessary if factories were to branch out from the textile industry and move beyond the status of glorified workshops. The development of new machinery and techniques for building machines gradually made it possible for the factory system to extend to other industries. American inventor Eli Whitney, who invented the cotton gin in 1793, made an essential contribution to the factory system with his experiments in the use of interchangeable parts. Beginning in 1798, Whitney established an armory whose production of firearms attempted to use this novel concept, one that eventually eliminated custom work, later made possible the modern assembly line and prepared the way for mass production. Machine tools—machines that made other machines—became more precise, and as the jig (a guide that allowed precise replications of the same part) came to be used extensively, the use of interchangeable parts spread to other manufacturing processes. Jethro Wood's iron plows featured interchangeable parts. By 1820 the application of interchangeable parts to the manufacture of timepieces led to standardized production techniques that made clocks more affordable (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 84).

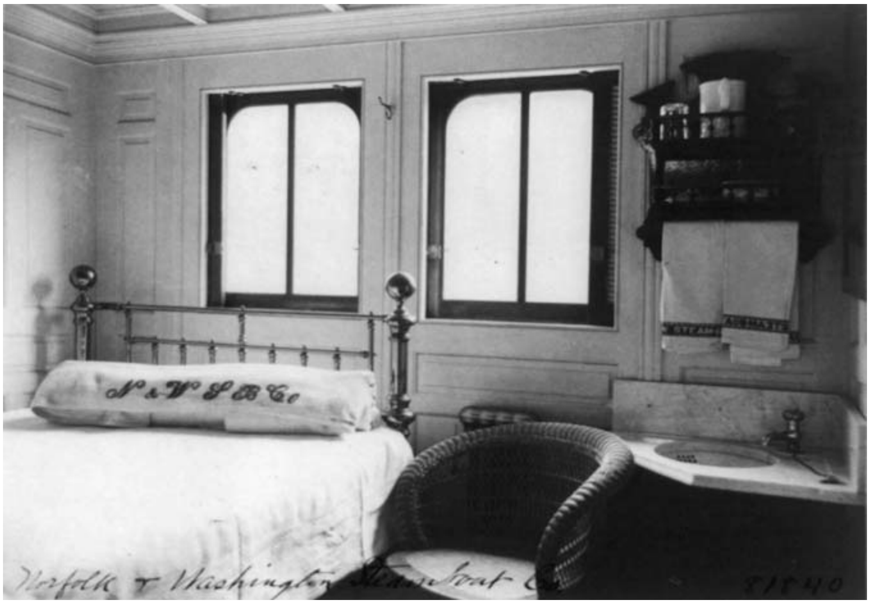
Roads and Rivers

A better transportation network was a crucial ingredient for the development of a healthy, diversified economy. In 1790, primitive methods of travel were the norm, with commerce on the coast or on rivers dependent on wind, weather, currents, and tides. Wagons lurched and bounced on rutted roads that when dry slowed an already slow pace and when muddy stopped it. "The road to Baltimore is frightful, built over clay soil, full of deep ruts, always in the midst of forests, and frequently obstructed by trees uprooted by the wind," a French traveler complained in 1788 (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 84–85) (Handlin 1949, 82).

Finding inexpensive and reliable ways to transport raw materials to factories and finished products to markets was essential. The cutting of better roads, often by private investors who charged tolls to cover expenses and make a profit, was a major development of the 1790s. These all-weather roads were called turnpikes because their tollgates bristled with pointed pikes that were opened, or turned aside, only after travelers paid a fee. Turnpikes were profitable investments, promoted brisk commerce wherever they appeared, and were a key venture for the next two decades, helping to speed western



First trip of Fulton's steamboat to Albany, 1807. S. Hollyer. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Interior view of steamboat cabin, Norfolk & Washington Steamboat Co. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

settlement. In 1811 the federal government began constructing the National Road, which started in Cumberland, Maryland, and eventually stretched to Vandalia, Illinois, but the project spanned decades and was not completed until 1852. Instead, stretching into the 1820s canal building emerged as a popular trend, beginning with the fantastically successful Erie Canal that linked Albany to Buffalo.

Steamboats made their first appearance during the period. In 1787, inventor John Fitch's makeshift steam-powered vessel *Perseverance* had steamed slowly along on the Delaware River. Experiments and improvements by Fitch and others made steamboats less a novelty and, by the turn of the century, something of a fad. The real turning point came in 1807 when artist-turned-engineer Robert Fulton displayed the prowess of his *Clermont*. The *Clermont* huffed and puffed up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany, completing the 150-mile trip against the Hudson's current in less than two days, half the time it took a sailing vessel. Derisively dubbed "Fulton's Folly" by skeptics, the modest *Clermont* with her noisy boiler and ungainly paddlewheels had actually achieved a fabulous milestone. In fact, steamboats were nothing short of breathtaking in the difference they made in river travel. With the backing of wealthy investors and his own unwavering resolve, Fulton led the way in turning America's navigable inland waters into busy avenues of thriving commerce. Fulton died in 1815, but the transportation method he had helped develop and the steam technology that drove it continued unabated. By 1820 more than 50 steamboats churned the waters of the Mississippi River, besting swift currents at the then phenomenal speed of 10 miles per hour. There and on other rivers of the country, populations spread along their banks, farmers to ship out their produce and merchants to ship in the products of the growing eastern factory system (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 85).

Labor

An unfortunate consequence of the developing factory system was an increasingly serious problem with labor. The putting-out system had made manufacturing an extension of household rhythms, and the artisan's small shop had promoted face-to-face and even congenial relationships between masters, journeymen, and apprentices. Factories, however, were places with unapproachable owners whose expectations about diligent attendance and workplace discipline ran counter to the traditions of preindustrial America. Increasingly, as urban workers labored for long hours that left little time for relaxation and recreation of any sort, there was a sense of social dislocation and emotional dissatisfaction. Many workers could vividly recall when they had been artisans working for themselves at their own pace. Working for someone else was hard enough, but to accept an employer's belief that he owned your time was virtually impossible. In response, the workers labored at their own pace and took time off when they needed a rest. Unauthorized absenteeism in early American factories was common, and it is easy to understand why. Workers toiled long hours for low wages in poorly ventilated, badly lighted, and barely heated buildings. Laws kept them from forming associations that could collectively negotiate for better conditions and pay, the courts having judged such associations to be criminal conspiracies (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 85–86).

In Samuel Slater's Pawtucket mill, the first workers were seven boys and two girls, all under 12 years of age. Children had always worked, but the factory system exploited them shamelessly. Tending machines that never rested was mind-numbing, and for small children, it was always dangerous and occasionally lethal. Slater realized the potential for abuse and tried to alleviate it, establishing Sunday schools for his child laborers to teach them basic skills as well as provide them with moral instruction. Lowell never used young children in his mills. Other owners and managers, however, were neither that benevolent nor fastidious. In 1820, one-half of the nation's industrial labor force consisted of children younger than 10 years old, many of them fated to remain in dreadful ignorance, psychologically damaged and physically ruined. Some factories had whipping rooms that were the scenes of dreadful cruelties. Unfortunately, child labor conditions in America's factories would not materially improve until the elimination of child labor itself became a reformist cause in the early twentieth century (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 86).

The Industrial Work Ethic

The people who ran mills and factories expected laborers to show up every workday on time, prepared to devote their full energies to at least 12 hours of work, often 14. The length of the workday became a major point of contention, especially as workers accustomed to the more measured pace of the workshop struggled to adjust to the relentless march of machinery in factories. Accordingly, workplace discipline was another point of conflict, as laborers took unscheduled breaks, chatted with fellow workers, paused for refreshments, and generally asserted independence learned in the simpler workshops of America's preindustrial culture. The most successful practitioners of the old ways in the new factory setting were skilled artisans. The relative simplicity of certain machinery made them indispensable for performing necessary tasks. For others, managers tried to break old habits with punishments that ranged from fines to firings, but American workers have rarely submitted to such treatment. In later times, they would form unions. In the early Republic, they were apt to quit. In good economic times, quitting was easier, as it was in certain seasons, such as spring and fall, when the demands of planting, harvesting, and processing agricultural goods could absorb the unemployed. Americans were a restless bunch and a factory laborer might quit over nothing more tangible than the whimsical impulse to try his luck elsewhere (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 86–87).

BUILDERS

A factory could not build a house, and artisans in the construction trades were immune to the changes that industrialism portended. Construction techniques were less sophisticated than those used in today's buildings, but they were not so simple as to permit anyone to build his own house. Construction of a proper house required specialized skills and tools limited to a variety of craftsman who contributed to the creation of a correctly built structure. Focusing on a specific craft was partly a tradition, but the sizable investment in tools and the years of training necessary to acquire adequate expertise virtually dictated specialization. The proverbial jack-of-all-trades was at best a rarity and probably a myth because few men possessed the time, capital, and acumen to assume such a role. In populous areas, there were brick makers, brick masons, carpenters, joiners, painters, glaziers, plasterers, and stonemasons. In less established regions, some men might ply closely related trades, such as carpentry and joinery, but even that level of general skill had limits. A mason would not have made bricks, for example, nor would a carpenter have forged his nails.

Agreements between tradesmen and customers were usually quite simple and entirely straightforward. Typically consisting of a single page, a contract stipulated the dimensions of the house and contained the master builder's pledge that the work would meet expectations regarding workmanlike standards and practices and would be completed by a specified date. The prospective owner agreed to purchase materials and to ensure that the builder would be paid, even if the owner's death required his heirs and estate to meet the obligation (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 87).

In the absence of an architect, a talented carpenter acted as master builder. Beyond the predetermined dimensions of the structure, the master builder was largely responsible for the design of the house and was in charge of securing the services of other specialized artisans, such as painters. In that regard, the master builder performed the functions of today's contractor. To formulate estimates, he consulted price books that provided extremely detailed labor costs of artisans by trade. Artisans agreed to adhere to these as maximum charges to ensure their employability and to attest to their integrity. During hard economic times or in remote areas, the master builder might have employed some craftsmen at cheaper rates, but never for more than listed in the price books. Payment by the owner normally called for installments at the beginning, middle, and conclusion of the project. The contract also spelled out penalties for breaches (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 87–88).

Construction

Before construction began, the site was cleared and graded in preparation for digging a foundation. Unskilled day laborers toiled at these tasks with picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows. Following this initial excavation, a stonemason began the work of laying the foundation, the first and most crucial part of the construction process, for without a good foundation, everything that followed would be defective.

Carpenters then framed the house, a task that usually required the expertise of several different types of woodworkers. One might be employed to join large pieces into joists and studs, another made roof shingles, another carefully carved and finished tongues and grooves to join floor planking, and another finished interior walls or prepared them with laths for a plasterer. Affluent house builders might secure the services of a master carpenter called a joiner who fashioned items that had to fit precisely, such as door frames, windows, and stairs. The joiner was also responsible for aesthetically important details, such as crown molding.

Pegged joints, a remarkably sound construction method, were used to fasten the house's frame, but nails were available during the period. Before 1790, nails were made by hand in a laborious process that required the flattening out of their heads with a hammer and pounding them to taper on four sides. After 1790, cheaper nails were produced by machines and were tapered only on two sides. Forged wood screws before 1812 had irregular threads, but afterward machined screws came into use, the slots in their heads a bit off center from a hacksaw cut (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 88).

Brick Making and Masonry

Wooden houses required bricks for fireplaces and chimneys, and a wealthy owner might contract for a complete brick house, an expensive proposition because the bricks were made by hand. The process, in fact, required considerable ability to produce anything other than an inferior result. The practiced eye of the artisan brick maker could spot good clay, combine it with the proper amount of sand, add just the right quantity of water, and blend the whole for the correct length of time. He and his journeymen and apprentices then pressed the clay into wooden molds for drying in the sun. The final step involved stacking the bricks in a kiln, where they were fired at a temperature of nearly 2,000 degrees for several days. After they cooled, they were ready for laying. This work was usually done at the building site, where an expert brick maker with experienced help could turn out an astonishing number of bricks in a relatively short time. Though they proved remarkably durable, bricks were almost never uniform in appearance because of uncontrollable variations in clay, water, sand, and the heat of the kiln, something evident in the interestingly inconsistent character of brick buildings and houses erected during the period (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 88–89).

Combining sand, clay, and lime with some sort of bonding agent like cow hair made the mortar for bricklaying. The most difficult ingredient to come by was the lime, which had to be produced by firing limestone or burning shells to extract calcium oxide, or what is called quicklime. The quicklime was mixed with water in a sand pit to produce a chemical reaction so intense that the concoction boiled itself down to a powdery mass of calcium hydroxide, which, when mixed with water, became the bricklayer's mortar.

Bricklayers turned different sides of the bricks to set patterns for a pleasing visual configuration but mainly to create a strong structure, because a durable, solid bond required the alternation of bricks in some fashion. The most common patterns were English bond and Flemish bond. English bond placed the long side of bricks (the courses) in layers that alternated with layers of the end of bricks (the headers). All stretcher layers were aligned vertically, and header layers were placed to center on the stretchers above and below and the mortar joints between them. The Flemish bond alternated stretchers and headers in the same layer to produce what many considered a more elegant appearance, but with the disadvantage of being not quite as stable as English bond. The bricklayer used a trowel, a short-handled hand tool with a pointed blade, to spread, shape, and smooth the mortar. The trowel, a hammer, and a saw were used to cut the bricks to size, and a level and carpenter's square helped ensure that the work was plumb, straight, level, and to specifications (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 89).

Fine window glass from Europe was of the best quality, but American glassblowers could produce serviceable panes through a simple process that created "crown glass." The artisan superheated sand in a kiln, rolled it onto a hollow rod, and blew the molten material into a bubble that he then pressed into the form of a flat disk. The glassblower then tapped the disk off the rod and allowed it to cool before scoring it to crack into rectangular panels. Crown glass was relatively bulky and had swirling patterns that affected its transparency. It was called crown glass because one pane in each batch contained a noticeable blister from the blowpipe. Green glass (because of the mineral content of the sand), sometimes called German glass, was considered inferior for windows. Cylinder glass gradually replaced crown glass because it was both cheaper to make and of better quality. Molten sand was blown into a tube or cylinder. While the glass was still pliable, the cylinder was cut open and the contents pressed into a thin, clear pane absent of swirls and blisters. Panes were a standard size and put in window sashes by a glazier, a job so simple that an artisan painter often did glazing as well. The glazier mixed white lead and linseed oil to make supple putty that rigidly set to hold panes firmly in the sash. Painters had apprentices mix pigments with linseed oil and white lead to produce one of the period's popular colors for interior trim and plastered walls (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 89–90).

BANKING

Uniform currency, ready credit, and a sound central banking system that supported currency and credit were important components in the changing economy of the early Republic. Nothing had the potential to affect the daily life of Americans more directly than these fundamental issues relating to their pocketbooks. During the period, they went through several distinct stages, starting with the extremely unstable economy of the post-Revolutionary years that the first Bank of the United States helped to repair and put on a firmer footing. The uncertainties leading up to the War of 1812 were compounded by the high cost of that conflict. Finally, the mismanagement of the Second Bank of the United States in its early years contributed to the volatile economy that crashed precipitously in 1819, causing dire hardship across all sectors of society (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 90).

Money and Currency

Fundamental to an understanding of the problems confronting the country's young economy is the distinction between money and a circulating medium that represents money. Money has an intrinsic value. That value can derive from several factors, but traditionally it had resulted from the material from which money was made. Coins (or specie) were valuable because they were usually made of a precious metal such as gold, and they had value regardless of who minted them or what was engraved on them. They operated as money in its simplest definition, but even that simplicity was fraught with confusion. The profusion of various types of money in the early Republic gives us an idea of the problem. Coins from every nation were jumbled together in countless transactions throughout the cash-starved country. Even the nomenclature for money was muddled. Westerners called a Spanish reale a "bit," while New Yorkers called it a "shilling." The reale was worth about 12.5¢. Two bits totaled a quarter, four bits a half dollar, and eight bits a full dollar. According to some sources, the term "bit" originated with the curious practice of making change for transactions by physically breaking a dollar coin into eight wedges, or bits (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 90).

Because it circulated in the economy, however imperfectly, money was always currency. Yet currency was not always money, because items that merely represented money could circulate in the economy as well. That sort of currency had no intrinsic value but derived its worth from external sources. Currency in the form of paper notes could be valuable, for instance, because it represented money in the form of specie, either gold or silver coins. More intangibly, but no less effectively, currency could be valuable if people had confidence in it to function as a medium of exchange for goods and services. As long as someone accepted it to satisfy debt, it had value. The more people who accepted the currency, the higher the level of confidence in it, and the more functional it became as a substitute for money. The opposite was also unfortunately true. The paper currency issued by the Continental Congress during the Revolution offered a sorry example of how such specimens, not backed by gold, could turn worthless after losing public confidence. By the end of the war, what was colloquially called the "continental" was not worth the paper it was printed on, and the term actually entered the vernacular as a synonym for anything worthless. The experience colored an entire generation's perception of paper money and resulted in general and enduring suspicions about it (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 90–91).

Money had a great advantage in that it would always spend. As the wretched continental showed, under certain circumstances, currency would not spend at all, or it would not spend as effectively as money. Yet the advantage of currency was that its quantity could be artificially increased or decreased according to the needs and condition of the economy. Because an expanding (or inflated) currency was more abundant, its buying power was reduced, and prices rose to reflect the lower purchasing power. Inflationary cycles, however, usually promoted easier credit, because inflation typically stimulated buying and spending. A diminished amount of currency increased in value, but it also slowed economic activity and usually resulted in tighter credit. Achieving a balance between the two extremes of inflation and deflation was imperative, for that was how healthy economies expanded with reasonable credit while avoiding the hazards of spiraling prices. A key component was creating and sustaining public confidence, as Alexander Hamilton insisted in his plan to restore faith in the public credit. Confidence in currency for many years was founded on a reasonable ratio of currency to gold. A certain amount of currency represented a certain amount of gold and could be exchanged for it in that ratio (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 90).

Of course, this simple definition belies the considerable complexity of all but the most rudimentary economic systems, but the basic principles are sufficient to understand the largely undeveloped but nonetheless turbulent economy of the years following the Revolution. In the first place, many parts of the country had neither money nor currency and conducted transactions through barter. Observers in remote areas of America remarked that one never heard the words "buy" or "sell" but instead heard about "trades" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 90) (Dick 1964, 117).

Where it existed, currency was uniform only in relatively small localities. Currency in the form of bank notes was only as valuable as the reputations of the issuing institution. States chartered banks during the 1780s primarily to issue bank notes to supplement the small amount of money in circulation, but also to accept deposits and make loans. These banks had no requirements to hold a percentage of deposits in reserve; therefore, there was virtually no curb on a bank's capacity to make loans. The soundness of a bank's notes, however, was controlled by its reliability in exchanging them for money, for the bank thus gave a rough indication of its money reserves (liquidity). Every bank would theoretically honor its own notes, and a trustworthy bank would have a sufficiently good reputation in a community and its environs to have the public honor those notes as well, accepting them for goods and services. Yet in distant locales, unfamiliar bank notes could make merchants wary. At the least, notes would be discounted at a rate commensurate with the cost of redeeming them. For example, someone with a note for $10 from a highly regarded bank in Boston would have no trouble using it to purchase $10 worth of goods and services in most of Massachusetts; the farther one took the note from Boston, though, the less valuable it became. Cashing a Boston bank note in Savannah, Georgia, might result in a discount rate of 10 to 20 percent, making the $10 note only worth $8. The balance of the discount rate was the levy for the trouble of cashing it at its distant, originating institution. Bank notes from an unfamiliar institution would likely merit an even larger discount, and some would be worthless (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 91–92).

Obviously, the local nature of currency was troublesome and expensive, and the establishment of a national currency that would be as valuable in Savannah as in Boston was most desirable. Regional efforts to set up central banking systems were an indication of this need, and a truly central bank was the answer. A central bank was essentially a bank used by, and exerting control over, other banks. For instance, small banks in rural areas usually had accounts at a large bank in a nearby city to smooth the progress of their transactions over a wider region. Yet a national central bank required government sanction to control the money supply, whether through specie or currency, and thereby promote economic stability (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 92).

The Bank of the United States

In 1791, the federal government chartered a central bank, the Bank of the United States. The bank, as a repository of government funds and a source of loans for individuals as well as federal and state governments, was the source of great controversy because many thought it nothing more than a servant of special interests. State banks were especially critical of its operations because notes on the Bank of the United States were redeemable at face value throughout much of the country, making it difficult for state banks to compete for customers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 92).

The bank's most important public function was to regulate the amount of notes that state banks could issue by distributing money reserves to different parts of the country. Because it was the depository for the U.S. Treasury, it could exert enormous influence in this regard, and economic historians generally praise its operations as sound, profitable, and stabilizing. Several potential panics were averted when the Bank of the United States transferred funds to prop up endangered banks on the verge of failure, and it went quite far in establishing a uniform currency. In 1811, its approximately $5 million in notes amounted to 20 percent of the nation's circulating currency. Yet, its operations were extremely unpopular with state banks constrained by its control and disadvantaged by its issuance of reliable notes. Currency issued by the bank was never discounted, whereas notes from state banks could be subject to discounts ranging from 1 to 100 percent. Finally, political pressure from state banking interests and widespread misgivings among the public about a national bank caused the bank's demise in 1811, when Congress refused to charter it for another 20 years (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 92–93).

The Second Bank of the United States

For the five years that followed, the American economy operated without the stabilizing influence of a central fiscal institution. State banks in this vacuum greatly inflated the currency with extravagant issues of bank notes. Unfortunately, legislatures chartered additional state banks that worsened the inflationary situation even as the economy was being generally assailed by the war with England. As should have been expected, the extraordinary rate of inflation had a corresponding effect on prices, pushing them up more than 13 percent a year. In response to this mess, Congress chartered the Second Bank of the United States in 1816 as an exact duplicate of its predecessor. In its early years, though, a mediocre administration and occasional forays into fraud too often described the new national bank's activities, and it failed in its primary responsibilities to the average American citizen. The BUS did not maintain a stable currency ratio, nor did it exert much effort to control an explosive postwar economic boom. Finally, its attempts to restrict credit in

1819 contributed to a financial panic that turned into a major depression. Banks across the country failed, people lost their savings, foreclosures of farms rose, thousands of small business folded, and large firms cut payrolls, increasing unemployment. "Instability seems more common to Americans than to the youth of other countries," noted Giovanni Antonio Grassi, an Italian Jesuit who was president of Georgetown College from 1812 to 1817; his perceptive observation was made even before these events unfolded. "They frequently have the misfortune to see the finest hopes betrayed by tragic changes" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 93) (Handlin 1949, 143).

The BUS would eventually rebound under responsible management and the resumption of steadying policies, but for farmers, small merchants, and artisans who had felt the hard consequences of the economic downturn, the damage to the bank's reputation was resonant and permanent. As the country moved into the 1820s, anger over the presumed role that the BUS had played in wrecking the economy coalesced into the new political movement of Jacksonian Democracy, a movement that would play an important role in shaping the lives of working people in the decades that followed (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 93).

Recreational Life

LEISURE

Leisure activities during the early Republic were similar to those of the colonial period, especially in that they usually took second place to work. The amount of work required to provide clothes, shelter, and sufficient food for a family meant that only the very young and the very rich could indulge in true relaxation. Older children and most adults sought to add pleasure to busy lives by contriving ways to make their labors entertaining and social.

There was also pressure from a culture that disapproved of pointless play. In the years immediately following the American Revolution, purists argued that amusement for amusement's sake was inappropriate for citizens in a virtuous republic. Americans, they insisted, should avoid the idle dissoluteness of European aristocrats. Ingrained notions of what constituted civic virtue dictated that even leisure should improve one's character, as well as society in general. In addition, the Puritan heritage of New England, the religious revival of the 1730s and 1740s known as the Great Awakening, and the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century prompted many Americans to regard amusements as decadent self-indulgence. They believed that time on Earth should be devoted to its betterment and service to God. The attitude had adherents in all parts of the country, but New England's Puritan tradition of industry, frugality, and piety made it more prevalent in that region (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 95).

In cities, not only did limited space restrict leisure pursuits, but business owners and managers of workshops also discouraged activities that distracted laborers from their work. Consequently, pastimes that increasingly resembled later spectator sports arose more or less surreptitiously in cities. Back rooms in bars or saloons were the sites of cockfights, dogfights, and bare-knuckle prizefights. Rural Americans watched the same kind of sports, of course, and wagered on them as exuberantly as their urban counterparts, but Americans in cities and towns exhibited an especially avid enthusiasm for these forerunners of spectator sports (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 95–96).

Currier and Ives color lithograph of cottage life, summer. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Like all aspects of American culture, leisure activities were affected by differences in religion, region, social class, gender, age, and race. Even in the most serious and industrious of areas, however, people found the need to relax, socialize, and, on occasion, simply have fun (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 96).

HOLIDAYS

Americans did not engage in many leisure activities because they simply did not have the time. The majority of Americans worked six days a week, and most reserved Sunday for worship and sedate activities, and on farms there was always work that needed to be done, even on the Sabbath. While many European countries, particularly those with predominantly Catholic populations, celebrated an abundance of religious holidays that featured a variety of amusements, the United States observed few holidays throughout the nation. Reflecting their Protestantism, many Americans considered holiday festivities sinful and did not observe Christmas with revelry. New Englanders, with their Puritan heritage and the corresponding determination to avoid anything that resembled Catholicism, observed Christmas most somberly. Southerners, on the other hand, at least stopped work for a few days around Christmas, even allowing slaves a week of rest. Special food marked the occasion, but if gifts were exchanged at all, they were modest. Planters typically gave gifts of clothes and extra food to their slaves during the Christmas season.

Areas of the country settled by Germans saw the most enthusiastic celebrations of Christmas. Work came to a stop for a few days, and on Christmas Eve families put up

Christmas trees in their homes while drinking beer and singing songs. Areas in close proximity to large German American settlements gradually adopted similar customs, but not until later years did the manifestation of Christmas featuring a decorated tree and presents become characteristic (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 96).

Across the country, there were a few regional holidays. Many areas of New England marked the end of autumn with a harvest commemoration that resembled Thanksgiving of the later Victorian era. Most communities set aside days for men to gather for militia training, usually to coincide in rural areas with sessions of the county court. People from miles around traveled to the county seat, either to conduct business with the court or to participate in the militia drill. In the rural Northeast, the nearness of towns and good roads made the journey to these events relatively easy, but in the South and on the frontier, it could take days. Nonetheless, people regarded these occasions as important and found them enjoyable diversions. Lacking transportation did not stop poor citizens. They thought nothing of trekking long distances to relish even the briefest time with friends and relatives. They crowded those precious times with sporting contests and picnics and allowed their excited children to play past twilight (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 96–97).

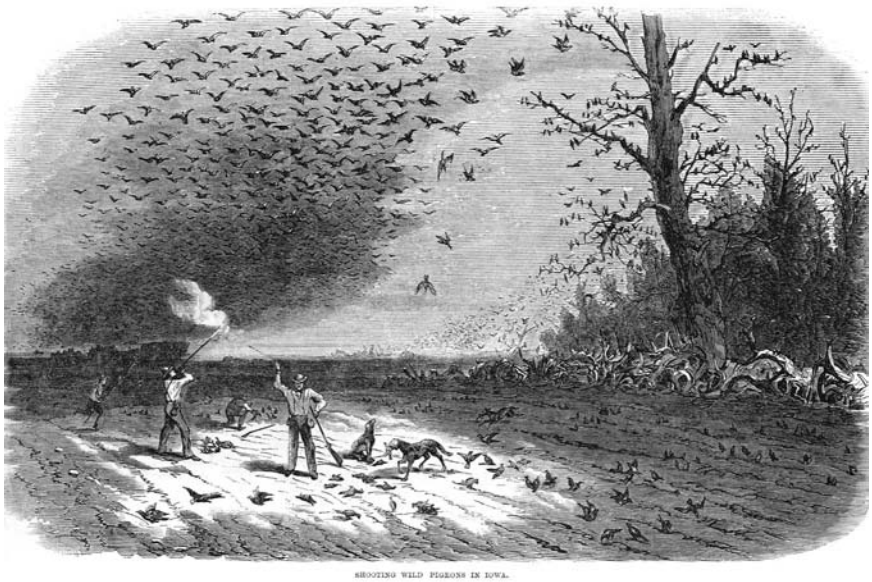
Unofficial holidays observed in towns with parades and speeches were the precursors of modern patriotic celebrations. After George Washington's death in 1799, his birthday became such an event. Laborers might be given a few hours to watch the festivities, but they seldom had the entire day off from work. Otherwise, the only holiday officially celebrated by the entire nation was the Fourth of July. On that day, workplaces in American towns and cities closed. People picnicked, played games, listened to speeches, and at nightfall marveled at fireworks (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 97).

THE SOUTH

The South possibly enjoyed a greater variety of amusements and leisure activities than any other section of the country. There were fewer religious proscriptions on such pursuits in the South, and because rural inhabitants could not rely on organized amusements like theater, lectures, and concerts—events at the mercy of calendars and clocks—southerners actually enjoyed more liberty in how they filled their leisure time.

The southern aristocracy likely felt the fewest moral or religious constraints on its leisure activities, particularly the males of this class. Although the elite southern male spent much of his time supervising the operations of a large business concern—such as a plantation or a commercial firm in coastal cities—he pursued leisure activities as well. In addition, societal expectations required wealthy country gentlemen to imitate the lifestyle of European aristocrats, especially the English gentry. A southern gentleman was expected to own fine horses, extend lavish hospitality to visitors, especially if they were relatives, enjoy excellent music and good literature, know the steps to fashionable dances, and charm ladies of all ages (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 97).

Hunting



"Shooting Wild Pigeons in Iowa." Wood Engraving. © Corbis.

Hunting was probably the most popular sport among southern men, whatever their economic class. Country gentlemen rode to their hounds for hours in pursuit of deer, wild boar, foxes, and other animals. Wealthy plantation owners had special horses for the chase, packs of well-bred dogs for the hunt, and specially tailored riding clothes, often made in Europe to imitate more accurately the British aristocracy's hunting garb. Hunts could be gala social occasions, especially the fox hunt, which culminated with dozens of smartly dressed men on first-rate horses, sometimes in the company of ladies clinging to sidesaddles, all pounding after hounds chasing a small, panicked fox. Southerners "loved the yelp of the pack and the excitement of the galloping group of horsemen, and the hard ride" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 97) (Simkins and Roland 1972, 147).

When not on horseback, southern men scouted forests or stalked marshes for any number of bird species that were considered fair game. Hunters might return home at night with hundreds of birds or other small animals in their sacks. The hunter's reputation in his neighborhood depended on the sheer volume of the animals he killed, and, like much of what southerners did in their leisure time, hunting occasionally included wagers, the winner whoever killed the most animals. Among less affluent southerners, hunting birds or game animals such as deer combined leisure with necessity, because their quarry often fed their families (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 98).

Fishing

Fishing was an integral part of the economy for much of the eastern seaboard of the United States. In New England in particular, with waters that were rich with mackerel, cod, halibut, and other varieties of fish, many flocked to the sea to supplement their diet by catching fish. In the Chesapeake region, oysters were a highly prized delicacy. As the United States expanded, the many lakes, rivers, and streams that Americans came across supplied them with an abundant variety of fish and shellfish (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 98).

Contests

All classes and races enjoyed cockfighting, a sport that attracted audiences anywhere in the nation. A wealthy planter or a yeoman farmer might own the cock, or rooster, but everyone (though mostly males) from the community came to watch the two birds fight, sometimes to the death. While the owner of the victorious bird won a purse, everyone else, through numerous wagers, also had a stake in the outcome.

Most wagers involved animals of one sort or another, and no sport captured the imagination of gamblers more than horse racing. Horse races in the South, which had been regular occurrences since the seventeenth century, could be organized affairs between well-bred horses of the plantation elite or more spontaneous races between farmers simply proud of the speed of their riding horses. In the more organized events, each of the owners would put up money for the purse, or local promoters might supply the purse to bring spectators into town for the event. In any case, as in cockfighting, the purse was only a small percentage of the money eventually involved, for side wagers were usually significant. Every man from miles around would thus be involved in the outcome of the match. Most bettors attended the race, making the event a social gathering for people of all classes and from all backgrounds. Yet organized horse racing stood apart from other sports in the South because virtually all the contending horses belonged to the wealthy elite. Owning such animals and displaying a willingness to wager large sums on them was one way for a man to tell the world that he was an aristocrat. In fact, high-stakes gambling on all sports was a hallmark of those belonging to the plantation elite (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 98).

Major towns like Charleston, South Carolina, had at least one major public racetrack, and smaller communities usually maintained a racetrack as well, especially in plantation areas. Race week in Charleston was an important annual social event, and because tracks were owned and maintained by the community's respectable gentry, women could also attend the event. Plantation owners built their own racetracks to show off their racehorses, and buying an expensive racehorse to enter in local races was a convenient way for a newcomer to gain entry to the privileged circles in the neighborhood. Wealthy planters eager to have competitive racehorses might spend thousands of dollars and scour the country to acquire them. Many hours of training and preparation went into grooming a championship racehorse, for such animals, particularly when they won, added to their owner's prestige (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 98–99).

Horse racing was most prevalent in the South during the early Republic. The religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening caused many northern communities and even some northern states to outlaw the sport because it prompted gambling. In fact, for most southerners, wagering was what made the sport so appealing. Chronically cash poor, they risked such things as livestock, farm goods, wagons, implements, and sometimes even their slaves on the outcome of a race. Those who trained horses and the jockeys who rode them were often slaves who belonged to the horse's owner or whose services he acquired by lease. Jockeys who were especially talented in handling horses often became trainers after age and weight made them unsuitable for competitive riding. Slaves with such talents were extremely valuable, and they often received rewards when their horses won races. Some were so successful that they eventually bought their freedom and earned comfortable incomes riding or training racehorses. In any case, their value to their owners gave them a status enjoyed by few slaves during the period. Some jockeys became famous throughout the country while remaining slaves and were treated with a certain amount of deference, even by prominent whites. Perhaps the most famous of the period, Simon was such a talented rider that on more than one occasion he "alarmed the trainer of the other horse" when he appeared on the racetrack (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 99) (Hotaling 1999, 44).

As in the later history of horse racing, the most famous contests of the period were match races involving only two horses. Often match races were quarter races, called such because the track was only a quarter mile in distance, a course that tested speed rather than endurance. As breeding practices were refined to produce thoroughbreds, races over longer distances became common, a mile being the standard (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 99).

Southerners always enjoyed a good fight, but by the beginning of the period, the brawls that had been a common occurrence on the frontier were being consigned to lower social classes and were becoming less frequent and even illegal in many places. Still, the practice continued of organizing bouts between especially proficient fighters, usually poor whites or slaves whose owners wanted to capitalize on their fighting skills. Although these fights were sometimes referred to as boxing matches, they little resembled modern boxing. The men started in a standing position, but they quickly ended up on the ground, literally descending to a clawing, nasty display of brute strength and feral cunning. If a fight remained too tame for the crowd, it would begin to shout, "Bite, kick, and gouge" as encouragement for the fighters to draw blood. Antagonists rarely emerged without some degree of mutilation, and spectators laid bets not only on the outcome of the match but on the severity of injuries as well (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 99–100) (Dick 1964, 140).

Spectators of these contests and the fighters who gained their reputations by surviving them might have defined what they were doing as entertainment. Yet more than merely letting off a little steam or enjoying the thrill of wagering on proficient fighters, southern men, particularly in the backcountry, felt compelled to protect their reputations and the honor of their families, almost at any cost. Because a man's status within the community was determined by how his neighbors perceived him, any aspersion on his reputation, whether it questioned his prowess specifically or his integrity in general, required an immediate challenge, or honor was lost. Some scholars have attributed southerners' exaggerated preoccupation with honor to their living with the institution of slavery, especially because slavery tended to equalize the status of white males even as it made them acutely aware of the degraded condition of slaves. To be perceived as inferior to another white male was to emulate the lot of a slave, even if only symbolically. To defend one's honor was to establish as well as sustain one's equality.

As the frontier became more settled, an elite class developed there that aped the habits of its eastern counterpart, not only in dress and daily life but also in how matters of honor were settled. During the colonial period, refined men in the more established parts of the South had abandoned boxing or wrestling matches as ways to resolve disputes, instead resorting to the French custom of dueling with pistols. One would hardly describe the event as a pastime for the principals, but it was for the community. Its interest in such proceedings, particularly in the rituals leading up to a duel, was always keen.

Duels were not spectator events because protocol restricted attendance to the principals, their representatives, a referee, and often a physician. Yet the community at large was usually well aware of an impending contest weeks before it took place. Often insults exchanged in a local newspaper provoked a challenge, making all readers privy to the unfolding drama. After an official challenge had been issued and accepted, gossip—always a favorite leisure activity—quickly carried the news throughout the locale and, if the disputants were famous, beyond. After the duel, gossip broadcast its results, often with grand embellishments that underscored either the altruistic heroism or abject villainy exhibited at the event (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 100).

Taverns

American men enjoyed visiting their local taverns. Most southerners, though, lived in rural areas where the nearest tavern was hours away, an inconvenience that made southern men's visits less frequent than those of northerners. Southerners usually stopped at taverns or inns during their travels to pass the evening with the assembled locals in public rooms before retiring for the night (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 100).

Travelers brought news of the outside world and made taverns the best place to gather for both idle gossip about the neighborhood and solid information about major events of the day. When not swapping rumors or news, the men drank ale or spirits, smoked (usually pipes), and played games, most of which involved gambling. Card games such as whist, one of the most popular games, and dice games were almost always played for money. Others diversions like checkers, called "draughts" at the time, could be played simply to pass the time or, for serious competitors, to gain local renown (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 100–101).

Entertaining

A scarcity of taverns in the rural South obliged people there to conduct much of their socializing in private homes, a circumstance that gave birth to the renowned traditions of southern hospitality. Southern plantation owners recorded in journals and diaries how a night seldom passed without a guest in the house. Friends and family, traveling to towns or simply touring the area, often spent nights at private homes while making their way along their route. More than selfless generosity encouraged the welcome extended to these wayfarers. Aware that their own travels would be occasions for reciprocal hospitality, hosts took care to present their guests with meals and quarters. But such obligations had limits. Strangers had no claim to them, and the host might invariably accept payment for putting up an uninvited traveler.

The loneliness of rural isolation encouraged parties, barbecues, and dances among the plantation elite as well as middle-class farmers. Smaller dinner parties might begin with a lavish meal of numerous courses followed by a musical recital that featured both talented and marginally skilled musicians on pianoforte, violin, or flute.

Ladies might sing. Larger gatherings involved dancing that typically continued well into the night. Because many attendees came from miles away, they had a persuasive reason to stay and carry on the revelry for days. During the day, men busied themselves with games or sports, such as hunting, fishing, lawn bowling, and horseshoes. The women read, often aloud to each other, sewed, or simply chatted. In the afternoon, everybody reconvened for a barbecue or fish fry followed by more dancing and drinking.

People enjoyed these social gatherings whether the music was lively or sedate and the dancing vivacious or staid. Most people lived in the country, and barbecues and barn dances were more than ways to escape the drudgery of their daily routines. They served as chances to bind together communities and forge friendships with neighbors. They also provided the setting for a timeless dance of another sort, whether in the candlelit ballroom of a plantation house or on the straw-covered planking of a newly raised barn. Flirtation was a high art, and courtships quickly blossomed and just as quickly withered at these gatherings as older boys took their first bashful steps toward blushing girls. Whether powdered and perfumed or clad in simple homespun, the girls were made pretty by the attention of clumsy suitors and watchful fathers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 101).

Travel

The ordeals of traveling in the rural South provide a dreary chronicle, whether one was lucky enough to journey by river or, as was more likely, doomed to the tribulations posed by consistently bad roads. Little wonder that people traveled only if they had to, generally because of business. Yet during the early Republic, some intrepid southerners began traveling for amusement. There were few tourist destinations, but their rarity made those that did exist more attractive. Virginia boasted two of the most popular early resorts, one at Hot Springs and the other at Bowyer's Sulphur Springs, which would eventually be renamed and achieve fame as White Sulphur Springs. Both were mountain communities built around warm mineral springs whose purported healing powers initially attracted the sick. By the early nineteenth century, however, tourists were traveling to the springs as well, where they could escape the summer heat of the lowlands. They lodged in crude, rustic cabins to enjoy the cool mountain air and take the waters of the springs (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 101–2).

In the early years, the journey to these resorts was too difficult for those living farther south. Rich plantation owners in the South Carolina Low Country and along the Georgia coast therefore sought out other ways to escape the summer heat and avoid the diseases it promoted. Some took sea voyages, primarily to the North, but occasionally to Europe. The wealthiest planters also kept homes in Savannah or Charleston, where their families and house slaves could reside during the summer months. Cooler sea breezes made life tolerable, and tropical diseases were usually less rampant. After relocating to their town homes, planters and their families enjoyed a social season full of balls, dinners, races, and parties. Whether set in a large private home or an elite social club, the party's center of the festivities was always a large ballroom. In other rooms, tables laden with a rich variety of food and colorful punches encouraged mingling by those resting from the dancing. Men who wished to smoke retired with brandy to a book-lined study, aptly referred to as the house's library.

The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 officially made New Orleans an American city, but socially it remained a cosmopolitan mélange of European customs as well as languages. It also remained an unendurable cauldron of soggy heat and brewing disease during the summer. New Orleans's Creoles—the people of Spanish or French descent—knew well the discomforts and perils of living there, and they did their best to flee the city during the hottest months. In the winter, though, wealthy Creoles made New Orleans a place so dazzling in its social pursuits that there was no place like it anywhere else in the country. Mostly Catholics, they enthusiastically celebrated every religious holiday on the church's calendar, and hardly a balmy winter night passed that did not include a luxurious ball or an elegant soiree. The season culminated on the eve of Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent, a day known as "Fat Tuesday" or Mardi Gras, a celebration so raucous that it made the city as notorious as it was fascinating (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 102).

Theater

Southerners enjoyed the theater regardless of gender or class. Classics, especially the plays of Shakespeare, ribald comedies, and slapstick farces found eager audiences in larger cities like Charleston and New Orleans as well as smaller towns. In rural villages, people flocked from the countryside to see anything onstage, awed by the make-believe magic and impressed by the exotica of traveling troupes of actors. Those brave souls might find themselves performing *Hamlet* in an opulent theater to appreciative and respectful audiences in Savannah one week, and to no less receptive but sometimes wildly participatory spectators in a small village's rough-hewn playhouse the next (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 102–3).

THE WEST

The West more resembled the South than the North in its leisure activities, yet the West did exhibit some unique characteristics. Pastimes there were usually more raucous and included both genders as well as broader cross sections of class. The biggest problem for frontier people was their lack of spare time for leisure, because unlike the eastern middle and upper classes, westerners' days were filled with work. Like southerners, people on the frontier typically lived in rural isolation, craved social contact, and consequently congregated whenever possible to worship, socialize, share information, and have fun. Visitors to the American frontier commented about how westerners would drop whatever they were doing to watch a fight or a race, or to pursue any other amusement, habits that drew scornful observations about the lack of work ethic among these rough-hewn backwoods people. Although it was true that most westerners were willing to miss an entire day of labor to watch horses gallop over a makeshift track, disapproving visitors did not understand the rigors of frontier life. Isolation was among the pioneer's heaviest burdens. When he had a chance to jostle and laugh with other people, he leaped at it.

Whether in small or large groups, western amusements almost always involved alcohol and gambling. Like southerners, westerners loved a good horse race, though their frontier horses were usually lumbering beasts of burden more accustomed to pulling a dray than running a course. Westerners too enjoyed blood sports such as cockfighting and hunting, but hunting was a practical undertaking to provide meat for the table as well as diversion (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 103).

Useful Socializing

Western gatherings were frequently fashioned to accomplish an important task like raising a barn or clearing a field. People found ways to make such events social as well as work occasions. While the men built the barn, the women visited around the kitchen fire, making food for the party that followed.

Logrolling was another social gathering that revolved around work. Whether it was a new arrival or a neighbor who needed to clear a new field, people would come from miles around to help cut down trees and prepare the huge logs for use as building materials or fuel. Frontier families made harvest festivals some of the most joyous events of the year. After chores such as husking corn, the group would eat a large meal that the women had prepared and then have a dance. Dancing was prevalent on the frontier, a pastime especially enjoyed by men and women because it was far less formal than dances held in the East. Frontier dances were often held after work, sometimes in the local tavern, boisterous affairs in which couples reeled and capered to loud, energetic music provided by local musicians. Again, the isolation of frontier life made these occasions both memorable as recreation and important as opportunities for older boys and girls to meet and begin courtships. Young couples made the most of such times. They sang, clapped their hands to lively melodies, danced well into the night, and occasionally slipped away for a stroll and a stolen kiss. Older folks watched these proceedings, perhaps sharing a dance or two, but mostly passing the time smoking their pipes, women included, telling familiar stories, and resting from the day's hard toil (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 103–4).

Storytelling

Whether in taverns or country stores (which on the frontier were frequently one and the same), or out camping during a hunt or on a front porch at twilight, people filled idle hours with storytelling. The adventurous life of the pioneer was exciting enough, but exploits regularly grew with each telling to produce much of the country's folklore, a series of mythic vignettes collectively referred to as uniquely American tall tales. Frontier folks never tired of hearing tall tales, especially when narrated by one of the period's great storytellers. Legendary feats of strength, fabulously fast horses, invincible fighters, and unerringly accurate marksmen populated the legends, sometimes including comical bungles by early pioneers. Like barn dances, the stories also carried more import than mere amusement. They provided barely literate rural people an oral tradition with which to pass down their heritage to succeeding generations (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 104).

Hunting on the Frontier

When men on the frontier were not clearing trees, plowing fields, harvesting crops, or mending fences, they were wandering the abundant woodlands hunting game or fishing on the creeks, rivers, and lakes. The profusion of animals on the frontier meant that a skilled marksman was never without meat, but it also meant that an important pastime for many American men was just beyond their front doors. Sometimes they went alone; other times they traveled in groups, driving their prey before them for more efficient killing in volume. Arranging themselves in a large circle, they forced everything within it toward the center. One Kentucky newspaper reported in 1796 that one group of hunters "produced seven thousand nine hundred and forty-one Squirrels killed by them in one day." Contemporary accounts of some group hunts during the period numbered the animals bagged in the hundreds, including bears and deer as well as smaller prey like squirrels and turkeys (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 104) (Dulles 1965, 71).

Frontier Contests

Like Americans elsewhere, western frontiersmen loved to gamble and would wager on almost anything. Betting on the number of animals killed in a hunt was a way of making the outing more interesting. To keep their shooting skills sharp, they staged shooting contests that earned the best marksmen prizes while offering an opportunity for everyone to gamble on the outcome. Such shooting matches were made into social occasions to which entire families came from miles away to watch competitors vie for a barrel of local whiskey or a cow. Marksmen took their turns at the targets, and male spectators placed bets on who would win and side bets on how well others would strike the target.

Shooting-match wagers were carefully organized in comparison to other betting occasions. Most sporting events that westerners wagered on were generally less formal than similar instances in the East. For example, horse racing was popular, but competitors generally rode their own horses, and tracks were not well maintained, if they existed at all. With more than a half-dozen horses running full tilt toward a makeshift finish line, frontier races were a thrilling combination of impromptu and perilous tactics. Riders intentionally interfered with opponents' mounts by thrusting hands in their faces. They cut off an adjacent rider to clip his horse's forelegs with their flying rear hooves. Western horse racing made more violent an already hazardous sport.

Showing off a fast horse and masterful riding ability was a way to demonstrate physical prowess on the frontier. There were others as well. Wrestling was the most popular contest on the western frontier and in the southern backcountry, but men also engaged in footraces and throwing competitions that had them hurling anything from tomahawks for accuracy to large logs for distance. They swung carefully honed axes in log-splitting challenges to test physical stamina and precision chopping.

Whatever the activity, numerous wagers were placed in anticipation of the matches, and money or materials changed hands after their conclusion (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 105).

Whether organized or not, frontier fights early on became the stuff of legend. A spontaneous fight in a tavern—drinking was always a sure catalyst for these affairs—fetched every man in sprinting distance to see its outcome. Particularly good fighters challenged others in organized contests for prizes as well as renown in a community, but such bouts were organized only in the loosest sense of the word, with no holds barred. Adversaries did anything to win, except use a weapon, in a style of fighting quaintly called Rough-and-Tumble. It was more like gnaw-and-claw, though, what with the gouging of eyes and the biting of ears, noses, and even testicles, gruesome tactics that encouraged the fainthearted to concede victory. Serious fighters grew their fingernails long and filed them to points to better gouge eyes. Frontier life was filled with dangers that carried the menace of accidental injury, but fighters inflicted and risked premeditated mutilation, physical marks of contests that were strange trophies because they were measured by what was missing—fingers, ears, eyes—rather than what was won. A traveler noted that once he entered Kentucky, he "saw more than one man, who wanted an eye," noting that he "was now in the region of 'gouging'" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 105–6) (Dulles 1965, 74).

THE NORTH

The North was rural in character, much like the rest of the country, but its farmers, especially in New England, were more likely to live in villages and trudge daily to their fields. Northerners consequently saw one another more regularly than did people in the rural South and West. In addition, some places in the North were tending to urbanization, and city dwellers naturally lived in much greater proximity to their neighbors and saw them daily. Northerners had the chance to engage in more social forms of leisure than people in other parts of the country, but their leisure activities by circumstance were limited to the kind that could be pursued in more confined areas (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 106).

Industrialism and Leisure

Many employers believed that leisure bred vice and laziness. The attitude was a legacy of Puritan New England that viewed idleness as providing an opportunity for evil thoughts and sinfulness. During the beginnings of American industrialization, the old Puritan idea took on a new practical importance in the marketplace, for employers fretted about employees whose pursuit of leisure included strong drink that diminished their productivity.

Even Americans who did not work in factories found that urban life made the workplace inescapably separate from ordinary interactions with friends and family. Men in cities worked away from their homes more and more, and the time they spent with their families became their primary leisure activity. Families went to parks together, read quietly or aloud by the fire in the evenings, or sang songs around the piano to relax from the workday and renew their household ties (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 106).

The Second Great Awakening and Leisure

The Second Great Awakening was important in every region of the country, but New England and the area along the Erie Canal, known in western New York as the "burned-over district" for the intensity of religious revivals there, probably felt its impact on leisure activity the most. Ministers everywhere condemned spectator amusements such as horse racing, cockfighting, and card playing for the gambling they encouraged, denouncing dancing and drinking for good measure. Yet New England and areas of New York and the West settled by New England migrants believed the condemnations most avidly and embraced their prohibitions most eagerly. Powerful ministers and awakened congregations secured local laws to ban amusements such as horse racing and gambling and compel a strict observance of Sundays. Many feared that an activity that encouraged gambling was "the ruinous pursuit of the idle and the vicious" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 106) (Chafetz 1960, 49).

Northern Taverns

Not all the preaching in the world could diminish for some the pull of the tavern or public house (pub, for short). Its lure remained as strong in the North as in other parts of the country, and many men still spent much of their spare time there. Drink was not the only attraction. After a long day's work, the camaraderie of talking with friends and playing games was appealing.

Taverns and pubs differed in the North, particularly the quaint rural pubs of farming villages as contrasted with the great variety of pubs and inns in larger cities like New York. In cities, pubs catered to a particular clientele rather than to the various tastes of an entire town or to the random traveler who happened in. For example, some pubs were described as "coffee houses" to distinguish them from working-class establishments. They served upper-class customers with better food and drink and generally featured more refined games and entertainments. They were also inns that offered lodging to more select travelers, typically men in the city on business. If women accompanied their husbands, the inn provided private bedrooms and dining rooms that could accommodate ladies. Otherwise, wealthy businessmen of the city could mingle with important travelers in the common room to discuss everything from the politics of the day to the prices of imports and exports. They lubricated their discussions with a variety of beverages. Beer, ale, cider, port, Madeira, sherry, and fine wines complemented an assortment of mixed drinks such as "flip" or "syllabub," a mixture of cider, sugar, nutmeg, milk, and cream. Refinement aside, such concoctions could be the ruin of many a wealthy patron whose dulled wits at the gambling tables shrunk his pocketbook.

Upper-class inns were primarily set apart by their food. They were cleaner and presented better appointments than working-class pubs, but it was the high quality of their board and the variety of beef, ham, oysters, and the like that determined whether wealthy customers would return. One delicacy served at finer taverns in the Northeast was turtle soup, a dish usually unavailable in private homes. Because the turtles that were imported from the Deep South and the West Indies weighed several hundred pounds, they were too large for private kitchens and in the days before refrigeration made too much soup for a single family to consume. Fashionable inns touted the availability of sea turtle soup in their dining rooms as an irresistible treat, and a kitchen's reputation for fine food could make an establishment a stylish place for private parties. Elite clubs attracted such social gatherings with special upstairs rooms designed for dancing and dining (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 107).

Pubs for middle-class males also supplied a practical service for the community by providing meeting rooms for clubs and a large room for parties or receptions. The trappings in such establishments were not as fine as those in the more expensive inns, but the food was hearty and the accommodations adequate for travelers who could not afford nicer taverns. Just as the affluent citizens did in their inns, clerks and small business owners gathered in their taverns at the end of the workday to discuss politics or business affairs (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 107–8).

Those who worked on the city's docks, in factories, or for artisans also had their pubs. More crudely furnished, they served plain food and simple beverages like beer, ale, and rum. The surroundings did not mean that the pastimes pursued there were any different, though. At these establishments, men still came together to gamble, tell stories, and complain about their lot in life. A man too busy to visit a pub could get a bottle at one of the city's many small grocery stores, which sold all types of beverages. For some, these "grog shops" were a regular stop on the way to or from work, a fact that made them prime targets for the emerging temperance movement. One British observer noted that while rarely did one see Americans in a falling-down-drunk state, "many are throughout the day under the influence of liquor" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 108) (Batterberry and Batterberry 1973, 43).

Colonial times and the years of the early Republic were the heyday for the tavern and inn. By the 1820s, their time as places for wealthy businessmen and travelers to congregate was waning. Instead, hotels and restaurants were becoming popular as local gathering places for the economic elite. For other classes, the growth of the temperance movement was to make the sociable tavern into the iniquitous saloon, and the patronizing of it a cause for reproach rather than a source of relaxation (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 108).

Hotels and Restaurants

Cities like New York took the lead in establishing luxury hotels on the European model. These businesses served not only travelers but also the city's upper and middle classes as social gathering places. The first floor included a bar for gentlemen, a dining room, and a parlor where women could have tea. For posh social clubs to hold annual or semiannual balls, the second floor typically included a large hall that could accommodate an orchestra for dancing with smaller side rooms for serving refreshments. The third floor's smaller rooms were for club meetings or smaller receptions, and guest rooms were on the fourth floor and above, up to the sixth floor, which was the highest built before the advent of steel girder construction.

The popularity of hotel dining rooms encouraged some entrepreneurs to open establishments devoted to serving full meals in a relaxing atmosphere. Like hotels modeled on European establishments, these restaurants were more socially suitable for ladies than taverns and pubs. As cities such as New York developed a more refined nightlife featuring concerts and theater productions, it became both necessary and lucrative to provide establishments catering to women who attended these functions. Some restaurants even began serving elaborate late-night meals during the usually lengthy theater intermission, special repasts that were the forerunners of today's post-theater supper. On most evenings, though, restaurants were packed primarily with men, relaxing over a good meal and fine brandy (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 108).

Women's Leisure

Wives no doubt craved the same level of social activity as their husbands, but etiquette considered it inappropriate for respectable women to patronize pubs. The exceptions were community social occasions like wedding celebrations. Only on theater or concert nights did their husbands invite them to a restaurant. Otherwise, women socialized at home or church with other women. Those who did not work outside the home usually found opportunities to socialize casually with neighbors every day as well as during more organized activities. Middle- and upper-class women called on one another regularly. During such visits the hostess or her servants would serve tea or other light refreshments, and the ladies would discuss mutual friends, their charitable or church activities, or make plans for other social gatherings. Such visits were often unorganized and unannounced, while other women's social activities could be painstakingly planned. Formal tea parties included friends, wives of their husbands' business associates, or new women in the neighborhood. Women who accepted such an invitation were expected to reciprocate at some time in the future.

Women in the urban North also organized sewing circles to allow participants to congregate in one house to do their family's sewing while visiting. Such social events were sometimes charitable exercises in which ladies sewed garments for the poor. In the rural North, South, and West, women met in quilting bees to stitch blankets for themselves and the community. While centered on a useful activity, these events were cheerful chances for busy women to chat with neighbors (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 109).

Spectator Sports

As northern cities grew in population and area, the opportunity for shared pastimes like hunting, fishing, and other outdoor pursuits declined. As a result, northern urbanites turned to spectator sports and activities to fill their brief leisure time. Though increasingly frowned on by churches, gambling was often a central part of spectator activities. Northern cities held indoor cockfights and dogfights as well as human wrestling matches. Prizefighting did not become widely popular until the 1830s and

1840s, but such contests occurred, especially after formalized procedures for matches were imported from Great Britain (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 109).

Northerners enjoyed horse races, but the influence of the Second Great Awakening led to their being outlawed in some communities. Before that, horse racing had had a long tradition in the North. It was especially popular in New York from colonial times, and Long Island was the site for some of the country's most famous races, drawing people from great distances to watch renowned horses compete. The events were uniquely democratic, anticipating the egalitarian impulses of the Jacksonian Age, as people from all classes took ferries operating from Manhattan or New Jersey to Long Island, carrying picnics to spend the day watching races and enjoying the company of friends and family. The upper classes owned the thoroughbreds, but people from all strata of society enjoyed the races and were dismayed when laws banned the sport in many parts of the North (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 109–10).

Theater

In large northern cities, particularly New York and Philadelphia, the theater was a popular diversion. America's first professional actors were primarily from Great Britain and had performed in these theaters during the American Revolution. Avid theatergoers welcomed these actors back enthusiastically during the period of the early Republic. Like Americans elsewhere, northerners loved the variety of entertainment available in the theater. Offering musical reviews, instrumental recitals, and classical or fashionable plays, northern cities provided an assortment of amusements that most southerners and westerners could only dream about. In fact, larger cities in the North boasted an abundance of theaters, each of which offered several different kinds of entertainment nightly. Because of their popularity, theaters of the early Republic were quite large and offered a broad range of ticket prices from the most expensive private boxes to balcony seats that even working-class patrons could afford. European visitors found the quality of American theater amazingly good, partly, as one observer noted, because of "the enormous emigration, caused by the French Revolution," that supplied "theaters with excellent orchestras" and "a great mass of patrons," and were shocked to see in the audiences "men that, if in London could hardly buy a pint of porter" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 110) (Hewitt 1959, 44–45) (McConachie 1998, 132).

The clergy argued that attending the theater did nothing to improve the average person, some even insisting that "to endulge a taste for playgoing means nothing more nor less than the loss of that most valuable treasure the immortal soul." Yet the quality of performances, as well as their content, particularly productions of the works of Shakespeare and other important playwrights, revealed a growing sophistication among American theatergoers in the latter part of the period (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 110) (Dulles 1965, 89).

Participatory Sports

Despite the growing number of spectator activities, city dwellers still tried to find ways to engage in physical activity during their leisure time. The proximity of rivers and lakes made it possible for many members of the upper and middle classes to take up boating, both sailing and rowing, as recreation. Again, the proclivity for gambling meant that both participants in, and spectators at, such events inevitably began to wager on their outcomes. The upper class dominated most of these boating activities, and certainly all the yacht clubs, but like many spectator activities, the races were watched and followed by people from all classes (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 110).

Aristocratic Leisure

Just as in the South, the upper classes of the North had the most leisure time and made the most of it. The affluent worked hard, but their wealth gave them time to enjoy reading, concerts and plays, and travel. Though general tourism did not become popular until transportation improvements made travel comfortable, the wealthy enjoyed pleasant carriages with shock-absorbing springs that softened the rattles of bumpy roads. Thus equipped, they made trips to places like Saratoga Springs to escape summer heat or to Newport, Rhode Island, to enjoy the sea breezes (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 110–11).

Those who wanted to make trips over greater distances found it increasingly easy to do so in the North. After 1790, several enterprising northerners opened stage lines for travelers. While most of their customers were men traveling on business, middle-class patrons increasingly began using stagecoaches to visit relatives in distant towns. When women also began buying tickets, owners made efforts to increase creature comforts. Yet a persistent problem that prevented travel from becoming a mainstream activity in the early Republic was the necessity for sleeping arrangements along the way. The country was dotted with taverns and pubs that provided lodgings for overnight travelers, but they were rarely clean enough to be considered suitable for ladies. A night spent in a wayside inn would often leave travelers itching from bedbugs and fleas that shared the filthy bedding. A British traveler put to bed in the communal dormitory of one roadside inn complained that after falling asleep, "I was soon awoke in torture from a general attack made on me by hosts of vermin. . . . I started from the bed, dressed myself, spread a coverlet on the floor, and lay down there to court a little more repose, but I was prevented by a constant noise in the house during the whole night" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 111) (Jordan 1948, 63).

Improving roads in the latter part of the period meant that travel in the North for rest and relaxation not only increased in volume but varied in destinations as well. In addition to Saratoga Springs, other places began providing services as resorts, particularly scenic areas such as Niagara Falls and the New Jersey shore. The heyday of these resorts was still years in the future, but changing middle- and upper-class perceptions about leisure travel as a proper way to spend time gave them their start.

The wealthy could not only afford better accommodations when they traveled; they could also entertain at their homes in a much grander fashion than the other classes. People graced with invitations traveled miles to attend these affairs, some of which were destined for legendary status with their extravagant multicourse meals served by uniformed retainers. Well-dressed ladies and gentlemen sat at the dining table for hours while they were served the finest food available. Northern cities made it easier for the gathering of social, literary, or musical clubs, and they were accordingly more prevalent in that region than in other parts of the country. Upper- and middle-class men and women alike belonged to clubs purportedly founded to advance a common interest or promote a shared activity, but whose actual purpose was to provide a social outlet (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 111).

SELF-IMPROVEMENT

The idea that leisure time should be used for self-improvement, particularly of mind and character, gained wide currency during the early Republic. To become more virtuous citizens, the upper and middle classes spent much of their leisure time reading serious literature, developing musical skills or listening to others display theirs, and attending lectures to broaden their understanding of the world around them (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 111–12).

Literature

Books were quite expensive, but they were not particularly rare inasmuch as Americans loved to read. While most of the literature during the period came from Europe, many Americans had come to the conclusion that avoiding the corrupting influence of aristocratic Europe required developing a national literature. As part of the initiative to instill the values of a virtuous republic, many of the period's writers extolled the attributes of the Founders, often depicting them through gross exaggerations and sometime with sheer inventions. The most notorious example of this type of laudatory writing was the extremely flattering and largely fictional biography of George Washington written by Mason Weems. It was the source of myths such as young Washington's insistence that he could not tell a lie when admitting to cutting down a cherry tree.

Other historians who examined the relatively brief American past, however, did a better job of explaining why the Republic had been founded and of defining its essential philosophy. Notable historians of the American Revolution were Mercy Otis Warren (also one of the most important woman writers of the early Republic), David Ramsay, and biographer John Marshall (who was chief justice of the Supreme Court). Such authors were the best-selling celebrities of their day, and they were widely read not only because they inspired pride in the American past but also because they entertained audiences with a lively literary style.

In addition to history, Americans improved themselves intellectually by reading scientific treatises. Many were published in Philadelphia, the city with the largest scientific community during the early Republic. Works focusing on what that age called political philosophy (ours refers to it as political science) sought to make relevant in American terms the political theory of the Enlightenment.

American fiction had to wait a few more years to truly come into its own, but Americans loved to read foreign fiction, especially from Britain, from whence they imported it in large volumes. There were those who condemned the widespread reading of fiction as unproductive of republican virtue, but fiction that taught a moral lesson was considered acceptable (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 112).

Americans also enjoyed reading newspapers and magazines. Virtually every town of any size produced at least a weekly newspaper, and men interested in politics usually subscribed to other newspapers from large cities. Places like New York had many newspapers that appealed to various interests and different political affiliations. Politics increasingly was a spectator sport in the United States during the early Republic, and newspapers were a convenient way to keep up with both sides of the battle. They also became increasingly scurrilous in their attacks, thus adding to their entertainment value. For example, one paper during the presidential campaign of 1800 charged that if Thomas Jefferson were "elected to the Presidency, the seal of death is that moment set on our holy religion, our churches will be prostrated, and some famous prostitute, under the title of Goddess of Reason, will preside in the Sanctuaries." Such passages were sure to titillate even the most apolitical citizen (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 112–13) (Cullen 1996, 46).

Magazines, especially those for ladies, were also popular. Ladies' periodicals might have been dismissed as frivolous had they not always included practical tips about housekeeping and child rearing. Other magazines catered to people interested in the latest literature, art, and scientific pursuits. In keeping with the desire of many intellectual Americans to emphasize American contributions in those areas, many publications, in the words of the editor of the *Columbian Magazine,* hoped "to shew, that, the source of all improvement and science, a liberal encouragement was offered, at this early period of her independency" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 113) (Kierner 2003, 330).

Music

Music was a part of most Americans' daily life. There were work songs, children's songs, and church songs that most people knew by heart. The period also saw a growing belief that knowledge of music and skill at playing a musical instrument were important parts of a proper middle- and upper-class education. Children took music lessons, and adults in urban areas spent time practicing the works of European composers such as Joseph Haydn and George Friedrich Handel. Even the most modest communities regularly staged concerts that featured local musicians and vocalists. In large cities, wealthy patrons of the arts established musical associations—the New York Philharmonic Society was an early example—to foster the development and performance of what became known as "classical music."

Hymns or other religious melodies were by far the most important music in most people's lives. Similarly, many fondly recalled and frequently sang or played the music of their fathers and mothers, the origins of a musical heritage later called "folk music." Families sang these songs around their fireplaces, and workers warbled them to pass the time of day, an age-old way of making the toil of daily chores lighter with a song. Taverns were always a popular place to hear old folk tunes or new, popular songs where soloists or groups performed. In fact, some of the most popular tunes were drinking songs deliberately fashioned to appeal to the partially inebriated, in both their ease of melody and their vivacity of verse (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 113).

Lectures

The prominence of the lecture circuit or lyceum movement did not occur until after 1820, but the custom of traveling experts expounding on everything from astronomy to zoology began during the period. Because Americans believed that education and self-improvement were imperative ingredients for economic success, public lectures attracted a surprising number of workingmen whose direct interest in some topics could only be surmised as marginal. Yet they trusted that increasing their knowledge in a general way could start them up the ladder of success. Beyond such a utilitarian goal was the doctrine that the expanding right to vote required that everyone be an informed citizen. It was a powerful incentive for individual self-improvement in all areas of knowledge (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 113–14).

Public Gardens and Parks

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, public gardens and parks became an innovative addition in many American cities. Sometimes for a small fee or free of charge, city dwellers could enjoy a taste of nature. Because French and British designers built some of these first public gardens, they often imitated those of Paris and London. The forerunner of the amusement park also appeared during these years. These parks were designed to provide a broad array of amusements, and competition caused proprietors to expand attractions by adding music, fireworks, outdoor plays, and refreshments, diversions that were especially popular in the summertime. Patrons whiled away hot evenings strolling through flowers, listening to music, and sipping lemonade. A popular treat at many of the gardens was frozen cream (or ice cream, as we know it), a novelty for Americans in the early nineteenth century (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 114).

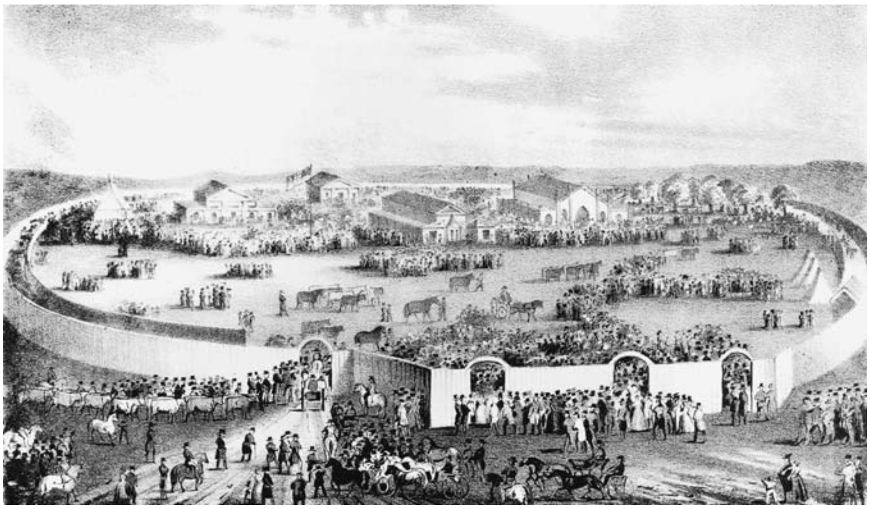
Politics

Political education was supposed to produce a more informed, educated citizenry, and many men brimming with such edification felt a keener interest in public affairs; some even exhibited a growing desire to participate in politics. Suffrage was fairly well spread among adult white males from the beginning of the Republic, but the elite nature of national politics had caused many to lose interest in voting. In many ways, local politics could be just as discouraging. Voters frequently had little say about who would stand for office because the patricians in a community typically merged into political cliques that chose candidates from their own ranks. Elections consequently were often boring, preordained affairs. Not only was it considered undignified for candidates to campaign, but they were expected to act like reluctant aspirants who stood for election only to fulfill their duty and oblige the will of the people.

Still, during the early part of the period, independent urban artisans and craftsmen took an interest in elections and showed their support for candidates with parades organized by trade. Celebrating a victory could produce grand spectacles as men turned out in the clothes of their occupation, some carrying the tools of their trade, others carrying banners, to march down the streets of American cities, their destination frequently a tavern (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 114).

The tradition of political parades persisted and reached its peak during the 1830s and 1840s. Indicative of a growing democratic spirit among the electorate, these later parades not only celebrated the election of a favorite candidate or a party victory but also served as rallies during campaigns to whip up support. In fact, by the end of the period, the expanding franchise that included a growing number of urban workingmen noticeably invigorated politics. Candidates found it necessary to court these new voters, and the best place to do that was where they congregated after work—the saloon. Consequently, ensuing decades saw the urban saloon become the gathering place for organizing urban politics, and it was the odd fellow who was not affiliated in some way with a political club that gathered in these drinking establishments (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 114–15).

The nation's rural areas, which characterized most of the country, saw politics changing there as well after the War of 1812 as more smaller landowners became involved in public affairs. Again, as the franchise expanded to include previously unaffiliated voters, they too had to be wooed. Rural folk needed little excuse to gather for eating, drinking, and generally having fun, and the tradition of the barbecue as political rally gained rapid and eager acceptance. Candidates pooled resources to pay for food and drink, and voters brought their families to hear speeches while feasting themselves full. Thus did politics become a leisure activity during the early Republic, resembling their manifestation today as a spectator sport, one the average voter found increasingly entertaining (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 115).



Agricultural fair at Auburn, New York. American lithograph, early nineteenth century. The Granger Collection, New York.

Agricultural Fairs

The European tradition of having periodic market fairs to sell goods and meet friends and family never took hold in America. In the South and on the frontier, distance discouraged the custom, and New England towns were close enough to farms to allow regular visits. Instead, the goals of self-improvement and scientific inquiry led agricultural societies to organize local fairs to promote the dissemination of useful knowledge. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, organizers in New England, the mid-Atlantic states, and the South began holding livestock shows to encourage more scientific methods of animal breeding and husbandry. These predecessors of today's county fairs at first gave prizes to farmers displaying the best animals, but they quickly evolved into more broadly conceived events. They became venues for exhibiting agricultural products and handicrafts and for educating farmers about new agricultural techniques. These early fairs also fostered national pride with displays vaunting American manufacturing. Moreover, such festivities, with their practical underpinnings, provided communities with recreational events that allowed people to mingle, hear an educational lecture, and listen to a local band without feeling guilty over being away from plows and churns (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 115).

CHILDREN

The new emphasis on the importance of childhood meant that people placed a greater importance on play and toys than in earlier times. A main reason for the change in children's clothes, for example, was to make play easier. From the time they could walk, small children of every class and race spent most of their time playing, and middle- and upper-class children had toys. Boy and girl toddlers generally played together, but when most children reached the age of three or four, their play was usually segregated by gender, though there were exceptions. Typically, though, the types of play activities, games, and toys became gender specific. Many believed that adult recreation should be useful, and likewise many thought that children's play should center on self-improvement by preparing them for adulthood. Considerable thought was given about how best to accomplish this goal. Pamphlets outlined what was appropriate and what was inappropriate for children's play activities. One urged that "amusements of our youth shall consist of such exercises as will be most subservient to their future employments in life" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 115–16) (Steiner 1970, 4).

When not in school, boys in rural areas spent much of their time in outdoor pursuits. Older boys learned the leisure activities of their fathers, especially how to ride horses, shoot guns, and catch fish. Outdoor games were designed to produce strong bodies able to plow fields, build barns, and shoe horses. Boys played with balls and sticks and had organized outdoor games like "shiny" or "bandy," the early equivalents of field hockey. In these games, boys were organized into teams and used sticks to knock something through a goal. Often they had to make do with whatever round object they could find or fashion, because real balls were rare. The opposing team tried to prevent the score and to steal the ball. In colder climates, boys played an early form of curling. On frozen ponds, teams of four players pushed around as many as eight large, heavy stones at the same time. The object was to move your own stones while obstructing those of the other team. In addition to such organized sports, boys made up games or played make-believe as children have in all times. They pretended to be soldiers fighting the British during the Revolution or the War of 1812; they pretended to be pioneering scouts seeking a new trail to the frontier; they pretended to be great hunters. The games they played and activities they participated in were little different from those of their fathers and would remain largely unchanged when taken up by their sons (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 116).

Little girls were not only more regulated in their outdoor activities; they were encouraged to do much of their playing indoors, a formula designed to prepare them for their roles as homemakers. Yet girls did have outdoor games, and on occasion they were even able to persuade boys to play with them. Boys and girls, for instance, were allowed to play battledore and shuttlecock, an ancestor to badminton. A game called "the needle's eye" was much like the modern game of Red Rover: children arranged in two parallel rows stood holding hands as a child from one row ran toward the other with the object of breaking the chain, all to the cadence of chanted verses. All these activities were literally considered child's play, for adults rarely participated in anything akin to modern team sports. Rarely did female children, for that matter. Since girls were considered more delicate than boys and in little need of physical strength, they spent most of their time indoors with their dolls or playing parlor games. During inclement weather, boys might join girls' parlor games, but they would never play with dolls (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 116–17).

Many children's parlor games of the early Republic were similar to those of today. For instance, blind man's wand was similar to the modern game of blindman's bluff. In the earlier game, a blindfolded child tried to find playmates by touching them with a stick (hence the wand) and asking them questions to determine their identities. The unlucky child who was first found and then found out became the next "blind man."

The growing emphasis on the importance of play meant the appearance of more elaborate toys. Children had always had toys, but they were generally homemade and hence quite simple. For poor children, this remained the case, but for others of even modest means, increasing numbers of manufactured toys or playthings crafted by artisans were brought into American homes. Girls played with realistic dolls that ranged from those of superb craftsmanship for the affluent to simple cloth figures that nonetheless became prized possessions of girls in humbler homes.

The birth of the American factory system all but eliminated leisure time for poor children. They always had to work harder than their middle- and upper-class counterparts, and during these years their use as factory laborers meant even less time than before for play. Such children worked 10 to 12 hours a day, six days a week, leaving them with little energy to play even if they found the time. Yet except for the impoverished and those unfortunates who were born into slavery, children's lives showed a marked improvement during the early Republic. Their importance as future citizens made adults look at childhood in a different way than had previous generations. Play became an important part of a child's development, helping to mold the boy into the reliable husband and upright father, the girl into the virtuous wife and tender mother, and both into citizens able to sustain the Republic and advance its ideal of liberty (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 117).

Religious Life

FAITH AND CHARITY

A remarkable continuity marks the American experience with religion, despite the fact that Americans prided themselves on the diversity of faiths in their country. From the earliest years of the colonial period through the early Republic, a central theme of American religious faith was the belief not only that divine providence guided the destiny of peoples and places but that the American setting was the site for a new chosen people. As one clergyman put it: "In the discovery and settlement of this country God had some great end in view." In addition, Americans believed that their civic system was God's gift of liberty and opportunity not only for Americans but also eventually for the entire world. In all events and dangers, God would protect the nation and its people, preserving them for some future service in a broader plan of good works. It was a perception handed down from the first Puritan congregations of New England. By the early nineteenth century, it had become thoroughly interwoven in the complex American religious fabric. The American Revolution—an undertaking that succeeded against the longest odds—and the eventual formation of the new government under the Constitution were regarded as self-evident proofs of greater accomplishments to come (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 119) (Bodo 1954, 7).

The importance of religion in the function of American society was therefore immense. The Puritan mind was possibly more influential than the dazzling intellectual innovations of the Enlightenment. Although some intellectuals gravitated to Deism, the idea that God was more an objective observer of his perfect mechanical machine than a prime mover in the affairs of men, the great bulk of the population believed God was not only supreme but also actively involved in charting human affairs. A good example of this belief can be seen in the diary of the dying Quaker Samuel Cole Davis, who confided to himself and future generations to "remember it was the Lord that sent this affliction on thee." Such a notion made for an energetic religious faith that occasionally achieved levels of phenomenal vigor, such as during times of fervent religious revivals. It also bolstered a patriotism that extended far beyond a devotion to one's country simply because it was one's home: Americans believed that God's divine will was directing the destiny of the Republic, and in its early years, patriotic loyalty to that Republic was a form of what sociologists and historians would eventually characterize as "civil religion." Moreover, religion convinced many "that it is possible to produce such a change in the moral character of man as shall raise him to a resemblance of angels" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 119–20) (Kagle 1986, 11) (Nye 1960, 30).

The religious diversity that flourished in the American setting has always been a perplexing riddle for scholars. What made the infant United States a place where so many different and occasionally antagonistic faiths could coexist? The circumstance certainly ran counter to history. The rise of Roman Catholicism from the ruins of the ancient world set the pattern for religious conformity that was considered the ideal, both by the Catholic community and later by the various sects of the Protestants. The concept of religious conformity, in fact, was virtually unbroken in the history of the Western world from the fifth-century fall of Rome through the establishment of colonies in North America. One church all-encompassing and dominant was the quest, and attempts to establish such a church labeled all outside it as dissenters at best, heretics at worst. Much mischief and some malevolence resulted under the banner of religious conformity, from the imposition of annoying social disabilities to appalling physical persecution. Yet the United States refused to establish such a dominant church, and by deliberately contriving ways to separate any church from government sponsorship, the new nation sought to prevent such domination from occurring by accident. As one American Presbyterian wrote, "there is not a single instance in history in which civil liberty was lost, and religious liberty preserved entire." Political and religious liberty were inseparable. For instance, during the early Republic, President James Madison refused to sign a bill chartering an Episcopal Church in Alexandria, District of Columbia, arguing that "the bill exceeds the rightful authority to which governments are limited by the essential distinction between civil and religious functions." In another case, evangelical groups decried the breaking of the Christian Sabbath, especially by the U.S. Post Office, which under an 1810 statute was directed to deliver mail seven days a week. Nonetheless, their intense lobbying proved to no avail. Congress upheld Sunday mail delivery as a central bulwark of the separation of church and state (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 120) (Nye 1960, 196) (Richardson 1896–1899, 489).

In short, no particular religious group was allowed to decree governmental policy, and the result was an incredible religious diversity. The First Amendment to the Constitution not only prohibited the establishment of a state church; it also set the circumstances in which the new nation could become a haven for virtually every species of faith (and nonfaith) that the human mind could contrive. Most Americans subscribed to some sort of faith, or as one observer noted, "those that have it [religion], shows it, and those that have it not wish to be considered religious for the credit it gives in the society." The civil religion of the American experience—that amalgamation of spiritual faith and civic obligation—encouraged tolerance through a sense of community that crossed denominational lines. And the conspicuous absence of the government promoting a particular faith made all the others feel less threatened. The United States was unique in its approach to a problem that had troubled cultures since the time of the Romans (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 120–21) (Mayfield 1986, 13).

We should not, however, leap to the conclusion that religious differences and disputes did not exist in the early Republic. Even the predominance of Protestants did not mean that most Americans were bound as one in a common religious belief. The early Republic continued the tradition of religious debate and doctrinal argument that had begun during the earliest colonial times. Congregations continued to split hairs and divide into new groups, new sects formed, and some groups embraced emotional revivalism while others rejected it with sniffing disapproval. That great intellectual ornament of the eighteenth century, rationalism, seemed sensible to some, troubling to others, and atheistic to the anxious. In fact, about the only thing that all these disparate and various groups, sects, and denominations could agree about was the prudence of religious freedom. And even given that point of agreement as an ideal, there were boundaries to it in reality. The First Amendment could not stop Protestants from being suspicious of, and sometimes attacking and persecuting, Catholics. States were not constrained by the Constitution from promoting or excluding religion. Virginia was unique in its adoption of statutory religious freedom, for many other states collected taxes to support religion or imposed special restrictions on others. However, because of the Constitution's legal guarantees, Protestants proselytized from each other's denominations without violent reprisal, and new sects could usually be regarded with wariness and misgivings without their being snuffed out by vicious attacks. Religious rivalry was neither nationally dire nor dangerously violent in a sustained, systematic sense. Even in 1819, during the storm over Unitarianism in New England, one of the bitterest arguments in American denominational history, a visitor from England declared, "All is harmony." He concluded that "here are no disputes about religion; or, if they be, they make no noise." While this testimonial was something of an exaggeration, it was a tribute to the American tradition of religious freedom that it contained more truth than overstatement (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 121) (Hutchison 2003, 14).

DENOMINATIONAL DIVERSITY AS AN ARTICLE OF FAITH

The concept of denominations—separate religious entities that offer different belief systems within a broad framework of agreement—was essentially a creation of the nineteenth century and in many ways was a reflection of religious pluralism in the early Republic. It is not the purpose here to recount the theological history of the nation and its various faiths, but before examining the effects of religion on daily life during the period, it is useful to describe briefly the major and minor varieties of belief that made up the incredible range of religion in those early years of the nation. The following capsule descriptions are arranged alphabetically (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 121–22).

African Methodist Episcopal Church

Those unfortunate Africans traded into slavery in British North America and their descendants during the colonial period experienced a varying and an intricate mixture of compulsory acculturation and voluntary integration into Protestant Christian traditions. The sweeping evangelism of the late 1790s and early 1800s increased the number of black Christians just as it did white ones, though efforts to convert slaves had less proportionate success. The great movement of enslaved blacks into Protestant churches did not occur until the 1830s and after, but already native-born slaves were adapting Christianity as suited their spiritual and social needs. In the South, where slavery not only persisted but was fixed in place by the rise of the plantation system, some slave owners tried to use religion as a way to promote obedience to masters as a condition for salvation. Slaves, however, just as frequently connected their plight to that of the ancient Hebrews in Egyptian captivity, and their hymns ("spirituals," in their parlance) remain a testament to the longing for freedom in this world and, barring that, salvation in the next.

In the North, freedom in this world did not always mean equality, even at the church altar. In 1787, black members of Saint George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia left the parish to protest prejudicial treatment and thereafter met in a rented stockroom to hear sermons by their leader, former slave Richard Allen. This initial group formed the nucleus of additional black congregations that formed throughout the city and in 1816 joined to establish the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). Allen became the denomination's first bishop upon being ordained by the aging Methodist leader Francis Asbury in one of his last official acts, a tie to the Methodists that saw the AME church emulating Methodists in doctrine, church polity, the General Conference system, and eventually wide-ranging missionary work.

In 1796 a similar break by black parishioners occurred in New York when their displeasure over being marginalized in the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church prompted them to establish a separate congregation. With the blessings of Francis Asbury, they built their own church and named it Zion in 1800. The new denomination soon spread to Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, although it did not formally withdraw from the Methodist Church until 1820. Almost 30 years after that, the denomination honored the original New York congregation by adopting the name American Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 122).

Baptists

Many Protestants in the United States were Baptists, a denomination that began in early seventeenth-century England that embraced five cardinal principles. Baptists believed in separation of church and state, thorough congregational independence, faith based exclusively on the scriptures, conversion and membership in the church as a result of a personal religious experience, and baptism by complete immersion. Although Roger Williams is sometimes described as the founder of American Baptists and his church in Providence, Rhode Island, established in 1638, as the original Baptist congregation in America, some scholars argue that Williams and his followers did not practice complete immersion. Nonetheless, during the colonial era, Rhode Island was the hub for the dissemination of Baptist theology and in 1764 became the site of the first Baptist college in America. Elsewhere in New England, Baptists were subjected to harsh harassment until the end of the seventeenth century, and their numbers were mostly confined to the mid-Atlantic colonies, where English and Welsh immigrants brought the faith with them in increasing numbers, especially to New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 122–23).

As with other denominations, the Great Awakening had a profound impact on the Baptists, leading to a faction committed to religious revivals. Following untrained and unpaid farmers who took on the mantle of preachers, this faction grew swiftly in Virginia and North Carolina, especially among the poor, and by the late eighteenth century, southern Baptists had become plentiful and powerful. Because they devoutly believed in the separation of church and state, they strenuously urged the new American government to embrace the idea, a mainstay in sustaining religious liberty in the early Republic. Meanwhile, their reliance on farmer-preachers meant the Baptists would rival even the Methodists during the Second Great Awakening in establishing new churches on the American frontier (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 123).

Catholics

Roman Catholics had been among the first English colonists with the establishment of Maryland in 1634 as a refuge for those fleeing persecution in England. Yet they were never numerous in the colonial establishment and even in Maryland suffered maltreatment under punitive laws throughout the colonial period, a reflection of the anti-Catholic animus dating from the English Reformation. Yet there were Catholic signers of the Declaration of Independence, Catholic soldiers in the officer corps and ranks of the Continental army, and Catholic delegates to the Constitutional Convention. They remained a minority, however, and were slow to secure civil rights in various states (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 123–24).

Colonial Catholics had relied on the Jesuit order for spiritual guidance, but in the decade after the Revolution, the suppression of the order and the break with Britain saw a greater reliance on American prelates. Marylander and cousin of a Declaration of Independence signer, former Jesuit John Carroll became the first bishop of Baltimore. At that time, Catholics numbered about 35,000 in the mid-Atlantic states and scattered French settlements on the frontier. Meanwhile, the Catholic Church's presence in the United States grew solely because of disruptive European events, especially the French Revolution, which sent many French priests into exile in the United States. The presence of these French churchmen created a problem in itself when Americans divided over the Anglo-French war in the early 1800s. Yet the long history of Catholic educational and charitable work that had begun in 1737 with Ursuline nuns in French New Orleans continued unabated. Georgetown Academy served all faiths, and St. Mary's, the first Catholic seminary in the United States, opened in Baltimore. Maryland's Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, destined to become the first American-born saint (canonized in 1975), founded the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph and in 1809 a school for girls in Emmitsburg. The Sisters of Charity opened America's first Catholic orphanage in Philadelphia, and in South Carolina plans to publish a Catholic weekly bore fruit in 1822 when Bishop John England brought out the first issue of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*.

Even after the absorption of French Louisiana in 1803, Catholic numbers remained slight throughout these years, and Catholics were abided because they were unobtrusive. When political and agricultural problems in Ireland during the 1820s brought a flood of Catholic refugees to American shores, their growing presence meant growing resentment from Protestants in competition for jobs and social status. The result was a new round of informal persecutions, some resulting in violent incidents, fueled by occasionally scurrilous charges of corruption in the church and scandalous misconduct in the convents (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 124).

Church of the Brethren

Because, like Baptists, members of the Church of the Brethren believed in total immersion for baptism, they were known as "Dunkers," often modified as Dunkards. Their baptismal observance required that they be plunged three times, once for each entity of the Holy Trinity. Originally appearing in the German states in the late 1600s, Dunkards came to America in the early eighteenth century to settle in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Eventually they spread westward, establishing simple farming communities that adhered to an unadorned faith in the Bible, the Trinity, and baptism as the basic requirements for deliverance. Dunkards refused to swear oaths, rejected tobacco and alcohol, and passionately opposed slavery. They just as avidly embraced pacifism.

The rites of the Dunkard faith were a daily event centering on emulating Christ's washing of feet, ceremonies of fellowship, the breaking of bread, and finally the observance of the Eucharist. Congregations enjoyed autonomy to elect their own ministers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 123).

Congregationalists

Congregationalists were theologically descended directly from the Puritans of England and consequently enjoyed pride of place as one of the oldest, most numerous, and most significant religious groups in the colonies. For later generations, they would come to define the persevering and innovative American spirit. The first of their number, Separatist Puritans, had in 1620 established a colony at Plymouth against all odds after agreeing to the celebrated Mayflower Compact, the first statement in the New World of the ideals of popular government. In religious terms, they were also seminal in establishing Congregationalism as the desirable standard for church organization in several New England colonies. Although detractors in England mounted attacks on Congregationalism, the denomination continued to develop its own identity throughout the colonial period, especially as Puritan immigrants swelled the population. Harvard and Yale Colleges were established to supply educated ministers during these years, and broad-minded Congregationalists adopted the Halfway Covenant to moderate the necessity of having a religious experience to qualify for church membership, a measure that angered traditionalists and caused some to gravitate to Presbyterianism. While the Great Awakening in the 1730s and early 1740s swelled Congregationalist numbers, it also led to serious doctrinal arguments that ultimately fractured Congregationalism into conflicting camps, a prominent one eventually becoming Unitarians. Politically, however, Congregationalism supported the American Revolution, and its clergymen readied their flocks for the sweeping cultural and governmental changes that the break with Britain portended (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 124–25).

The Congregationalists undertook noteworthy missionary and educational initiatives during the early Republic. America's first missionaries to foreign lands hailed from the organization the Congregationalists created in 1810, work that continued in the 1820s and 1830s in remote frontier areas of the United States itself and beyond its borders. Congregationalists also sustained important colleges they had established at Williams, Amherst, Oberlin, and Carleton.

Yet in the years of the early Republic, Congregationalism remained a regional presence in New England that failed to accompany the large migrations of New Englanders westward, mainly because of the Congregationalist insistence on an educated clergy. The Plan of Union of 1801, which the Congregationalists eventually rejected, proposed to merge their scattered adherents on the frontier with more numerous and better-established Presbyterian congregations, and the results were predictable. Most such worshippers did not merely join Presbyterians in church attendance; they became Presbyterians in fact, and Congregationalism remained both regional in character and small in size. The Congregationalists eventually formed the American Congregational Union in 1832 (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 125).

Deists

Deism was more a philosophy than a theology. Deists believed in a supreme being but rejected revelation and denied mystical canons of Christianity, such as the occurrence of miracles that violated natural laws. Coinciding with the rationalism of the Enlightenment, Deism came to America in the late eighteenth century when some notable American intellectuals and influential figures embraced the philosophy during the revolutionary era. Higher education was affected by Deism—some would have said "infected" by it—and traditional denominations reacted to it with growing dismay, especially in New England, where it gave impetus to the Second Great Awakening. Yet Founders such as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington were attracted to Deism's tenets of rationalism and toleration. Thomas Jefferson openly espoused Deism, leading to the eventual charge by his political enemies that he was an atheist (which he was not), as did Thomas Paine, who undoubtedly was an atheist, thus muddying the waters regarding the philosophy's potential consequences in attracting a large number of believers. The romanticism of the early Republic, however, would greatly erode the attractions of Deism as a philosophy-faith, while some basic facets of it were incorporated into the rationalism of Unitarianism and Universalism (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 125–26).

Disciples of Christ

The Great Revival on the American frontier had a direct impact on the formation of this denomination, especially because its principal leaders were the dynamic Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander. Originally Presbyterian ministers, the Campbells established in 1811 a congregation in Pennsylvania based on Thomas Campbell's Christian Association, which he had founded two years earlier. Frequently referred to as Campbellites, the denomination officially called itself Disciples of Christ and advocated not just the revival of the Christian faith but also the restoration of Christian principles based exclusively on a fundamental interpretation of the Bible, especially the New Testament. The denomination was attractive to frontier settlers and spread rapidly westward. By the 1830s, various other revival movements were also embracing the Disciples of Christ, the Kentuckian Barton Stone and his flock prominent among them (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 126).

Episcopalians

During the colonial era, the Church of England (known informally as the Anglican Church) was the established state religion, but the Revolution's break with England and the subsequent acceptance of the principle of separation of church and state required the restructuring of their church by American Anglicans. They adopted the formal title of Protestant Episcopal Church and informally became known as Episcopalians. In a rapid sequence of reorganization, Episcopalians developed a national organization and obtained consecration of American bishops. By then, the entire church had been brought under central governance (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 126).

During the early Republic, the Episcopal Church concentrated on healing the damage to it caused by the Revolution. Many of the faithful who saw allegiance to the British crown as a bulwark of their church had been alienated. By 1811, the vigorous spirit of revival that had swept through other denominations a decade earlier also began to take hold in more staid Episcopalian circles as so-called Low Church advocates embraced the evangelical imperative and gained control from High Church traditionalists. Important achievements and growing numbers reflected the denomination's rejuvenation. An Episcopal seminary was established in 1817, and general missionary work began three years later. Starting in 1810 and for the next 20 years, Sunday schools became a fixture in almost all parishes. Doctrinal disputes again emerged in the 1830s when the Oxford Tractarian Movement in England—an endeavor to revive Catholic principles in the church—appealed to the defeated High Church faction and encouraged them to mount a determined effort to regain their control of policy. The quarrel that ensued continued for decades (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 126–27).

German Denominations in Pennsylvania

The Protestant Reformation began in the German states in the early sixteenth century when Martin Luther systematically began challenging Roman Catholic doctrines. Lutherans were thus the first protesters to Catholic policies and practices. They came to America early with seventeenth-century Dutch, German, and Scandinavian colonists, and in 1742, the first Lutheran synod was established. Ethnic and linguistic diversity characterized the faith, and the growing immigration of Lutherans after the American Revolution further diversified congregations during the early Republic on the basis of language alone (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 127).

The Reformed Church was also a part of the Reformation that swept the German states. The denomination first appeared in Pennsylvania and had around

150 churches by 1763; by 1793, it had assumed the official name of German Reformed Church. During the migrations into the West, the church expanded into areas such as Ohio and Indiana. The Reformed churches were strictly Calvinist and believed in purging their worship of all traces of Catholicism (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 127) (Middleton 1996, 287).

Moravians were the American manifestation of a denomination founded in Saxony in 1727. Settling in Savannah in 1734, Moravians soon relocated to Pennsylvania and were quickly joined by other Moravian immigrants from Europe. Additional settlements were established in North Carolina near what is now Winston-Salem. Moravians were devoted to the notion of religious consistency and consequently closed their communities to outsiders until the middle of the nineteenth century. They were nonetheless enthusiastic missionaries to Indians and others seen as needing spiritual revelation, carrying their faith in the Bible as the exclusive guide to behavior. Moravians believed in infant baptism but accepted members upon a declaration of faith.

Mennonites derived from a splintering of Reformation denominations that had separated from more traditional elements over the issue of infant baptism. Their spiritual founder was the Dutch cleric Menno Simons, hence the name Mennonite. Rejecting baptism except upon voluntary declarations of faith, Mennonites were Anabaptists (or rebaptizers) whose primary spiritual guidance was based on the tenets from the Sermon on the Mount. They submitted to civil laws but would not breach their inherent belief in pacifism, their resistance to swearing oaths, or their aversion to participating in civic affairs. The most conservative elements of the faith eschewed modern conveniences and fashionable forms of dress. Their first American presence was in 1683 at Germantown, Pennsylvania, where they established a farming community. Swiss and Dutch immigrants swelled their numbers in the following years and included subsects of the faith, such as those following the Swiss Mennonite Jakob Amman, who were thus known as the Amish (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 127).

The Amish followed the teachings of their founder that stated that control of the church required strict penalties for deviations from traditional doctrine and customs. The Amish consequently practiced social restraint by shunning the excommunicated. Shunning forbade all routine contacts with the wrongdoer, even sexual intimacy with a spouse who was under reprimand by the community. In keeping with their Mennonite heritage, the Amish embraced pacifism, kept neat farms isolated from outsiders, adhered to plain dress, and renounced modernism. Their concentrated numbers in Pennsylvania apparently originated the term "Pennsylvania Dutch," a misnomer because it was an American distortion of "Deutsch," meaning German (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 127–28).

The Church of United Brethren in Christ was an amalgam of Mennonite and earlier evangelical Protestant denominations. In 1800 a conference officially established the church in Frederick, Maryland, and 15 years later a General Conference amplified and refined its doctrines. Members embraced a form of Methodist Arminianism and performed baptisms only upon voluntary conversions (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 128).

Judaism

Jewish religious community life was established in North America when two dozen Sephardic Jews fled Brazil for the Dutch colonial city of New Amsterdam in 1654. When New Amsterdam became New York City in 1659 with the transfer of the colony to British colonial administration, the small Jewish community there enjoyed minor privileges that enhanced their religious identity and practices, such as the establishment of a separate Jewish cemetery. During the colonial period, Jewish numbers grew with the arrival of eastern or central European immigrants seeking to escape religious persecution and political maltreatment. These immigrants, known as Ashkenazim for their German and east European ancestry, settled in coastal towns such as New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah, where they formed the bulk of the Jewish communities. The minority was the older, more established Sephardic Jews, sometimes called Portuguese Jews because of their Iberian roots. In addition to differing in social rank, these two congregations also differed over rituals of worship, a circumstance that continued beyond the colonial period into the early Republic. The result was a significant departure from some aspects of Jewish doctrine, such as the strict observance of the Sabbath, especially because the nature of exilic Judaism tended to congregational autonomy. In fact, under Jewish law, 10 adult males could form a congregation and appoint a rabbi whose only qualification might be a detailed knowledge of Jewish texts (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 128).

Jewish life in the early Republic resembled that of the colonial years. Working at traditional trades such as shopkeeping, merchant trade and shipping, wig making, and gemstone cutting, they prospered as a small but industrious minority. Their numbers remained quite small—fewer than 3,000 Jews lived in the United States at the close of the American Revolution—and not until the 1820s did that situation begin to change. After the Napoleonic Wars, immigration from eastern Europe greatly increased the number of Ashkenazim in both coastal regions and the interior, so that by the 1840s, Jews were a noticeable presence as far west as the Mississippi River (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 128–29).

American Judaism did not remain a static theology during the early Republic. Time-honored and conventional practices such as obedience and loyalty to the Jewish community became less important in the politically free and economically dynamic American setting. Autonomous congregations became more responsive to the social wishes of their members and less likely to adhere strictly to traditional Jewish religious laws and customs. That is not to say that Jews were secularized by the American experience of the early Republic, but they did respond in predictably secular ways to the energetic social, political, and economic forces that described life in the United States during the first part of the nineteenth century (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 129).

Methodists

Originating in England in the 1730s as an Anglican religious club at Oxford that "methodically" studied the scriptures, Methodists were in sufficient number in America to be noticed about 30 years later. Methodists accepted the doctrine of

Dutch Calvinist Jacobus Arminius, which celebrated human free will as compatible with God's omnipotence. In essence, by accepting Arminianism, Methodists rejected the strict Calvinist notion of predestination, the belief that God has already determined the fate of every soul on earth.

Beginning in 1769 and for the next few years, the celebrated Methodist preacher John Wesley dispatched a total of eight missionaries from England to spread the word, but their small numbers belied the influence they wielded. For one thing, the charismatic Francis Asbury, who would become the primary leader of Methodism in the United States until he died in 1816, was among them. Secondly, a homegrown group of ministers arose in Maryland and Virginia. Lacking ordination, they did not administer the sacraments, but some ordained Anglicans with evangelical inclinations admitted Methodist converts to their folds or administered the sacraments to them separately (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 129).

Of Wesley's British missionaries, Asbury alone remained during the Revolution, and, after victory over Britain, Wesley's influence waned because he had supported the king. In the face of such American opposition, Wesley set aside petty issues of church governance to grant American congregations ecclesiastical autonomy, if not complete independence. Because no American Methodist preachers had been ordained and so they could not administer the sacraments, Wesley ordained two English preachers and sent them to America with plans to establish a superintendence of American Methodists that would have included the popular Asbury. Subtly attuned to the new American political climate, though, Asbury was disinclined to accept any role in church governance without the blessing of his preachers. The remarkable result of his reluctance was a conference in Baltimore during the Christmas season in 1784 in which the Methodist Episcopal Church was formally established, complete with ordained preachers and protocols for service. The assemblage even adopted a hymnal. A publishing house, the Methodist Book Concern, was established in 1789 to produce religious pamphlets, books, and official tracts of the church (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 129–30).

During their work before the Revolution, Wesley's missionaries, including Asbury, had used the circuit system that had proved so effective in England, and its continuance during the 1790s was greatly responsible for the increase in Methodist numbers. By following a migrating population with the Methodist message of unencumbered grace and individual accountability, preachers won a phenomenal number

American Methodists proceeding to their camp meeting. J. Milbert del.; M. Dubourg sculp. c. 1819. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

of converts on the frontier during the Great Revival. By 1820, Methodist membership in America was more than 200,000, a rate of increase that continued for the next 30 years to nearly a million souls (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 130).

Presbyterians

American Presbyterians represented a mix of Scots-Irish immigrants and New England Puritans. The first Presbyterian congregation was at Snow Hill on Maryland's eastern shore in 1684, and by the eighteenth century, the Philadelphia Presbytery had assumed leadership of the denomination, which was growing because of continuing Scots-Irish immigration. Disaffected Congregationalists also swelled Presbyterian numbers, as they were attracted to inherent traditionalism, and, like the Congregationalists, Presbyterians almost universally supported the American Revolution, further adding to their luster. In 1788 a central assembly took on the task of governing the faithful, and its organizing potential meant that Presbyterians would be poised to take advantage of the great religious surge of the revival movement at the beginning of the 1800s. The Plan of Union of 1801 formalized cooperation on the frontier between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and many Congregationalists became Presbyterians, but as the years passed, the church was increasingly racked by dissension brought on in part by such converts resisting Presbyterian traditionalism.

Although they were to become a significant influence in shaping the culture of an expanding America, Presbyterians would not be as omnipresent on the frontier during the Great Revival as Baptists and Methodists. In part, their comparatively high educational standards meant that their ministers were in shorter supply. At first, ministers hailed mainly from New England (Aaron Burr's grandfather Jonathan Edwards and his father were examples), but the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) eventually supplied the bulk of the denomination's leaders, and Presbyterians would be tireless in establishing colleges to match the westward march of American migration (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 130).

Quakers

Officially called the Society of Friends, they were colloquially known as Quakers because they were said to have spasms as they underwent religious experiences. The Society of Friends originated in England during the mid-seventeenth century in response to the preaching of George Fox, whose message focused on the notion of an "inner light" in every person and the doctrine of Christ residing in all people. The Anglican establishment in England regarded Quakers as heretical, and they suffered severe persecution. They came to American shores early in the colonial period, but Puritan New England reflected Anglican suspicion about them and tried to persecute them out of existence with fines and floggings. When those measures failed, the Quakers were banished, but the persistence of the faith saw it taking hold nonetheless, and they were actually welcomed in some places such as Rhode Island and New Jersey. William Penn founded his colony of Pennsylvania as a refuge for persecuted Friends from all over Europe, and by the time of the early Republic, they were quite numerous and ethnically diverse. When Quakers ceased active proselytizing in the eighteenth century, systematic persecutions ended, but other denominations continued to regard them with suspicion, especially for their rigid pacifism, which prohibited them from serving in the military, and for their clannish discipline that enforced marriage exclusively within the faith. They were early advocates of humane and fair treatment for Indians and early proponents of antislavery. During the early Republic, Quakers participated in the great westward migrations that motivated the rest of the population, though they mainly moved into the Northwest Territory because of its ban on slavery (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 130–31).

Because they believed that God exists in everyone, Quakers stressed human decency and always strove to eliminate evil with sincerity, simplicity, honesty, and pacifism. Quaker shopkeepers and their customers did not haggle over prices, and they were noted for their use of "plain speech" that substituted "thee" and "thou" for what they regarded as the formal pronoun "you." They observed equality between the sexes in worship, and although Quakers had largely relaxed evangelizing among the unconverted, they accepted anyone into their faith who indicated willingness to acknowledge its tenets and fulfill its obligations. Quakers worshipped in unstructured and unprogrammed meetings that assembled the faithful at least once and sometimes twice a week in plainly constructed and unadorned meetinghouses. They sat quietly unless members were moved to speak, offering themselves as witnesses by sharing religious thoughts and experiences for the group to discuss freely (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 131).

A splinter group from the Society of Friends was the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming, which had formed in the mid-eighteenth century in England. They were known at first as Shaking Quakers and later simply as Shakers. The first Shaker community in the United States was established in New York at Watervliet in 1776. Because Shakers were celibate even in marriage, they did not naturally increase their number, and the sect grew only by attracting converts and adopting orphans. During the early Republic, it eventually numbered almost 20 communities of about 6,000 members. Shakers owned property in common and were noted for their exquisite but simple craftsmanship, which produced a distinctive style of furniture. Shaker hymns were equally simple, but they were also lyrical celebrations of uncomplicated pleasures, such as "Simple Gifts," which the twentieth-century American composer Aaron Copland wove into several of his most famous compositions (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 131–32).

Another Protestant sect similar to the Quakers formed in Germany under the leadership of religious reformer George Rapp. In 1803 persecution by Lutherans forced the sect to move to Pennsylvania, where they founded the town of Harmony. They were called Harmonists and have usually been identified as the Harmony Society. Like Shakers, they practiced strict simplicity, owned all property in common, and strove for celibate marriages. In 1815 most Harmonists moved to Indiana and founded the town of New Harmony, but their new location proved a harsh and uninviting spot for many members, who either left the faith or trudged back to Pennsylvania after selling their property to Robert Owen, who had plans to establish his own utopian community there (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 132).

Unitarians

Unitarianism grew out of theological challenges during the Reformation that questioned Roman Catholic doctrines, especially that of the Holy Trinity, the belief that God exists as one being in three entities: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Unitarians, however, regarded the Trinity as negating the fundamental Judeo-Christian belief in monotheism and insisted instead that God existed in only one entity. In old Europe, even other Protestants regarded Unitarians as highly heretical because they essentially denied the divinity of Christ. For a time, they were able to exist only in Poland and Transylvania, but eventually Unitarian émigrés carried their beliefs westward, sometimes suffering martyrdom as they did so. Not until 1813 did they gain any kind of recognition as a viable faith in Britain (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 132).

The origin of American Unitarianism defies a simple explanation. In essence, the Puritan congregations of old New England underwent a profound transformation in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. A moderate body of Liberal Christians became Unitarian Congregationalists, as contrasted with traditionalists who remained Trinitarians. The split basically resulted from the dissent of certain Congregationalist clergymen in New England who rejected Calvinist doctrines that had formed the core of the Great Awakening. Those doctrines included absolute predestination and original sin (the concept that man is naturally depraved). Instead, Unitarians insisted that God was compassionate rather than angry and that man had a free will to choose righteousness over iniquity. A formal break occurred in 1796 when Boston's King's Chapel seceded from the Protestant Episcopal Church and officially embraced Unitarianism, and during the years that followed, additional New England congregations became essentially Unitarian in belief and practice, if not formally in name. Finally, in 1819, the influential Congregational minister William Ellery Channing delivered a sermon entitled "Unitarian Christianity" that gave formal voice to the fundamental philosophy of Unitarianism, and that date is usually taken as the birth of organized Unitarianism. Rather than adhering to a specific doctrine or dogma, Unitarians believed in rational thought and individual ethics as the basis for their conviction and also believed that revelation was not an event but a continuing process that made religious learning a lifelong process (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 132–33).

Another religious belief that ran a parallel course to Unitarianism was Universalism, also a movement born of opposition to the notions of inherent human wickedness and predestination. In 1790 three disparate groups representing these thoughts met in Philadelphia and formed the Universalist Church. The congregation remained small, however, and was mainly extant in New York and eventually some portions of the Midwest (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 133).

REVIVALISM

One of the most profound episodes in the early Republic centered on a series of religious revivals called the Second Great Awakening. Its impact on daily routines for a considerable number of Americans was as immeasurable as it was intense. In some respects, it revealed the heightened religiosity in an increasingly secular social, political, and economic environment. The expanding religious sentiment that began swelling in the 1790s and resulted in a sustained burst of revivalism at the turn of the nineteenth century formed a vital part of the story of those Americans (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 133).

Origins

Even during the colonial period, the broad geographic expanse and irregular establishment of American colonies brought about a growing variety in religious faiths. A level of tolerance was necessary merely to keep the civil peace even in the face of the established Church of England, but such forbearance might actually have been a reflection of religious indifference. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, time and distance had lessened the Old World's religious hold on distant flocks, no matter what their faith. An effort to renew flagging religious fervor was in part responsible for a revival movement in the 1730s and 1740s that is popularly called the Great Awakening. Revivals not only sought to reanimate the faithful but also endeavored to win new converts. Glimmerings of this development were seen in New Jersey's Dutch Reformed Church as early as the 1720s, but the movement took flight in New England in the 1730s when Jonathan Edwards delivered a series of fervent, vivid sermons that convinced listeners that they were indeed "sinners in the hands of an angry God." Spurred by the equally moving addresses of George Whitefield, who took his message on the road, the Great Awakening continued into the 1740s, gaining converts and finally kindling dissent, the latter among those who objected to the absolute statement of Calvinist doctrines such as predestination and original sin. Nonetheless, the Great Awakening soon broke regional boundaries to spread southward and breathe life into Presbyterians, Baptists, and, by the American Revolution, Methodists as well (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 133) (Edwards 1844, 313–21).

The Great Awakening did more than enlarge church congregations of the various Protestant denominations. It also served to counter the rationalism of Enlightenment philosophy, which was essentially unreceptive to notions of revealed religion. Nonetheless, the appeal of rationalism, evidenced by the lure of Deism among American intellectuals, did work to dampen religious fervor in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The constitutional prohibitions on a state church also seem to have diminished the influence of the organized churches. Finally, the westward migration of the American population following the Revolution put into play the same geographic factors of distance that had earlier loosened the ties between colonial populations and Old World churches. Organized religion in the eastern United States saw its influence waning among pioneers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 134).

The Second Great Awakening

Church leaders responded to this development by renewing the revivalism that had proved so successful in the Great Awakening. Beginning in New England, the Second Great Awakening got under way in the 1790s as devotees of Jonathan Edwards sought to overcome the appeal of Deism, what some called the "'French infidelity' that was threatening to sweep away every vestige of Christianity." Occurring within customary church ceremonies, the eastern revival effectively invigorated church attendance and encouraged missionaries to travel abroad as well as to scattered pioneer communities on the American frontier. Nobody, however, was prepared for what happened in sparsely populated frontier regions. The Second Great Awakening in the western American wilderness was to become the Great Revival (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 134) (Nye 1960, 213).

The western manifestation of revivalism was intensely emotional, broadly interdenominational, and exceptionally infectious. By 1799, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist ministers were riding circuits throughout the frontier to inspire the faithful and convert the unchurched. The western wilderness did not appear a promising vineyard for the Lord's work, and its tough, profane, hard-drinking denizens might reasonably have been judged as beyond salvation. Yet initial sermons—passionate orations delivered in crude log buildings serving as unembellished churches—began drawing folks from all over, especially after word spread about the extraordinary physical reactions among attendees. Some observers then and now have attributed the attraction of these services to the irresistible desire of lonely pioneers to seek out social occasions, whatever their purpose. Leaving aside speculations about their motivation, the number of people attending the sermons grew so steadily that they finally resorted to congregating at large camp meetings, an old idea that found new life as remarkable things began to happen. Organized as multidenominational events in Kentucky by ministers such as Presbyterians James McGreevy and Barton W. Stone, camp meetings rapidly spread as a method of religious revivalism. They took place in woods and clearings, usually near streams that provided water, and attracted settlers from both near and far, some traveling for days to the event and remaining for days to hear preachers exhort the faithful, extol the blessed, condemn the profligate, and save the willing. Services occurred virtually nonstop, several preachers bellowing at the same time just out of earshot of each other. Darkness did not stop them, and only the flicker of bonfires and pine resin torches broke the otherwise impenetrable night of the deep woods. Some of the men drank liquor, of course, and the doings of some young men and women in distant shadows were decidedly more physical than spiritual. Yet even cynics who came to scoff at these events were often swept up in the contagion of them. The swaying crowds, the fatigue caused by long travel and little sleep, the eerie shadows thrown by the fires and guttering torches made for an evocative scene. Pioneers were not used to crowds, and they were certainly not accustomed to late nights. Sooner or later, for reasons that are not at all clear, something would snap, and the tension of the meeting would erupt into frightening, bizarre displays of emotionalism. Burly men sobbed uncontrollably, women barked like dogs, children rolled violently on the ground; people broke into frenzied dances, spasmodically jerked their arms and legs, and spoke in unintelligible tongues. Some even injured themselves in free falling exercises or banged their bloodied heads against trees (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 134–35).

In 1801, Barton Stone was the moving force behind the most stunning camp meeting revival of the period. It took place in the second week of August in

Bourbon County, Kentucky, at a place called Cane Ridge, some seven miles from the community of Paris. The event attracted a phenomenal number of people. By some estimates, as many as 20,000 souls came to Cane Ridge, and there were possibly more who drifted in and out over the course of the meeting, making it briefly one the most populated places in the United States. "From Friday until the following Thursday, night and day without intermission," there were people "engaged in some religious act of worship." Generating a sound like Niagara Falls, the crowd shouted, barked, and jerked for six days while listening to continuous sermons, sometimes as many as seven occurring at once. On occasion, hundreds of people were simultaneously struck by the falling exercise, dropping to the ground as though felled by artillery, "like men slain in a mighty battle." They rose up, though, and, after it was over, continued to feel the intense glow of the experience, enlarging Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian congregations or forming new sects such as the Christian Church or the Disciples of Christ. Some joined the Shakers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 135–36) (Nye 1960, 218) (Cartwright 1856, 38) (McNemar 1808, 25).

The growth of evangelical denominations such as the Baptists and Methodists, actually to outstrip older groups like the Congregationalists and Episcopalians, was instrumental in the growing democratization of society and politics at the close of the early Republic and the start of the Jacksonian period. The years after 1820 saw emotional revivals spread eastward, and upstate New York experienced such an extended period of religious commotion that it was dubbed the "burned-over district" and became the seedbed for new faiths such as the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, popularly known as Mormons, and Adventists, who believed in the looming end of the world to coincide with the return of Christ. By then, the revival was firmly embedded in the practices and rituals of American evangelism, a fact forged by the astonishing and unexpected events that had swept across the frontier in the first years of the century (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 135–36).

WORSHIP

Urban churches during the colonial period essentially copied the architectural designs prevailing in England, and those structures naturally remained in place after the Revolution. New construction in the years that followed, however, consciously sought to break with British influences and establish a unique American style. The period's general architecture is often called Federalist, to match the dominant political culture of the day, and though it bore distinctive American characteristics, it was actually derivative of Georgian architecture then dominant in England. Church architecture thus mirrored this trend, and not until the later decades of the nineteenth century did it become a distinctive American style with the appearance of neo-Gothic designs.

In new settlements on the frontier and in established but remote rural areas, church construction tended to be quite simple and often produced nothing more than a log meetinghouse with crude benches and a plain raised platform for the preacher. Sometimes, the church was simply a clearing where wagons could be drawn so that their occupants could listen to a sermon delivered from a tree stump (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 136).

Sermons and Services

In established eastern churches, the patterns of worship were staid and traditional. Christian church services took place on Sundays, and the congregation was expected to dress formally for the event. Even the lower classes reserved special clothes, nicer than ordinary attire, to wear while attending worship services. In the early years of the period, indigent or unsupervised children might be rounded up in certain cities to attend Sunday schools, a facet of church life that went through distinct phases (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 136).

The eastern Protestant denominations had always been intellectual centers and continued to be during the early Republic. In 1800 Congregationalists and Presbyterians still held considerable sway with about half the congregations in the entire country and with a long tradition of establishing colleges to educate their clergy. College-educated ministers sermonized weekly on both spiritual and temporal matters and did not hesitate to illuminate current events with the light of religious thought. In Congregational and Presbyterian churches, that thought centered on the belief that Adam in the garden had damned all men and women with his original sin, the Passion of Christ had atoned for mankind's sins, and only the elect who had been born again would see heaven, regardless of their good works or adherence to the sacraments (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 136–37).

Frontier Methodism

On the frontier, traditional and established denominations encountered a different environment of worldly concerns. Toughened pioneers rejected church hierarchies just as ardently as they scorned political ones. Formal modes of worship in fancy clothes were unlikely, and the intellectualism of refined eastern pulpits was regarded as both irrelevant and pretentious. Instead, most pioneers relied on the circuit rider, frequently a Methodist minister instantly recognizable by his clothing: a broad-brimmed hat, prominent collar, and dusty, long coat. He rode a circuit that covered a hundred miles to visit remote cabins and preach the Bible through John Wesley's explanations. His scattered flock accepted him precisely because he had not been to college. Instead, he was an alumnus of the school of hard knocks, steeped in useful, relevant knowledge about life rather than esoteric theories from books, and as familiar with the physical territories of his journey as he was with the people who eagerly awaited his arrival. In spite of its simple trappings and the unpredictability imposed by a wilderness setting, circuit riding was neither disorganized nor haphazard. The preacher rode his circuit for four years, during which he held services every single day, two on Saturdays and Sundays, and was expected to be on time for them with clocklike reliability. His sermons were not the sober, contemplative discourses of eastern churches but were stirring declamations in ordinary language that vividly portrayed the horrors of damnation and the splendors of deliverance (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 137) (Burns 1982, 494–501).

Frontier Baptists

More informal than even the Methodists, the Baptist frontier preacher was frequently a local resident whose qualification for the pulpit was simply "the call" from the Lord. That condition made him competent in the eyes of his church to spread the Gospel after the Council of Brethren had duly assessed him and had conferred ordination through prayer. These farmer-preachers continued to till, sow, and harvest their fields because they received no salary from the church. They could move with congregations or, wanting one, seek it out in unchurched regions. They posed no financial burden on the church, and their guidance from regional associations was minimal (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 137).

Baptists primarily differed with Methodists about total immersion in baptism, but the frontier also saw lively theological debates over issues such as predestination, free will, and original sin. Methodist circuit riders occasionally conducted services for Baptist congregations, but Baptists remained vigilant against the chance that such intermittent contact with believers in "infant sprinkling" might contaminate their congregations (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 137) (Ahlstrom 1972, 444).

Living and Dying

The goal of salvation was central to the cycle of birth, life, and death in the Judeo-Christian culture of the early Republic. Adhering to the early Roman Catholic belief that only the baptized were in the community of Christendom and that even innocent souls dying unbaptized could not enter heaven, infant baptism was the custom of Roman Catholics and most Protestant churches. For Protestants, however, it was more a ceremony establishing the covenant between the individual and God than a ritual relating to sin and salvation. In the Protestant church, Baptists were unique in rejecting infant baptism, holding to the belief that it derived from no biblical authority. Further, Baptists insisted that only adults could be guilty of sin and only adults could understand the significance of the baptismal experience. Baptists also refused to baptize by affusion (sprinkling water) but insisted on total immersion to emulate the experience of Jesus at the hands of John the Baptist (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 137–38).

Explaining death and instilling confidence that it impinges only on the body, not the soul, is a key function of all theologies. Funeral practices are intimately tied to religious beliefs about the meaning of life and the reality of an afterlife and as rituals serve a vital psychological purpose for the bereaved. Dressing and preparing the corpse, offering the opportunity for family and friends to view the remains, holding a wake, participating in processions, crafting eulogies, joining in prayer, and tolling church bells were ways to celebrate life as much as mourn death. For Americans in the early Republic, death from accident and especially from disease was a pervasive likelihood, and the commemoration of life with assurance of salvation was a central part of their daily lives (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 138).

Charity

The birth of new denominations and the strengthening of others was not the only feature of the Second Great Awakening, for within this increased variation of faith there was also a reaffirmed commonality of basic theology that eroded differences in the Protestant community. Unlike the original Great Awakening, which had focused on fixing belief in predestination and human corruption, the Second Great Awakening preached a message of universal deliverance and in many cases even the essential goodness of people as demonstrated in their good works. The buoyant idea encouraged missionary work, educational endeavors, and reform movements that campaigned for temperance and against vices such as gambling (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 138).

New York City. The day nursery of Grace Parish, one of the proposed beneficiaries of the "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper" doll charity. A mother's morning good-bye to her babe. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Although working outside the home was socially unacceptable for married mothers, charity work offered women an outlet because such activity was seen to complement their role as nurturers. Just as women tended to be more prone to conversion experiences during the Second Great Awakening and tended to outnumber men at camp meetings and church services, so they took the lead in organizing church projects to aid the poor, such as collecting and distributing food and clothing. They were also responsible in the early nineteenth century for establishing the first Sunday schools, institutions designed to teach poor children how to read and write through religious instruction. In charity work, women performed as "republican mothers" for those women who were too poor or ignorant to take on that role themselves (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 138–39).

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded by the Congregationalists in 1810 and attracted the backing of Presbyterians as well. Nondenominational groups included the American Education Society, founded in 1815 and the American Sunday School Union, founded in 1817, which formed the basis for a network of generous charitable institutions that crossed religious lines by including a variety of religious leaders. Beginning in 1816, the American Bible Society undertook the task of providing translations of the Bible to all peoples of the world, frequently at no cost and always unadorned by commentary (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 139).

Temperance

The pervasive problem of inebriation was an early target of reform. As a result of custom and to take the edge off daily routines that were both demanding and tedious, American men and women drank spirits as a matter of course. Festive events such as weddings and somber ones like funerals saw excessive drinking and sometimes devolved into fracases. The aftereffects of strong drink kept workers at home on Fridays and Mondays, and drunken fathers were apt to mistreat their children and abuse their wives. In what would amount to a long campaign against hard liquor, temperance societies sprang up in New York in 1808, Massachusetts in 1813, and

Connecticut in 1813, leading to the formation in 1826 of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance in Boston, which a decade later had a million members on its rolls. Frequently led by women, these moral reform movements helped to elevate their status as social and moral arbiters (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 139).

Sunday Schools

First established in the United States in the 1790s, Sunday schools emulated British efforts to expose impoverished child workers to a basic education, using the only day free of labor those children enjoyed. In America, such schools began appearing in larger eastern cities and emergent factory towns, especially in New England, where children received Bible-based instruction in the three Rs of reading, writing, and 'rithmetic. At its outset, the enterprise was unique in that it broke with a tradition of spiritual instruction for children that emphasized religion over attaining even rudimentary skills, a practice that dated from colonial times. Instead, early Sunday schools focused on literacy as much as spiritual teaching, convinced that good citizenship depended on turning children into responsible educated adults. Before the appearance of these Sunday schools, unsupervised children tended to gather on Sundays to engage in raucous play that frequently led to mischief. Sensing a developing social problem, education-minded reformers established Sunday schools both to take these rowdy children off the streets and to impart to them at least some proficiency in reading and writing. In this form, the Sunday school enjoyed a mixed success at best, and had it not been transformed by the advent of revivalism, the institution might not have survived its early structure and purpose. In addition, in urban areas the beginning of public schools that functioned as regular weekday educational institutions reduced and ultimately eliminated the need for Sunday schools in that role (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 139–40).

Under the influence of the Second Great Awakening and the sustained evangelical zeal it inspired, the concept of Sunday schools gradually changed in the first years of the nineteenth century to make them primarily a tool of religious instruction. Correspondingly, the rapid expansion of these schools led the evangelical movement to formalize them as an integral part of Protestant religious custom, adapting the content of lessons as well as pedagogy to the renewed importance of spiritual development. In this fashion, the Sunday school became an extension of church activity rather than a philanthropic gesture to promote primary education. In that regard, the Sunday school became a melding of charitable impulse and evangelical purpose, a design both to uplift the children of the church and to sustain them as Christian citizens of a virtuous republic (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 140).

Colleges

Continuing the colonial tradition, higher education was intimately tied to religion during the period, and the Second Great Awakening encouraged in ensuing years the establishment of denominationally sponsored liberal arts colleges throughout the South and West. Their primary function was to educate young men for the ministry, and their curricula replicated the traditional course of study for that purpose.

Latin, Greek, mathematics, and moral philosophy not only formed the curricular core; those studies frequently formed the whole of the educational experience at these new, rough outposts of learning (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 140).

In the East, however, many of the colleges that had been founded during the colonial period as training grounds for clergy from various denominations moved away from church sponsorship and instead became schools where wealthy young men could acquire some finish. These developments shocked and dismayed the clergy, who worried that young college men no longer "made any pretensions to piety," and that in these universities "the name of God is blasphemed, the Bible denounced, the Sabbath profaned, the public worship of God is neglected." Still, American belief that knowledge and virtue were tied together kept colleges and universities at the top of many people's list for charitable giving (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 140) (Nye 1960, 205).

Beyond the Mainstream

Many people during the early Republic lived differently from ordinary Americans. In most cases, as when cultural differences dictated a different lifestyle, they did so by choice. Indians, immigrants from other countries, and pioneers who chose to leave established settlements for the frontiers are examples of those who deliberately took paths that diverged from the conventional. In other instances, however, people fell out of the mainstream involuntarily. African American slaves especially exhibit that unfortunate circumstance. Criminals obviously chose the way of misfit, but society leveled compulsory punishments that ranged from incarceration to death. In short, a significant number of Americans lived differently from their fellow countrymen, attesting to the fact that long before it was fashionable to admonish it to be, America was a place of diversity (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 143).

DEATH

Dying was as social as it was somber in the early Republic. Embracing the belief that a person should never be alone during the last stages of a terminal illness, family and neighbors took turns sitting at the deathbed, especially at night. In rural areas, neighbors traditionally came to "watch the night" with a dying person, and consequently most deaths occurred at home with the failing person surrounded by loved ones (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 47).

Wakes and Funerals

A tolling church or courthouse bell announced a person's death if near a town. Nine peals signaled the passing of an adult male, six an adult female, and three a child, followed by one toll for each year of the person's age. By the time the bell was ringing, family members would be preparing the body for burial by bathing the corpse, dressing the hair, and finally covering the body in a burial shroud. Women usually prepared bodies for burial, even those of deceased men. In cities, certain women performed burial preparations for pay, making them the forerunners of modern funeral directors. Embalming was not practiced during the early Republic, and therefore the funeral had to be conducted fairly quickly after death, especially during the summer months. During the colonial period, some people were hastily buried by simply wrapping them in cloth and placing them in the ground. Americans of the early Republic, however, were typically buried in wooden coffins that were usually custom made (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 47).

A wake was customary, the open coffin sitting in the parlor or front room of the house to allow family and neighbors to pay their respects. Before the growing influence of the temperance movement, alcohol was served to the men during the wake. The house itself was considerably altered for the occasion. Mirrors were covered with a white cloth, and furniture was moved into the public areas to accommodate guests. The funeral service was conducted in the house, and afterward the coffin was sealed and shouldered by pallbearers to a wagon for conveying it to the graveyard; everyone else walked behind. In frontier areas far removed from church graveyards and on plantations with family burial plots, the person would be buried on the property. Slaves, too, were buried on the grounds of the home in a separate slave burial ground. They usually conducted their own services, though the owner and his family might attend. These ceremonies usually occurred just before nightfall (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 47–48).

Most people who attended funerals did not wear black, as became the custom in the later Victorian era. If they could afford a special mourning outfit, close family members wore black, and widows were expected to wear black for at least six months after their husband's funeral. Many women widowed in old age wore black for the rest of their lives. Male mourners wore a black armband.

If the deceased owned a home and property, community leaders or the local court appointed three reputable men to list the household's effects and other property for probate. Probate records are still valuable sources to enhance our understanding of the material culture of the early Republic because these appointed agents recorded everything from each teaspoon in the house to the smallest tool in the barn. The list was then presented to the court, which distributed possessions and property in accordance with the deceased's last will and testament or, if no will existed, according to state law (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 48).

Social Life

INDIANS

Most Indians east of the Mississippi River during the early Republic lived in permanent towns and villages where daily routines stemmed from a primarily sedentary, agricultural existence. Considerable intermarriage between Indian women and white traders did not change the fact that most Indians still lived apart from European American communities. Yet frequent contact with white society, especially through trade, changed Indian culture in the years following the early colonial period. White trade goods such as cloth, metal pots, hatchets, hoe blades, and guns lessened the effort necessary to produce food and sustain shelter, but they also created a creeping dependency. Each generation suffered a gradual erosion of basic knowledge about how to make the items essential to sustain their traditional culture. White society eventually possessed the means through dependence to force ever larger land cessions from Indian tribes. Daily life became easier in some ways, but the heritage of Indian existence as marked in their birthright of land steadily diminished. To many Indians, the land was their "life and breath" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 143–44) (Braund 1993, 175).

Farming and Hunting

Despite their use of labor-saving devices and manufactured goods, those Indian cultures persistently clung to their customs. While they produced most of their food by farming, their agricultural techniques remained the same as before contact with Europeans. For instance, women did most Indian farming, with the exception of clearing fields. In Iroquois, Creek, and Cherokee cultures, women owned their fields and passed them down to their daughters, reflecting the matrilineal structure of those Indian cultures. (Lodgings also belonged to women.) In the spring, the women of a town spent most of their time preparing the fields and planting the season's crops with seeds saved from the previous year's harvest. Although some crops were exclusive to different regions, corn was the mainstay of virtually all Indian nutrition. Various beans, squash, and pumpkins supplemented their diets. Women spent much of the growing season tending their plants while minding children, keeping house, making clothes, and preparing food. In the fall, they worked together to bring in the harvest and preserve food for the winter. Corn was parched to be eaten later or to be pounded into meal for bread or mush. Beans were dried (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 144).

Men spent much of their time in activities that largely centered on providing food as well. Indians acquired most meat by hunting, and animal hides and furs served as the primary goods to barter with whites for manufactured items. To supply their towns with meat as well as an adequate number of hides to trade with whites, Indian men often had to range great distances from home. The most important long-distance hunts occurred in the fall and winter for southern Indians and in the late summer or early fall for northern tribes. By the period of the early Republic, untrammeled hunting had depleted many traditional Indian hunting grounds of game, particularly of deer, whose skins were a prized trading article with whites. Federal Creek agent Benjamin Hawkins reported in 1799 that some hunters "have returned from hunting without any skins and I have heard from one town who have not killed fifty." Declining resources and far-ranging hunting parties made for conflict with other Indian tribes who were vying for the same food supplies, and sometimes the result could mean war. Moreover, dwindling resources meant that by the early nineteenth century, Indians were finding it increasingly difficult to support their families. Southern Indians, particularly the Creeks and Seminoles, sought to ease the problem of decreasing game by adopting white cattle-herding practices with European breeds. The temperate climate and large expanses of open land favored such husbandry, and these Indians became particularly adept at raising cattle. Tending herds became one of the primary responsibilities of a town's men and boys (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 144–45) (Braund 1993, 178).

Games

In addition to hunting and husbandry, men might help wives and daughters prepare fields for planting, especially if clearing were necessary. Otherwise, they built the town's buildings, carried out heavy repairs, sat in governing councils, and served as warriors in times of conflict. Among the Creeks, a particularly numerous linguistic group, warriors often outnumbered the standing army of the United States. To hone war-making skills, Indian boys and men spent much time playing violent ball games. In existence long before Europeans arrived in America, these extremely rigorous games served as important rituals as well as practical exercises. In the North the Iroquois played the game that was the predecessor of modern lacrosse. It was played primarily during the harvest season. A team of approximately 15 to 20 members, each wielding a staff with a small basket at the end, tried to deposit a deerskin ball in a goal guarded by the opponent. The contest featured a good deal of physical contact, including the use of the sticks as cudgels.

In the South, Creeks and Cherokees played a similar game. A match between two towns included large wagers that could make or break a town's economy for the coming year. Perhaps more important than material considerations, a town's honor and prestige often rested on the outcome of a match. The night before the game was filled with religious ceremonies and dancing that resembled rites preceding a war. In the Creek and Cherokee ball game—"stickball," as it was called by whites—two posts made of stripped trees sat about 10 feet apart at each end of a three- to four-acre field. Teams tried to knock a small deerskin ball through these goals. Players carried two sticks similar to those used by Iroquois but shorter, with small leather baskets on the ends to catch the ball. As in the Iroquois game, the sticks were also used as clubs. The ball carrier ran it down the field to toss through the goalposts while opposing players could use any tactic to stop him and his teammates. Injuries abounded during a typical contest, which ended only when a team scored 12 goals. For evenly matched teams, a game could take all day. Most Indian groups staged these ritual ball games between towns of the same tribe or confederation, though there were instances of Creek towns challenging Cherokee towns. Within a particular confederation, such as the Creeks', contests determined status for individual warriors and their towns (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 145).

Matrilineal Clans

The importance of a town's clans and its place within the governing structure of the confederation primarily established its status. Within the town, the clan determined a person's place in everything from social status to marital opportunities. Matrilineal societies sustained clans through their females. Property such as houses or fields descended to daughters from the mother, and though rank for males and females was a function of her standing, the actual practices attendant to matrilineal descent could be quite complicated. For example, a male's inherited titles or positions came from his mother's side of the family. That meant that his standing came from his maternal uncles rather than from his father. Correspondingly, important positions held by his father came to him through his father's mother and were passed on to his father's sisters' sons. Once a boy came of age and began his training for hunting and as a warrior, maternal uncles conducted much of his education. Girls, whether in a matrilineal or patriarchal structure, learned at the hands of their mothers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 145–46).

Towns

When not tending crops, most girls and their mothers spent their time in the town. Indian towns east of the Mississippi River were situated near flowing bodies of water on defensible ground. Many had been in the same location for decades or even centuries by the time of the early Republic. Beyond this generality, all similarities from region to region ended. The architecture and layout of Indian towns varied not only for different locales but for different tribes as well. In the North, the six nations of the Iroquois (the Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca, Onondaga, Mohawk, and Tuscarora) typically constructed fortified towns surrounded by log palisades. Iroquois men built platforms behind the palisades for defenders to stand on while shooting attackers. By the early Republic, Iroquois numbers within the United States were greatly diminished, a result of many Iroquois siding with the British during the Revolutionary War. Those who had not fled to Canada still clung to traditional ways, however, including the plans of their towns and the style of buildings in them. Some Iroquois who had married whites or lived near them began to build houses much like those of their white neighbors, but those of the old towns continued to construct the traditional building called the longhouse. These structures, sometimes as much as 100 feet long, consisted of a long central hall from which numerous rooms extended that served as living quarters for individual families. Each town also had storage buildings for food and other essentials and a large meeting hall for important gatherings and celebrations.

In the South, extended families of the Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and Choctaws—groups that whites had dubbed the Five Civilized Tribes—lived in individual wattle-and-daub houses. These structures were framed with small trees and limbs and covered with mud or clay mixed with straw (daub). By the early Republic, many southern Indians had begun building log cabins and framed houses with mud or stone chimneys. The changing architecture did not, however, alter their traditional ceremonies and festivities, including the placing of a ceremonial structure in the center of town (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 146).

Similar to all cultures, Native American society revolved around rituals and ceremonies. Because the town's survival depended on a good yield of crops, the most important festival coincided with the earliest harvest. For Creeks, this was the Green Corn Ceremony, aptly named because it occurred when the earliest corn was ready for collecting. In honor of this significant event, the town was thoroughly cleaned, and a new fire was started in its ceremonial center. The town then enjoyed a week of celebrations and games. In anticipation of a celebratory banquet, people not only fasted but also purified their bodies by taking a powerful emetic known as the Black Drink. Thus cleansed, the people of the town shared a grand feast (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 146–47).

Like people of all cultures, Indians conducted particular rituals attendant to the death of any of their members. Some groups, like the Creeks, buried their dead, though generally in a sitting rather than prone position, and usually put items with the body that the person had owned in life. Perhaps the Choctaws had some of the most elaborate death rituals. The deceased was placed on a platform in the open for a number of days until the flesh was "putrid, so as easily to part from the bones." A group of specially trained Choctaws then stripped the flesh from the bones, which were then "deposited in the bone-house." When the bone-house was full, relatives of the dead took its contents out of the village and in a solemn ceremony covered the bones over with dirt, creating an earthen mound (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 147) (Rae 1996, 531).

Troubled People

During the early Republic, Indians east of the Mississippi witnessed profound and troubling changes that would have a direct impact on their daily lives. The end of the American Revolution removed British-imposed restrictions on western migrations of whites, and settlers poured into the regions that would become the new states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. As these pioneers encroached on Indian lands, trespassed on Indian cornfields, and killed game in Indian hunting grounds, Indians retaliated. The years between the American Revolution and the War of 1812 saw wars on the frontier between settlers and Indians that gradually changed everything for the land's original inhabitants. Some Native Americans in both the North and South deemed that Indian unity might stem the seemingly endless and irresistible tide of white settlement, and they sought to strengthen existing confederations or organize new and more broadly conceived ones. Creeks in the South and the great Shawnee warrior Tecumseh in the North were the most determined, but ultimately both were defeated. Tecumseh fell in the War of 1812, and the Creeks suffered a crushing loss to Major General Andrew Jackson, who forced them to sign the Treaty of Fort Jackson, a coercive arrangement that ceded 23 million acres of their land to the United States. The wholesale defeat of Indians during the War of 1812, in fact, opened the floodgates to white settlement in the West while providing the government with the way to separate Native Americans from their lands. The result was the removal policy that relocated most eastern Indians to areas west of the Mississippi during the 1830s (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 147).

AFRICAN AMERICAN SLAVES

Spreading migrations that expanded tobacco and cotton increased the demand for slavery while changing its demographics. Under provisions agreed to at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Congress could not prohibit the foreign slave trade any earlier than January 1, 1808, if it chose to do so. Thereafter, an increasing need for slaves was met mostly through natural increase, but also through illegal trade. Between 1808 and 1820, probably more than 15,000 slaves were smuggled into the South. Meanwhile, a domestic slave trade transferred slaves from plantations in declining agricultural areas of the East to sell them to the newly settled, burgeoning plantations of the Old Southwest (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 147–48).

Under the demand of these labor-hungry regions, the price of slaves rose steadily during the period, particularly for young and healthy men. In 1800, a young black man's average price was about $500; 20 years later that price had doubled. Almost everyone regarded the slave trader with contempt, but his activity was abided nonetheless. It was a disagreeable necessity, went the reasoning among those in the East who had more slaves than their limited or depleted lands needed. In law and custom the slaveholder had complete power and authority to do with his "chattel property"—slaves—as he saw fit. No laws prevented him from separating husbands and wives, or selling children if need be. While many planters faced with bankruptcy ultimately put aside their normal revulsion against the family heartbreaks that slave trading caused, many others would not tolerate it and were careful to direct in their wills that their slave families be kept together. Once in the hands of traders, however, slave families were at the mercy of the market.

American prohibitions against the international slave trade took effect in 1808, but before that, between 1790 and 1808, the international slave trade flourished, and the lives of some of those eventually bound for slavery in the United States included its horrors (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 148).

The Slave Trade

Most Africans brought to the United States came from the agricultural areas of West Africa, meaning that they had spent most of their lives planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops. How they fell into slavery varied, but by the 1790s almost all either were prisoners of African tribal wars or had been captured by fellow Africans specifically to be sold into slavery. These captives' journey to the coast for sale to white traders was only the first stage of a prolonged, ghastly ordeal. Their hands bound and their feet hobbled, they were formed into lines and tied together to walk for days to the coast, receiving little food and water as they did so. After they reached the ocean, a slave-trading ship captain selected them, branded them with his mark, and loaded them aboard his ship. Thus began the infamous Middle Passage of the transatlantic slave trade. Chained together, slaves lay prone in rows in the cargo hold, "frequently stowed so close, as to admit no other posture than lying on their sides." Only allowed above decks for short periods, they spent the bulk of the voyage wallowing in urine, feces, and vomit, breathing fetid air, and subsisting on a mean diet. It is, in fact, only surprising that more did not die. Some were driven to suicide by the horrors of the voyage. An appalling 15 to 20 percent perished in the Middle Passage. Most of these desolate people were imported to the Caribbean sugar islands and Latin America rather than the United States. Over four centuries of the Middle Passage only about five percent of the slaves exported from Africa came to the British North American colonies or the United States (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 148–49) (Rae 1996, 35).

American Slavery

Slaves born in America were the products of over a century of acculturation and adaptation between Americans of African, European, and Native American descent. As a result, the cultural context of their daily lives bore influences from all these traditions. By far, however, the overriding feature of their existence was the fact that they were slaves by force of law. It bears remembering that while their lives, like those of most Americans, revolved around work, they worked completely for the benefit of someone else.

Most slaves worked on small farms or middling plantations. On small farms they lived with the farmer or in a separate shelter on larger concerns. They lived near the main house in slave quarters, log or clapboard cabins that could be marginally comfortable or barely livable, depending on the plantation. The "quarter" was usually arranged along a dirt lane, sometimes colloquially called "the street." On large plantations, an overseer, the planter's factotum, supervised daily activities with the help of assistants or drivers, specially chosen slaves who supervised the gangs in their specific tasks each day. Slaves working on a small farm were less specific in their labor and performed many different tasks on a daily basis. Work commenced at first light, stopped for a long midday lunch of corn bread and occasionally salt pork to avoid labor in the hottest part of the day, and then continued until dusk. In addition to the proficiency necessary to plant, cultivate, and harvest crops, slaves could acquire special skills to become talented brick masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, or seamstresses and enhance the self-sufficiency of the farm or plantation and be hired out to farmers and others needing such skills. During the growing season, most slaves worked hoeing grass and weeds away from crops. Women were often employed at spinning thread or yarn and weaving cloth, especially during rainy periods when they could not work in the fields. In any case, slaves who did not labor in the fields worked long days as well. House servants rose long before their masters to light kitchen fires, cook breakfast for the household, iron clothes, help the master and mistress dress for the day, or begin another round of endless housecleaning. Most plantations did not have hundreds of slaves, and one or two people performed most of these duties (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 149).

Slave families consisted of about the same number of children on average as white families, but slave women probably gave birth to more children in their lifetimes than the average white woman did. Roughly one in three slave children died before the age of two, an appalling infant mortality rate even for a time when all children were vulnerable to disease. Slaves, however, suffered under especially taxing conditions that featured poor prenatal care and nutrition and work schedules that kept mothers in the fields and away from breast-feeding responsibilities. Even erratic feedings could do harm as slave infants suffered from their mother's poor diet, and small children who were too young to work often served at best as marginally neglectful babysitters (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 149–50).

Leisure and Lore

When slaves finished their daily work, they returned to simple lodgings for an evening meal and a few hours with friends and family. With time to prepare rations provided by their owner and vegetables grown in their gardens, slaves could enjoy a more restful and agreeable meal than during the day. The planter supplied the basics for their diet, most often an allotment of salted or cured pork, dried corn or cornmeal, molasses, and salt. Slaves planted gardens with foods that would have been familiar to tables in Africa. Peanuts, yams (called sweet potatoes), and various vegetables grew well in the South and were important sources of nutrition for whites as well as slaves. Slave men supplemented their families' diets by fishing in nearby rivers, streams, and lakes. Southern states had laws prohibiting slaves from owning guns, but owners would sometimes lend shotguns to slaves for hunting.

After the evening meal, slaves visited neighbors in the quarters, watched their children play, listened to stories, and sang and danced. Storytelling was important for slaves, not only as a diversion but also as an oral tradition that preserved their history. In a ritual as old as the fables of Aesop, adults used folktales to teach children important lessons about ethical behavior, some of these stories originating in Africa from the seventeenth century and passing from generation to generation. Considered among the wisest people in the quarters, storytellers wove parables that often followed the exploits of anthropomorphized animals learning life's lessons the hard way.

They told their tales in English, but like everything about slave culture, there were vestiges of African influences. This was especially true on larger plantations, where slaves had less contact with whites and in Low Country and sea island areas of the Carolinas and Georgia where blacks vastly outnumbered whites, lived and worked with little direct contact with whites for much of the year, and had enough new African blood, by way of illegal imports, to inform the African American cultures there and even contribute to the persistence of Gullah and Geechee speech. Yet specific African languages existed only as relics because even those who recalled the old ways of talking found themselves awash in a sea of alien tongues. The wide array of West African languages simply frustrated the emergence of a common, native vernacular. Instead, learning English and integrating it with pidgin variations of their own vocabularies and syntax was the only way for them to communicate within the slave community as well as with the white one (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 150).

Their music also had strong African roots and was an extremely important part of their lives, in both the quarters and the fields. In Africa, people at work passed the time singing verses in the form of chanted declarations and responses. Slaves sang the same type of songs at their work with different words rendered in English but cadenced in the rhythms of Africa. The lyrics of these songs, however, had a distinct

American flavor and often told of "the usage they have received from their Masters and Mistresses in a very satirical stile and manner." African influences also framed dancing done by the slaves during evenings and holidays. Musical instruments such as the banjo, bones, and various drums featured in their compositions also had African origins (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 150–51) (Blassingame 1979, 115).

Faith

Slave funerals were another example of how succeeding generations sustained African customs even after the passing years had clouded their origin. Although it was not a convention in Africa to hold funerals at night—slaves did so partly from necessity because they were often deprived of the necessary time during the workday—they emulated West African practice by dancing and singing in celebration of the deceased's return to a true home. Interment in the slave cemetery included placing belongings on the grave to make the journey home easier (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 151).

By the early Republic, many slaves practiced a Christianity marked by vestigial African influences. For years, slaves on large plantations gathered on Sunday to conduct their own services and to hear sermons by their own preachers. Following revelations about possible slave insurrections, however, the custom of allowing such unsupervised worship fell into disfavor because of white fears that slave gatherings encouraged conspiracies and risked rebellions. Increasingly, planters insisted that white ministers preside over slaves' services or that their slaves attend white churches. During these services in white churches, the ministers often took the time to instruct slaves to "obey your masters and mistresses" so that "your back won't be whipped." Farmers and planters who owned only a small number of slaves especially adopted the practice of taking their slaves to their churches. Whether openly or secretly, however, most slaves continued to hear sermons by black preachers, who often even awed white observers with the "wonderful sympathy between the speaker and the audience." Wherever they worshipped, or if they worshipped at all, afterward most slaves had the balance of Sunday off from work. The exceptions were house servants, whose work of preparing meals and tending to household chores and childcare knew no holiday (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 151) (Blassingame 1979, 131–32).

Other Tasks

In the late fall after the harvest came hog-killing time. Slaughtering was almost as important a time as reaping for the well-being of the farm or plantation. Most of the meat that the master's family and slaves had during the winter would be prepared during hog killing. The largest hogs were chosen for slaughter and killed either with a bullet to the brain or by having their throats slit. They were strung up by their hindquarters and cut open to remove their internal organs, which would be boiled to make them edible for various dishes. After skinning the carcass, slaves cut up the hog to smoke and salt cure, necessary techniques for preserving the meat during the coming year. Plantation slaves were the primary laborers for this lengthy and unpleasant chore, and because nothing went to waste, they received the parts of the hog that whites did not want, such as the intestines. These were cleaned, boiled, and fried to produce what became known as chitterlings or chitlins (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 151).

In addition to hog killing, numerous other tasks needed completing before the planting season. Fences had to be mended, roofs patched, hay baled for livestock fodder during the winter and spring, and tools and plows repaired. These jobs were purposely postponed during the busy growing season for when there would be time during the off months. Thus the only real break from the grind of daily labor came at Christmas. Most slaves received about a week off at Christmas, days filled with extra food and perhaps a bit of spirits to celebrate the season. During this week at the end of the year, they enjoyed music, dancing, and visiting, even with slaves from other plantations. Yet the simplicity of their life was structured around want and deprivation, and nothing illustrated that fact more than the marginal clothing they received as part of their gifts at Christmas. Men were usually given trousers and work shirts, and women either simple dresses or the cloth to make them. Children wore only simple shifts or shirts until they reached working age, and their mothers were given cloth to make these simple garments (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 151–52).

Punishments

Slave misconduct was usually punished by whipping, a bad enough experience, but atrocious cruelties also occurred, such as branding or other forms of mutilation. Even planters who considered themselves humane often resorted to these practices, which to field slaves were almost always meted out by the overseer. Aside from the indignity and deprivation inherent in the system, deliberate mistreatment of slaves was rare. Even the most uncompassionate owner realized that starving slaves or depriving them of clothing and shelter risked causing sickness and death and was economically imprudent. Yet any system that gives individuals absolute power over others will have the potential to promote instances of extreme cruelty. One South Carolina slave owner and his wife beat one of their slaves until his back resembled raw meat and then "applied a pickle of *pepper and salt* to his wounds." "The miserable wretch died a few hours after in the most excruciating tortures" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 151–52) (Mesick 1922, 135).

Most slaves endured their lot, showing defiance in covert ways, such as working at a slow pace or feigning illness, but others ran away, some in a bid for freedom, some in attempts to return to former owners after being sold in protest of some outrage or loss of privilege. In the wake of the 1790s slave insurrection in Saint Dominique (Haiti) and the barely thwarted 1800 Gabriel Revolt in Richmond, Virginia, whites installed harsh slave codes to stem defiance, snare fugitives, and prevent insurrection. Yet the rules were only marginally effective. Their enforcement in rural areas would have required the constant vigilance of whites. As it happened, regulations that theoretically prohibited slaves from unsupervised or unauthorized travel were honored more in the breach, as slaves moved around quite a bit, especially when owners used them as couriers for long errands or hired them out to work for neighbors.

Some few planters even permitted their slaves to learn to read and write, a direct violation of laws that were designed to prevent the circulation of seditious ideas. The overwhelming majority of slaves, however, remained illiterate. In contrast to other Americans, even the lowly convict, the slave's lot was forlorn and bleak. One hard day was much like the hard days that preceded and followed it. While some had better masters than others in terms of treatment, food, and punishments, their lives were not their own, and their children were condemned to the same wretched state, and as far as they knew, their children's children as well, generation unto generation, forever (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 152–53).

FREE BLACKS

Whether they lived in the North or the South, free African Americans during the early Republic had a status at best marked by ambiguity. As runaway slaves, freed slaves, or descendants of freed slaves, African Americans in the North were typically placed in economically and socially inferior positions. In the South, free African Americans were generally descendants of former slaves who had won freedom either through extraordinary service to their masters or because of an owner's moral qualms about the institution of slavery. In some cases, free African Americans in both the North and the South were descendants of indentured servants from the colonial period who had actually never been slaves. At best, the free black was regarded as a second-class citizen, and more frequently he was viewed not as a citizen at all. The section of the country determined how well he lived (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 153).

The South

The upheaval of the Revolutionary War led to many slaves running away successfully and taking on new identities as free blacks. The tide of antislavery feeling that gripped many southern slave owners following the American Revolution also increased the number of free blacks in the South as altruistic owners manumitted their human property for reasons of conscience or to unload seemingly unprofitable wards. By the early years of the nineteenth century, free blacks made up almost 10 percent of the black population in the South. Yet the surge in manumissions quickly subsided when whites began to fear the influence of free blacks on slaves. Legislatures actually began to make it more difficult for owners to free their slaves. Yet freed slaves and other free blacks were uncomfortable reminders both to their brothers still in bondage and to whites that African Americans could succeed in a region that made most of them slaves (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 153).

It was a strangely replicated world. Free blacks lived apart from whites while nevertheless making their livings in much the same way that whites did. White society, however, made it clear that "be their industry ever so great and their conduct ever so correct, whatever property they may acquire or whatever respect we may feel for their character, we could never consent, and they could never hope to see . . . their descendants visit our houses, form part of our circle of acquaintances, marry into our families, or participate in public honours or employment." The attitude persisted and took greater hold in the 1820s and 1830s, the period ironically lauded as that of Jacksonian Democracy, when white men enjoyed an expansion of political rights while disenfranchising free black men in states like North Carolina and Tennessee where they earlier had the vote (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 153–54) (Berlin 1974, 187–88).

Some whites would have preferred that no free blacks live in the slave South, but in some instances, their presence was economically indispensable. They performed tasks that even the poorest whites considered beneath them, and they provided an extra source of workers that was more cost-effective than slave labor for seasonal jobs. Small landowners could hire free blacks to harvest crops without having to pay their living expenses for the rest of the year. Oystermen, fishermen, and crabbers could hire free blacks to help during their busiest season and afterward send them on their way. In cities, black men recently freed from slavery labored as dockworkers, teamsters, and day laborers while their wives worked as domestic servants for middle-class tradesmen. Descendants of slaves or servants from the colonial period were often artisans or craftsmen, their skills passed down through generations of skilled laborers. In rural areas, particularly in the upper South, many free blacks were small farmers who were descended from slaves or servants who had acquired land during the colonial period. They went about their daily lives in much the same way as other small farmers.

Whether they were urban workers, craftsmen, or small rural farmers, the daily lives of free blacks in the South might have appeared little different from those of their white neighbors, at least at first glance. Yet differences made subtle by casual observation were quite profound. Free blacks in rural settings had a very limited social circle. In areas where schools for white children were scarce, educating black children was nearly impossible. Only parents who were literate could teach their children to read and write, and such rudiments were the only education their children would receive.

In cities their situation was somewhat better. There, free blacks living in closer proximity to other free blacks and urban slaves had people with whom they could socialize and attend church. Urban free blacks were more successful in establishing churches for their communities as well as schools for their children. Against white opposition that feared any assembly of blacks, whether they were free or slaves, independent black churches were established in southern towns at the beginning of the early Republic. In addition to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, numerous other black denominational churches sprang up in the urban South (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 154).

Some early abolitionists, especially Quakers, established schools for free black children and sometimes set up night schools for free black adults to teach them the rudiments of reading and writing. By the early nineteenth century, free blacks operated most of these urban schools, many times in association with black churches. White fears meant that many of these schools were short-lived. Responding to their limited opportunities for economic upward mobility and the increasing inability to educate their children, many free blacks migrated to northern cities during the first half of the nineteenth century. There were also more compelling reasons to do so. The increasing value of slaves saw unscrupulous whites abducting free blacks and taking them out of state to sell into slavery. The rise of this deplorable practice gave added urgency to northern migrations (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 154–55).

The free blacks who remained were largely those who either practiced a craft or plied a trade that made them familiar in a community and hence difficult to kidnap or those who were simply too poor to relocate. The former continued to live in close-knit black communities of the urban South, while the latter simply scraped by, usually as urban day laborers.

Important exceptions to this pattern were free blacks in Louisiana. Slavery had existed in Louisiana for most of its history, but under French and Spanish rule, attitudes toward race were considerably different from those that would prevail after the United States took possession of the territory in 1803. French and Spanish colonists had frequently come to the region without families and had settled down with black women. These arrangements resulted in a sizable population of mixed-race children whose social and legal status was distinctly different from that of their counterparts in the United States. There, liaisons with slave women were seldom admitted, and their offspring almost never recognized. In French and Spanish Louisiana, however, it was not unusual for white fathers to recognize such children and free them and their mothers. When the United States took possession of Louisiana, there were a large number of free black households descended from these unions.

Most of Louisiana's free blacks of mixed heritage lived in New Orleans, where they formed a separate class of largely middle-class tradesmen and artisans. During French and Spanish rule, some free black families had amassed considerable wealth and property, sometimes including slaves. At the beginning of American administration of Louisiana, about a quarter of the population of New Orleans were the so-called *gens de couleur libre*. Their numbers significantly increased over the next decade as a result of large free black migrations from the Caribbean. With their Catholic and generally French-speaking cultures, the *gens de couleur libre* were a separate caste in the tripartite racial world of the lower Louisiana region. Their culture and status would also separate them from the Protestant-oriented "American" slaves who came into the region after the U.S. annexation (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 155).

French and Spaniards in Louisiana had never treated free blacks as social equals, but they had not imposed serious legal restrictions on them either. American officials and settlers found the fact shocking that free blacks in Louisiana were also a part of the territory's armed militia. Despite such reflexive fears, enlightened territorial officials like Governor William C. C. Claiborne realized the value of having additional men to repel foreign invasions or to put down slave rebellions. The free black militia thus remained in existence throughout the early Republic, with happy results for the United States in its greatest hour of need, when the famous "free men of color" rallied to Andrew Jackson's standard to defend New Orleans from the British at the end of the War of 1812.

Yet Louisiana's territorial legislature could not repress fears that a successful, prosperous free black community provided a dangerous example to the slave population.

The free blacks of New Orleans could educate their children and attend religious services with far fewer restrictions than free blacks of any other southern state, but the legislature enacted laws explicitly defining the status of free blacks as inferior to that of white citizens. Less formal but no less insulting was the expectation that free blacks show extreme deference to whites (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 155–56).

Although the custom was most prevalent in Louisiana, some free blacks throughout the South owned slaves. Most lived in towns and cities, where their slaves toiled in workshops or merchant enterprises. Successful black business owners occasionally made enough money to buy land and in some instances, especially in Louisiana, owned plantations that used slave labor no less industriously than neighboring operations owned and operated by whites. In many instances, black slave owners "owned" members of their own families, whom they had bought to protect them from whites (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 156).

The North

Slavery had existed throughout the North during the colonial period, but it never became as integral to the northern economy as it did to the southern one. Because slaves were far less numerous in the North, social pressure to maintain the system was not as intense, and attitudes that emerged from the American Revolution had more leverage in bringing about slavery's abolition. In fact, reconciling the principles of the Revolution with actual practice led northern legislatures to enact gradual emancipation laws during the 1780s and 1790s (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 156).

The relatively sudden occurrence of northern emancipation created two groups of free blacks. There were those people who had been born free, descendants either of freed slaves or of indentured servants from the colonial period, and there were former slaves who had run away to freedom, especially during the Revolutionary War, and those recently freed by northern statutes. People born into freedom tended to be more comfortable economically than the recently manumitted, and though they typically resided in segregated communities, those communities were usually stable. Fugitives and recently freed slaves, on the other hand, had to scramble for work and settle for makeshift lodgings in a world that reflexively relegated them to the lowest economic and social level. Many fugitives and recently freed slaves were illiterate and could find only the most menial jobs. A sense of black community emerged, though, even in the face of these glaring differences of place and circumstance. The total number of blacks in most northern communities was small, and empathy for the poor among them encouraged the development of solidarity that knew no caste and counted no income (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 156) (Horton 1993, 26).

In the absence of white fears about a combination of free blacks and slaves organizing rebellions, northern cities and towns displayed greater tolerance toward the establishment of black churches and schools. The founding of black churches provided important social as well as religious centers for African Americans. In addition, some regions at first did not have racially segregated education. At the beginning of the early Republic, their relatively unobtrusive numbers meant that some free black children attended school with white children, especially in New England.

Yet as northern manumission increased the number of free blacks, white prejudice also grew. White parents objected to the presence of black children in schoolhouses, and white children predictably responded to the negative attitudes exhibited by their parents by mistreating their black schoolmates. Black parents addressed the growing problem by creating their own schools, a practice that had become standard in most northern communities by the end of the period. Given the relative poverty of blacks, the black schools were almost always inferior to white schools in both instruction and facilities, and free black children often left school no better prepared for the demands of a competitive world than when they had entered. By the 1830s, leaders in northern black communities were calling for an end to school segregation in public schools, but more than a century would pass before the situation changed (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 156–57).

Most black families relied on the work of both parents, and other children, to survive. Men worked in various trades but often found work as day laborers while women worked as domestic servants or remained at home to take in laundry from the white part of town. Most families barely scraped by on their meager earnings, except in the few cases where free blacks found lucrative work as skilled craftsmen (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 157).

The white community rarely treated the most accomplished blacks as equals. The supremely talented mathematician and astronomer Benjamin Banneker, for example, was never accorded the celebrity or acclaim he deserved. By the time he died in 1806, Banneker had shown himself to be one of the country's most accomplished scientists. Like many free blacks of his generation, he was a descendent of an English indentured servant and a freed slave in Maryland, but his accomplishments were anything but typical. A farmer by profession, he was only self-taught in mathematics and mechanical design but nevertheless devised and built an exceptionally reliable clock. He also became proficient in astronomy, primarily by using his extraordinary powers of observation, and began publishing an almanac in the 1790s that featured the movements of planets and the position of stars from his own calculations as well as wide-ranging literary excerpts for the amusement and enlightenment of readers. His mathematical skills made him a valuable member of the surveying commission that laid out the District of Columbia. Banneker was by no means an activist, but neither was he falsely modest. In a celebrated exchange, he challenged Thomas Jefferson's supposition that blacks were mentally inferior. Yet when sending a white friend calculations for astronomical events, he nevertheless felt the need to preface his predictions by asking his reader "to view with an eye of pity. . . . the first attempt of the kind that ever was made in America by a person of my complexion" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 157–58) (Woodson 1969, xxiii).

Free African Americans during the early Republic might have started the period with a sense of hope born of expectations that the revolutionary rhetoric of freedom and opportunity would extend to them. Especially in the North, where some even fought in the Revolution for the same ideals that white citizens had embraced, the promise seemed realizable. Yet the promise was only partly fulfilled, and the dream was often tragically denied. The Revolution did result in freedom for many slaves in both the North and the South, but this change in legal status did little to improve either their economic or social circumstances. In the lower South, the situation for free blacks so deteriorated during the early Republic that many migrated to the North. There they found their liberty less tenuous, but they still enjoyed few opportunities for advancement and remained firmly lodged at the bottom of the social and economic ladder (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 158).

PIONEERS

Life on the frontier was naturally more difficult than in the more settled parts of the country. The journey itself could be the most arduous part of the experience, as explained by one pioneer when he wrote in his journal that the party "then sailed for Kaintucky. Arove at Limestone the 18th, after 10 days of the fertigueinest time I ever saw." Pioneers found densely forested lands in need of clearing to make them into farms. The frontier had no lumber mills and brickyards, so homes had to be built from materials at hand and by the people who would live in them. All of these demanding chores had to be accomplished before settlers could begin planting crops and establishing stable routines (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 158) (Dick 1964, 21).

Forests to Farms

The most common method of clearing fields involved a protracted process of girdling trees by cutting a ring through the outer layer of bark to produce a wound that gradually killed the tree and made removing its stump easier after it was cut down. Very old trees left enormous logs that had to be moved away before a field could be plowed and planted. Abandoned Indian cornfields were obviously more attractive farmsteads because they allowed one to avoid this tiresome job. Draft animals such as mules, oxen, or horses helped to pull felled trees out of the way. If other settlers lived nearby, the chore became a social occasion called logrolling. Neighbors brought their draft animals to make the work go quicker while women prepared a feast for the party to follow (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 158).

The varying condition of frontier land dictated the type of farming practiced there. It might take years to clear enough land to yield a surplus of crops for sale rather than subsistence. Most frontier farmers had small vegetable patches and exerted most of their effort raising corn. Corn could be used for fodder, mainly for pigs, and ground into meal for the family's bread. When farmers finally cleared enough land to produce a surplus of corn, it could be distilled into whiskey for easy transport to local or distant markets.

Generally, women worked with their husbands to plant and harvest the crops. Children who could walk often pitched in as well. Though frontier farms rarely divided labor between the sexes, certain jobs were the special province of females. Women tended vegetable gardens, fed the animals, cooked, cleaned, and raised the children, chores familiar to farmwives in every section of the country. Men cleared additional fields, repaired tools, for blacksmiths were scarce on the frontier, and hunted. Most men enjoyed hunting, but what was often a sport in eastern rural areas was a necessity on the frontier. Game frequently provided the family's only meat, and a good hunter could not only set his family's table but also have enough additional game meat to trade for other necessities.

Frontier families went to bed earlier than eastern ones. Backbreaking labor encouraged the habit, of course, but the expense of candles and lamp oil did so as well. Twilight sent many families to bed. Before dawn, the wife and older daughters rose to stir the banked fire to life and warm the usually single room of their home. They prepared breakfast, and the long day's labors began anew (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 158–59).

Elbow Room

As more land was cleared and put under cultivation, the western frontier increasingly resembled the rural East. Houses and barns were newer and made from cruder materials; streets of scattered villages were muddy and fewer in number, and they were lined with fewer businesses and contained fewer professionals like doctors and lawyers as their residents. Yet these people aspired to the stability of civilization and the comforts of established, thriving settlements. This desire for stability and even civilization led at least one observer to describe many of these pioneers as a group "possessing remarkable traits of character and manners which are a compound of civilization and barbarism." Other pioneers, however, particularly men, moved to the frontier to escape eastern society. Some of them brought their families, and when another wave of wanderlust overtook them, they simply uprooted and moved them again. When the economy thrived and farm prices rose, they could pocket nice profits for farms with cleared fields and structures, certainly more valuable than uncleared woodland. Some even found the presence of family too constricting and preferred to move out to the frontier or beyond alone. If they settled in one place at all, they cleared only enough land for subsistence. They usually preferred more mobility, hunting for their food and trading with Indians for furs and animal skins (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 158–59) (Dick 1964, 24).

Mountain Men

Immediately preceding the War of 1812, entrepreneurs realized that riches were to be made by cutting into the British monopoly on the Canadian fur trade. The most famous of these men was John Jacob Astor, whose American Fur Company was a short-lived attempt to eliminate the British domination of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest. Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company cultivated trade with the Indians of the upper Missouri River, depending on a rough breed of frontiersmen to bring in the furs and skins from the Rocky Mountains and the upper plains. These characters were the fabled mountain men whose activities became the stuff of legend on the American frontier.

The mountain man actually spent most of his life well beyond the frontier. He lived in a shadowy, often unmapped region of plains and mountains far from white settlements. Much of the year he was either alone or paired with a temporary partner trading with Indians of the far West, people removed from eastern awareness. The mountain man mainly trapped animals for fur companies, the type of animal depending on the company. Companies that specialized in the upper Missouri trade generally dealt in buffalo robes or skins. Traders hunted buffalo (the American bison), which were still abundant on the upper plains, and traded for their skins with Indian tribes in the region. Mountain men in the Rocky Mountains typically trapped beaver for pelts, which were valuable in the East and in Europe for making men's hats.

Though a mountain man made his living from trapping, he had to be proficient with a gun as well. Defending himself from animals, particularly the aggressive grizzly bear, and the occasionally hostile Indian was an everyday possibility. Indians of the plains and the Rockies traded with these trappers but also naturally saw their presence as a threat and their activities as impinging on vital resources. Sometimes Indians tried to force these intrepid trappers out of a region, and mountain men could be either stubborn or compliant as the case required.

Life for mountain men revolved around the seasons. They usually spent winter in makeshift cabins or among the Indians to be near hunting and trapping regions at the start of spring and then traveled to a company fur trading post. These summer journeys were lengthy in time and distance, but worthwhile because they allowed for the purchase of supplies and whiskey, with perhaps a bit of money left over. In the fall, mountain men took advantage of the hunting season before the harsh winter again forced them into a sort of human hibernation, hoping that they had bagged enough game to sustain them through the long white months. Some were not so lucky and starved to death during particularly severe winters when no game moved through their isolated camps (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 160).

"Hunter and Indian" by Darley, Felix Octavius Carr, 1822–1888, artist. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

It was a lonesome life, yet mountain men thrived on solitude and wide open spaces. But its days were numbered from the start. During the 1820s, the practice of holding rendezvous in the mountains began so that trappers and company men could exchange goods. The rendezvous was no doubt a welcome break from utter isolation, but that it even became possible was a sign that the wilderness was not as distant and as empty as before. By the end of the early Republic, the romance of the solitary mountain man was all but finished. Some still clung to the lifestyle, but competing with the trapping systems employed by organized companies proved impossible. Most mountain men by the 1820s traveled in large groups, sometimes numbering 50 trappers, and divided their labors for efficiency. Some looked for food, others hunted or trapped, and others maintained the camp and did the cooking. Not only were they more productive in their labors, but these groups could better defend themselves against Indians and rival companies. In addition, the number of traps necessary to procure large numbers of beaver pelts required a sizable investment, and lone trappers could not compete with these company operations. Only those outfitted by the big companies could make a living from trapping and hunting by the 1820s, and by the 1830s and 1840s, this prototypical frontiersman, while not extinct, was finding that changes in the market and the unrestrained trapping of beaver had altered his world. Other pursuits allowed him to remain on the frontier, but that too was steadily changing. He led exploring parties through the Rockies and across western deserts or guided wagon trains to the Pacific Northwest and to California, earning him a living, but one tinged with the irony that his new activities placed him among the very people he had labored so hard to escape (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 161).

IMMIGRANTS

The number of immigrants who came to the United States between 1790 and 1820 was small compared to the tremendous numbers to come in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Yet they became a significant part of the population and had a considerable impact on the country's course and development. Most were hardly indigent, but they shared the same motives for coming to America as later immigrants—to make a better life for themselves and their families and to escape political turmoil or religious persecution in their native lands.

Most immigrants during the early Republic came from northern and western Europe. Though the greatest waves from Ireland and Germany would not come until the 1840s, immigrants traveled from there during these years, as well as from England, France, and other European countries. They sought out the economic opportunities and political freedoms that the United States offered, but they were also running away from hardships in their native countries. Farmers who had divided their lands beyond the point of further division to provide sons with a way to make a living believed that the abundant land in America was the best chance for them to continue the agricultural traditions of their ancestors (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 161).

Many of these people thus came to the United States expecting to maintain as well as improve their way of life. They were to find, though, that while land was plentiful, getting to it and buying it, as well as the tools and livestock needed to work it, was an expensive undertaking. The result was often a dream deferred as a pattern developed that would persist over the next century for immigrants who landed in America's cities and remained there. They took what work was available and struggled to save enough money, their constant hope that one day they could buy a farm (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 161–62).

Germans

The immigration of indentured servants is an important part of the American story in the colonial period, but the practice of selling one's services to pay for one's passage to America continued during the early Republic as well. It was especially prevalent among impoverished Germans, sometimes called redemptioners because someone would have to redeem their services to free them from years of servitude. Their status was legally little better than that of a slave during their indenture, and they were sometimes subjected to unspeakable brutality while being deprived of the necessities of life (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 161–62).

The misfortunes of redemptioners began aboard the ship that brought them to America. During the voyage, they were obligated to the captain of the vessel for their passage, and upon arrival in the United States, he sold them to the highest bidder. Frequently deprived of all but the most negligible food and drink, redemptioners often arrived in the United States quite ill from malnutrition and the close confines of the ship. Children suffered the most on such voyages. One reformer wrote that "the cry of the children for bread was, as I am informed, so great that it would be impossible for man to describe it." Some passengers actually starved to death on the voyage. Others did not complete it for other reasons. In 1805 a captain stopped his ship in Great Britain and sold some male passengers against their will to British army recruiting agents, despite the fact that they were leaving wives and families aboard. An observer who came aboard one of these ships when it arrived in the United States described conditions on board as a "revolting scene of want and misery. The eye involuntarily turned for some relief from the horrible picture of human suffering." German Americans already in the United States, many of them descendants of Germans who had come during the colonial period, formed relief societies to mitigate the suffering of these new German immigrants, but many continued to suffer under abusive masters long after arriving in the United States. Their dreams of quickly saving enough money to buy a farm faded as redemptioners were sold to work as house servants or manual laborers, often under terms that took years to fulfill. Even after years of backbreaking toil and after they had obtained their freedom, they had little more than what they had brought to the United States in the first place, which was often only the clothes on their backs. Many more years would pass before they had the money to buy the tools necessary to work for themselves and begin saving for land (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 161–62) (Moquin 1971, 6) (Mesick 1922, 45).

Irish

Impoverished immigrants from Ireland also suffered terrible hardships. Many Irish came to America during the colonial period, and their letters home to friends and relatives encouraged an almost continuous immigration to America well into the early years of the nineteenth century. A much larger number of Irish immigrants came to the United States in the late 1840s fleeing the great Potato Famine, but they would be inspired to do so by these earlier pilgrims.

More than half of the Irish immigrants of the eighteenth century were the so-called Scots-Irish from the northern part of Ireland in Ulster. Although they were called Scots-Irish, they did not recognize the distinction and simply referred to themselves as Irish. The label, however, derived from the fact that they were descendants of Scot migrants to Ireland. These colonial immigrants were mostly Presbyterian Protestants who had been unable to support families on the poor soil of northern Ireland and unwilling to abide oppressive British land policies. Some reports have as much as half the population of Ulster immigrating to the American colonies during the eighteenth century. Some migration from the Catholic parts of Ireland occurred during the colonial period and would continue after 1790, but Catholics migrated in far smaller numbers and generally not in family groups. Most Irish Catholics who came over before the Potato Famine were single men looking for economic opportunities.

Instead, many Ulster migrants came as families and found few economic opportunities in America's small colonial cities. They consequently traveled as extended families or clans to the colonial backcountry, where they soon became the largest European ethnic group on the American frontier. In fact, by the beginning of the early Republic, people of Irish or Scots-Irish descent made up about 15 percent of the American population. Most lived in the Pennsylvania and southern backcountry in the way most pioneers did, occupying crude log homes, planting corn, and raising pigs. Eastern elites disparaged their primitive lifestyle, but these hardworking people produced some of the country's most important leaders. American presidents Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, William McKinley, and Woodrow Wilson were descended from these robust Ulster Irish folk (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 162).

The establishment of an independent United States did not stop Irish immigration. Yet these later arrivals found a changed situation. The chance to find jobs in growing American cities had increased, and the greater distances involved in getting to land on the frontier made it less available. Many of these Irish immigrants had been farmers, but they also possessed other skills that made them valuable in a country short of experienced laborers. Unlike German redemptioners, most Irish immigrants before the Potato Famine paid their own way to the United States and frequently brought savings as well as tools with them. They fled political oppression, particularly after the failed uprising against the British in 1798, and a declining economy that had assailed traditional crafts such as linen making that had earlier sustained a large part of the population. They were skilled artisans whose customers no longer had the money to buy their handiwork, schoolteachers whose pupils could no longer take the time from work to attend schools, physicians who no longer had solvent patients, and business clerks whose businesses had locked their doors and let them go. They saved their money or sold their businesses and came to the United States (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 163–64).

This relatively well-educated group of immigrants, largely from middle-class origins and fleeing what they regarded as British economic and political oppression, was eager to embrace the American experiment in republicanism. Irish males threw themselves into American politics with a will as newspaper editors, pamphlet writers, and political operatives. They often embraced the most radical of republican ideas, were strong supporters of the Jeffersonian view of republican government, and were at least partially responsible for the increasing democratization of American politics at the end of the period.

The Ulster Irish spoke English, though in a very distinct dialect, followed a form of Protestantism already familiar to most Americans, and often plied trades that were much in demand in the United States. Thus, their everyday lives were little different from those of other European Americans. Children attended the same schools as other children, wives performed the same domestic chores as other wives, and husbands engaged in the same types of work as other men, both in rural and urban settings (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 164).

French

French immigrants also came to the United States in large numbers during the 1790s and in the years following the Napoleonic Wars. Immigrants of the 1790s came for a variety of reasons ranging from their admiration for the American experiment to flight from the excesses of the French Revolution. Still another group came as a result of the slave uprising in what would become Haiti (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 164).

French immigrants who fled the French Revolution fell into several groups. In the early days of the Revolution, many were monarchists who feared the empowerment of the French lower classes. People with such fears were unlikely to come to the United States with its philosophy of greater liberties for its citizens, and in fact few of these so-called Royalists did head for America, preferring instead the refuge of European monarchies. Royalists who did come to American did not remain long. Splits among French revolutionaries regarding the best course for France spawned dissent and power struggles that caused another wave of departures from France. As the revolution turned violent, many revolutionaries ran to America rather than risk the Reign of Terror. Generally well educated, these refugees took up the professions they had practiced in France, including journalism, medicine, and the law, and consequently they quickly fit into American society. They also introduced a great deal of French culture to the United States, particularly in food, art, and literature, and entered into the numerous political debates that consumed so much of the American middle and upper classes' time (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 164–65).

Other French immigrants to the United States during the 1790s were refugees from the slave revolt on the island of Saint Dominique. As many as 20,000 French merchants, plantation owners, and families fled to the United States when slaves working the sugarcane fields successfully revolted. Many of these refugees spent only a brief time in the United States before taking passage to France or other French colonies. Most of these émigrés ultimately departed for France or Spanish Louisiana, where they could speak French, acquire cheap land, and resume plantation agriculture under a more congenial government. Yet one group's arrival in 1793 was probably responsible for the transmission of yellow fever to Philadelphia, one of the worst epidemics of that disease in U.S. history.

Another wave of French immigration followed the fall of Napoleon in 1815. When Napoleon was sent into his final exile on the island of St. Helena, many of his followers feared reprisals from the restored Bourbon monarchy. Several hundred of these refugees persuaded Congress to sell them a parcel of 100,000 acres of Alabama land on the Tomblike River for two dollars an acre. The ostensible purpose was to relocate to Alabama on land recently taken from the Creek Indians, transplanting a grape and olive culture in the process, hence the name of the settlement—the Vine and Olive Colony. The settlers who established the town of Demopolis consisted of upper-middle-class supporters of Napoleon, military officers, and their families. Hardly experienced in commercial agriculture, they soon failed at it, and most of them moved back to France after receiving promises of pardons. Those who remained in the United States moved to Louisiana or to Mobile because of their large French Creole populations. In their less than a decade of residence at Demopolis, however, they exerted considerable influence on the culture of the region's newly established planter class. Their dress, food, drink, dances, music, and general joie de vivre (joy of living) made Demopolis one of the most festive places in Alabama as well as the country (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 165).

Wherever they settled, in fact, French immigrants influenced American culture far out of proportion to their actual numbers. The American middle and upper classes associated the French with sophistication and attempted to emulate them whenever possible. New restaurants appearing in American cities consciously copied French recipes and advertised their dishes as the latest in French cuisine. American hairstyles for both men and women changed dramatically with the influx of French refugees in the 1790s. Only older men continued to wear wigs, while the rest tied their hair behind at their necks in simple queues. When men in Napoleonic France stopped wearing the queue and cut their hair short, such became the fashion in the United States. Men's fashions that had adhered to British styles began to incline toward the French in the 1790s. By the early nineteenth century, long pants had replaced knee britches, and men wore beaver hats and high-collared coats. Women also followed the French in matters of dress and hairstyles. In the 1790s, fashionable American women adopted the loose, narrow, high-waisted dresses that presaged what became the Empire (after Napoleon's empire) style of the early nineteenth century. The elaborate coiffures of the eighteenth century gave way to simpler styles worn around the face and cascading down women's shoulders (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 165–66).

Jews

Though a few did immigrate during this period, most Jews in the United States during the early Republic were not recent arrivals, and the largest immigration of Jews into the United States was still a number of decades away. Jews had come to the American colonies as early as the seventeenth century, the first group from the Portuguese colony of Brazil to the Dutch colony of New Netherlands in 1654. These Sephardim (Jews from the Iberian Peninsula) were the first of thousands who found in the New World a refuge from the extreme persecution of the old. Other groups of primarily Sephardic Jews came to other colonies as well. The religious toleration practiced by Rhode Island made Newport the primary haven for Jews in the English colonies. The southern colonies of South Carolina and Georgia also proved very tolerant of these persecuted people, and Jews migrated to those colonies in the eighteenth century as well.

During the colonial period, the English colonies placed restrictions on the open, free exercise of the Jewish faith, but such proscriptions were mild compared to those imposed in Europe and in Latin America. Therefore, by the time of the early Republic, most American cities—especially New York, Philadelphia, Newport, Charleston, and Savannah—had thriving Jewish communities (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 166).

The new nation's constitutional protections in most states meant that Jewish congregations could practice their faith without fear of legal reprisals, but by then, most American Jews were so thoroughly acculturated into their communities that they had not experienced serious impositions in years. In addition to following their faith in peace, they participated in the social and political life of the community the same as their Gentile neighbors, leading one British visitor to comment that he was "surprised that all who profess the Hebrew faith do not emigrate to the United States, as they would there not only be free from civil incapacities . . . but would even find themselves eligible to the highest offices in the Republic." The descendants of those first Jewish immigrants worked in the professions of medicine and the law, engaged in politics despite strictures in some cases that only believers in the Holy Trinity might hold office, established business activities, worked in various trades and crafts, and in general were indistinguishable in their daily lives, except for the day they celebrated the Sabbath, from any other European Americans (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 166) (Mesick 1922, 266).

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, however, a new wave of immigration established another group of Jews in the United States. Spurred by discriminatory laws in most of the German states, German Jews, or Ashkenazim, began coming to the United States in small numbers. Most of these immigrants were young, single men who planned to save enough money to send for family members. Some were successful; some were not. For the most part they initially settled in northeastern cities, where they worked as day laborers. The few who were skilled workers might work for established craftsmen and, if they were fortunate, might save enough money to open their own business (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 166–67).

Those never joined by families often blended into the Gentile community, married outside their faith, and lost much if not all of their Jewish heritage. Language and cultural differences deprived them of ready acceptance by the older American Jewish communities, which primarily spoke English and were generally part of the upper economic echelons of American society. Only after larger numbers of Jews in family groups started arriving in the 1830s did American Jewish working-class communities begin to take root in urban areas (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 167).

English

Most immigrants to the United States came from England, where the shortage of good farmland and the restrictive nature of skilled trades drove many working-class people to emigrate. Colonial America had been a destination for such people since the early seventeenth century, and its change to a sovereign republic did not stem the tide. Because they not only spoke English but did so with pronunciations indistinct from the American accent of that day, these immigrants quickly blended into American society.

The most employable English immigrants were those who had worked in the growing number of English factories, particularly in the textile industry. The British government placed restrictions on the emigration of such people and made it illegal to export machinery plans, but many Britons seized the economic opportunity and found a way to America, some with important machinery blueprints, even if only in their memories. Men such as Samuel Slater brought valuable information to America to transform the country's economic life by giving birth to the American factory, the basis for the American version of the Industrial Revolution (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 167).

A Nation of Immigrants

Rather than moving to rural areas and taking up life on farms, most immigrants during the early Republic stayed in the cities where they first arrived. Seeking familiar language, culture, and religion led some groups, especially Germans, to form urban neighborhoods that became small enclaves of particular European nationalities. During the day, mothers in working-class neighborhoods congregated to watch their small children play and talked over problems. In the evenings after work, a sense of community developed as the men and older children returned from labors to visit with neighbors, attend parties, and socialize in neighborhood pubs. On Sunday (Saturday in Jewish communities), these neighbors attended church together and socialized afterward. In short, the pattern of their daily lives differed little from that of other Americans. Although languages may have been alien or accents distinct, and though they resided a few streets away from other groups, acculturation was relatively easy in these years when people walked to work and public events and crowded into the limited circumferences of cities, and the time it took was relatively short. Not until the tremendous tide of immigration in the 1830s and 1840s did Americans begin questioning the value and wisdom of having millions of immigrants arriving in the United States.

Many people came to the United States during the early Republic because they wanted to be part of the great American experiment in liberty and equality. Yet the large numbers of people who initially did not seem to fit in gave rise to worries that ideas incompatible with American institutions were coming with them. In the 1790s, for example, French immigrants brought with them ideas that some Americans believed to be excessively democratic. Congress had as early as 1790 passed naturalization laws that required a two-year residency in the United States before applying for citizenship, but such regulations were not particularly restrictive. By 1795, however, the residency requirement had been increased to five years. Three years later, when many French immigrants were seen as favoring the Democratic-Republicans, the party in opposition to the Federalist majority in Congress and the John Adams administration, the Federalist-controlled Congress acted again. Prompted by an undeclared naval war with France, a new Alien Act extended the residency requirement for citizenship to 14 years. Coupled with the Sedition Act, which made it illegal to criticize the sitting government, this distressing legislation was in part an attempt to stifle political opposition, an effort that miscarried by contributing to the backlash that handed victory to the Democratic-Republicans and Thomas Jefferson in the 1800 elections. In such indirect but no less tangible ways, immigrants could profoundly affect mainstream American politics (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 167–68).

CONVICTS

As in all times, some people who chose to live outside society's conventions did so maliciously. The early Republic had its criminals who justified their actions with the same rationalizations that have always informed the illicit deed: necessity drove this one to theft, or unfairness drove that one to felony. Crime has always been part of the human story, but the years of the early Republic were a transitional time in which new explanations for criminal behavior and new techniques for dealing with it made their first appearance. Punishments, for instance, contrasted markedly with those meted out during the colonial period, when criminals were more likely to be whipped or branded. Public humiliations had been routine, with offenders placed in stocks confining hands and feet between two notched wooden boards or in pillories with an additional hole for the head. Habitual crooks were banished, and in extreme cases, some were executed. Jails were used for temporary incarceration before trial or sentence, not for punishment (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 168).

During the early Republic, though, convictions for criminal offenses increasingly meant a sentence to spend a specified amount of time in a state prison. In fact, the establishment of the earliest prisons coincided with the elimination of the death penalty in most states for many crimes. By the nineteenth century, most states executed only those found guilty of treason or murder. Although these same states preserved the right to impose death sentences for robbery, arson, assault, and counterfeiting, they usually did so only after multiple convictions. In any case, a person under sentence of death was never sent to a prison. Prisons were not used as places for executions until the 1830s. Instead, the condemned was kept in a local jail until the appointed time for the execution. Those executed in the United States during the early Republic were typically hanged in public ceremonies, a practice that continued into the 1830s. By then, humanitarian objections finally overcame the public's fascination with such exhibitions, at least in the older eastern towns and cities.

Following British tradition, public executions had been conducted in America since colonial times. Such spectacles were thought to deter potential criminals while meting out just deserts to the convicted. Some victims doubtless took pleasure in seeing their assailants punished, but most of the people who traveled miles to see executions came out of morbid curiosity. The days before an execution were garish and grotesque. Salesmen hawked their wares, and traveling entertainers performed for crowds who gathered to see the hanging. Executions became social occasions for rural communities and cheap entertainment in cities. The actual event was a short affair, lasting only a few minutes. The condemned mounted the gallows, a minister prayed with him for a few minutes, a hood was placed over his head, his legs and hands were bound, and a noose was placed around his neck. A competent executioner could ensure a broken neck, and a quick death followed the drop through the scaffold's trapdoor (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 169).

Rehabilitation

These gruesome events, however, declined sharply during the early Republic because of the Enlightenment belief that every man was perfectible and religious convictions that all people were redeemable. Such beliefs inspired Massachusetts to establish the first state prison in 1785, and other states soon followed suit. New theories developed in Britain proposed that the controlled environment of a properly arranged prison could alter behavior, thus rehabilitate criminals, weaning them from wickedness and preparing them for productive lives in society. Enlightenment thinkers posited that sentences in penitentiaries (the term was another British modernism) could be spent learning the value of hard work while contemplating the consequences of bad behavior. Such theories rested on the belief that criminals actually were good people who had gone bad because they had not been raised correctly (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 169).

Undoing childhood misdirection became a serious undertaking, and the daily regimen of prisoners resembled extreme military discipline. They awoke early to a simple breakfast such as corn mush. Prisoners were then placed at various tasks where they learned basic skills in trades, a remedy for idleness and the boredom it encouraged, the theory being that monotony perpetuated criminality. The most popular skills were in carpentry, weaving, and nail making. Prisoners in urban areas could be taken out during the day to work on various public works projects such as street repairs, a practice condemned by free laborers who rightly claimed that convict labor drove wages down at best and put honest workers out of a job at worst (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 169–70).

During work periods, male inmates could not idly chat with fellow prisoners, even those sitting next to them. Guards allowed only work-related conversations. Women prisoners, given jobs considered appropriate for their gender such as sewing or spinning, were allowed to talk. An incentive for good work included a modest wage from which the cost of room and board was deducted, leaving a small amount of money to help parolees make their way after serving their time. Although working in prison was considered a privilege, the work itself could be arduous and uncomfortable. A British observer who witnessed the work in a Connecticut prison's blacksmith shop noted that when the shackled prisoners entered "the smith, some went to the sides of the forges, where collars, dependent by iron chains from the roof, were fastened round their necks." Prisoners who misbehaved or disobeyed rules were not allowed to work and could not earn money, one of the most persuasive punishments that could be used against a prisoner (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 170) (Hart 1897–1901, 45).

Prisoners whose crimes were heinous or who were considered too dangerous for the regular prison population were not allowed to work at the outset of their sentences. Instead, they were placed in individual cells and only saw guards when their single daily meal was brought to them. Such prisoners were only rarely even allowed books. A record of unblemished behavior might earn such prisoners the right to join the main prison population and begin a work regimen. Some prisons actually had several gradations of punishment, including "solitary confinement in a dark cell . . . as the severest usage; next, solitary confinement in a cell with the admission of light; next, confinement in a cell where the prisoner is allowed to do some sort of work; lastly, labor in a company with others" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 170) (Mesick 1922, 116).

At the end of their 10- to 12-hour workday, prisoners returned to dormitories. Early in the penitentiary experiment, they slept, socialized, and ate in large rooms. The evening was the only time when they were not completely regimented in their activities. After the evening meal, they could visit as long as the sound of conversations did not reach to their guards' ears. If prison officials thought the noise too loud, conversations were stopped (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 170).

Because the purpose of these early prisons was reform, the conditions in them were intended to be carefully presented and maintained. They were somewhat Spartan, but initially they were clean and relatively warm in the wintertime. Food was nutritious if not plentiful, and medical care was available to everyone. Alarming problems, however, began marring the noble experiment in rehabilitation. Reducing the number of capital offenses meant that by the end of the eighteenth century, relatively new state prisons were terribly overcrowded. Overworked and undermanned, these institutions frequently became places to keep criminals rather than reform them. Extremely crowded prisons abandoned solitary confinement even for hardened criminals, integrating them with the general prison population, where they became master criminal tutors for hosts of criminal apprentices. The only training many prisoners received during their incarceration was how to become better criminals (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 170–71).

As these problems became so obvious that officials could not ignore them, a new round of reforms was put into place in the early nineteenth century, including a return to single-cell prisons, not just for violent offenders but for all inmates. Prisoners were let out of their cells during the day for work and to eat meals, but they were ordered to remain silent. Officials believed that quiet, contemplation, and hard work would restore criminals to the right path. Work was redesigned not only to teach prisoners good habits but also to produce necessary items like shoes and nails that would offset some of the cost of inmates' upkeep. It is hard to say if these reforms, the precursors to more than two centuries of like-minded efforts in penology, resulted in the rehabilitation of significant numbers of good people who reformers reasoned had gone bad through bad circumstances and environment. No solid statistics relate levels of recidivism for late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century prisoners, but we do know that prisons of the period continued to be very crowded (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 171).

Military Life

A FRONTIER ARMY

The U.S. Army in 1790 was quite small and mostly concerned with duty on the frontier. Excluding officers, the authorized strength of the army was 1,216 men, although that figure was seldom reached. Soldiers were all enlistees and were mainly posted in the wilderness of the Ohio River Valley, where they were supposed to overawe potentially hostile Indians. It was a job that took them far away from friends and family, and it could be both dangerous and frustrating. Scattered garrisons were neither large enough to intimidate angry Indians nor able to prevent settlers from riling those Indians by moving onto their lands and stealing their possessions. The army was also powerless to prevent Indian retaliation that such misdeeds spurred. Instead, soldiers were huddled in isolated posts, eating bad food and sleeping in austere barracks while waiting for the government to send enough men and supplies to maintain the peace (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 173).

When the growing violence on the Ohio River frontier finally captured the government's attention, the little army was forced into combat. Under mounting political pressure, the War Department ordered the army's commander, Josiah Harmar, to attack the Indians. The army's consequent introduction to Indian warfare proved enlightening, at least for the men who survived it. Poorly trained militia supplemented the paltry number of regulars, and the resulting force proved shockingly ineffective. In fact, it was chased back to its headquarters at Fort Washington (near Cincinnati) in the fall of 1790. More soldiers, also exhibiting the awkwardness of too little training, were sent to the Ohio River in the summer of 1791 and placed under the command of territorial governor Arthur St. Clair. That November, northwestern Indians walloped them as well. Such defeats were stern tutors, and the government grimly learned its lesson to increase the frontier army to 5,000 and install a rigorous training system that became a major part of these soldiers' daily lives. Led by General Anthony Wayne in 1794, this capable and disciplined force finally dealt Indians in the Ohio country a decisive defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 173–74).

Most of the military history of the 1780s and 1790s has focused on these few battles, perhaps to give the impression that military life after the Revolution was marked by incessant Indian war. In reality, the average soldier on the western frontier saw little combat, and daily schedules were more described by the routine of drill and the tedium of garrison duty than the perilous excitement of battle. After the victory at Fallen Timbers, the government again sharply reduced the army's numbers, sacrificing preparedness to frugality but also calming widespread fear that a standing army posed a threat to the civilian government. Nonetheless, the inconsistent nature of frontier affairs for the next decade caused the army to swell in times of crisis and ebb in periods of calm. The soldier's lot was at best hard and unpredictable, and when no threat loomed, he was usually unappreciated and sometimes disdained by a suspicious and skeptical citizenry. Little wonder that during good economic times, both officers and enlisted men left the army in droves. During peacetime, most soldiers and officers remaining in the early Republic's army were there because they had no other prospects of employment (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 174).

Officers

During these years, a man became an officer more frequently as a result of his influence than his worth, for having powerful political friends was indispensable in obtaining promotion, even for the experienced and meritorious. This unwritten but persistent policy of giving preferment to men with proper political connections resulted in an officer corps that was both highly politicized and essentially incompetent or, as one officer characterized them, "Beasts & Blockheades." As with most political patronage, the practice endured only as long as its consequences were trivial. Appallingly poor officer performance in the War of 1812 imperiled the country, however, and brought rapid and meaningful changes to the way commissions were granted and promotions earned (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 174) (Coffman 1986, 7).

Officers during the period suffered from a surprising lack of job security. Periodic military increases to meet Indian threats at home or international ones abroad were usually followed by reductions. Officers were never certain that their jobs would last for more than a year or two. In fact, many were released during cutbacks with the idea that they could always be recalled when needed, an idea that the government embraced in theory but found wanting in both application and results. Not only was the army's stability of command seriously impaired, but many competent officers found civilian positions that were at least more secure and frequently better remunerated than their military careers. Understandably, they had no desire to reenter the service, whether the country needed them or not (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 174–75).

Training

The average private received a considerable amount of training over the course of his enlistment from officers and noncommissioned officers, but officers who did not attend the United States Military Academy—the great majority during the early Republic—received virtually no formal training. Usually, newly commissioned officers were taken under the wing of a more senior officer or noncommissioned officer and informally taught the job. In the absence of such a mentor, the new officer learned his profession through observation. Exceptions were officers assigned to artillery or engineering units. President George Washington established an artillery and engineering training school at West Point, New York, in 1794, an institution that eight years later became the United States Military Academy. After the War of 1812, junior officers increasingly came from West Point, but though better trained than non–West Point graduates, these young men had a lot to learn about life in the army.

Indeed, one of the greatest impediments to developing a strong, professional officer corps was the lack of training provided for young officers. Nowhere was this more evident than during the few occasions when officers led their men into combat. Because battles were rare occasions until the War of 1812, Congress, at least, did not see the dearth of officer training as a valid worry. The executive branch, on the other hand, was another matter, for presidents were well aware that the army had tasks other than fighting battles. Not just Washington, with his military background, but thoroughgoing civilians John Adams and Thomas Jefferson also decried the lack of technical expertise of American engineers and the reliance on foreigners to carry out those functions in the U.S. Army (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 175).

Duties

Newly commissioned officers were usually young men whose first task was the thankless and frustrating chore of recruiting those they would command. The new officer was usually expected to sign up a company, a unit that usually numbered from 75 to 100 men. He could undertake this assignment in a variety of ways, but the most promising approach was to travel to a city where the pickings would at least be more plentiful. Printed handbills and posters, paid for out of his own pocket, advertised his purpose and with any luck would generate some interest and produce a few takers. Even while continuing to accept recruits for his quota, the new officer commenced rudimentary training for his new charges, a job that could include instilling simple concepts such as distinguishing left from right but also teaching, "by gentle methods, regularity of conduct." Sometimes he had to hunt down those whose second thoughts about joining the army prompted them to desert. Meanwhile, everything had to be documented in regular reports to his commanding officer or the War Department. As soon as the officer had filled his ranks, he joined his regiment, where the serious training of the men commenced under the more practiced eyes of toughened, experienced sergeants (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 175–76).

Recruiting chores did not end there. When soldiers did not reenlist, recruiting was necessary to reinforce existing units. It was one of the most undesirable jobs in the army, one usually given to junior officers, who spent a large part of their early careers at it. Yet there were also compensations. Recruiting assignments allowed young officers to leave the frontier for more populous areas and more interesting social circles, sometimes even landing them in the eastern cities of friends and family (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 176) (Coffman 1986, 18).

For the most part, though, recruiting duty was difficult and unrewarding, especially during good economic times, when ample civilian jobs made military service much less appealing. In times of military expansion, recruiting officers faced different but no less challenging problems. As officers from different units moved into an area to compete for the same people, they resorted to innovative stratagems. For example, they could interpret rules regarding minimum physical requirements in imaginative ways to accept recruits whose health barely allowed them to fog a mirror. Though forbidden to enlist men "whilst in a state of intoxication," many recruiters did resort to collecting potential soldiers "from the streets and prisons of the cities" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 176) (Coffman 1986, 14, 15).

One prominent historian has mused that given the new government's hostility toward a peacetime army, it was the potential threat posed by Native Americans that resulted in a permanent American army. It was certainly true that the primary duty of officers at isolated frontier posts was to treat with local Indians and prevent conflicts between them and settlers. Many officers came from the East, where more established communities had not seen an Indian for years, so they tended to regard Indians as exotic rather than threatening—sometimes to be rudely awakened. Yet at the outset, most officers were more curious than antagonistic about native populations, which was good, for the government expected them to serve as preliminary diplomats and preserve the peace. To that end, officers were also instructed to remove settlers from Indian lands, an assignment that made them unpopular with the growing numbers of squatters flocking to the frontier. Traders, some unscrupulously intending to sell enlisted men and Indians whiskey, also came under the purview of the commanding officers of frontier forts (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 176).

Most officers had time to explore the countryside, read, write letters to family, and socialize with fellow officers. Their mealtime assemblies, called the officers' mess, were convivial gatherings full of stories and lengthy reminiscences. If posted near a town or settlement, they could attend dances, go to dinner parties, receive regular mail, and court local girls. In isolated garrisons, though, officers struggled to create wholesome and varied amusements. Some failed and took to strong drink to break the monotony of their days, with regrettable results (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 176–77) (Prucha 1969, 1–5).

Itinerant assignments usually promised a level of discomfort, but permanent stations, whether frontier forts or urban garrisons, usually offered officers better quarters, food, clothes, and pay. While they were exempted from the kind of discipline meted out to enlisted men, officers were neither idle nor indulgent. They functioned in a chain of command that had them, in stipulated degrees of authority and responsibility, not only making decisions for everybody in their charge but also regularly explaining those decisions to superiors. In fact, the chores of routine reporting made them as busy as the soldiers under them as officers generated oceans of paper that were dispatched according to closely defined procedures to places where the reports were carefully filed away, usually unread and likely forgotten.

Especially in peacetime, officers shared with their soldiers the reality that army life was extraordinarily tedious. They trained men, filed reports, watched drills, filed more reports, meted out punishments for breaches of discipline, filed additional reports, supervised work parties, filed reports about that, and sat on courts-martial, which required extensive reports. The occasional parley with Indians introduced variety to duties, but such episodes, of course, also entailed filing reports. And even as dense smoke hung over a battlefield and the moans of his wounded men carried across recently contested ground, an officer began to frame the actions of the day in his mind. He would have to recount them in a report (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 177).

Pay

Even if better than the lot of a lowly private, an officer's life was not very appealing when compared to the opportunities for advancement and the better pay available in civilian employment. If they had the chance, enlisted men tended to leave the army during good economic times, and many officers followed suit by resigning their commissions. Given the pay scales for the period, it is not difficult to see why (the following figures are based on 2004 currency values). In 1792 a lieutenant made $26 a month (less than $500 in current value), a captain $40 (a little more than $700 in current value), and a major of infantry $50 (less than $1,000 in current value). This meant that in terms of today's purchasing power, the lieutenant made less than $6,000 a year, the captain about $8,000 a year, and the major less than $12,000 a year. The pay for senior officers was better, of course, but hardly bountiful. At $104 a month, a brigadier general earned the equivalent of $24,000 a year in current value, and a major general's $166 a month could only go as far as about $36,000 of today's money.

In comparison with a comparable civilian job, a junior officer drew about half the pay of an entry-level clerk in a large business or government job. And though the young officer did receive his food and housing and could earn extra-duty pay, if he had plans to marry and have a family, his compensation was simply inadequate (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 177).

Officers contrived ways to supplement their paltry salaries. If they were lucky enough to have an extended stay in one place, they could moonlight by taking part-time jobs in the community. Those posted on the frontier might take advantage of the opportunity to snatch up cheap land before settlers moved into the area. After settlers came and the land increased in value, some officers made a nice profit that they then invested in other enterprises. It was the wise officer who did, for there was no fixed retirement system, and officers who had not shown such foresight were compelled to stay in the service until they died, essentially with their "boots on" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 178).

Sometimes the ingenuity behind supplementing one's income crossed the line into shadowy areas that were at best dubious and at worst constituted outright misconduct. The senior officer in the army during part of this period serves as an example of both. Major General James Wilkinson was perhaps the most resourceful officer in the history of the service at finding ways to increase his income. In addition to engaging in the usual business activities, he also worked as a secret agent for the Spanish government, accepting regular payments to supply details about American activities on Spain's border in the Southwest, deeds that made him, according to one historian, "the most consummate artist in treason that the nation ever possessed" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 178) (Muir 1997, 555).

Pensions

Congress usually granted pensions both to enlisted personnel and to officers who served in conflicts, especially those who were disabled or, in case of their death, to their widows and orphans. The process of granting these annuities was sometimes cumbersome and tardy, though. The congressional Committee on Claims began receiving petitions for the Revolutionary War in 1794 and was supplanted by the Committee on Pensions and Revolutionary War Claims in 1813, a structure that was again revised in 1825. As late as 1875, pension rolls from the Revolutionary War still had 379 widows on them. Yet no fixed national retirement system existed for the military during the period, and those who had not been on the rolls in a war could expect no income beyond their terms of active service (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 179–80).

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

Origins

The United States Military Academy was established at West Point, New York, in 1802. Even before it received that official designation, President Thomas Jefferson charged its commanding army engineer, Lieutenant Colonel Louis de Tousard, to instruct officer candidates. The cadets' daily routine was accordingly established before the small facility that George Washington had created to teach engineers and artillerists that became the military academy. Initially, that routine was haphazardly organized around mathematics classes in the morning and physical and military training in the afternoons. With no age or educational requirements in place, the cadet corps presented a strange cross section of American manhood. Some cadets were 10 or 11 years old, while others were grown men with families. Some had only had the equivalent of an elementary education, while others had already graduated from a civilian college. The primary qualification for admission seems to have been family political connections.

Jefferson wanted to bring order at West Point and to create a curriculum that would benefit the nation. Envisioning an academy that would embrace as well as teach the scientific erudition of the Enlightenment, he appointed celebrated scientist Jonathan Williams, superintendent of cadets in 1801. Early in the following year, Congress made everything official by designating West Point as the United States Military Academy and creating the Corps of Engineers, in part to maintain it (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 180).

Early Curricula and Practices

The academy physically began its existence when classes commenced in April 1802. Yet the shortage of money and the lack of qualified instructors meant little change in the daily routine of the place and its people. Slowly, though, the curriculum broadened. In addition to mathematics, cadets began to study physics, fortifications, and artillery. Passing examinations that queried their knowledge of these subjects and familiarity with certain basic textbooks qualified cadets for graduation, and if an officer billet was vacant, a cadet received his commission. It was an improvement over the old, narrow system, but as an education, it was not even closely comparable to that for a degree in a civilian college. Gradually, the addition of subjects like French (the language of many military texts) gave cadets a better-rounded education, but the emphasis nevertheless remained on the rote memorization of generally superficial texts (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 180).

The wide range of cadet capabilities drove that emphasis, a circumstance that was eventually recognized as a problem. Those who had been to college usually completed their studies at the academy in about a year; others were there for as many as seven years. This mixture of student proficiency made teaching a challenge and encouraged reliance on a daily schedule that primarily focused on slogging through specified texts. It finally became apparent that through no fault of their own, the cadets themselves were thwarting efforts to create a meaningful educational curriculum as well as an effective training regimen. In 1810 new regulations stipulated that an entering cadet had to be between 15 and 20 years old and possess minimal skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 180–81).

Cadet Life

Daily life for the average cadet was not made routine until the security threat posed by the War of 1812 forced Congress to reform the academy. Cadets during the war spent their days studying engineering, mathematics, French, drawing, and physics. The penury of Congress meant, however, that the academy was at best supplied with outdated equipment and obsolete textbooks. Furthermore, the demands of the war for an increasing number of officers translated into pressure on instructors to hasten their cadets to graduation. The conflict ended before the reforms could see West Point officers making noticeable contributions to the war effort, but many in Washington mulled over additional reforms. Further changes created a curriculum and training program that placed West Point cadets under the most regimented daily schedule in the United States.

Virtually every waking moment of a cadet's life was planned for him. His day began at 6:00 A.M. roll call, followed by room cleaning and inspection, breakfast, three hours of mathematics, two hours of French, and dinner, the main meal of the day throughout the nation in those days, which took place a bit later than the modern lunch. He then studied two hours of drawing and engineering before his daily drill, a scheduled study time, an evening parade, and supper. A failure to perform according to rigorous standards, not being where he was supposed to be at any given time, or violating any rule drew penalties that ranged from verbal reprimands to walking tours to confinement to quarters. Really serious offenses meant dismissal.

Meals under the new regulations were equally regimented. Cadets marched in and out of meals, sat ramrod straight, and kept silent at the table. The food was bland but nutritious. Breakfast consisted of coffee, bread and butter, and a meat. At dinner cadets ate meat, bread, potatoes, and two vegetables. Supper, the lightest meal of the day, was tea and bread and butter. Once a week cadets received dessert at dinner and supper (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 181).

Stricter regimentation did not necessarily mean absolute order, however. For example, prospective cadets received appointments throughout the year and traveled to West Point immediately to begin their studies. Class schedules and orderly lectures were almost impossible, as new cadets arrived who had no background in the subject. On the other hand, cadets left the academy just as irregularly, sometimes through dismissal for disciplinary reasons, but more often because they were judged competent enough to become officers. Under those circumstances, even the stricter program did little to impart a sense of day-to-day continuity in the cadet ranks (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 181–82).

That situation began to change in 1816 when the War Department mandated that all cadets must remain for four years and could enter the academy only in September. In addition, a significant curriculum reform sorted out the course of study according to a cadet's matriculation. Cadets took classes that grew more involved and sophisticated in each of their years until graduation, a system that fostered a sense of class unity important in creating esprit de corps. In their day-to-day experience, cadets took classes with the same cadets through four years of school (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 182).

During the next three years, new superintendent Sylvanus Thayer introduced further changes. Daily life became even more regimented to include military training in a summer encampment, a change that made West Point the cadet's exclusive home during his entire four years of attendance. In fact, he was allowed summer leave only once. Superintendent Thayer's goal was to establish a system whereby "the standing of an individual is dependent wholly upon his own merits." Cadets cooperated with this new system not only to escape punishment but also to enhance their daily performance and conduct ratings that ranked them within their classes. Upon graduation, a cadet's ranking determined his assignment, ranging from the elite engineers for the top graduates to the common infantry for the least stellar performances. By 1820, the United States Military Academy had become a prestigious educational institution that was well on its way to providing the U.S. Army with a majority of its commissioned officers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 182) (Ambrose 1966, 75).

ENLISTED MEN

A variety of motives impelled men to enlist in the U.S. Army during the early Republic. The enlistee usually received some sort of bounty ranging from $2 to $16, a value set by how badly the country needed his services. Bounties could be persuasive inducements, especially for those who were otherwise unemployable. New soldiers also received a uniform and a daily ration of food. The average ration during the early Republic was about a pound of beef or pork, give or take a few ounces, bread or flour, one gill of liquor (four ounces), salt, vinegar, and part of a candle. Soldiers were supposed to be paid anywhere from $3 to $7 a month, but pay was seldom regular. Soldiers received extra pay for additional work beyond combat or garrison duty. Many frontier forts were built far from the usual supply of laborers, and soldiers collected extra pay for constructing their own forts, a practice that probably kept some men in the army by matching the pay received by laborers in a city. The extra financial opportunities and the free clothes and shelter made soldiering an appealing way to make a living for some. As war with Britain loomed, other incentives came into play. In January 1812, for instance, soldiers were exempted from prosecution for debt, an immunity that lured countless debtors into the ranks. Additionally, the British army paid its soldiers considerably less than the American army and treated them far more harshly. Many British soldiers, already knowing the profession, deserted to the United States and joined the American army (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 182–83).

The army promised men a roof over their heads, regular food, and warm clothes, and for some unskilled and illiterate laborers, those were sufficient inducements to sign up. Others joined for adventure, leaping at the chance to see the frontier and perhaps make their fortunes there. Army life, however, could disappoint with open-air encampments, wretched rations, and ragged uniforms. The frontier was often monotonous rather than exhilarating, and fortunes proved as hard to make there as anywhere else. Desertion was always an option for the disillusioned, especially if they had not squandered their bounty money. It and their new clothes might carry them far enough to someplace else in the country where they could avoid capture and make a new start (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 183).

Duties

New recruits received about four hours of drill instruction each day while they waited to depart for their assignment. After the recruiting officer reached his quota, he usually marched his company to its permanent station, which was typically on the frontier. If he were lucky, he would have a couple of noncommissioned officers with him to maintain discipline, because it was during this journey that most men tried to desert. Many who remained in the ranks required constant vigilance to keep them from preying on civilians with crimes that ranged from petty theft to physical assault.

After soldiers reached their destination, most of their time might be consumed by building the fort they would garrison. The expanding frontier made fort construction one of the army's primary activities, and a special incentive like an extra whiskey ration could help speed the work. Soldiers first cleared the site both to improve observation from the bastion and to provide the materials for its construction. If a structure already existed, soldiers would either refurbish it or add outbuildings such as stables. There was always the need for general maintenance. The strictness of discipline and the importance placed on drill could vary from fort to fort, depending on the taste of the commanding officer. Some insisted on regular drill and practice at the manual of arms at least every other day; others were so easygoing that their garrison's martial skills atrophied while the men spent their days gardening and hunting (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 183).

During the early 1800s, the government found important activities to keep its outland army busier in the service of the country. The developing frontier made road building an important function for soldiers, in part to facilitate pioneer travel, but mainly to tie together the growing number of scattered forts. Road building became a particular preoccupation after the War of 1812, when that conflict brought into government hands millions of acres acquired from Indians. In addition, the war's logistical complications had revealed serious difficulties in moving troops and supplies, a consequence of a lack of roads and the abysmal state of extant ones. In the wake of the war, soldiers spent much of their time remedying this problem with picks and shovels (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 183–84).

Also in those years, the frontier soldier was frequently involved in exploratory expeditions. In major expeditions such as the celebrated one conducted by army officers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark into the Pacific Northwest and Zebulon Pike into the Southwest, frontier soldiers trekked into uncharted lands to search out the sources of rivers, locate the best places to build bridges, and determine the best places for forts. In the process, the uncharted lands of the American wilderness became mapped regions with their physical features revealed and their vast distances measured by army engineers, surveyors, and cartographers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 184).

Hardships

The typical fort or post was a small concern with only a couple dozen men. When not performing caretaking chores, soldiers cultivated gardens, hunted game, and fished nearby streams to supplement their dreary diet. Civilian contractors hired to supply rations were notoriously haphazard in their vaguely scheduled visits to frontier outposts, and soldiers periodically had to travel long distances to retrieve provender and other supplies. The arrival of a civilian supplier was hardly a cause for celebration, in any case. The rations they brought were usually meager, sometimes spoiled, and always only just edible. In fact, having posted most of its soldiers on the frontier, the government in some ways acted as if they did not exist. Pay was routinely late, supplies sometimes went missing, and uniforms unraveled into rags. Officers tried to remedy these problems, but often all they could do was send detachments to scattered settlements in the hope they might purchase enough supplies to stave off starvation. Irregular pay was a different but no less difficult problem. With depressing frequency, desperate officers, gauging plummeting morale and rising desertions, had to send parties of officers and men hundreds of miles to fetch payrolls that were months in arrears (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 185).

Contemplating these problems, soldiers found it easy to feel that the government had abandoned them. Collapsing morale saw some desert, but others remained in place to crawl into whiskey bottles. Susceptible officers and enlisted men alike became notorious drunkards. Itinerant traders, their wagons filled with whiskey, followed payrolls to frontier forts to make paydays into spree days that ended with many of the men stumbling drunk. Some officers joined a few civilian authorities to call attention to the problem of soldiers' drinking, but the culture of the times was not inclined to see anything alarming. American men drank a profuse amount of alcohol anyway, and most observers did not regard the presence or absence of a uniform to be pertinent. There were officers, however, who were appalled by the breach of military discipline that drunkenness posed and worried about the overall health and effectiveness of their commands. They might ban from their posts traders with alcohol and build their forts as far as possible from nearby towns with their tempting saloons, but soldiers always found a way around these well-intentioned gestures. With relative ease, they supplemented their whiskey ration (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 184–85).

Officers were more often forced to restore discipline after the fact by leveling severe punishments for drunkenness. Consequences for soldiers guilty of violating regulations or laws were harsh by anyone's standards. During the early Republic, corporal punishment was common for numerous infractions including theft, assault, and insubordination. Under regulations, the maximum number of lashes a soldier could receive was 100, but other physical ordeals could be substituted for or added to a sentence of flogging. On the eve of the War of 1812, the army ceased flogging malefactors, but the practice of branding continued, usually to a visible part of the body like the face or hand, to make readily and permanently apparent that its owner had committed a military breach. Trivial offenses could mean reduced rations of food or whiskey, the latter deprivation being regarded by most soldiers as the worse punishment. A violator might have to perform duties while dragging around a log or cannonball chained to his leg. The most serious offenses could mean a death sentence, either by hanging or firing squad, depending on the crime (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 185).

Health

Army life was unhealthy. It carried the risk of combat, but there were other perils as well. Poor food, indifferent health care, insufficient shelter, incipient or outright alcoholism, and the likelihood of being posted to unhealthy locations made soldiering highly dangerous aside from the chance that one might be shot in battle. Those who had the misfortune to be stationed in the South during summer probably suffered most. The heat made physical labor doubly difficult, spoiled food quickly, and carried the constant threat of tropical disease. Yellow fever was prevalent, and physicians were in short supply because most competent doctors would not serve under such conditions. The army made do with poorly trained surgeons (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 185).

It was all a prescription for trouble, and in 1809 it produced a first-class health disaster at Terre aux Boeufs, Louisiana. The commander was General James Wilkinson, later infamous for his wide-ranging corruption, who in this instance displayed a scandalous disregard for the 2,000 men in his charge by refusing to move them to healthier ground. The scandal went beyond dereliction. Wilkinson wanted to remain near New Orleans to cultivate dishonest relationships with civilian contractors in the city. As Wilkinson padded his pocketbook, his men remained on low ground whose main features were bad water, swarming mosquitoes, poor sanitation, and rotten food. The encampment became a nightmare. Delirious with fever, the dying filled the camp with screams while the living endured the stench of feces and unburied, rotting corpses. At last, even Wilkinson could not ignore the calamity unfolding at Terre aux Boeufs. He belatedly acted to move survivors to higher ground. By then, almost half of his command was dead (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 185–86).

Actually, Wilkinson's debacle was only an amplification of a condition that was a chronic blight, though in less spectacular ways, throughout the period. The health and welfare of soldiers at posts throughout the country was of minor importance to the government. After the War of 1812, however, new attitudes appeared in the War

Department. The increasing reliance on the regular army to build roads, maintain frontier forts, and treat with Indians required healthy recruits kept fit by positive changes in procedure. The contracting system was improved, and the men's rations were placed on a sounder nutritional basis with the introduction of fruits and vegetables. Even with these changes, soldiers were hardly pictures of health, but they were better off than their fellows of only a few years earlier (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 186).

WOMEN AND FAMILIES

Women helped to alleviate the drudgery and monotony of life at frontier posts. The army provided for up to four laundresses per company of soldiers, not only to clean the men's clothes, bed linens, and quarters, but also to furnish a feminine presence. Many were either already married to, or would marry, enlisted men. Such authorized women workers, who received rations and pay from the army, were considered a civilizing influence, but "loose females" were another matter. It was one of the realities of soldiering that wherever men in uniform gathered, prostitutes would follow. Most officers discouraged the presence of prostitutes because they caused quarrels and transmitted diseases, but at forts located near settlements, they were almost impossible to exclude. It did not help that many officers kept mistresses, possibly emulating European practice, and lost some measure of moral authority to preach sexual abstinence in the process (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 186) (Coffman 1986, 25).

On the other hand, the presence of fewer women meant frictions of another sort, such as officers frolicking with subordinates' wives. Some officers discouraged their men from marrying, but because they had no authority to forbid such unions, they were more often than not foolish to oppose them (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 186).

Soldiers and officers tried to maintain a measure of normal family life while serving on the frontier. The outbreak of war endangered women and children who lived in garrisons, yet when presented with peril, women could prove helpful. Caught in the crossfire as Indians attacked Arthur St. Clair's expedition against the Ohio River tribes, the women lent assistance and even engaged in combat (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 186).

In the early nineteenth century, officers more regularly had their wives with them, at least for part of the year. Their companionship not only helped to chase away the blues on the humdrum frontier; the wives themselves also provided medical care of sorts to men frequently without physicians. Theirs was a lonely life, though, because officers' wives likely had few female companions of their social class at the frontier forts. Properly educating their children in such remote sites was a doubtful undertaking at best and at least one of the reasons many wives spent most of the year living with relatives, usually their parents. Those who remained with their husbands did their best to teach their children. In some cases, an educated enlisted man taught them.

Many officers with growing families found they could not support a wife and children on their limited salaries. If not lucky or clever enough to find other sources of income, they were compelled to contemplate leaving the service for a civilian job. Officers also left the army to spare their families the strain of being regularly uprooted as well as the isolation and danger of frontier life. Finally, a military husband and father who died in circumstances other than combat potentially placed his family in an economic crisis. Because there were no official provisions for their upkeep, they were left to fend for themselves (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 187).

MILITIA

According to the Militia Act of 1792, states were to maintain a militia force of fit men between the ages of 18 and 45 for national defense in emergencies. Beyond that requirement, how states were to train, equip, and supply these men was entirely up to them. Taking advantage of such lax oversight, states usually neglected the militia, especially during hard economic times, leading one militiaman to comment at the beginning of the War of 1812 that "most of our officers as well as the men are as yet destitute of the qualifications requisite in military life." Communities held militia musters to train and practice firearms drills, but these events gradually transformed into social occasions in which picnicking, drinking, and dancing supplanted most training. Firearms were anything but standardized and not always in good repair. Ammunition and powder were in short supply. Consequently, the militia muster typically consisted of marching and firing practice in the morning, with social activities filling the afternoon (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 187) (Merrill 1964, 79).

On the rare occasion when a local militia company was called for duty, its lack of training was instantly apparent. On the march, militiamen straggled behind regular soldiers. Their wretched camp hygiene made them sick. Their poor discipline and inadequate training meant that they often ran from battles. Although the War of 1812 saw militia behaving admirably in some actions, the usual capriciousness of citizen forces compelled the government to rely far less on them in the years after that conflict (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 187–88).

COMBAT

The most extended period of combat for American soldiers during the early Republic was the War of 1812 (1812–1815). Of several Indian conflicts, the most important was the First Seminole War of 1818. While life in frontier forts included the constant threat of conflict with Native Americans and the occasional border skirmish with a European neighbor, American soldiers actually saw little or no combat during the period.

War is always a possibility for soldiers, of course, whether on the frontier or in less remote garrisons, and it is a testimony to the early Republic's complacency that its soldiers were seldom effectively trained to meet the exigencies of combat. Until the

War of 1812 forced a reevaluation of the military structure, deficiently trained officers inevitably produced ineffective combat soldiers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 188).

The U.S. Army and militia practiced offensive and defensive warfare in every conflict during the period. Daily marching over long, often roadless, terrain to attack the enemy generally preceded offensive battles, particularly in the War of 1812. In short, campaigns involved relatively little fighting, most battles generally lasting a few hours at most, and considerable marching. Offensive combat consisted of open-field charges or assaults on fortifications. In both cases, an artillery barrage directed at enemy troops or their fortifications preceded the infantry's advance, usually answered by an artillery bombardment from the enemy. Depending on the skill of gunners, bombardments could be noisy but ineffective or terribly destructive. If the latter, infantry hunkered down to weather the storm of shells interspersed with piercing shrieks from the wounded and the visual horrors, as one witness described, of a ball flying through the air taking "off one man's head." Infantry advanced in straight, parallel lines. If fighting on an open field, the opposing army mirrored these movements. The two forces marched to within firing range of their smoothbore muskets, usually 100 yards or less, and discharged a volley. The casualties from gunshots were typically light because the muskets were notoriously inaccurate at anything but virtually point-blank range. Instead, the volleys threw up dense clouds of smoke from the black gunpowder, an acrid screen that intensified as the sides reloaded and fired additional rounds. One American soldier who fought at the battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815, said that "the morning had dawned to be sure, but the smoke was so thick that every thing seemed to be covered up in it." At some point, the issue would be pressed by a melee in which the infantry staged a bayonet charge for hand-to-hand combat. Those contests usually decided the fate of battle (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 188) (Merrill 1964, 95) (Cox 1996, 128).

Attacking fortifications required an infantry charge under the cover of continued artillery support lest the fort's guns have free rein to cut down advancing soldiers. The front ranks carried scaling ladders to overrun the fortification's outer works as a prelude to assailing the main fort.

American forces during the War of 1812 more commonly defended a fortified position. During attacks, duties in the fort varied. Some soldiers manned the fort's artillery while others were positioned at gun ports and on the ramparts. Officers either supervised artillery fire or paced behind the men on the walls to give encouragement and to direct their musket volleys. Attacks on fortifications often became formal sieges in which the enemy surrounded the fort and threatened an attack for days extending into weeks. A siege reduced the daily routine of soldiers to the essentials of survival: they took cover during artillery bombardments, kept watch for surprise attacks, and stretched diminishing supplies of rations. Living under siege was considered the most unpleasant of military duties (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 189).

Despite the perils, noise, and chaos of battle, many preferred some sort of action to the monotony of garrison life. A well-trained army could function like a machine in battle, fostering a great deal of satisfaction and pride among those who were part of such an organization. Unfortunately for American soldiers, during the War of 1812, their armies often operated like broken machines. Large numbers of volunteers and militia with virtually no military experience or training were hurled into offensive and defensive battles against better-trained opponents who were often allied with Indian warriors, leading one discouraged American to lament, "we are doomed to experience nothing but disaster and disgrace where ever our arms are turned." Understandably, if not laudably, Americans simply ran. While there were some notable exceptions, such as the battle of Lundy's Lane in July 1814, when American soldiers charging a British battery engaged in one of the most "gallant acts ever known," and the battle of New Orleans in January 1815, these few instances did little to persuade against serious reforms in the U.S. Army. After the war, the government made a determined decision to rely almost entirely on a regular army. The daily life of the average soldier would thereafter involve far more training, conducted by increasingly competent officers (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 189) (Knopf 1957, 166) (Cox 1996, 114).

THE NAVY

The peacetime lives of sailors, whether in the merchant fleet or in the U.S. Navy, were typically a good deal busier than those of average soldiers. Sailors received on average at least twice as much pay as enlisted soldiers, about $10 to $12 per month during the period. A sailor's pay was higher in part because he was consigned to lengthy tours at sea. Yet sailors on merchant vessels received even higher wages (as much as $15 to $20 a month), making it difficult for the navy to recruit able-bodied, knowledgeable seamen. In wartime, an extra incentive was that navy seamen had the opportunity to win prize money, a portion of a captured ship's value, but it was common knowledge that strict discipline framed shipboard life with punishments that were not only harsh but also violent. The army discontinued flogging in 1812, but sailors were subject to it until 1850. Rank water, spoiled food, and cramped living conditions were the sailor's lot, confirming Samuel Johnson's observation that serving aboard ship was like being in prison, with "the chance of being drowned" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 189–90) (Boswell 1934, 266).

Personnel

Similar to army practice, the captain and his officers had to man their ships by personally recruiting their crews. The British Royal Navy filled out its crews by using impressment—often little more than the forcible abduction of inebriated tavern patrons—but law prohibited American naval officers from forcing men to serve. Accordingly, conditions were usually better in American ships than in British ones, if for no other reason than to induce volunteers to sign on. In peacetime, however, the most liberal enticements could not compete with the far more palatable situation and more generous pay of merchant service, and only the chance for prize money in wartime could offset the advantages of the merchant marine.

Life aboard ship was an unpleasant combination of unthinking obedience and demanding labor. The one discouraged the irritable, and the other disqualified the very young, the very old, and the infirm. Most men who joined the navy were in their late teens or twenties, and they typically signed on as a last resort after failing to find employment at anything else. The unskilled were likely recruits, then, but those whom discrimination and prejudice had made outsiders also found a home in the navy. For example, a large number of African Americans became sailors. Some captains hesitated to recruit black seamen, but manpower shortages usually prevailed over bigotry, and some figures calculate that African Americans made up between 15 and 25 percent of the American navy (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 190).

Duties

Ships were incredibly complex and self-contained communities in which each man had a particular place and duty. As in any organization, some duties gave sailors added status and authority. The navy's equivalent of noncommissioned officers had particular responsibilities and held the men under them accountable for their implementation. The boatswain (pronounced bosun) supervised a boatswain's mate to keep the ship's heavy canvas sails and intricate rigging in working order. The master-at-arms commanded a complement of seamen to maintain order aboard ship and report infractions of the regulations to officers. The ship's carpenter and his assistants could be the busiest people aboard, especially after combat, when extensive damage required repairs. Weather could also inflict dire damage on wooden sailing vessels, and the carpenter and his mates were seldom idle. The purser kept all the ship's money, squared its ledgers with expenses paid during a voyage, and disbursed the men's monthly wages (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 190).

Ships functioned best when they were under strictly regulated routines, and their crews best abided the tedium of endless days under sail and in confined quarters when they were busy. Every crewman consequently had a set of jobs that required his attention every day, usually in the same order, if not during the same hours. Because ships at sea required some portion of the crew always to be on duty, the men were organized into several work gangs called watches. The duties of watches could range from two to five hours, depending on the time of day. Watches rotated so that nobody always had to work at night. Part of the watch spent its entire time trimming sails according to instructions from officers on the quarterdeck (the part of the vessel nearest the helm) to adapt to changing wind and weather. This could be dangerous work, whether one was heaving lines on deck or scampering aloft in the rigging, and sailors who were able to set and haul in sails during a blow (high winds) were more than valuable to a ship; they were essential to its survival. Less perilous work also occupied watches: normal wear and tear required housekeeping chores such as scrubbing the deck with pumice stones, washing away detritus, and painting and polishing woodwork to a high sheen, hence its nautical name of brightwork. Day watches also honed gunnery skills to meet the American navy's goal of firing "three broadsides to the enemy's two" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 191) (Beach 1986, 75).

Food

The crew was also divided into groups called messes for three daily meals. There was neither enough time nor room for the entire crew to eat at the same time. Depending on the size of the ship and the weather, men usually ate on deck with one or more of the members of the mess dispatched to the galley to retrieve the food. Breakfast, the lightest meal of the day, typically consisted of bread or hardtack and hot tea. Dinner, the largest meal, was eaten at midday and included beef or pork, bread, peas or potatoes, and occasionally cheese. Supper, served in the late afternoon, consisted of leftovers from dinner. After each meal, the men were issued a part of their daily rum ration.

Officers and noncommissioned officers were also divided into messes that were scheduled to avoid conflicts with the watch they commanded. Their meals consisted of freshly cooked food served to them at tables in the wardroom or other quarters below decks. Yet neither officers nor crew would have described the food as anything other than fuel. The best that could be said was that only the foulest weather prevented galley fires from making food hot. Otherwise, meat was in varying stages of decay, cheeses always bore evidence of gnawing rats, and weevils squirmed in moldy bread. Long voyages with few stops for provisions meant that both officers and men ate increasingly unpalatable food that was fairly well spoiled by the time it was prepared. A corresponding increase in intestinal complaints toward the end of a voyage was a standard condition for officers and crew (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 191).

Officers

The popular perception of life at sea as a dashing adventure attracted middle- and upper-class men to a naval officer's career, and the fact that officers received the lion's share of prize money in wartime was an encouragement as well. A wartime navy saw some commissions given to adult men with more regard for their political influence than their naval experience. Most officers, however, received their appointments to the lowly rank of midshipman as teenagers. Influence worked here as well inasmuch as these appointments were usually meted out to the sons or relations of influential men, but at least they were in the form of officer apprenticeships that allowed youngsters literally to learn the ropes before exercising significant command. A midshipman hardly found himself in an exalted position, but he outranked common seamen and could expect from his captain a comprehensive education on seamanship, navigation, and leadership. Most of a midshipman's day was occupied by running errands and performing chores for the captain and other officers. After a midshipman completed his training, he was recommended for a lieutenant's commission, but there was usually a waiting list, especially in peacetime, when few vessels were at sea. Some midshipmen had to wait several years before a lieutenant's commission became available.

A new lieutenant took on part of the crew as his immediate subordinates and commenced to supervise certain functions of the ship. The number of lieutenants aboard ship varied according to its size. The largest American vessels, the so-called super frigates, usually had a complement of six. The senior lieutenant acted as the captain's second-in-command. At sea, the captain ruled over all aboard as an absolute dictator, his authority backed by centuries of naval tradition and an elaborate set of codes and punishments that preemptively presumed his judgments sound and his disciplinary actions just (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 192).

Discipline

The captain wielded unqualified authority out of necessity. Common seamen and officers alike endured the difficulties imposed by living in extremely close quarters, and discipline was essential to maintaining order. Consequently, regulations were strictly enforced, though the typical sailor was prone to violate rules. The tedium of long cruises led to fights, drunkenness, and insubordination. Most offenses were punished with flogging, the number of lashes depending on the seriousness of the transgression. When the captain or a formal court-martial imposed a sentence of flogging, all hands were required to witness the punishment to deter them from straying as well. Yet stray they did, and such punishment scenes regularly occurred aboard American naval vessels (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 192).

Harsh punishments, bad food, boring routines, and the potential for horrible death in battle could not deter sailors from a life at sea. The prospect of adventure doubtless appealed to many, and hard times threw unskilled workers into the martial life, as it did on land as well as at sea, but they took pride in their ships and never embarrassed their country. The American navy during the early Republic carried the flag to far-flung ports in peacetime. In times of trouble, it comported itself with keen efficiency and admirable skill. It began to build a widespread reputation for having the best officers and the most able seamen in the world (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 192–93).

Battle

Discipline was crucial to ensure proficient conduct during a naval battle, an event so violent and chaotic that it could paralyze an inexperienced crew. Everyone had to be trained to perform his duty during battle not only without hesitation but also with reflexive speed (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 193).

At first sight of an enemy vessel, drumbeats sounded the command to clear the decks for action and post to battle stations. Limited space below decks typically meant that gun decks were used for sleeping and eating, and an impending engagement required the clearing of hammocks and tables so that gun crews could load and run out their pieces. The upper deck and gun deck quickly became scenes of apparent confusion that were actually highly organized drills practiced hundreds of times. Sailors meanwhile darted through the rigging to set sails best to maneuver the ship into range of the enemy. As the ship closed on the enemy, captain, helmsman, and sailing master worked together to keep the ship's profile from being fully exposed to enemy fire as gun crews began testing their ranges. Ships could maneuver for hours, firing only sporadically, trying to secure the "weather gauge," the upwind position that provided significant advantages over an opponent. The object was to bring all the ship's guns to bear (a broadside) while minimizing the risk posed by enemy fire. Everything depended on the wind and the crew's skill in handling sails, an especially unpredictable chore when enemy shot damaged masts and rigging, making it difficult to maneuver the ship. While the captain shouted instructions to maneuver the ship, he and his officers also barked orders regarding the ordnance: starting with "cast loose your guns" to ensure that the guns were no longer lashed to the bulwarks, followed with orders to load, "run" (put the muzzle out of the gun port), "aim," "prime" (put powder in the touchhole), and finally "fire!" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 193) (Robotti and Vescovi 1999, 83–86).

If the ships closed, they increased their rates of fire, and engagements often became slugfests of endurance. Shouting officers paced among seamen loading and firing heavy cannons whose concussions shivered every timber in the ship and whose recoil snapped taut, straining ropes that barely kept the weapons in place. Salvos from the enemy hurtled with earsplitting shrieks and found their target with horrifying results, ripping wide holes in planking and throwing up large splinters of wood that could be deadlier than shot and shell. Gun deck crews continued firing in intense heat and choking smoke as explosions and debris maimed those they did not kill. Sand spread on decks prevented them from becoming slick with blood, but dismembered bodies impeded work and were either shoved to the side or sent to the surgeon's table. The frenzy panicked many, especially those new to battle, but if they tried to flee, the ship offered few avenues of retreat. Officers and their noncommissioned mates had the duty of forcing the frightened back to their posts. An officer confronting unreasoning terror might even resort to killing an escaping sailor with his sword or pistol as an example to everyone else that it was safer to fight the enemy (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 193–94).

Men aloft handled the sails, or what was left of them, and those on deck prepared to repel boarders if the enemy grappled his ship to theirs. Every warship had a complement of marines whose primary job was to take positions in the rigging to shoot enemy officers and to fend off and fight boarders. Marines took charge of prisoners if a ship surrendered without being boarded.

Depending on advantages in size, guns, and wind, naval battles could be over in minutes or lengthen into hours, especially ones with relatively equal opponents. Prolonged fights inflicted staggering damage to both ship and crew, and officers suffered especially high mortality rates.

The ship's surgeon and his mates tended to the wounded. They did their best to remove casualties while the engagement raged around them, and those with a chance for survival were rushed to the sickbay, where the surgeon amputated mangled limbs and stitched up wounds. Many who survived this initial trauma died either of shock or from infections that were a common consequence of unsanitary medical practices (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 194).

Health

The surgeon's most frantic periods were during and immediately following battles, but he was constantly busy at other times as well. Close quarters, spoiled food, foul water, and fetid air below decks meant that there were always plenty of sick sailors. Some surgeons were trained physicians, while others learned their craft through apprenticeship like many civilian doctors. They employed at sea the same medicines and techniques as their civilian counterparts on land: bleeding and purgatives were the most common remedies, treatments that never cured and sometimes killed. If the ship had one, a chaplain conducted the funerals that were sadly regular events; the captain did so otherwise. With the entire ship's company assembled, appropriate readings from the scriptures preceded the tipping of the corpse, wrapped in a canvas shroud, into its watery grave (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 194).

Epilogue

The only unconditional laws of human existence are those of change and imperfection. Numerous ancient fables and modern tales revolve around the simple wisdom of the indisputable constant in all human affairs: "This too shall pass." Equally numerous stories point to the reality that all things are alloyed. The years of the early Republic were no exception. By the early 1800s, almost 200 years of European settlement had steadily made its mark on the land of America, first on the eastern seaboard, then on its interior. The remarkable progress of settlement, however, was often at the expense of lands left barren and exhausted by overplanting, and its advance frequently deprived Indian populations of birthrights and dignity (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 197).

As colonies became states and the Confederation became the constitutional republic, agriculture remained the chief occupation throughout the nation, but as the first two decades of the nineteenth century ended, a remarkable revolution in farming was already taking place. Farmers used more and better implements to increase yields. Experiments in novel farming techniques revealed a continuing American fascination with innovation and improvement. Meanwhile, other Americans strode westward, clearing fields and notching logs for windowless cabins, attracted to that hard life by the expectation that hard work would make them prosperous and keep them free. After the War of 1812, Americans exhibited a renewed dedication to their experiment in liberty and even more confidence in the apparently boundless possibilities for their country. Crops filled the fields, factories prospered as their numbers increased, canals and turnpikes lured investment and hurried commerce, and nothing seemed beyond the reach of a new nation whose unofficial motto might have been "We can do anything" (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 197–98).

Yet the people of the early Republic could not do some things at all, at least for the time being. They could not ease the plight of native peoples for whom expanding white settlements posed an increasing threat. Unable to fashion a satisfactory solution to this cultural as well as physical collision of Indians and whites, Americans would resort to the shameful program of taking Indian lands and removing their inhabitants to regions beyond the Mississippi River. In a similar way, the immorality of slavery in their free republic left them more stymied about resolving this inconsistency with each passing year. Slavery by 1820 was peculiar to the South, but the question of whether it could expand into territories already loomed in the angry debates over Missouri's admission to the Union. To the enslaved, the troubling contradiction of slavery and freedom was more than a disruptive social, economic, and political question. For them, it regulated every aspect of their existence. For those blacks who had shaken the bonds of slavery, or even for those who had never known it, its taint still cast a huge pall over their lives. Farmers guiding their plows across dawn-lit fields in Ohio, planters watching the gangs trudge to the cotton rows, and the slaves themselves with callused hands could not have known the terrible cost this moral dilemma would exact. In 1820 freedom was more than a generation away for these people, a freedom that would be bought with more than 600,000 American lives.

Nor did these Americans realize that the Industrial Revolution was dawning, its effects and consequences destined to change forever the lives of everyone. With its impressive technological advances, the coming industrialism would make goods previously reserved for the wealthy staples of everyday households. It would also create a new type of laborer, the factory worker. These men and women did not farm or learn arcane skills or ply special trades. They instead adjusted their lives to clocks, clanging bells, shrill steam whistles, and the unremitting din of well-oiled, tireless machinery. Their workplaces were at first in rural settings because running streams provided the first sources of power, but cities often grew around these early factories, eventually transforming the surrounding countryside into bustling junctions of trade, culture, and people. There would be new theaters, museums, and art galleries; but there would also be squalid slums with hollow-eyed children, broken men, and women old before their time (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 198).

Yet the revolution in what later generations called consumerism—people of the early Republic would have called it material progress—crushed eighteenth-century social and economic theories about the rigidity of class systems. What happened in these pivotal years in America should also discourage the modern tendency to dismiss the buying and selling of things as coarse consumerism and exploitative commercialism. European intellectuals asserted that only necessity made poor people work, but the American experience revealed that theory to be nothing more than condescending hogwash, to use an Americanism grating to European ears. In America, aspirations to a better life encouraged and emboldened all classes, a circumstance that was a true break from old European ideas of society and the proper place for people in it. By acquiring the material comforts of more elevated social classes, one could reach a state of gentility. The result might be seen as a paradox for the earnest republicans who rejected kings and disdained aristocrats, but it was not really. By making gentility the normal course of progress for ordinary people, Americans turned the trappings of aristocracy into a hallmark of democracy. In America, where anybody could achieve the status of "gentleman" or "lady" through hard work, anything was possible, even the emancipation of slaves, eventually. European observers might have assumed that the reward for hard work—the accumulation of material comfort—was merely another example of America's lack of refinement, but that snobbish attitude missed the point. In America, the accumulation of material comfort was an evolutionary step to the creation of a society far different from that imagined in the doomsday predictions of a Malthus and more egalitarian than any envisioned by the violent prescriptions of a Marx (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 198–99).

The changes that marked America during these years were not entirely about the getting of things. Americans were a literate people, a result of religious convictions, economic necessities, and political obligations. Foremost they believed that only educated citizens could preserve free government. Inherited as part of the Puritan legacy of learning, America's thirst for knowledge either matched or surpassed any other place in the world. Furthermore, the concerns prompted by religious revivalism meant a growing compassionate impulse that found expression in charitable institutions, embryonic abolitionism, and reform movements fighting alcoholism, rampant gambling, prostitution, and a host of social ills. Rather than the product of persistent, grim Puritanism, these efforts were a demonstration of buoyant faith in the betterment of mankind, a logical melding of Enlightenment rationalism with romantic optimism. In any case, Americans were not always toiling to better themselves or improve others. They took time to court, to marry, to make love, to raise children, to laugh, to stroll country lanes or city parks (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 199).

The ordinary American in 1820 might well have described his or her life by distilling it to such essentials. Americans' philosophical embrace of the principles that had driven the Revolution a generation earlier did not mean that they were necessarily a philosophical people. They inclined toward action rather than introspection, and the liberties they enjoyed were tangible evidence of sacrifices, not abstract rhetorical flourishes for a political speech (Heidler and Heidler 2004, 199–200).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972.

Ambrose, Stephen E. *Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966.

The Annals of America: Volume 3, 1784–1796, Organizing the New Nation. Chicago, IL: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968.

Batterberry, Michael, and Ariane Batterberry. *On the Town in New York from 1776 to the Present*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.

Beach, Edward L. *The United States Navy: A 200-Year History*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1986.

Bell, Michael W. "Apprenticeship: An Example from Rural Massachusetts." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2003).

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Blassingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Bodo, John R. *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812–1848*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954.

Boswell, James. *Boswell's Life of Johnson, Together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales*. Edited by Lawrence Fitzroy Powell. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Burns, James MacGregor. *The Vineyard of Liberty*. New York: Knopf, 1982.

Calvert, Karen. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Cartwright, Peter. *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright: The Backwoods Preacher*. Edited by W. P. Strickland. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1856.

Chafetz, Henry. *Play the Devil: A History of Gambling in the United States, 1492–1955*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1960.

Cobbett, William. *A Year's Residence in the United States of America: Treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the Expenses of House-Keeping and of the Usual Manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People; and, of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political and Religious. In Three Parts*. New York: Clayton and Kingsland, 1818.

Coffman, Edward M. *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Cox, Joseph T., ed. *The Written Wars: American War Prose through the Civil War*. North Haven, CT: Archon Books, 1996.

Coxe, Tench. *A Communication from the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts*. Philadelphia, PA: Printed for the Society by Samuel Akerman, 1804.

Cullen, Jim. *The Art of Democracy: A Concise History of Popular Culture in the United States*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1996.

Dangerfield, George. *The Reawakening of American Nationalism, 1815–1828*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965.

Dick, Everett. *The Dixie Frontier: A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1964. First published New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

Edwards, Jonathan. *Works of President Edwards*. Vol. 4. New York: Leavitt, Trow, 1844.

Grob, Gerald N. *The Deadly Truth: A History of Disease in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Hall, Kermit L., William Wiecek, and Paul Finkleman. *American Legal History: Cases and Materials*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Hamilton, Thomas. *Men and Manners in America*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1833.

Handlin, Oscar, ed. *This Was America: True Accounts of People and Places, Manners and Customs, as Recorded by European Travelers to the Western Shore in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Centuries*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949.

Hart, Albert Bushnell, ed. *American History Told by Contemporaries*. 5 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1897–1901.

Heidler, David S. *Pulling the Temple Down: The Fire-Eaters and the Destruction of the Union*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994.

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds. *Daily Life in the Early American Republic: Creating a New Nation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Hewitt, Barnard. *Theatre U.S.A., 1665–1957*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959.

Horton, James Oliver. *Free People of Color inside the African American Community*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.

Hotaling, Edward. *The Great Black Jockeys: The Lives and Times of the Men Who Dominated America's First National Sport*. Rocklin, CA: Forum, 1999.

Hutchison, William R. *Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.

Jordan, Philip D. *The National Road*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1948.

Kagle, Steven E. *Early Nineteenth-Century American Diary Literature*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1986.

Kerber, Linda K. *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Kierner, Cynthia A. *Revolutionary America, 1750–1815: Sources and Interpretation*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Knopf, Richard C., ed. *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*. Vol. 3. Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1957.

Mayfield, John. *The New Nation, 1800–1845*. Rev. ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1986.

McConachie, Bruce. "American Theatre in Context, from the Beginnings to 1870." In *The Cambridge History of American Theatre*, eds. Don B. Wilmeth and Christopher Bigsby. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

McNemar, Richard. *The Kentucky Revival, or, A Short History of the Late Extraordinary Out-Pouring of the Spirit of God, in the Western States of America, Agreeably to Scripture Promises, and Prophecies Concerning the Latter Day: With a Brief Account of the Entrance and Progress of What the World Call Shakerism, among the Subjects of the Late Revival in Ohio and Kentucky. Presented to the True Zion-Traveller, as a Memorial of the Wilderness Journey*. Albany, NY: E. E. Hosford, 1808.

Merrill, James M., ed. *Uncommon Valor: The Exciting Story of the Army*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1964.

Mesick, Jane Louise. *The English Traveller in America, 1785–1835*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922.

Middleton, Richard. *Colonial America: A History, 1585–1776*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1996.

Mintz, Steven, and Susan Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life*. New York: Free Press, 1988.

Moquin, Wayne, ed. *Makers of America—Builders of a New Nation, 1801–1848*. New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1971.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. "William Manning's *The Key of Libberty*." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 13 (April 1956): 202–54.

Muir, Malcolm, Jr. "James Wilkinson." In *Encyclopedia of the War of 1812*, eds. David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1997.

Nye, Russel Blaine. *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783–1846*. New York: Macmillan, 1969.

Rae, Noel, ed. *Witnessing America: The Library of Congress Book of Firsthand Accounts of Life in America, 1600–1900*. New York: Stonesong Press, 1996.

Richardson, James D. A *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897*. Vol. 1 of 10 vols. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896–1899.

Robotti, Frances Diane, and James Vescovi. *The USS* Essex *and the Birth of the American Navy*. Holbrook, MA: Adams Media Corporation, 1999.

Shryock, Richard Harrison. *Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860*. New York: New York University Press, 1960.

Simkins, Francis Butler, and Charles Pierce Roland. *A History of the South*. 4th ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.

Steiner, Jesse Frederick. *Americans at Play*. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Strickland, William. *Journal of a Tour in the United States of America, 1794–1795*. Edited by Reverend J. E. Strickland, with a facsimile edition of William Strickland's "Observations on the Agriculture of the United States of America." New York: New-York Historical Society, 1971.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*. Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1906.

Woodson, Carter G., ed. *The Mind of the Negro As Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800–1850*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1969.

Wright, France. *Views of Society and Manners in America*. Edited by Paul R. Baker. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963.

This page intentionally left blank

3

CHANGES AND CONFLICT, 1821–1861

Chronology, 1821–1861

1821 March 5: James Monroe is inaugurated for a second term as president of the United States

1822 May: Denmark Vesey is executed for plotting a slave uprising

President Monroe vetoes the Cumberland Road Bill, which authorized improvements to the Cumberland Road or National Turnpike

1823 December: President Monroe includes the declaration later known as the Monroe Doctrine in his annual message to Congress. The doctrine stated that the United States would look upon European intervention in the Americas as an unfriendly act

1824 March: Henry Clay of Kentucky first outlines his American System, a program of protective tariffs and internal improvements

December 1: No candidate for president receives a majority, throwing the presidential election into the House of Representatives

1825 February 9: House of Representatives elects John Quincy Adams as the sixth president of the United States, giving him the votes of 13 states, with seven voting for Andrew Jackson and four voting for William Crawford

March 4: Inauguration of John Quincy Adams

Charges of a corrupt bargain are raised by Jackson supporters against Henry Clay, who supported Adams in the House vote and who was then appointed secretary of state by Adams

1826 July 4: Thomas Jefferson and John Adams both die on July 4, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence

1827 April: Baltimore and Ohio Railroad incorporated, and becomes the first railroad to be organized in the United States

1828 May 19: Passage by Congress of the Tariff of 1828, the so-called Tariff of Abominations

December: First nullification crisis

South Carolina nullifies the Tariff of 1828

Andrew Jackson is elected the seventh president of the United States, defeating John Quincy Adams's bid for a second term

1829 March 4: Andrew Jackson is inaugurated as the country's first western president

1830 January: Daniel Webster debates Robert Y. Hayne over states' rights and the nature of the Union

May: President Andrew Jackson signs the Indian Removal Act into law

1831 January: Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing *The Liberator*

Spring: Political breach develops between President Jackson and Vice President John C. Calhoun

August 22: Nat Turner, a radical slave preacher, is killed as he leads a bloody slave revolt in Virginia

1832 November: South Carolina nullifies the Tariff of 1832

December 5: Andrew Jackson is reelected president, defeating Henry Clay

1833 March 2: President Andrew Jackson utilizes the Force Bill against South Carolina, but Henry Clay provides a compromise

March 4: Inauguration of Andrew Jackson for a second term as president

September: President Jackson removes public funds from the Bank of the United States, the recharter of which he opposes

December: American Anti-Slavery Society is organized

1834 January: Whig Party is formed as opposition to the Jacksonian Democrats

June 21: Cyrus McCormick's mechanical reaper is patented

1835 December: President Jackson recommends passage of a bill to prohibit the circulation of antislavery literature through the U.S. mail; the bill was defeated in 1836

1836 February 25: Samuel Colt's revolver is patented

March 6: Mexican General Antonio Santa Anna captures the Alamo at San Antonio, killing all the Texans defending the fort

Upon the expiration of its charter, the Bank of the United States ceases to exist as a national institution

April 21: General Sam Houston defeats Santa Anna's army at the Battle of San Jacinto

May: House of Representatives adopts the Gag Rule preventing consideration of petitions calling for the abolition of slavery; the right to present such petitions is strongly defended by former president John Quincy Adams, now a representative from Massachusetts

December 7: Vice President Martin Van Buren, a Democrat, is elected the eighth president of the United States

1837 March 4: Inauguration of Martin Van Buren as president

May: Panic of 1837 gains strength, leading to many bank failures and widespread economic hardship

1838 June: Forced removal of Cherokee from Georgia by the U.S. Army begins the "Trail of Tears"

1839 August: Cuban slave ship *Amistad* is brought into New Haven, Connecticut, by a U.S. naval vessel

November: Antislavery Liberty Party is founded in New York State; James G. Birney is nominated as the Liberty candidate for president

1840 December 2: William Henry Harrison, a Whig, is elected as the ninth president of the United States, defeating incumbent Democratic president Van Buren

1841 March: Africans from the *Amistad* are freed by the Supreme Court to return to Africa

April 4: President William Henry Harrison dies of pneumonia after serving only 40 days in office

Vice President John Tyler succeeds to the presidency

1842 August 9: Webster-Ashburton Treaty is concluded between the United States and Great Britain

1844 May 24: Samuel F. B. Morse sends first telegraph message: "What God hath Wrought?"

December 4: James K. Polk of Tennessee, a Democrat, is elected as the 11th president of the United States, defeating the Whig candidate, Henry Clay

1845 July: Republic of Texas formally agrees to annexation to the United States

The term Manifest Destiny is first employed, appearing in a newspaper article by John L. O'Sullivan

1846 May 13: United States declares war on Mexico as a result of tensions arising from the U.S. annexation of Texas

May–September: First battles of war fought at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey

June 15: Settlement of the Oregon Dispute between the United States and Great Britain

June–July: Bear Flag Revolt brings Mexican California under U.S. control

August 8: David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduces the Wilmot Proviso into Congress calling for a ban on slavery in any territories won from Mexico

1847 February 22–23: American forces under General Zachary Taylor win a victory at the Battle of Buena Vista

March 9: American forces under General Winfield Scott land at Vera Cruz in eastern Mexico

April–August: General Scott's army marches toward Mexico City, winning victories at Cerro Gordo and Churubusco

September: U.S. forces enter Mexico City

1848 January 24: Gold is discovered in northern California

February 2: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican War by giving a half million square miles of the West to the United States

July: Seneca Falls (New York) convention adopts a series of women's rights resolutions

November 7: Zachary Taylor, a Whig, is elected as the 12th president of the United States

1849 March: Department of the Interior is created

1850	July 9: President Zachary Taylor dies and his succeeded by Vice President Millard Fillmore
	September: Compromise of 1850 extends the bounds of legal slavery and strengthens the Fugitive Slave Act
1852	March–June: Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appears first as a serial and finally as a complete novel
	November 2: Franklin Pierce, a Democrat, is elected as the 14th president of the United States, defeating the Whig nominee Winfield Scott
1853	December: United States completes the Gadsden Purchase, buying the southern portions of the present-day states of Arizona and New Mexico from Mexico
1854	January: Kansas-Nebraska Act, which would repeal the Missouri Compromise and substitute the concept of popular sovereignty, is endorsed by northern Democrats
	February: Antislavery proponents form the Republican Party in reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska Act
	May 30: Kansas-Nebraska Act is passed by Congress and signed by President Pierce
1855	December: A virtual civil war over slavery exists along the border between Kansas and Missouri
1856	May 22: Senator Charles Sumner is beaten with a cane by Rep. Preston Brooks of South Carolina in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol
	Fiery abolitionist John Brown kills five proslavery men at Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas
	November 4: James Buchanan, a Democrat, is elected as the 15th president of the United States
1857	March 6: Supreme Court hands down its decision against Dred Scott and declares the Missouri Compromise of 1820 unconstitutional
1858	June: In Illinois, the Republican Party chooses Abraham Lincoln to run for the Senate against Stephen Douglas
	Lincoln gives his famous "House Divided" speech
	August–October: Lincoln and Douglas engage in a famous series of debates
	Douglas wins the Senate seat
1859	October 18: John Brown is seized by federal troops led by Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee at Harper's Ferry
	December: John Brown is tried, convicted of treason, and hanged
1860	May: Republican Party nominates Abraham Lincoln for president
	June: Democrats nominate Stephen A. Douglas for president, though southern delegates withdraw from convention, refusing to support Douglas
	November 6: Lincoln wins election in a four-way race, becoming the first Republican president
	December: South Carolina votes to secede from the Union
1861	January–February: Six other southern states (Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas) secede and form the Confederacy

April 15: With the bombardment of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers to defend the Union

Virginia joins the Confederate States, followed by Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee

American Civil War begins

Overview

CHANGES AND CONFLICT, 1821–1861
CHRONOLOGY, 1821–1861
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE
SLAVERY

The United States entered into the dawn of a new era in 1821. America's growth potential during the next 40 years seemed unlimited. The expansion westward offered new opportunities for those who were looking for the independence and adventure that the new territories had to offer. This was particularly true for the waves of immigrants that began to enter the United States beginning in 1840 and extending through the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861. Cities began to grow larger and more crowded as immigrants looked for opportunities in industries that were expanding during this period. Coupled with this were advances in technology that facilitated the growth of the American economy, as well as enabling people to travel greater distances.

The development of canals in the 1820s and 1830s would help transport goods over greater distances and allow those goods to get to markets faster. The canals would soon be superseded by the development of steam locomotives and the growth of the American system of railroads that would soon begin to crisscross the nation. The change from the birth of the United States to its birth as an industrial nation couldn't have been better symbolized than when a signer of the Declaration of Independence also signed the charter that established the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1827. The period would also see the invention of the telegraph, which allowed for communication over great distances. The railroad and the telegraph also created new towns as the nation expanded westward, for towns began to develop along the rail lines and the telegraph helped these towns stay in contact with the cities in the East.

The economy of the United States began to grow as it became more diverse. The agricultural society that had been envisioned by Thomas Jefferson at the opening of the nineteenth century was now giving way to an industry-based economy. Small factories began to spring up, and as demand increased for goods and raw materials such as iron, these small factories began to grow, and with them came the need for more workers. More people, particularly immigrants, many from Ireland and Germany, began to seek work in the industries that were arising during the 1850s. As cities grew, so too did the problems of overcrowding, crime, and disease.

The future for the American Republic seemed bright in 1821, but the optimism of the 1820s would soon be overshadowed by growing sectional tensions over slavery. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 seemingly settled sectional differences over the institution of slavery in the new territories, but as America began to expand farther westward, and as the northern population and industry grew, there were many in the North who felt that slavery should not be allowed to expand westward. Northerners came to see slavery as an anachronism that was holding the country back in its development as an industrial nation and a free-labor society. There were also voices in the North who believed that slavery was a moral abomination and they called for its complete abolition. As America moved through the 1840s, the voices calling for the abolition of slavery became louder, and with the victory in the war with Mexico (1846–1848), the split that had begun to develop between North and South became wider.

Southerners began to see slavery less as a moral question and more as a matter of their rights within the Union and a cornerstone of their understanding of the republic. The debates that had developed during the votes for the approval of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution demonstrated the ferocity with which the southern states would fight to maintain what they saw as their way of life. The idea that states had a right to ignore those federal laws that were outside the scope of the Constitution had been promulgated by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. The idea of states' rights took on a greater meaning in the working out of the Missouri Compromise, as it became clear to southerners that the North's growing population and its economic prosperity were a threat to its way of life, which for many meant the maintenance of the slavery in the South. Over the next four decades, both sides would become more hardened in their stance over slavery, and the result would lead to the most destructive war in American history.

CHANGE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURE, 1820–1828

The idea of popular government in America began to become a reality during the 1820s. Property qualifications that had denied many adult white males the right to vote were slowly abolished during the first 30 years of the Republic, so that by 1825, all adult white male citizens could vote in every state except Virginia, Rhode Island, and Louisiana. By 1840, the number of white adult male citizens who could vote in their local, state, and national elections would reach 90 percent. There arose a feeling that every man had a say in government and that political office was now open to those who did not belong to the elite class that had governed the country up to this point. This idea was particularly popular in the developing western territories, where many who had left the poverty of the East felt that they now had a voice in shaping the development of their new land.

The development of political parties, which had begun in the 1790s with the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans, took shape as the 1820s progressed. Despite the idea that democracy would allow the common man to shape political ideas, in many cases it was the interests of businessmen, bankers, and speculators, who used their economic wherewithal to shape legislation at every level of government. They used their influence to gather ordinary people into political groups that would come to dominate the government in America.

Although it was true that 90 percent of adult white male citizens could vote in America by 1840, there was a large segment of the population that still could not, and this included unnaturalized immigrants, women, free blacks, slaves, and Indians. Although women would become influential throughout the century through their participation in volunteer organizations that allowed them to exercise public influence, electoral politics remained largely the province of men. For many, the term "manhood suffrage" meant exactly that; women were to remain at home and raise the children and take care of the household, and men were to attend to political matters. The influence of women in the political sphere would become more pronounced as the Civil War approached, as it was women who were in the vanguard of many reform movements in the North.

Free blacks, North and South, generally had no right to vote as it was thought they were not fit to exercise the franchise. There was no possibility of blacks gaining the right to vote in the South, but before the outbreak of the Civil War, free blacks did gain the right to vote in a few New England states.

GROWTH OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION

The participation of more people in the political process during this period could be seen in the increase of public meetings to discuss issues that directly affected them. It also gave the elites a forum that enabled them to maintain their political power. These gatherings also helped gauge public opinion on various issues and allowed a free exchange of ideas that led to compromise on many issues.

Another development that marked the change in the American political landscape was the growing number of newspapers that were now available to the public. The growing literacy rate, coupled with a desire to garner information from distant sources, spurred the expansion of the newspaper industry in America. Now the paper was more than just a venue for merchants to advertise their goods, but a source of information that people found to be necessary in their lives. There were also the many public forums that were used to address the various issues that confronted them. Public entertainments, such as traveling shows, lectures, and demonstrations of technological or medical breakthroughs, also contributed to the growing political culture in America as politicians saw these gatherings as an opportunity to promote their political views.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF 1824 AND 1828

The new political culture in the United States came to the fore during the presidential election of 1824. At the beginning of the decade, state leaders began shaping party politics as it was seen that political parties could provide an arena that allowed for the contentious issues to be debated and compromises reached to solve problems, thereby strengthening the nation. The Democratic-Republicans, who had started under Thomas Jefferson's and James Madison's direction, began to split apart after the War of 1812. New leaders such as Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina began to sponsor federal programs to improve America's infrastructure, policies that had been advocated by the defunct Federalist Party on the national level. On the local level, leaders such as Martin Van Buren in New York formed the opposition to the power of old, elite families who had dominated local government for years. It was this growing split within the Democratic-Republicans that led to the contentious election of 1824.

Five candidates, representing five factions of the party, ran for president in 1824. John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts and Henry Clay of Kentucky represented the nationalist wing of the party; John C. Calhoun of South Carolina represented those who supported states' rights from the Lower South; Andrew Jackson of Tennessee represented the values of Jefferson, with belief in limited government and an agricultural economy; and finally William Crawford also supported traditional Jeffersonian ideals of government. As a result of so many candidates running for office, none was able to obtain a majority in the Electoral College, which caused the election to be sent to the House of Representatives. Calhoun had dropped out of the race to receive a vice presidential nomination, with the result that Adams received 84 electoral votes, Clay 37, Crawford 41, and Jackson 99.

Adams was elected by the House and became president, which caused a great deal of consternation not only with Jackson, but across the nation as well. Having gained the support of Henry Clay, who mobilized votes from New England and the Ohio Valley, Adams won despite having fewer popular votes than Jackson. The fact that Clay was then made secretary of state, considered a stepping-stone to the presidency, led many to cry foul over what was seen as a corrupt bargain made to steal the presidency from the people's candidate. Calhoun feared that the alliance formed between the northern and western interests might align against the South. This was partially correct, as Clay's American System, which called for the government to spend funds for internal improvements such as roads, tariffs, and a national bank to boost the developing economy, was supported by Adams.

Southerners feared that the growing power of northern and western interests would weaken their political power and lead to their subjugation and the loss of their rights. Opposition of small farmers was added to the growing objections to Clay's plan, which was only partly enacted. Sectional differences also arose over Adams's support of an import tariff in 1828, characterized as the "Tariff of Abominations" by southerners, who believed that the money would be funneled into northern industry and that the South would receive nothing, something that was not true. Adams's attempts at establishing better relations with South American nations were blocked by southerners who feared that such relations would create unrest among the slave community. Although Adams had worked to try to heal the rifts caused by the election of 1824, they were only exacerbated, and the result was that the election of 1828 led to a major political realignment.

The feeling that the election result of 1824 had been the result of a corrupt bargain led to the belief that special interest and privilege had stolen the election from the people. Some political leaders argued that for the people to be heard, a more effective system of party organization was needed. This process had already started in New York under the leadership of Martin Van Buren, who created a system of party loyalty that would become integral to the American political system. Seeking to break the power of Governor DeWitt Clinton, Van Buren established party loyalty through the assiduous use of patronage to reward those who supported the party. This system spread to other states, like South Carolina, where Senator John C. Calhoun used it as a base to oppose the Tariff of Abominations and to promote the idea of nullification, which would become important in the 1830s and again in the decade leading up to the Civil War in 1861. The symbol of the change that was occurring in American politics can be seen in the death of two of the men most responsible for the establishment of America's independence, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. Both men died on July 4, 1826, 50 years to the day that the Declaration of Independence was signed, and with their passing, the generation that had established the nation and warned about the proper place of political parties in a republic passed into a new generation that moved America into a new age of growth and the creation of the "Second American Party System" on the idea that political parties were essential to democratic order.

The new party organization that brought Andrew Jackson victory in 1828 was built on the increased involvement of the average citizen in the political process. Many of the property qualifications that had been instituted to limit the involvement of the common people in politics were being eliminated in favor of adult white male suffrage. Coupled with this, the emergence of the penny press, which focused its reporting on political issues on the local and national level, made the average citizens aware of the issues that affected them. As a result, people took a more active role in selecting candidates for political office, whether for their local town council or president of the United States.

THE AGE OF JACKSON

The election of Andrew Jackson as president in 1828 would have a long-lasting effect on the United States up to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Jackson's use of presidential power led to the establishment of the Whig Party, questions as to the role of the federal government in the economy, the role of Supreme Court, and most importantly the issue of states' rights.

Limited Government

Jackson came to office determined to sweep away the old order that he felt had stolen the election of 1824. As a result, the Democrats rewarded their supporters with appointments to federal jobs, which ensured their loyalty to the party. The idea that "to the victor go the spoils" became firmly established in American politics. Jackson viewed his presidency as an opportunity to change the role of government in the life of the average citizen. The first objective on Jackson's agenda was to limit the presence of the federal government in the economy, in particular the use of federal funds for the interests of individual states, which Jackson and the Democrats believed would not serve the nation's interests. Following this limited view of government, Jackson used his veto powers to stop the funding for projects such as the building of roads and the establishment of protective tariffs and a national bank, believing that this would reduce the national debt and limit the presence of the national government in the lives of its citizens.

The Nullification Crisis

As Jackson looked to decrease the power of the federal government, he had to deal with a crisis that threatened the federal union and later informed secession in 1861, the nullification crisis. The Tariff of 1828 had enraged southern planters and had led to fears that northern and western business interests would overwhelm their plantation economy. It also signaled the South's declining political power in the nation, which along with the use of antislavery criticism of southern life, fostered a "minority self-consciousness" among white southerners. They became increasingly suspicious of anything that threatened their interests, especially slavery, and came to see antislavery threats in any word or action directed against them. In 1830 John C. Calhoun, who was Jackson's vice president, anonymously published a pamphlet titled *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest* that not only condemned the tariff, but also promulgated the Doctrine of Nullification. It declared that the Constitution was a compact of equal parties and that the violation of that compact, or contract, nullified its terms. Thus, an individual state could nullify a national law if it went against the interests of that state. This was an idea that had been loosely suggested by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in their opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798, though they balked at secession as the ultimate remedy for an aggrieved state. Calhoun's doctrine posited that secession was right.

Nullification struck directly at the authority of the federal government, and debates in Congress further exacerbated the feelings on both sides of the issue. Senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina argued for the right to oppose what he saw as an attempt by northern business interests to crush the South. Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts countered that the interests of the nation far outweighed the interests of individual states. Jackson, who believed that the protective tariffs were unfair, nevertheless believed that nullification was unconstitutional and was not in the interests of the nation. When a further tariff was passed in 1832, the crisis reached its head when the South Carolina legislature that November declared the tariffs null and void. Jackson acted swiftly, and in January 1833 asked Congress to enact a Force Act that would use the army and navy to enforce federal authority. He also called for a compromise measure that would allow South Carolina to save face and rescind the nullification order. Having little support from other states, and faced with the use of military force, Calhoun resigned as vice president and was elected to the Senate, where he worked with Henry Clay on a compromise tariff measure. The crisis had been averted this time, but as the controversy over slavery increased in the late 1840s, Calhoun would again emerge as the leader of the states' rights movement.

The Bank of the United States

As the nullification crisis wound down to its conclusion, Jackson faced off against what he saw as the symbol of elite interests in the country, the Bank of the United States (BUS). The bank had been chartered by Congress in 1816 in part to control the flow of money, particularly the issue of paper money by state banks, which would devalue its value. It had been successful in doing this, and it was seen as a bulwark against a depression, although many believed, particularly in the West, that it was merely holding back economic development by limiting the amount of credit that local banks could issue. There were also eastern businessmen who looked to establish banks of their own in the West, and thus wished to see the BUS disbanded.

Since its charter was only for 20 years, the bank needed Congress to renew it in 1836 to continue, but supporters of the BUS brought the issue of the bank's charter up for a vote in 1832. Jackson used the opportunity to reject the charter on the grounds that the bank only served the interests of the elite and not the farmers, mechanics, and laborers of America, as well as undermining the rights of the states to regulate their economies. Jackson vetoed the measure, and it withstood the efforts by supporters of the bank to override it. Jackson would use the issue of limited government in the election of 1832.

The Indian Question

As Americans began to expand westward, one of the most pressing questions that faced the federal government was what to do with Indians living on lands with great economic potential. Government policy that had been adopted after the American Revolution had been to sign treaties with the various Indian nations that exchanged land for territorial rights. This treatment of the Indian tribes as sovereign nations changed during the Jackson administration. Having carried out expeditions against the Indians during the period of the War of 1812 that forced the Creek Indians off lands that they occupied in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, Jackson continued this policy into his two administrations. He supported the passage of the Indian Removal Act, which called for the forced removal of the Indians in the states east of the Mississippi River to territories west of it. The Cherokee Indians in Georgia adopted a constitution and appealed to the Supreme Court to define their status as an independent nation, and therefore not subject to the laws of Georgia. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* of 1831, the Supreme Court ruled that the Cherokee were subject to the federal government, and were not separate governments. In the appeal case of 1832, *Worcester v. Georgia,* the Court ruled that because they were protected by the laws of the federal government, the state of Georgia could not violate the rights guaranteed in treaties, which would have protected the Cherokees from being forced off their land by the state. Jackson refused to accept this, and sent federal troops to forcibly remove the Blackhawk Indians from western Illinois, and then sent troops into Florida and Georgia to remove the remaining Creek and Seminole Indians there, and send them to Indian Territory, as part of an Indian removal policy that began with removing the Choctaw from the Mississippi territory. The resulting campaign to remove the Cherokee in 1838 led to a forced march of 1,200 miles for over 14,000 Indians by General Winfield Scott that resulted in the death of over 3,000 elderly and very young Indians in what came to be known as the "Trail of Tears" by the Indians.

The Election of 1832 and the Establishment of the Whig Party

Opposing the view of limited government were the National Republicans who believed that the only way for America's economy to move forward was through the use of federal funds for the improvement and building of roads across the nation, for the regulation of capital through a central bank, and with protective tariffs to encourage industry. A federal banking system would be used to invest in the projects, and to maintain the money collected from federal tariffs that would be used to build the economy. This was part of the American System that had started in 1815 under the leadership of Henry Clay, and was supported by members of the party, which still looked to gain support from the elites of society. The National Republicans hoped that Clay would return them to the White House in 1832, but the superior organization and party loyalty of the Democrats led to another Jackson victory.

Using his election as a mandate to eliminate the Second Bank of the United States, Jackson removed the government's gold and silver reserves into state banks to destroy the bank before its charter ended in 1836, and he succeeded. Despite the efforts of supporters to maintain the bank, Jackson and the Democrats were victorious, and his opponents were convinced that they needed to organize like the Democrats. The result was that in 1834 a cross section of varying interests across the country came together to form the Whig Party. Under the leadership of men like Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, the Whigs looked to limit the power that Jackson had come to wield as president, and to limit the influence of the common people in the governing process. Whigs believed that most people were incapable of understanding the nuances of the governing process, and that the elite class should handle important decisions that affected the nation, an idea that is present in Plato's *Republic*.

The members of the Whig Party, like the Democratic Party, came from all parts of the country. In the East they were made up of primarily businessmen and traditional elites who were supporters of Clay's American System. Westerners found government involvement in supporting the building of roads, bridges, and canals in the burgeoning cities of the western territories appealing. In the South, there was a new elite, who although still tied to a slavery-based economy, backed government-supported projects to break away from the old plantation aristocracy that they believed was holding back economic growth in the South. There was also a moral reform movement within the party that appealed to many voters. The idea that the upper and middle classes should lead the way in solving the problems of the lower classes, such as poverty, alcoholism, slavery, and indolence, fed into the idea of the superiority of the elites in American society. They feared a government by the lower classes—consisting of immigrants, common workers, and Catholics—and united to prevent government from being controlled by the common mob. It was a message that allowed the Whigs to make serious inroads into the hold the Democrats had on government at all levels by the elections of 1836. Although they were unable to prevent a Democrat, Martin Van Buren, from capturing the White House, they would muster enough power to capture it in 1840 with the election of William Henry Harrison.

AMERICA AND A CHANGING ECONOMY

The conflicting platforms of the Democratic and Whig Parties were a reflection of the competing visions that Americans had for the future of the country. The country was predominantly an agricultural nation, which was the vision that Thomas Jefferson had for the future of the United States when he was president, but as the nation moved through the first half of the nineteenth century, new ideas of commerce and technology began to slowly transform the nation into an urban and commercialized economy. It was a process that created new opportunities for the ambitious to gain wealth and stature; it was also an unsettling sign to those of the old order, who saw the traditional values that they held dear being swept aside in the quest for wealth and status.

The one region that felt particularly threatened by the change in America's economy were the planters of the South, particularly as it related to the institution of slavery. The cotton economy, which had found a growing market in Europe, had become very profitable with the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. The use of slaves to work the cotton fields, rather than using hired hands, had greatly increased the profits that were taken in by southern planters. Between 1830 and 1860, half the totals of America's exports were due to cotton. Southern planters moved their operations westward with the nation, and slavery grew in the states of Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas. Southerners believed that slavery should be allowed to continue to expand westward with the nation. Unless slavery could expand, it would die—or so southerners believed. They thus feared that without open access to western territories, the southern economy would be dominated by northern and western business interests that would reduce the South into a vassal of northern and western business interests. Southerners viewed any limitation on slavery as a direct assault on their liberty, which contributed mightily to increasing sectional tensions through the 1840s and 1850s, and led to secession and war.

The movement of southern planters was accompanied by westward migration from the northern states as well. Many of these settlers looked to find better land than the rocky soil of New England and had heard of the availability of fertile and expansive land tracts in the West. The continuing proliferation of state banks made it possible for farmers to get the credit they needed to buy large tracts that they couldn't get in the East. Federal laws that favored preemption—the right of those who were squatters to have the first right of purchase and also reduced prices on land that had not sold—were enacted into law by Congress in the years between 1820 and 1850 and helped to create a rush of settlers into the West that would continue for the remainder of the century.

THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF GROWTH AND THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY

Henry Clay's American System had called for the government to fund the projects that would enable the nation's economy to grow. During the last decade of the eighteenth century, Americans had cut trails through forests to facilitate the movement west and had built roads or turnpikes in many of the northeastern states that allowed for the transportation of goods to and from the cities. These roads slowly made their way west, and by 1850 they reached to Illinois. As more people moved westward, the road network began to grow. But there were other ways that people could move as the century progressed, and these played an increasingly important role in the development of America's economy.

The use of rivers to transport materials and commercial goods was faster than overland transport in the early part of the century. The building of canals also became important in developing the nation's economy. Early in the century most river traffic consisted of boats that were moved by sail, or, in the case of canals, through the use of mules that pulled the boats from shore. What made this method of transport more efficient was the development of the steam-powered vessel. First in the East in 1807, by the mid-1830s in the West, and by midcentury on the Mississippi River and its tributaries, the steamboat provided effective transport on waterways. Combined with the canals of the East, like the Erie Canal in New York, the steamboat tied together the growing commercial centers of the West with the industrial cities of the North. The steamboat also made possible the expansion of cotton westward, furthering not only the expansion of slavery but also the growing specialization in cotton production. The South thus became more tied to the national economy but also more dependent on it, a condition that would lead to its growing suspicion of northern and western economic and political motives.

The introduction of steam power was not relegated to riverboats and ships. The use of steam to power locomotives began to take shape in England in 1825 with the first railway operation, then came to the United States with the chartering of the first American railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, which was chartered on February 28, 1827, and construction of which began on July 4, 1828. In 1833, Andrew Jackson became the first president to ride on a railroad when he rode in a B&O train. Other railroads soon began to pop up along the East Coast and moved west over the next 30 years. The crude nature of early steam locomotives, and the problems with track construction and safety, made railroad travel very dangerous, but the potential for travel and commerce was enormous. By the beginning of the Civil War, over 30,000 miles of track had been laid. The railroad drove America's economic and industrial growth from midcentury into the first half of the twentieth century.

The origins of America's factory system can be traced to the textile mills of New England. The modern industry that would turn the United States into an economic giant by the end of the nineteenth century began in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1822. By developing a water-powered plant that brought the processes of spinning and weaving together in one location, and by using large investment capital and unified management, and specializing in the manufacture of one type of cloth that didn't require any particular skill, the factories of Lowell had paved the way for future industries in the United States. Also, in the machine shops of the textile factories, mechanics developed machine tools and skills that contributed much to America's industrial takeoff by midcentury.

THE NEW IMMIGRANTS

The influx of immigrants, particularly in the 1840s and 1850s, increased the labor supply, pushed settlements westward, and contributed to the rapid growth of cities, but also led to increased tensions between the ideas, interests, and identities of native-born citizens, and the vision that the new arrivals had of the American dream. These would play a key role in the development of the country, and the political and social conflicts of the 1840s and 1850s.

Immigration from Europe had been curtailed by the War of 1812, and had remained low during the 1820s. During the 1830s the numbers began to rise, increasingly with people coming from Ireland, but with significant numbers of English and others in the flow. The numbers of Irish coming to the United States exploded during the 1840s—a result of the potato famine that struck Ireland in 1845. Over the next 10 years, more than 200,000 Irish came to America per year, settling mostly in northern port cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Unable to afford the cost of traveling west and buying land, most remained in the city, living in tenements or other cheap housing. Most males took up work at low pay as unskilled laborers, and women took up jobs as domestic servants or seamstresses. The influx of immigrants resulted in terrible overcrowding in the cities, and the tenements and boardinghouses that these immigrants came to live in were bastions of filth, disease, and crime. The majority of these Irish immigrants were Catholic, and therefore were looked upon with suspicion by native Protestant white Americans who feared the Catholic Church as an authoritative institution loyal to a foreign power. Most Irish were actively recruited by the Democratic Party and helped to enhance the power of the political bosses in many cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

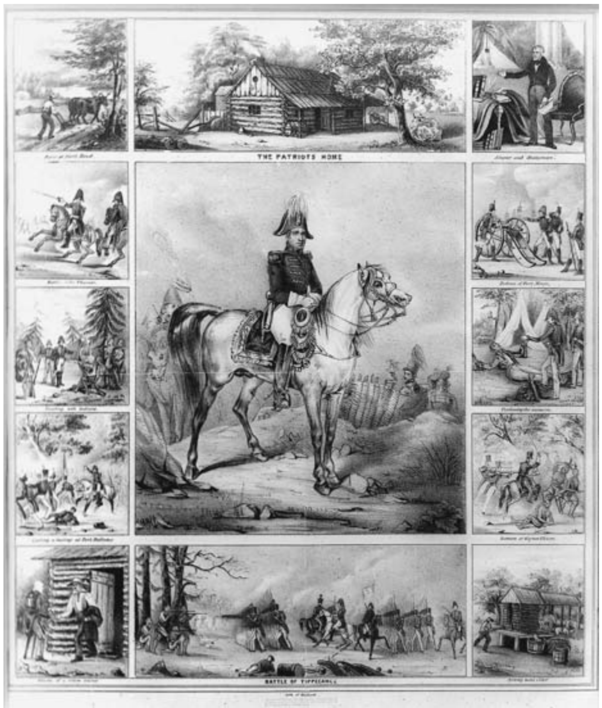
Germans were the other large immigrant group that came into the United States during the 1830s and 1840s. Many of these immigrants sought to escape from declining economic conditions in their homeland, and others were fleeing the failed revolutions of 1848. They differed from the Irish in that many Germans had connections with German communities that had established themselves in places like Pennsylvania and Ohio. They also had more money available to them when they left their homeland, which allowed many to establish farms in their new home, and many had skills that made it possible for them to obtain higher-paying jobs. Once they arrived in the United States, they moved into western cities like St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Chicago, some to New Orleans, and some even into the state of Texas. Still, large numbers of Germans settled in eastern cities, especially New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

THE RISE OF NATIVIST SENTIMENT

The influx of large numbers of immigrants during the 1830s and 1840s, coupled with the overcrowding that was occurring in the cities, and the declining birthrate among middle-class urban Protestant white Americans at this time, led to calls for limits on the numbers of immigrants coming into the country. Because the Irish and Germans were being actively recruited by the Democratic Party, there were many who saw this as a threat to the American political system. As a result, the first secret society that looked to limit the number of immigrants allowed into the country emerged with the creation of the Native American Association, which in 1845 would become the Native American Party. By 1850 it formed alliances with other nativist organizations that became the Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner, which called for more restrictive naturalization laws, stringent literacy tests for voting, and the banning of Catholics and other aliens from holding public office. The policy of secrecy that was enjoined upon its members called for them to answer "I know nothing" when asked about their political views, and resulted in people calling them the "Know Nothings." The party maintained its greatest strength in states in the Northeast like New York and Pennsylvania, and it even gained brief control of the government of Massachusetts by 1854 under the banner of the "American Party." As the sectional controversy raged during the 1850s, the strength of the Know Nothings waned, and they disappeared as a party, although a new surge of immigration in the 1870s and 1880s would see the reemergence of the nativist movement in the United States.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1840, 1844, AND THE MANIFEST DESTINY

Looking to capitalize on a depression that hit the country in 1837, the Whigs decided to follow the example of the Democrats and ran an old soldier and Indian fighter, William Henry Harrison, for president against Jackson's successor and friend Martin Van Buren in 1840. In what became known as the "Log Cabin Campaign," Harrison was elected president with 53 percent of the popular vote and 234 electoral votes to Van Buren's 60. The Whigs expected to begin to implement their policies of economic expansion through government subsidies, to raise tariffs to protect American industries, and to recharter the Bank of the United States. All these plans came to an end with the sudden death of Harrison in April 1841 after a brief battle with pneumonia, supposedly brought on by his two-hour inaugural speech on one of the coldest days in Washington, D.C., without the benefit of an overcoat. His successor, Vice President John Tyler, was a former Democrat who blocked many of the programs that the Whigs, led by Henry Clay, had looked to initiate. Tyler was thrown out of the Whig Party, but the damage had been done, and when the election of 1844 approached, it became clear that the Whigs were vulnerable.



General William Henry Harrison. Lithograph of Endicott, campaign banner with Harrison on horseback; surrounded by 12 vignettes of his home, military service, and political activity. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

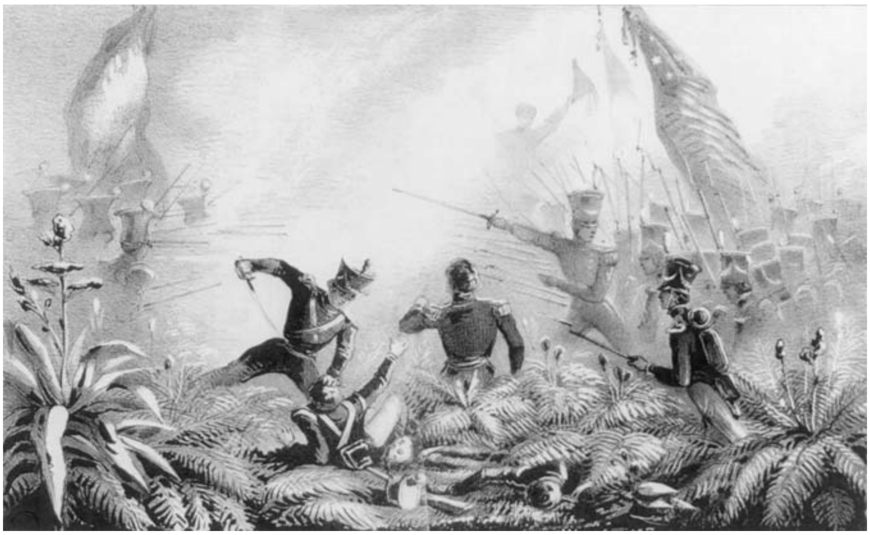
The issue that led to the Democrats regaining control of the White House was the annexation of Texas. Texas had fought for its independence from Mexico in 1836, which the Texans won with Sam Houston at their head at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21. Texas sought to join the Union in 1836, but because the admission of such a large slave state into the Union would create sectional tensions, Jackson had delayed any action and Texas became an independent republic. As the United States entered the 1840s, the idea of "Manifest Destiny" gripped the country. Spread across the country by the "penny press," it called for a "vast empire of liberty" that would spread across not only America, but Canada, the Caribbean, Mexico, and into the islands of the Pacific. There were many, particularly Henry Clay, who warned that expansion would reopen the slavery controversy in the United States, but the rush to the West drowned out these warnings. Americans pushed westward.

Southern Democrats, pressing for the annexation of Texas, looked for a way to gain the support of their northern brethren, and found it in the Oregon territory, where a boundary controversy with the British had created much heated debate and the talk of war. As more and more Americans began to move west of the Mississippi in the 1840s, the call for the annexation of Texas and a solution to the Oregon boundary led to the Democrats nominating James K. Polk, a former Speaker of the House, for president in 1844. Polk won the election over Clay, and with the admission of Texas as a state in February 1845, tensions between the United States and Mexico began to increase. Realizing that he needed to concentrate his resources against Mexico, Polk settled the boundary question over Oregon with the British in June 1846 by setting it at the 49th parallel. Wanting to acquire the Mexican territory of California and New Mexico, Polk looked to enter into negotiations with Mexico, while at the same time sending an army under Brigadier General Zachary Taylor to the Nueces River in Texas to await developments. When Mexico rejected Polk's offer to purchase California and New Mexico, he sent Taylor's army to the Rio Grande River, which the Americans claimed was the boundary of Texas, while the Mexicans claimed it was the Nueces. The stage had been set for a conflict that would forever change the United States. The Mexicans attacked a part of Taylor's force, and Polk used the incident as a pretext to declare war in 1846.

THE WAR WITH MEXICO, 1846–1848

Although it had been anticipated that the war with Mexico would be concluded quickly, it went on for two years. The Whigs claimed that the war had been set up by the Polk administration, and as the war dragged on, many Americans in the Northeast and Midwest especially believed that the war had been started under dubious circumstances. Zachary Taylor had been ordered into northern Mexico and was to capture Monterey and to push on to Mexico City. Taylor captured Monterey in September 1846, but his advance toward Mexico City was slow, and hampered by a lack of men and supplies. Meanwhile, Polk had orchestrated the capture of New Mexico and then California through the use of the army, navy, and American residents who taken up arms against the Mexicans.

With the northern advance into Mexico City bogged down, Polk turned to the commanding general of the army, Major General Winfield Scott, to lead an invasion of Mexico from Vera Cruz on its east coast. Polk feared that Taylor would become a political rival if he succeeded in taking Mexico City, so he looked to Scott to diminish Taylor's popularity. Scott led 14,000 men on a campaign that saw few American casualties, and led to the capture of the capital. The government of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna fell, and a new government was forced to settle with the United States to end the war.


Lithograph depicting the Battle of Palo Alto. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

In the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexico agreed to cede California and New Mexico to the United States and acknowledge the Rio Grande as the boundary between Mexico and Texas. The United States agreed to pay Mexico $15 million and assume any claims its new citizens had against Mexico. The agreement didn't achieve Polk's dreams of annexing much of northern Mexico into the United States, but as events would prove, the war had reopened the sectional controversy over the issue of slavery.

THE ELECTION OF 1848 AND THE SECTIONAL CRISIS

The victory of the United States over Mexico had opened up vast new territories in the West, and led many to question whether slavery should be allowed in the new territories. In 1846, before the start of the war, Polk had asked Congress for $2 million to negotiate with Mexico to gain California and New Mexico. Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania attached a proviso to the bill that prohibited slavery from any territory gained from Mexico; the bill passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate. Southerners decried the bill as an attempt by northerners and westerners to deprive them of their right to own slaves and the freedom to move them into the new territories, while northerners and westerners saw slavery as an evil that should not be extended any farther in the United States. Polk tried to have the Missouri Compromise line extended to California where slavery would be banned north of the line and allowed south of it. Others supported a plan that would eventually become known as "popular sovereignty" whereby the residents of the individual territories would vote on whether to allow slavery into their midst. Both parties attempted to bury the issue during the presidential election of 1848, but the issue would not go away.

When Polk announced that he would not run for reelection in 1848 due to ill health, the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, a party regular, while the Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor, the hero of the Mexican War. The fact that both candidates skirted the issue of the expansion of slavery was evident by the emergence of the Free Soil Party with former president Martin Van Buren as its candidate. The Free Soil Party opposed the extension of slavery into the territories and called for a platform that allowed for free labor in the territories. Taylor went on to win the election, but the Free Soil Party polled over 290,000 votes, and sent 10 members to Congress, a clear indication that the issue of slavery could not be glossed over any longer.

Further exacerbating the issue was the discovery of gold in California in January 1848, news of which spread throughout the country and then the world. Hundreds of thousands of gold seekers flocked to California. Many were to be disappointed and would drift into poverty or move to other gold and silver strikes in the West, while others would look to establish themselves in California as merchants and farmers and would lead successful lives. There were also many Chinese who managed to make their way to California in hopes of finding gold and returning to their homeland rich. Most would meet with failure, and would begin working on the growing railroads that began to spread through the West at that time, and would become the backbone of the workforce that would build the transcontinental railroads after the Civil War. With more people heading west, it now became imperative that some solution to the sectional crisis be found.

Taylor believed that statehood would solve the problem of slavery in the territories, so he pushed for California to be admitted as a state in December 1849. Because it was clear that California would enter as a free state, southerners feared that the balance between slave and free states would be upset, and that the admission of Utah, Oregon, and New Mexico would further the power of the North and West to move against slavery. Many southern leaders began to talk openly of secession, and it looked as though civil war was about to break out.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

To avoid the outbreak of war, in January 1849 Henry Clay moved to introduce a compromise bill that would avert sectional strife and, he hoped, bring an end to the slavery question. His bill called for the admission of California as a free state, the formation of territorial governments from the lands gained from Mexico without restrictions on slavery, the abolition of the slave trade but not slavery in Washington, D.C., and a more stringent fugitive slave law. The bill created a political firestorm, and after six months of haggling, nothing had been accomplished. Taylor threatened to veto the bill, and this led to an attempt by younger members of Congress to look for a way to get the bill passed. One obstacle was removed when Taylor died suddenly after eating too many cherries and consuming too much iced milk at a July 4 celebration in Washington. His successor, Vice President Millard Fillmore, desired compromise, so the path to compromise was clear. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois broke the bill into individual parts so that those who objected to certain portions of the bill could maintain their integrity by not having to vote for any obnoxious provisions. This, coupled with backroom deals that Douglas made, allowed the bill to clear Congress in September 1850. Fillmore signed the bill and declared that the sectional problem had been solved, but this was not the case.

THE ELECTION OF 1852 AND THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

As a result of the passage and signing of the Compromise of 1850, many northern Whigs left the party and joined the Free Soil Party and its candidate John P. Hale. Thus began the rapid unraveling of the Whigs over the slavery question. The Whig candidate for president in 1852 was another hero of the war with Mexico, Winfield Scott, while the Democrats nominated New Hampshire congressman Franklin Pierce for president. Pierce won the election, but on his way to Washington for his inauguration, his train derailed, and his young son was killed in front of his and his wife's eyes, an ominous sign that marked the tenure of Pierce's presidency. He tried to avoid the divisive issue of slavery, but as northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act increased, northerners increasingly ignored it or subverted it by aiding fugitive slaves. Southerners grew more angry over a key piece of the Compromise, and believed northerners had betrayed the "compromise" and could no longer be trusted to keep their word.

With more Americans moving into the western territories, there was an increased call for the building of a transcontinental railroad, but the problem arose as to where it should be built. This led to further sectional tensions. Northerners favored Chicago as the eastern terminus, while southerners favored St. Louis, New Orleans, or Memphis, and the battle lines were now drawn. The southern route had originally been rejected because it would pass through Mexican territory, but this was solved when the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, sent James Gadsden to negotiate a settlement with Mexico over the strip of land that lay in what would be modern-day New Mexico and Arizona, which was accomplished at a price of $10 million. But then events took a turn that would lead the country on the road to civil war.

Stephen A. Douglas, whose work on the Compromise of 1850 had thrust him into the national spotlight, now looked for a way to get the transcontinental railroad to pass through Chicago, thereby cementing his hold on political power and promoting westward expansion. To do this, he introduced a bill that called for opening up the territory of Nebraska to white settlement. Southerners opposed the bill because the territory was north of the Missouri Compromise line and would be closed to slavery, so he proposed that the territorial legislature would vote on whether to permit slavery in the territory, thereby leaving it up to the people. Southerners were not happy with this and demanded further concessions, so Douglas attached a measure to the bill that would repeal the Missouri Compromise, and create two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, organized under the principle of "popular sovereignty," with Kansas being the more likely to accept slavery. The bill, which was known as the Kansas-Nebraska Act, tore apart what was left of the Whig Party and also led to many defections by northern Democrats who opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The members of both of these groups joined a new political party that was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the extension of slavery into the territories—the Republican Party. In the midterm elections that year the Republicans won enough seats in Congress so that when they joined up with the Know-Nothings they were able to control the House.

BLEEDING KANSAS AND THE ELECTION OF 1856

The movement of settlers into Kansas began almost as soon as the bill had been signed into law, and in 1855 elections were held to choose a state legislature. Helped by the incursion of armed proslavery forces from Missouri, a proslavery legislature was elected. The legal inhabitants of the territory, who were opposed to slavery, then held separate elections in Topeka and adopted an antislavery constitution and immediately applied for statehood after electing a legislature and choosing a governor. Their petition was rejected by Pierce, who denounced them as traitors, then recognized the proslavery government as the legal government. As a result, proslavery forces descended on the town of Lawrence and burned the Free Soil governor's house and sacked the town. In retribution for this action, antislavery forces led by the fiery abolitionist John Brown murdered five proslavery settlers by hacking them to death with a machete. This, the "Pottawatomie Massacre," was only a preview of the violence that would continue right through the Civil War.

Another incident that symbolized the increasing violence over the issue of slavery took place in the Senate of the United States. After Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts gave a stinging speech denouncing the violence in Kansas and the institution of slavery and verbally attacking Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina, Congressman Preston Brooks, a relative of Butler, attacked Sumner with a cane, beating him so severely that Sumner was unable to return to the Senate for four years. Sumner became a martyr in the North for his stance against slavery, and even though he was censured by Congress for his actions, Brooks was elected by the people of his South Carolina district to resume his seat in Congress and to continue caning enemies of slavery.

With the nation beginning to come apart, the election of 1856 further confirmed that the parties were still avoiding the issue of slavery. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, a solid party man from the key state of Pennsylvania; also because he was serving as minister to Great Britain during much of the crisis, he was not directly tied to the slavery troubles threatening the party. The Republicans, making their first appearance on the national level, nominated a safe candidate in John C. Fremont, an army officer and explorer, with a platform that focused on internal improvement programs and no further extension of slavery into the territories. The Know-Nothings and Whigs, both of whom were breaking up, nominated Millard Fillmore. Buchanan narrowly won the election, but the choice could not have been worse as events during his presidency would mark him as an indecisive and weak leader.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE AND FURTHER TRAGEDY IN KANSAS

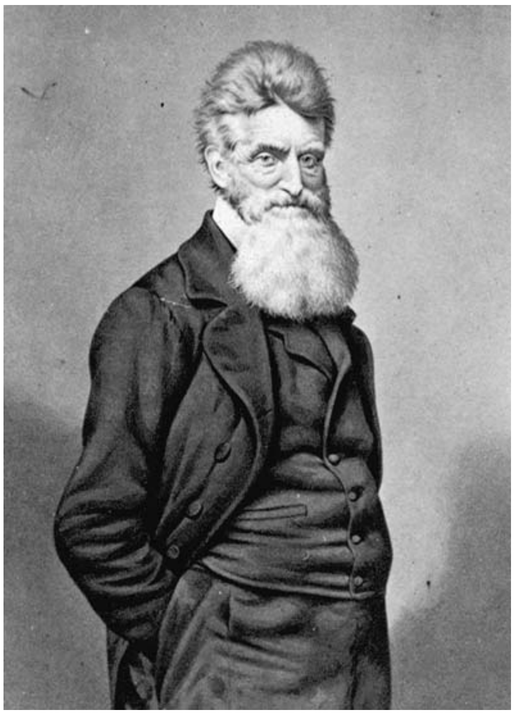
The first crisis that confronted Buchanan was the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* on March 6, 1857, which would further galvanize both sides in the slavery issue. Dred Scott had been a Missouri slave owned by an army surgeon who had taken him into Illinois and Wisconsin as a result of his assignments. After his master had died, Scott sued the surgeon's widow for his freedom stating that his residence in free territory liberated him, and his claim was upheld by a circuit court in Missouri in 1850. The surgeon's widow, Irene Sandford Emerson (the Court had her name in the legal document as "John F. A. Sandford"), appealed the ruling to Missouri's State Supreme Court, which overturned the circuit court's ruling. Scott then appealed to the federal courts, and Sandford's attorneys argued that he had no right to do so as he was not a citizen. The case went before the Supreme Court, and, writing the majority opinion, Chief Justice Roger Taney stated that because Scott was a slave, he was property, and because the Fifth Amendment prohibited Congress from taking property without "due process of law," Scott had no basis to appeal to the courts. In effect, the decision declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional and undermined popular sovereignty, for if Congress could not bar slavery from entering a territory, no territorial legislature, a creation of Congress, could do so.

The opinion led to great celebrations in the South, where it was seen as a vindication of their argument that the federal government had no right to interfere with slavery and the extension of it. Northerners saw it as another example of how the power of southern slave interests had subverted the government. Buchanan supported the decision, and then tried to resolve the Kansas controversy, but only made the situation worse.

Buchanan proposed that Kansas be organized as a state, which led to the call by proslavery forces for a constitutional convention to be held in Lecompton. The constitution would legalize slavery, and there would be no opportunity given for the voters to reject it. When an election for a new legislature was called for, free soil and antislavery forces won a majority and submitted the Lecompton Constitution for a vote, and it was rejected by a 10,000-vote margin. There had been fraud and violence on both sides during this process, but it was clear that the majority of the people of Kansas did not want slavery in their midst. Buchanan bowed to congressional pressure and pushed for the admission of Kansas as a slave state; with that the idea of popular sovereignty, espoused by Stephen Douglas, would essentially be dead. With the support of western Democrats, Douglas managed to have the bill die in Congress. In 1858 a compromise was reached that called for the question of slavery in Kansas to be submitted again, and if the residents voted for it, Kansas would be admitted as a slave state, if they rejected it, their admission would be delayed; the latter is what happened. It wouldn't be until the end of Buchanan's tenure that Kansas would be admitted as a free state in 1861.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES AND JOHN BROWN'S RAID

The midterm elections of 1858 for Congress and the Senate gained great importance as a result of the events over the last two years, and it would be the debates for the Senate in Illinois that brought Abraham Lincoln to the national stage and led him to the White House two years later. Douglas had been at the center of the slavery controversy since 1850, and his position on slavery was ambiguous at best, according to Lincoln, who as a Whig had served in the Illinois legislature and one term in Congress in the 1840s, and had become a prominent lawyer in Springfield. The Republicans in Illinois tapped Lincoln to unseat Douglas from his Senate seat on the basis of his inability to deal with the slavery issue that was tearing the nation apart. Lincoln was not an abolitionist and did not believe that blacks were socially equal to whites, but he did believe that slavery was an evil that must be prevented from spreading and that the principles of the Declaration of Independence must be respected. He, and members of his party, did not believe they had the legal authority to abolish it where it already existed. The debates led to a great deal of interest as a result of the increasingly ominous tone of the sectional controversy and Douglas's likely bid for the presidential nomination in 1860. Douglas managed to return enough Democratic legislators to the Illinois legislature to be sent back to the Senate (during this time it was the legislature, not the voters, who voted for U.S. Senators). But although Douglas won the election, Lincoln's ability to frame the slavery question as a moral issue and argue for basic rights to one's labor and self-respect won him support across the Republican Party.



Half-length photograph of abolitionist John Brown. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

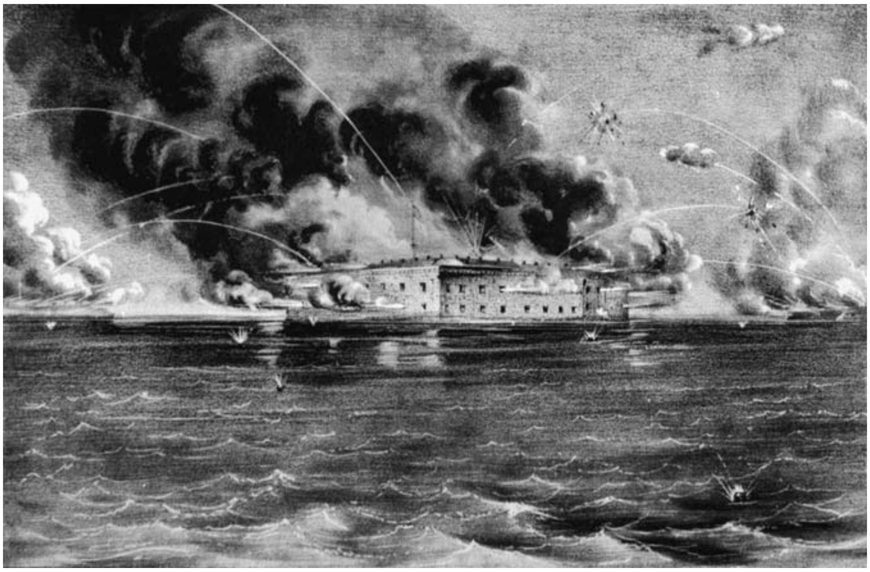
On October 16, 1859, the abolitionist John Brown and 16 followers, including his four sons, seized the United States Army Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Brown hoped that this would be the signal for an uprising of slaves in the area, who would flock to Brown, who would arm them, and encourage an armed uprising of slaves that would end human bondage in the South. No slaves came, for U.S. Marines under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee stormed the arsenal, killing 10 of Brown's followers, and captured Brown. He was then put on trial in Virginia for treason, was convicted, and hung. Before his death, Brown declared that the sin of slavery that existed in the country would only be purged through the shedding of blood; his words would prove to be profoundly prophetic. More important, Brown's courage and dignity as he awaited his death inspired northern intellectuals such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau to celebrate him as a Christian martyr. Southerners were more shocked by the response of northerners to Brown's words than Brown's actions and were convinced the North generally had gone mad with abolitionist fanaticism.

THE ELECTION OF 1860

The death of John Brown had further galvanized the North and the South over the issue of slavery, with southerners believing that Brown's "invasion" was part of a secret northern plot to destroy them, and northerners becoming more determined to end the extension of slavery and check the "slave power." The Democratic Party entered the election divided between southerners who wanted slavery protected and expanded, and westerners who believed in popular sovereignty, and northerners who wanted to protect slavery without conceding it too much power. During the Democratic convention in Charleston, South Carolina, delegates from eight southern states walked out rather than nominate Douglas, and a candidate was not picked until the northern Democrats met in Baltimore and chose Douglas for their candidate and southerners met later in Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge as their standard-bearer. The Democratic Party was split in two. The Constitutional Union Party, made up of border states, chose John C. Bell as a compromise candidate. The Republicans, sensing that they had a clear shot at gaining the White House, passed over more prominent candidates like William Henry Seward of New York and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio to choose Lincoln as their candidate for president. The reason for this was because Lincoln's eloquence, his moderate stance on slavery, and his obscurity would appeal to moderate Democrats and former Whigs. The results of the election bore out the party's choice as Lincoln garnered 180 electoral votes, far outdistancing his opponents, even though he won only 39 percent of the popular vote and no votes from the South. The Republicans failed to win a majority in Congress, but they did well overall. The South now believed their only choice was to secede from the Union.

SECESSION AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

Equating Republicans with abolitionism and race war, and believing that their position was untenable with the Republican president in the White House, southerners from the Deep South urged secession. South Carolina was first to leave on December 20, 1860. It was followed by Mississippi (January 9, 1861), Florida a day later, then Alabama on the 11th, Georgia on the 19th, Louisiana on the 26th, and Texas on February 1st. That same month, representatives from the seceded states met in Montgomery, Alabama, and formed the Confederate States of America and began to occupy federal forts within their boundaries. Buchanan had told the states in December that they had no right to secede, but also said that the federal government had no right to stop it—a perfect position for a man whose indecision had marked his presidency. Most of the federal forts in the South were quickly occupied by Confederate forces except for Fort Pickens in Pensacola, Florida, and Fort Sumter, under the command of Major Robert Anderson in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Fort Pickens would remain in federal hands throughout the war. It would be the standoff over Sumter that would lead to war.



Color lithograph depicting of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12–13, 1861. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Buchanan had tried to send supplies to Sumter in January 1861, but Confederate guns in the harbor had turned the ships back. When Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, the stalemate continued. Lincoln made it clear that the fort was federal property and would remain so. He informed the South Carolina authorities that a ship that only had food and water would attempt to resupply the fort and that if they were fired upon, the government would resist. On April 12, after driving away the relief ships, the Confederate government ordered the commander of the forces in Charleston, Brigadier General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, a former student of artillery of Anderson's at West Point, to open fire on the fort. After a two-day bombardment, in which only one soldier in the fort lost his life, due to one of its guns malfunctioning, Anderson surrendered the fort. Lincoln then called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the rebellion, and, as a result, four more border slave states, Virginia (April 17), Arkansas (May 6), Tennessee (May 7), and North Carolina (May 20) seceded. And the war came.

Domestic Life

The antebellum period, particularly in the American South, conjures images of oversized verandas, lazy rivers churned by the paddle wheels of luxurious steamboats, exaggerated hoop skirts, and trees hung with Spanish moss. At first glance, the slower pace of the Civil War antebellum period, 1820–1860, seems to have rendered it an era untouched by time. The South seemed to cling to an idyllic, if mechanically inefficient, simplicity while remaining suspended in the past like a character in a romance novel. Meanwhile, the North was developing its industrial strength and a modern sophistication concerning business, ethics, and morality. To meet the needs of an expanding nation, canals, railroads, fabric mills, and cities filled with immigrants all seemed to spring from the very soil of the North. This simple dichotomy between North and South is the stuff of history textbooks and grammar school recitations, but the antebellum period was actually exceedingly complex and replete with contradictions.

American society and culture was at once chivalrous and crude; hospitable and harsh; and bold and backward. It is difficult today to conceive of a society that could elevate civility, personal behavior, and honor to such high standards, and yet perpetuate an institution that denied basic human status to a large portion of its population. Individual southern plantations were virtually self-sufficient "city-states" lacking little in the way of food or the means to provide for their daily needs; yet the region was almost totally dependent upon remote markets, manipulative agents, and manufactures located in the North or England. The plantation aristocracy ruled the South like feudal lords, but they were critically starved for cash, virtually steeped in perpetual debt, and constantly fearful lest their slaves should kill them in their beds.

Moreover, the entire cultural life of the nation seemed to radiate from the great cities and universities above the Mason-Dixon Line. Notwithstanding its cultural accomplishments during the period, the North with its urban centers was no American Zion. Northern reformers, while reveling in their vast catalog of reform movements regarding abolition, public education, temperance, prison reform, and women's rights, seemed incapable of separating the unfortunate victims in society from a personal responsibility for their plight. Reformers and idealists emphasized cultural integrity, social rehabilitation, and personal reformation among the poor of the teeming and increasingly industrialized cities of the North, but the northern elite remained intolerant of immigrants, Catholics, the poor, or free African Americans living in their midst. Consequently, the poor stayed in their crime-ridden environment; women and children were continually abused by derelict husbands and fathers; alcohol flowed freely until the twentieth century; and the freed slaves remained on the bottom rung of social and economic life.

It is commonly taught in history class that a handful of states, formed into a weak republic after the American Revolution, were welded into a nation in the crucible of civil war. Yet the antebellum period was a time when America gained much of the morality, ethical strength, and integrity that characterized the nation during that conflict. The antebellum period was a bridge from the innocence of the early years of isolation on the Atlantic Coast of North America to that of a mature nation willing to take its place in the wider world and stand astride the continent like a colossus. The period saw the establishment of free public schools and esteemed institutions of higher learning, advances in art and artistry, and unforeseen developments in technology and productivity (Volo and Volo 2004, ix).

MODERNIZATION

As the antebellum period began, America was approaching its golden anniversary as an independent political state, but it was not yet a nation. There was considerable disagreement among the residents of its many geographical sections concerning the exact limits of the relationship between the federal government, the older states, and the individual citizen. In this regard, many factions invoked concepts of state sovereignty, centralized banking, nullification, popular sovereignty, secession, all-Americanism, or Manifest Destiny. However, the majority deemed republicanism, social pluralism, and constitutionalism the primary characteristics of antebellum America. Slavery, abolition, and the possibility of future disunion were considered secondary issues, at least until the 1840s (Volo and Volo 2004, 3–4).

Cultural and social changes were sweeping the cities of America during the period. Industry and urbanization had moved the North toward a more modern society with an unprecedented set of novel cultural values, while the South had essentially lagged behind in the traditions of the eighteenth century. The mixing of traditional folkways with a more modern vision of America had caused social influence, political authority, and traditional concepts of family to become uncertain, unstable, and somewhat ambiguous. Historians have noted that the differences between the "folk culture" of the South and the "modern culture" of the North fueled the broad-based reform movements of midcentury and may have ignited the turmoil over state sovereignty and slavery in a form of "culture war." The debate surrounding these questions, driven by an intensely partisan press, "not only aroused feelings of jealousy, honor, and regional pride, but raised fundamental questions about the future direction of the American society" (Volo and Volo 2004, 3–4) (Sewell 1988, xi).

The most obvious modern element in northern society was the rapid growth of its urban centers as more and more people flocked to the cities to find work in the factories. Although the class structure was still dominated by the old social elite, a new middle class was striving to become socially acceptable; and it was becoming increasingly difficult for the community to distinguish between the two. Unfortunately, the distinctions between these and the urban lower classes continued to be characterized by sharp contrasts in wealth, ethnic origin, and religion. The lower classes of the North were exceedingly poor and composed, in large part, of immigrants. Between 1820 and 1860, the top three major countries of origin, respectively, were Ireland, Germany, and Great Britain. These three supplied 85 percent of all immigrants to the United States in the antebellum period (Fehrenbacher 1969, 100).

In 1800, the entire United States had been an essentially rural country. Fewer than 6 percent of its population of five million lived in towns with populations larger than 2,500. Only Philadelphia and New York had populations greater than 25,000. The settlement of the Mississippi Valley and the Northwest Territories during the first half of the nineteenth century had contributed to a vast internal migration. Ironically, as the number of family farms increased, so did the population of the major cities. By 1850, the population of the country had risen to 23 million, and more than 30 percent had settled in towns larger than 2,500 persons. Although three-quarters of the population were still involved in agriculture, the expansion of commerce and industry had drawn almost two million factory workers into towns that were both old and new. The urban population thereby became the fastest-growing segment of the population (Volo and Volo 2004, 4).

The number of towns having more than 10,000 persons increased from 6 to more than 60 in less than half a century. Cities as distinct as Providence and Chicago were experiencing similar rates of growth. A number of small coastal towns became booming cities by midcentury in response to America's rise to maritime greatness in the clipper ship era. Boston, Salem, Portland, and New Haven, for example, were all active coastal trading cities in 1850. Salem was among the top five seaports in the nation with respect to the value of the trade that passed through it annually. Other towns grew due to their proximity to railroads. Boston alone was the terminus for no fewer than seven railroads. Westward expansion along the growing system of canals and the successful navigation of the western rivers by steamboats made a number of inland ports equally important. These included Buffalo, Syracuse, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Memphis, Natchez, and St. Louis (Volo and Volo 2004, 4–5).

The cities that had been the largest at the turn of the century remained so and experienced the greatest rates of population growth. By 1850, New York City boasted a population of more than 500,000 people. Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Charleston had grown to hold hundreds of thousands of persons. Nonetheless, southern cities had attracted less than 10 percent of the population of the region. The physical size of American cities also increased from less than a one-mile radius to that of four or five miles. Northern cities were characterized by a well-defined and established business district and the beginnings of the suburbs. Unfortunately, there was also an enormous growth in slums, tenements, and ethnically segregated residential areas filled with the poor and uneducated.

Many of the poorest immigrants were Irish Catholics. The Irish were the first truly urban group in America, living in crowded slums rife with crime and disease and experiencing severe religious prejudice at the hands of the Protestant majority. "Help Wanted" advertisements were often followed by signs stating, "Irish Need Not Apply." One of the ironic characteristics of the new modernism in northern society was the simultaneous existence of antislavery sentiment and severe ethnic prejudice among upper-class Protestants. This is especially surprising in view of the prominence of social reform movements in the North (Volo and Volo 2004, 5).

The South was a structured hierarchical society tied to tradition and continuity rather than progress and change. Southerners strove to maintain a romanticized version of the old aristocratic order as it was before the American Revolution. They were remarkably intolerant of social reform and disdainful of activism; yet they thought of themselves as well mannered, chivalrous to women and children, religious, and protective of all that was still fundamentally good in America. They lionized the stratified, but benevolent, social order portrayed in the nineteenth-century romance novel and often acted the parts of popular fictional characters in their response to real-life situations in a way that seems preposterous to us. The "miserable artisan and his daughter," too much honored by the slightest notice of the son of the plantation master, retained the "insolence" to tell him that his notice was unwelcome (Volo and Volo 2004, 5) (Scott 1831, 9).

FAMILY

The vast majority of southern citizens were small farmers and planned their lives around rural activities and seasonal chores such as barn raising, quilting bees, planting, haying, and harvesting. Family members usually cooperated in completing chores. This togetherness was thought to foster feelings of kinship and traditional family values. Their concept of time was based on general divisions of the day (e.g., sunrise and noon) and the year (e.g., spring and summer), and they set their appointments or ended the workday by this standard. Free white laborers and artisans were paid by the completion of a task, and rarely by the clock or calendar. The system provided continuity in the work relationship between employer and employee, and it was not unusual for one family to be employed by another in the same capacity for several generations (Volo and Volo 2004, 5–6).

While most northerners were still farmers or engaged in processing agricultural products, a growing segment of the population was becoming tied to the cities and factories. Middle-class men who had grown up in the first half of the century could remember a childhood spent living in a family working environment, either on the farm, in a cottage at the mill, or in a room behind the family shop. But as the century progressed, men's work increasingly took place in the special atmosphere of business premises like the factory or office. Fathers commonly left the home to work for 10 to 14 hours, and their children rarely saw them during daylight hours. A father's work and workplace became foreign to his children. This tendency to go to work, rather than to work at home, led to the virtual removal of men from the home environment, leaving it the sole province of the female. With the general availability of the pocket watch, these men increasingly lived their lives by the clock. Factory workers were expected to work in shifts dictated by the public clocks that came to be prominently displayed on towers, in the streets, and on the factory walls. The idea of being on time represented a significant change in the lifestyle of most city dwellers; and since the North was the most urbanized section of the country, being on time became characteristic of northern life (Tosh 1996, 9–15).

Conversely, southerners, who had no need to work by the clock, were often viewed as shiftless and lazy. Southern laborers feared the development of the unprecedented "work for wage" economy of the cities, and they saw northern wage earners as degraded and enslaved persons. The city worker sold himself into economic bondage for a wage, and southerners dreaded the expansion of a similar work for wage system almost as much as abolitionists dreaded the expansion of slavery. Southern whites were clearly anxious to maintain their status as freemen, even if this required that they be very poor freemen. Many in the laboring class believed that the North was determined to enslave them to the factory system or counting house. The modern egalitarian society of the North was viewed with disdain and seen as degenerate and immoral. Rising crime rates in the cities, flagrant and open prostitution, and the squalid conditions of the urban lower classes were proffered as proof of northern inferiority (Volo and Volo 2004, 6).

The South was led by a privileged planter class whose elite lifestyle was maintained at the expense of the rest of society. This planter aristocracy relied on its kinship network and social status as a means to personal success. Outsiders saw southern culture and institutions as backward, inefficient, and harmful to the American nation as a whole. Nonetheless, the southern elite voluntarily assumed the role of benefactor and knight errant to all other levels of their society. This obligation was extended to their slaves in an ambiguous, but serious, way. Many southerners were genuinely concerned for the physical and moral welfare of their slaves but only in terms of continued racial separation and subjugation. Failing to acknowledge the good in southern society because it was tied to slavery caused increasingly acrimonious, alienating, and violent rhetoric to become the norm of political and social debate as the war approached (Volo and Volo 2004, 6–8).

PLANTER ARISTOCRACY

Wealthy antebellum planters saw themselves and their class as the natural leaders of their communities and as a social elite whose wants were rightly supplied by the labor of the rest of society. Historically, the South had been neither democratic nor purely aristocratic. Instead, southern politics had reached a balance much closer to the classical Roman concept of the republic, a public order in which the power rested with an elite group of people who ruled for the good of all. The planters saw an outward display of benevolence toward black slaves, always tempered by the limits of the institution, as a tool that elevated the character of their class—making them independent, generous, affectionate, brave, and eloquent. Slaves and servants not only made their master's wealth evident, but they also helped to sustain it with their labor and their obedience.

Few in the Southern planter class actually had aristocratic roots. This greatly intensified the need of the social structure and the hierarchy to define itself in historically acceptable terms. The planters invented a social mythology in which the blood of their class was deemed noble or at least tinted blue. Many upper-class southerners incorrectly traced their ancestry to the royalty of Europe—a royalty that still ruled due to its blood ties to past kings. Planters with an English heritage might claim their descent from the Cavaliers of the English civil wars of the 1640s. No mere followers of the Stuart kings, planter ancestry might be derived from dukes, earls, knights, and loyal squires who had ridden at Nasby. Those with Scots-Irish blood, who could not trace their ancestors back to the Bruce or Brian Boru, easily found ancestors among the Celtic chieftains of their clan. There were enough southern families who had legitimate family trees of this sort—the Lees, the Fairfaxes, and the Randolphs, for instance—to maintain the truth of the fiction (Volo and Volo 2004, 8).

Although half of the white population of the South had come to the colonies as indentured servants, generations of close and sometimes carefully planned intermarriage spread the supposed royal connections so thin that all families of position and power in the South could claim rule by some form of "divine right." Marriage into an influential family was also a distinct advantage in politics. Thomas Jefferson's father had substantially improved his social standing by marrying a daughter of the well-placed Randolph family, and John Marshall's marriage into the powerful Ambler family brought him influential connections that ultimately led him to a prominent place in the federal government. Whether through birth, marriage, or myth, support of the southern gentry was indispensable for the man who would rise in politics (Volo and Volo 2004, 8–9).

The upshot of all this ancestral mythology was that the planters themselves came to believe it. They behaved in a haughty manner reminiscent of the old nobility of Europe; taught their sons an aristocratic code of social behavior; married their daughters as if sealing treaties between feudal estates; and demanded positions of authority and command in their communities. "Civilization would cease but for the universal desire of white men to become aristocrats," wrote George Fitzhugh in *Cannibals All, or Slaves without Masters* (1857) (Volo and Volo 2004, 9) (Fitzhugh 1857).

As the early decades of the antebellum period wore on, the northern opposition to slavery came to criticize the aristocratic pretensions of the South, and southerners found some necessity to explain themselves. Fitzhugh recorded a defense of the southern way of life that would be used over and over during the antebellum years. "Pride of pedigree . . . ancestral position . . . [and] respectable connexion [*sic*] . . . will, ere long, cease to be under the ban of public opinion. Every man in America desires to be an aristocrat, for every man desires wealth, and wealth confers power and distinction, and makes its owner an unmistakable aristocrat. What vile hypocrisy, what malicious envy and jealousy, to censure and vilify in others, that which every man of us is trying with might and main to attain . . . [the] desire to found a family and make aristocrats of their posterity" (Volo and Volo 2004, 9) (Fitzhugh 1857).

The planter aristocracy successfully dominated southern society for almost two centuries by applying their wealth and political influence to the wheels of government. Their numbers were so small that no more than 50,000 persons—men, women, and children—in a population of several million qualified as part of this class. As long as the planters could support themselves with the products of their own plantations, they were relatively insulated from economic depression and spiraling consumer prices. This economic security, once the hallmark of the great plantations, gradually became less certain as the war approached (Volo and Volo 2004, 9).

KINSHIP

Family was the most conservative and inviolable of upper-class institutions. Many of the best American families had resided in the same section of the country for generations. By the time of the Civil War, there was hardly a family of note that did not occupy at least the same social position that it had of the founding of the republic. Periodically, the family would gather, and cousins, aunts, and grandparents would trace the family tree from long before the Revolution. To maintain their high social position and authority, it was important for socially elite families to have a strong sense of obligation to their blood relatives (Volo and Volo 2004, 10).

In this regard, maternal uncles and aunts played an essential role of great trust. "A mother's trust that her brothers and sisters would take care of the children in case of her death gave special significance to the role of the uncle and aunt." While uncles and aunts could be relied upon for monetary assistance, guidance, or support, nieces and nephews need not be orphaned to call upon them. Extenuating circumstances of many kinds could and did bring the influence of these relatives into play in terms of a tightly knit kinship network. A number of words and expressions have endured expressing this obligation, including "kinfolk," "blood kin," "blood ties," and "kissing cousins" (Clinton 1982, 52–53).

Intermarriage between second and third cousins was common in the South because it perpetuated the family name, fortune, and bloodline. However, it was almost unheard of in northern families. A historical study of southern and northern families numbering 100 each found that 12 percent of southern marriages were between cousins whereas not a single case was found in the northern sample. Although such findings could be laid at the door of southern clannishness, it should be remembered that northern young people living in cities and towns had many more opportunities to meet prospective mates, unrelated to them by blood, than southerners who were largely isolated on farms and plantations (Clinton 1982, 57–58, 233).

With kinship came advantage and obligation. Birth into one of America's leading families was essential to making a political career almost everywhere. Social prominence, business and political influence, and the presumption of ability—whether it was present or not in an individual—were inherited from one's father or uncle in much the same way that businesses, land, or slaves were inherited. Fathers expected their first-born male heirs to follow in their footsteps; they also were protective of their daughters, providing their sons-in-law with influence if not money. Daughters who remained unmarried into their adult years were often given the position of companion to their fathers. Granddaughters in similar circumstances were treated in much the same way, especially in the absence of a living father. Men were similarly solicitous of their nieces, daughters-in-law, and all their children. So pervasive was the assumption that kinship ruled that men were given positions as sheriffs, justices of the peace, militia captains, or county lieutenants by influential relatives without the slightest charge of favoritism being made by anyone in the system (Volo and Volo 2004, 10–11).

Siblings were treated in a hierarchical manner with all the male offspring being given a superior position over their sisters. The inferior position of females, often supported by state law, implied an obligation that was placed upon men to defend the honor of their female relations. A brother could intervene in the affairs of his sisters and their circle of friends with or without their permission. At times these brothers could take on a very combative stance when dealing with a sister's reputation. Female cousins came under the same type of protection. As women were not permitted to correspond with men who were not relations, many young women had no knowledge of men who were not their blood relatives until after their marriage. Even then their social relationships with males were limited to the friends and acquaintances of their husbands (Volo and Volo 2004, 11).

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The continuation of the family name and fortune through marriage was the most conservative of social institutions, and the rules, customs, and traditions that surrounded courtship and marriage were well established. There were multiple purposes for marriage in this period. The obvious ones were to provide for child rearing and to assure the continuity of the family fortune through the instrument of inheritance. The unspoken purpose was to provide a socially acceptable outlet for sexual relations.

While young men were free to remain single, all young, respectable women were expected to begin seeking out a marriage partner appropriate to their social position as soon as they left adolescence. Nonetheless, a widower with young children was expected to remarry for the sake of his motherless offspring if no appropriate female relation, such as an unmarried sister or aunt, were available to care for them. Before a man could hope to prosecute a courtship successfully, he had to establish himself in a profession or come into his inheritance. Courtships could be protracted if the suitor's financial expectations took some period to come to fruition. This fact tended to drive up the age of eligible suitors or increase the disparity in years between a well-established husband and a young wife still in her childbearing years. In the North, the difference in age between husband and wife during the antebellum period averaged a mere two years, while southern couples were separated by an average of six years (Volo and Volo 2004, 11).

Women who remained unmarried often lived with other relatives and looked to them during financial emergencies. Many young women looked to their maternal aunts and uncles in this regard for support, guidance, and companionship. In the absence of a father or uncle, a young woman might depend on her own brother for a roof over her head. Few men could shirk their responsibilities to a female relative without a loss of reputation and community standing. This was especially true in the South where the role of benefactor was an essential characteristic of plantation life. Nonetheless, an unmarried adult woman was often awkwardly placed in the kinship scheme. Many of these women made their contribution by helping with routine household tasks and could make a few dollars by spinning flax and wool for others. It is from this practice that the term "spinster" has come to refer to an older unmarried woman (Volo and Volo 2004, 11–12).

As the nineteenth century proceeded, a major cultural change took place as women gradually gained a modicum of control over themselves and the property that they brought to a marriage. This generally paralleled a similar movement in Victorian Britain. In many northern homes, the focus increasingly came to rest on the wife and children. In response, there evolved a growing formalism and rigid authoritarianism that antebellum husbands demanded of their families and households when they were present. On southern plantations, an older, more traditional male-dominated formalism—highly characteristic of the eighteenth century—continued to hold sway. Although these factors were most strongly entrenched among the southern planters, they established a trend in marital custom throughout the South. For daughters of the planter class, a man's wealth and reputation were the primary factors in arranging a marriage or choosing a husband. Furthermore, to maintain their social position, intermarriage between cousins far enough removed to dispel charges of consanguinity was common among the planter aristocracy. Finally, women in the South married at a younger age—almost four years younger on average—than their northern counterparts.

A particularly attractive or well-heeled woman might have groups of suitors vying for her attentions. Typically, parents encouraged such groups to call together upon their daughter at home because they believed the practice discouraged gossip. Under such circumstances, young men had little opportunity of measuring the woman's attitude toward their individual suit. Most gentlemen resorted, therefore, to a go-between in the early stages of any serious courting to gauge whether or not their more formal attentions would be rebuffed. The woman's brothers or male cousins often served in this capacity. All but the most eligible men met with a series of mild rebuffs as young women were discouraged by their parents from taking too many prospective fiancés into their social circle before selecting one from a small group of two or three as a husband (Volo and Volo 2004, 12).

Unmarried couples—even those who were formally engaged—might easily offend the community if their behavior was perceived to be sexual in any context. As women were not permitted to correspond with men who were not relations, many young women had no knowledge of men who were not their blood kin or friends of the family. For this reason, they favored cousin marriages, wherein they were at least familiar with their prospective partner. Nonetheless, anxious parents frequently married off their daughters at 15 or 16, fearing that they might become involved in some sexual impropriety that would cause them to be shunned by prospective suitors. Overt sexuality at any stage in a woman's life before marriage would certainly meet with social ostracism and might actually result in criminal indictment for fornication in some jurisdictions (Volo and Volo 2004, 12–13).

Upon their marriage, young women passed from the domination of their fathers to the equally powerful authority of their husbands. Women had little or no legal standing in the courts, could not sign enforceable contracts, and held no tangible assets in their own names in most states. A husband and wife were considered one person in law, and the very existence of the wife was often incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband. Until late in the period, the property brought to a marriage by the wife legally became that of her husband. Many widows disdained remarriage, having in their bereavement finally found relief from the overbearing power of even the best of husbands and fathers. Nonetheless, in some states a widow might lose her property rights to her adult sons, if not otherwise provided for by the will of the spouse. Only for a brief period—usually between puberty and marriage—did women have any real control over their fate. Yet this control was very limited, residing solely in their ability to choose a husband from among a set of suitors acceptable to her family (Volo and Volo 2004, 13).

HOSPITALITY

The North had developed towns and villages as it expanded, spawning numerous public houses and inns every few miles that could provide needed quarters to the traveler. The South, however, grew as counties, with travel accommodations appearing with great infrequency and mainly along only the major commercial routes. One diarist noted that during a six-month journey through the South he came upon public houses less than once a week. Born of necessity, in a region where sweeping plantations produced few travelers and left the countryside bereft of small villages, southern hospitality developed as a general custom wherein a traveler might ask for lodging at any private home happened upon as nightfall approached (Volo and Volo 2004, 13).

There was a considerable gap in expectations, however, between some northern travelers and the hospitable southern homeowner. Period writings of northern travelers document that they confronted a grudging hospitality in the South characterized by rude behavior, wretched fare, and poor accommodations. Southern readers deeply resented these stories, and some vowed to show any Yankee seeking hospitality just how paltry such situations could be. Part of this problem may have arisen from the fact that many northerners were viewing the relationship with a dictionary definition of hospitality in mind. To them, hospitality meant receiving and entertaining visitors without remuneration. Some southerners saw hospitality as the kindness of permitting a complete stranger to take shelter with them, and they had no problem declaring the exact price expected in return upon being approached by an unknown traveler. In 1860, a traveler in Mississippi recorded that he was usually received free of charge, if the house belonged to people of means, or paid the customary charge of one dollar for which he was furnished with supper, lodging, breakfast, and food for his horse. Southerner travelers, especially those of quality, may have been treated differently in homes below the Mason-Dixon Line, for they commonly describe warm receptions that always found "room for one more" in even the humblest abodes and gracious hostesses who seemed able to repeat the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Volo and Volo 2004, 13–14).

Certainly, what elevated the phrase "Southern hospitality" to its current connotation would be the lavish presentations and courtesies extended to invited guests or to visitors who presented themselves with letters of introduction to prominent plantation owners. Guests could anticipate the assistance of servants in preparing their dress, luxuriant presentations of abundant food and drink, and free use of the plantation's amenities such as horseback riding, libraries, and gardens. Period letters and journals often describe parties of multicourse meals, which one senses are taking place with uncommon regularity and are probably reserved for holidays or special occasions. One breakfast description included corn bread, buckwheat cakes, boiled chicken, bacon, eggs, hominy, fish, and beefsteak all served at a single sitting. A "hunt" breakfast provided as a brunch after a morning of riding with the hounds might also include a variety of beverages including light wines and sweet liquors. Dinner offerings were likely to be equally impressive. An 1833 letter detailed a dinner that began with very rich soup and continued with a saddle of mutton, ham, beef, turkey, duck, eggs with greens, potatoes, beets, and hominy. After the circulation of champagne came dessert, which offered plum pudding and tarts followed by ice cream and preserves and peaches preserved in brandy. Lastly came figs, raisins, almonds, and wines that included port, Madeira, and a sweet wine for the ladies (Volo and Volo 2004, 14).

DUTY AND HONOR

Although the two were not mutually exclusive, there is some truth in viewing the South as a society with a profound sense of honor; while the North as a whole seemed driven more by duty, a communal conscience analogous to a compact made with God. Americans of the early nineteenth century were strongly influenced by such sentiments. The consciousness of duty resonated particularly well with the parallel development of social reform in the North. To shirk duty was to violate the collective conscience and offend morality by omission. Devotion to one's duty was viewed as a personal responsibility rather than as a collective obligation. "We all of us have a duty to perform in this life," wrote one journalist. It was not enough to support the norms of society from a distance. Duty required that a man place his life on the line. Many southerners also cited obligations to duty in their writings and speeches, but they were much more likely to speak of honor.

Honor was primarily a masculine concept that dealt with one's public image and reputation. There is ample evidence of a link between the romantic themes of adventure, glory, and honor, which appeared in the popular literature of the period, and the letters and diaries of the southerners. Nonetheless, southerners also viewed honor in a contemporary light, and the continued popularity of dueling attests to the vitality of the sentiment in the southern psyche. They often wrote of being dishonored in the eyes of their "revolutionary ancestors" should they fail to defend their families or the southern cause and lifestyle. Nonetheless, the appeals to duty and honor were most often found among the letters and journals of the more literate upper classes (Volo and Volo 2004, 14–15) (McPherson 1997, 24).

DUELING (DUELISTS)

The golden age of dueling lasted from 1830 to 1860. However, affairs of honor, where men resorted to the use of arms to settle personal grievances, were part of

American culture dating from colonial times. The dancing masters of the eighteenth century, who had taught the finer points of swordsmanship to the gentry along with the latest dance steps from Europe, largely abandoned the teaching of dance in the antebellum period to open fencing schools and academies of dueling dedicated to teaching the requisite skills of both sword and pistol. Well-known duelists occupied much the same position in antebellum society as sports figures do in modern times. They were followed through the streets, fawned upon by waiters in restaurants, and had their mannerisms and dueling styles copied by the young men. Although formal in its procedures and socially acceptable at the highest levels of society, dueling quickly lost favor in the North and came to be seen as characteristically southern. This view has been reinforced in modern times by numerous films and romantic novels (Volo and Volo 2004, 15).

Quarrels among citizens of the upper class never ended in simple fisticuffs, and it was social suicide to strike a blow in anger. The possibility of being involved in a duel was a social reality for all those who considered themselves gentlemen or who dealt in politics. At all levels of society, individual liberty, manliness, and respect for social position were held in such high esteem that one put his life and personal honor on the line to protect them. Even in the midst of polite conversation, gentlemen were always on guard to protect their integrity. Nowhere in America, and possibly in the Western world, was dueling so universally practiced as in the antebellum South, and it was in New Orleans that the practice of dueling reached its zenith. As southern society also favored a relaxed cordiality among social equals, the two notions of rigid honor and social familiarity often required a delicate touch. Defending one's honor reached such heights of absurdity that a moment of awkwardness might result in a challenge that could not, with honor, be ignored (Volo and Volo 2004, 15–16).

A word and a challenge were the purest form of the dueling code. The purpose of a duel was to resolve a point of honor, not simply to kill an enemy. Opponents who lost sight of this might be looked upon as murderers by purists, who saw the entire process as an exercise in character (Truman 1884).

Initially, only swords were used in dueling and, consequently, there were few fatalities. However, with the advent of the more lethal percussion cap pistol and its reliable ignition system, fatalities increased. No attempt has been made to determine the absolute number of duels that were fought in the South, as the task is both daunting and the records of duels were somewhat concealed by the need to evade the laws that tried unsuccessfully to prevent them. The number of duels fought in this period likely figures in the thousands and the fatalities in the hundreds. Many of these affairs grew out of political party wrangling that was often lacking in restraint and sophistication in this period. Duels sometimes ran through a political party or social grouping in a series involving one individual after another, one encounter producing the next. Dueling began losing favor in the South mostly because it degenerated either into contests with shotguns, axes, and clubs or brawls between groups of lower-class men using fighting knives and repeating pistols. Only the violence of the Civil

War was able to overshadow this apparent lust for individual combat (Volo and Volo 2004, 16–17).

PROSTITUTION

The openness of prostitution in the nineteenth century scandalized the social and religious elite everywhere. Proper ladies universally frowned upon any man who was too open in his lustfulness, but in a male-dominated society they could do little to enforce their displeasure on the male population at large. Upper-class unmarried men involved in a relationship with prostitutes, black or white, seem to have received a special dispensation from society, especially in the South and West (Volo and Volo 2004, 17).

The nightly trade in amorous economics was available in most large towns and cities in America. Most prostitutes were poor white women who worked their clientele in cheap saloons, hotels, or dance houses. These women were of the lowest class, commonly having taken up prostitution in their teens. They moved in and out of the dance houses and bordellos and could be brought in from the street for as little as a dollar. They were described as "degraded beings [and] habitual drunkards" who were "remarkable for bestial habits and ferocious manners" (Volo and Volo 2004, 13) (Asbury 1938).

The manifestation in which prostitution appeared in southern cities was somewhat dictated by the class and means of the clientele. White prostitutes of varying quality were available almost everywhere, but some southern men of wealth seemingly relied on the common practice of supplying themselves with a quadroon (mixed race) mistress for short-term affairs. Others, too far displaced from cities to conveniently satisfy their lustful desires with a professional harlot, simply considered every slave cabin a bordello. Comely slave girls brought exaggerated prices on the auction block with mixed race, light-skinned girls bringing a premium (Volo and Volo 2004, 17).

Although ordinances were passed that prohibited the renting of rooms to prostitutes in most cities, local politicians or the police often protected bordello owners. A madam might run a bordello by openly obtaining an annual license at a small cost. These licenses prohibited soliciting on the streets or from the doors and windows of the bordello. Indictments for prostitution, charging the keeping of a disorderly house, usually targeted madams who engaged in interracial social activity. The so-called high-class bordellos were housed in brick or brownstone buildings filled with mahogany woodwork, brass fixtures, and marble fireplaces—and furnished with fine carpets, pianos, furniture, art, and statuary—making them some of the most pretentious and luxurious residences in the country. Only the finest wines and champagnes were served; the ladies wore evening gowns while being entertained by musicians, dancers, and singers in the public rooms; and the ladies changed to the finest lingerie in their boudoirs. As many as 30 women might work in a single house, each paying a fee to the madam, and receiving between $5 and $20 for an amorous experience (Volo and Volo 2004, 17–18).

MISCEGENATION

One of the unique features of slavery in this period was the pervasiveness of miscegenation, or interracial sexual activity. Some free black women turned to prostitution in the absence of any hope of economic security. The desire of white men to have sexual contact with black females was not unheard of in the North and West, but it was seemingly so common in the South that there was almost no social stigma attached to it. An antebellum abolitionist confidently reported that half the slave population of the South was mixed with white blood. However, statistical analysis suggests that fewer than 10 percent of the slaves in the South were of mixed ancestry; and only a small percentage of the children born to slaves in a given year were fathered by white men (Blassingame 1973, 77–78).

The extent of miscegenation is somewhat obscured by the superfluous methods used by nineteenth-century investigators to quantify the mixed-race population of the South as mulattos (half black), quadroons (one-quarter black), and octoroons (one-eighth black) by the criteria of the outward appearance of the skin and the absence or presence of certain defining racial features. A large population of mixed-race persons passing for white may also have obscured any meaningful estimates at the time (Volo and Volo 2004, 18).

Evidence suggests that female slaves were often bribed, cajoled, or simply seduced by their masters, but any romantic notions involving the practices of miscegenation are best avoided by historians. Notwithstanding this reservation, some white southerners demonstrated a long commitment to their black mistresses, recognized their mixed-race offspring, and attempted to provide for their upkeep and well-being. Often this took the form of a public admission after death, and many interracial alliances were recognized in a planter's will. The white children of such men often went to great lengths to undo those parts of their father's will favorable to their biracial siblings. The courts rarely upheld a will favorable to mixed-race children in the face of a concerted effort by their white relations, especially if the whites were the elder sons (Volo and Volo 2004, 18–19).

The question of how common sexual affairs between slaves and masters actually were, as opposed to how often they appear as titillating tidbits of gossip in journals and letters, is undecided. Southerners went to great lengths to structure laws and cultural norms that would prohibit such interaction. Many slaveholding states passed antimiscegenation measures providing severe social penalties for white men who openly bedded black women and massive physical retaliation for any sexual activity upon any black men who had relations with white women.

The concept of white women willingly sleeping with black men was a proposition too explosive for the delicate egos of white males. White women were expected to respond to blacks as they would to any animate property, like pets, ignoring the indelicacy of even naked adult males. Young southern women were expected to steel themselves into viewing the naked slave as a dehumanized object, no more indelicate than livestock in the barnyard. Documented cases of the daughters of wealthy plantation owners bearing mixed-race children are rare, and, when found, they are accompanied by tales of social rebuff, revulsion, or personal disaster (Volo and Volo 2004, 19).

CHANGES AND CONFLICT, 1821–1861
CHRONOLOGY, 1821–1861
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE
SLAVERY

Intellectual Life

MOLDING YOUNG MINDS

When not working, children were made responsible for pursuing their education. The home, of course, was the first place where the foundations of education were laid. Mothers were responsible for the very early education of their children. This included a shaping of their moral character. *The Mother's Book* (1831), by Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, advocated the deliberate and early cultivation of a child's intellect. After describing some simple amusements for very young children, Mrs. Child advised, "But something ought to be mixed with these plays to give the child the habits of thought" that might convert basic daily activities into stimulating intellectual endeavors. She urged that older children be reminded that the more knowledge they gained the more useful they would be as adults. Additionally, it was essential that children be fortified with solid moral foundations. Mrs. Child cautioned against selecting readings for children that merely culminated in a moral. "The morality should be in the book, not tacked upon the end of it." With such home training, children entered school at ages four or five with certain basic moral and cultural understandings upon which would be built a formal education. A lesson concerning the value of education printed in a school reader of the period stated, "The highest objects of a good education are, to reverence and obey God, and to love and serve mankind. Every thing that helps in attaining these objects, is of great value, and every thing that hinders us, is comparatively worthless" (Child 1831, 11, 90) (Sanders 1860, 185–86).

Most young children spent their formative years at home among their siblings. Given the relative isolation of the family farmstead or widely dispersed plantations, children spent almost all of this time surrounded by brothers and sisters. In some families, children of the same gender might pair off according to their approximate age. Although sisters often cultivated enduring and affectionate relationships, brotherly closeness in childhood often evolved into internecine rivalries in adulthood for inherited property or family position. This was especially true in the hierarchical world of the South, but it was not uncommon elsewhere due to the dominant role men were expected to take in the antebellum social order (Volo and Volo 2004, 63–64).

Decisions as to who would farm, who would be apprenticed to a trade, and who would be sent for advanced schooling were generally made to benefit the family as a whole. These determinations were not always equitable from the individual's point of view, but this was a secondary consideration to a greater good—the welfare of the family. Those young men who had few family connections or little wealth were subject to serving out their lives as farmers or laborers. The constant partitioning and subdividing of land among children and grandchildren often made the size of individual holdings impractical. Young men were often forced to move to the territories to find sufficient land to set up a farmstead of their own and marry. Beyond marriage, young women did not have even the limited choices provided to men. The few occupations open to females produced little income, and they either married or relied on relatives for the remainder of their lives (Volo and Volo 2004, 64).

Because of the closeness of antebellum families, it was not unusual in large households to farm out an extra child, even an older teenager, to a blood relative. This child was usually a daughter as they were considered a drain on family resources because they posed "little or no hope of return." On the other hand, because boys could work in the fields and strike out on their own when grown, "a son was thought too valuable to part with under any circumstances." Kinship ties were strengthened between families who took in an extra child. The system worked fairly well. Younger children could depend on their relations for financial assistance, a proper upbringing, and a modicum of individual attention; and older children received support and guidance by forming close relationships with members of an extended family (Clinton 1982, 54).

Fathers were always the final authority in the household, but they clearly understood the demanding nature of childcare with half a dozen children bustling around, each trying to engage a parent's attention at every moment. In a male-dominated society, many men were plagued by the incessant demands of their little ones, and therefore chose to enjoy them from a distance. Although women were equally bothered by the noise of children and their demands for attention, they were more likely to accept the role of parent and domestic supervisor than men. Historian Catherine Clinton has noted, "Because the role of motherhood was elevated and enhanced during the early republican era, women perhaps suffered more keenly [than men] from the duties imposed on them as parents." Besides providing a basic education, a mother also "carried out the unpleasanter task of daily discipline, policing her children's behavior, interceding in quarrels among siblings, and doling out demerits, lectures, and whippings" (Clinton 1982, 47).

The eighteenth-century practice among financially well-to-do families was to provide a wet nurse or servant to care for the immediate needs of the children. This method of childcare had largely gone out of favor in nineteenth-century America, and having older children entrusted to slaves or servants ran counter to the advice available in the literature for parents that sprang forth from the publishers of the cheap press. Moreover, it was feared that older children might be negatively influenced by the behavior of slaves and servants, and white children were warned by their parents to be cautious of Negroes and hired help. A contemporary mother wrote to her children in this regard, "[O]n no account familiarize with them—be kind and civil and never converse with them about family affairs of any kind" (Clinton 1982, 49).

Infants suckled for about a year, and the choice to nurse was a very personal one. Many women preferred to have a wet nurse, but they were made fearful of the results of using a surrogate on their child's upbringing by the largely anecdotal musings of supposed child experts. Although regular nursing was a physical strain, wet nurses were usually employed only when a mother's own milk failed or her recovery from childbirth was in question. Upper-class women tended to turn the task over to a hired white woman, and newspapers were filled with advertisements seeking available wet nurses. Southern folklore notwithstanding, the practice of employing black slaves to suckle white infants was generally avoided in the antebellum period (Volo and Volo 2004, 65).

Prominent among southern traditions was the stereotypical character of "Mammy." Plantation records acknowledge the presence of female slaves who held a position equivalent to that of a head housekeeper or caregiver to the master's children. Yet their appearance in the antebellum record is incidental and outnumbered to a great degree by the employment of white governesses. Not until after the war were there a significant number of black women in such circumstances. The secure place of the Mammy in the mythology of the plantation has been created by a combination of historic revisionism and romantic imagination that seems at first to have been a projection of the slave owners' own delusions about how their household slaves were devoted to them on a personal level—a repeated allusion found in contemporary southern diaries, especially those of young women. Moreover, the image of the black wet nurse reduced the slave to "an animal-like state of exploitation . . . to be milked, warm bodies to serve white needs." Certainly, female slaves were maintained to help with the supervision of children, but they were generally mistrusted and prohibited from any close contact with white children for fear that it would weaken the slave-master relationship (Volo and Volo 2000, 179–80) (Clinton 1982, 202).

About 50 percent of children outside the American South attended school with some regularity. Some areas of the Midwest and New England had enrollments as high as 90 percent. Attendance in rural areas suffered from the fact that many parents "task[ed] their children heavily with farm labor, and [not] until such tasks are finished are they allowed to start school." School might be in session in some communities for only three or four winter months in an entire year. The modern cycle of the school year, with its two-month summer vacation, still mirrors the nineteenth-century need for the labor of children in agricultural regions during the busy growing season (Burrowes 1861, 27).

In the Northeast and Midwest, where formal schooling existed, common schools were typically open to all the children in the community and paid for by the community either by subscription or taxation. The largely rural nature of the South generally hampered the creation of an effective public school system except in more densely populated areas. With no textbooks being published in the South before the Civil War, southern teachers depended upon northern or European sources for their materials. Moreover, financially able southerners preferred to send their children to private institutions rather than public schools. Private academies, which flourished in this period, offered reasonably good instruction primarily in the classics. Large domestic complexes on southern plantations sometimes contained separate buildings designed to serve as schoolrooms for the children of well-to-do families who hired tutors (Volo and Volo 2004, 66).

Conditions in common schools varied tremendously from community to community. Most provided no more than crude benches without backs, slates for writing, and a limited number of shared books. There were few, if any, educational standards at this time. The length of the school day and school year varied as the individual community saw fit. The schools were supervised by a group of designated citizens who oversaw operations. Their duties included "the levying of tax, the location of school houses, the purchase and sale of school property, the appointment and dismissal of teachers, and the selection of studies and textbooks." The dedication and expertise of these directors was, however, often called into question (Burrowes 1861, 14).

COMMON SCHOOLS

Today, a comprehensive education is seen as a pathway to a stable income and a successful career, but this was not always obvious. Antebellum education reformers noted that the centuries-old system of apprenticeship was quickly fading away in the wake of increased industrialization and mass production, and a more practical educational system was needed. The system they devised for all children, based largely on German and Swiss theories of education, emphasized accurate arithmetical and bookkeeping skills that could be applied to the factory or business and precise penmanship, grammar, and spelling for use in the business office. Ironically, the natural characteristic of children to run and play was also recognized by the inclusion of a specific and formal period of recess that would have undoubtedly been seen as sheer idleness a generation earlier.

The proposed curriculum was well meaning and forward-looking because it was designed to prepare children for life in a changing modern society, but it was unforgiving of various learning styles and abilities and marked by a strict adherence to propriety. Timeliness, regimentation, absolute silence, and a strict work discipline (similar to that imposed in a workhouse or prison) were highly valued. Any breach of classroom decorum was punished, often with physical force that ranged from a cuff on the ear to a whipping with a hickory rod. A generally inadequate, poorly trained, and underpaid teaching staff often relied on the threat of corporal punishment for motivation rather than on fostering intellectual curiosity among the students. Sadly, the educational atmosphere, especially at the schools frequented by immigrant children, was generally repressive. One of the first groups formed to help provide schooling for the poor was the Free School Society of New York City, founded in 1805 (renamed the Public School Society of New York in 1826). Its first president was DeWitt Clinton, then mayor of New York. The members of the society were determined to offer an education to poor children by making private donations, soliciting subscriptions from the public, and requesting funds from the state. These schools were taken over by the New York City Public School Department, which was formed in 1842 (Volo and Volo 2004, 70).

There were more than 200 public schools in New York City in 1851, and the number of pupils was more than 107,000. The whole annual expense of almost $275,000—$2.57 per scholar—was derived partly from the Common School Fund of the state and partly from a property assessment placed on the city residents. A similar public education society was founded for the poor of Philadelphia. By 1818, a citywide system was in place serving almost 50,000 scholars at a cost of almost $200,000, or $4.00 per scholar. Boston had a free school as early as 1635 and deserves an honorable place as the initiator of free public education in America. By 1851, Boston reportedly kept one-quarter of its population (approximately 35,000 children) in school all year at a cost of $183,000, or $5.23 per student. Differences in cost among these cities can generally be attributed to the length of the school year, the quality of the facilities, the availability of teachers, and the local cost of living (Volo and Volo 2004, 70–71).

Meanwhile, in 1837, a group of influential men led by Horace Mann pushed legislation through the Massachusetts Legislature creating a state system of education. Mann's efforts, based largely on the theories of Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, generally resulted in a more centralized school system. Mann also introduced the concept of high schools and state teachers' schools into the Massachusetts system. At about the same time, Henry Barnard and John Pierce were making similar efforts in Connecticut and Michigan, respectively. These pioneer educators made great strides in the development of free public education.

Yet not everyone was convinced that universal public education was beneficial for America, and the concept was the topic of widespread disagreement, public controversy, and political debate. The ongoing development of a system of free public schools was paralleled by the institution of a Catholic school system in the immigrant-filled cities of New York and Boston, which tended to exacerbate the controversy and underpin the opposition. Whereas many Protestant groups in the Midwest gave strong support for the idea of public education, the owners of private academies, foreign-language schools (mostly German), and those institutions administered by minority religious communities generally opposed it. Questions of private versus state control of parochial and private schools were as prominent then as they are now. Such notions were seen by some as a threat to fundamental values and a clear danger to the social status quo that had to be avoided at all costs (Volo and Volo 2004, 71).

Social conservatives, North and South, particularly deplored the development of free public schools that admitted children from many classes, ethnic groups, and family backgrounds. They feared that they would be exposed to a set of novel values that stressed social equality rather than republican principles. The French observer of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, no opponent of the value of education in general, wrote in 1831 that he saw in the nascent system of American public education disturbing signs of a trend toward mass conformity that might suppress individual expression and personal talent. He envisioned a new kind of "social despotism" emerging, suppressing personal liberty by the power of intellect and by the force of emotion (Fehrenbacher 1969, 98).

The majority of school reformers were northerners, and, because most southerners felt that the public schools were at least partially responsible for the distasteful attitudes displayed by residents of that section of the country with regard to slavery and states' rights, they hesitated to embrace any institution that could produce such thinking. Largely because of these attitudes, basic public education in the South languished. As late as the 1830s, nearly one-third of white southern adults were illiterate, and by 1860, only four southern states and a few isolated communities had effective public school systems (Volo and Volo 2004, 71–72).

It was, nonetheless, thought essential by many that children should be prepared for the intellectual and technological challenges that nineteenth-century society would present to them. Senator Daniel Webster noted the connection: "The future life and character of a nation is to be seen in its system of schools." Those living during the antebellum period witnessed major changes in the American system of education, many of the characteristics of which are still with us today, and public sentiment gradually became more favorable to a more egalitarian system of public schools. Thomas H. Burrowes, a contemporary educator, noted, "People are beginning to see that their children can get a sound practical . . . education in our common schools" (Barnard 1969, 867) (Burrowes 1861, 51).

CHILDREN OF AFFLUENCE

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the movement toward community or common schools gained momentum, but many wealthy families avoided public education in favor of private institutions generally known as academies. These had flourished since colonial times. Based largely on similar institutions in France, Holland, and Scotland, the academies had been founded initially by those persons deemed dissenters from the established Church of England. Dutch Reformed, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists all founded academies in America. Many of the Presbyterian academies founded by Scots-Irish communities in the southern backcountry maintained strong ties with universities in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Ulster. In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, where there was little enforcement of the laws governing the established religion in colonial times, academies expanded in number, in the scope of their courses, and in the power they maintained (Volo and Volo 2004, 72).

The All Saints Summer Academy was typical of these religious academies. In 1832, the rice planters and their wives of Georgetown, South Carolina, joined forces to form a private school with the help of the Reverend Alexander Glennie of the Episcopalian faith. It was six years later, under the direction of David D. Rosa, that it opened to both male and female students who could afford the tuition. Students over 12 years of age paid $20 per term, while those under 12 paid $10. Board and washing fees totaled an addition $13.50 per month, and the school expected students to provide their own furniture and bedding. The school provided a complete English-style education as well as religious instruction. Classes in Latin, Greek, French, music, and drawing required additional fees. Although initially styled a summer school, the term started in January and ended with the onset of the malaria season in late summer or early fall (Volo and Volo 2004, 72–73).

Many academies in the antebellum period served as preparatory institutions for university studies. The nonconformists who ran these academies were receptive to the influences of intellectual and educational innovations, which taught classical literature, science, and politics in English rather than in Latin. "The academies were in their very nature alternatives to the established practice of higher education." The Albany Academy of New York was so highly rated that it was called "a college in disguise" by the president of Union College, Dr. Eliphalet Nott. A few academies evolved into independent degree-granting institutions. The academy movement had evolved and diversified in format and emphasis, but the institutions retained their status as educational alternatives for parents who could afford them (Blow 1963, 28) (Cremin 1970, 324).

The Richland School for Classical, Scientific and Practical Education near Rice Creek Springs, South Carolina, was typical of the boarding academies frequented by the sons of southern planters in the antebellum period. A surviving school catalog from 1830 claims that the institution was organized along the lines of the most improved pedagogical principles to be found in Europe or America. The younger students, beginning as young as seven or eight, were taught spelling, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. Older students were offered three curricula: one for the business minded, one that led to a life as an engineer, and one for future planters. The courses of study included an appropriate mixture of mathematics, penmanship, bookkeeping, surveying, navigation, civil engineering, geology, chemistry, botany, mineralogy, and the principles of agriculture, depending on the curriculum the student chose to follow. All students studied Greek, Latin, rhetoric, and classical literature, and an appropriate regard for moral precepts and the general principles of the Protestant religion were impressed upon the students.

A few academies were open to both boys and girls, but generally the sexes were educated at separate institutions. A female academy movement swept the country, both North and South, in the early years of the century. Younger girls were offered courses in music, singing, drawing, painting, French, and the social graces. Older girls, generally too poorly prepared to undertake more advanced studies, concentrated mainly on refining their knowledge of etiquette and manners and their ability to manage a household. A few schools went beyond domestic subjects to offer academic studies. Emma Willard's Female Seminary founded in 1821 in Troy, New York; Catharine Beecher's School for Young Ladies founded in 1824 in Hartford, Connecticut; and Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Seminary founded in 1837 in South Hadley, Massachusetts, all attempted to teach academic subjects to young women; but they always did so in the guise of their application to domestic economy so that they would not be seen to threaten the male-dominated world of business and trade (Volo and Volo 2004, 74).

Parents viewed attendance at an academy differently, depending largely on the section of the country from which they came. The growing sectionalism that affected the rest of society was also affecting the educational choices made by parents. For northern parents, the academy for young women was seen as an important step on the pathway to a college education or to a position in the emerging fields for women of school teaching, social service, or authorship. Well-disposed young women might have their educations augmented by lessons in mathematics, Latin, science, and the classics. The parents of young southern women tended to view attendance at the academy as an end unto itself, preparing their daughters for their preordained role in the plantation culture as the mistress of the manor house and fitting them as well-read and socially acceptable wives and mothers for the southern aristocracy. Historian Catherine Clinton has noted that "although mothers and daughters warmly greeted improvements in their education, these women of the planter class realized that their intellectual development would most likely wane with marriage, decline with housekeeping, dwindle with motherhood, and at no time result in any measure of social recognition" (Clinton 1982, 138).

As the century approached its midpoint, it became increasingly obvious that many of the women educated in the academies were the mainstays of the hated reform movements, particularly abolition and women's suffrage. Socially conservative parents viewed these institutions as contagious sources of social liberalism and began to turn their daughters away from them as an educational option. The female academy movement, already suffering from lagging enrollments due to repeated economic panics, went into decline in the 1850s. Oddly, during economic hard times it was more likely for northern parents than their southern counterparts to dispense with their daughter's education away from home. For upper-class southern parents, time spent at the female academy had become an absolute necessity if they wished their daughter to secure a proper marriage. The northern schools, therefore, suffered the greater declines when southern students were removed from their rolls, yet the schools did not disappear. Rather, the emphasis of the surviving institutions shifted from intellectual pursuits to the development of social graces and ladylike decorum to attract continued patronage from the South. For their part, the academies located in the South carefully resisted any impulse to modernize their approach to education that might be seen as filtering down from the North. Because the doctrine of male dominance and female dependence remained pervasive throughout the country, an advanced education for women was not generally seen as crucial to a life devoted to caring for a husband and raising babies. Consequently, by midcentury, the curricula of many female academics came to be characterized as frivolous and superficial (Volo and Volo 2004, 75).

Tuition at male academies like Richland was almost $300 a year. This was no mean sum, but it included room, board, bedding, washing, mending, firewood, lighting, and health care. The cost of tuition was rather more for girls than boys because of the additional fees accumulated in taking courses in dance, music, drawing, and embroidery, as well as a preference for occupying private rooms rather than living in dormitories. Northern academies solicited southern students because their parents could pay regularly and were generally ill disposed to public education, especially when the establishment of community schools required the use of their tax dollars. Most southerners feared that free public education would create "ragged schools" like those filled with pauper children in England, and there was a belief that "poor whites" would swarm the free institutions of public education. Nonetheless, good academies, especially for boys, were difficult to find; many institutions were notorious for ignoring the education of the child as long as he or she refrained from causing an annoyance to the teachers. As sectionalism grew, certain southern parents with children in northern academies found discomfort with their selection and withdrew their children from attendance. They even began to regret the fact that so many northerners had been employed as teachers and tutors in the South (Volo and Volo 2004, 75–76).

CHILDREN OF POVERTY

Conditions for children in the urban areas of America were quite different from those found in the American heartland. By the 1840s, northern cities were filled with the poor, uneducated children of immigrants who were packed into shanties, tenements, and ramshackle boardinghouses. The streets of the cities were scenes of prostitution, gambling, drunkenness, and other forms of wrongdoing. Street gangs, often led by deceitfully clever adults and composed of grimy-faced and coarse adolescents, ruled whole areas of certain cities and worked in concert with corrupt politicians, neighborhood wardens, and political machines. In a country supposedly blessed with economic abundance, it was difficult to understand the causes and conditions that led to such poverty, illiteracy, and crime among such a large segment of the population. Yet these were the obvious disturbing realities in antebellum America for anyone who chose to see them (Volo and Volo 2004, 66–67).

Poverty, ignorance, crime, and intemperance drew forward a number of well-meaning social reformers from among the upper and middle classes. They generally viewed the poor immigrant population as human raw material "to be acted upon, to be improved, manipulated, elevated and reformed." An implicit faith in the perfection of America left many among the socially conscious Protestant upper classes with the notion that these social ills were capable of eradication if the systematic roadblocks and characteristic reluctance to change among the old order were removed. Believing that the root cause of ignorance, drunkenness, and crime was poverty, some of the earliest organizations to gain popular support were societies for the prevention of pauperism (Rothman 1972, 41).

Reform advocates, focusing on the urban environment, railed against towns that licensed grog shops, saloons, and houses of prostitution. They defamed politicians who allowed gambling halls and dens of iniquity to flourish, or who refused to take the temperance pledge. However, compassion quickly changed to disapproval, criticism, and castigation of the poor themselves. In 1827, an investigatory committee of the New York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism unhesitatingly reported that the vice found in large eastern cities was attributable in large part to the actions of the poverty-stricken residents themselves. The report found most of the poor of New York City "depraved and vicious." Of course, few of the reformers on the committee thought to ask the poor what they felt were the primary causes of their condition. The poor may have listed unfair labor practices, ethnic or religious bias, and unscrupulous landlords as causes of their plight; but their views on the subject were generally neglected (Volo and Volo 2004, 67).

As the extent of poverty among the urban immigrant population of the North reached epidemic proportions, complacency and pity quickly gave way to a heightened suspicion of the poor themselves. "Surely the poor were partly to blame for their own misery, having succumbed to the vice of idleness or intemperance . . . victims of the numerous temptations set before them by society." Some northerners and many in the South, unconvinced of the menace to their communities that was posed by poverty and disease among the lowest level of the social order, were distressed by the radical way social activists approached their task. While there remained a strong belief in individualism, personal strength of character, and the ability of Americans to overcome the handicaps of their environment, by the 1850s such concepts were becoming identified more and more with conservative resistance to social reform. Opposition forces found many of the reform proposals unrealistic, grandiose, sanctimonious, and antagonistic to traditional American concepts of personal rights and freedoms (Rothman 1972, 38–42, 100–105).

The reform movement of the nineteenth century was, in fact, characterized as one of activism of the "haves" for the "have-nots" rather than a demand for reform from those who were oppressed. This form of personal protest would not become popular until late in the century. Activists formed a sort of reform elite, which not only had the conceit to decide upon the areas of society that needed reformation but also attempted to differentiate between the worthy poor, whose lot was due to misfortune, and the corrupted and unworthy idlers (Volo and Volo 2004, 68–69).

Wives abandoned by their husbands and widows with small children were almost universally viewed as among those worthy of public assistance. Women were commonly prohibited from many trades. When they were permitted employment, they were routinely given the lowliest work, and if it was a job also given to men, women were paid less for the same work. Many women, alone and destitute, ended up as prostitutes. A contemporary observer described their plight:

> Of all the human race, these poor creatures are the most pitiable; the ill-usage and the degradation they are driven to submit to are indescribable; but from habit they become callous, indifferent as to delicacy of speech and behavior, and so totally lost to all sense of shame that they seem to retain no quality which properly belongs to women but the shape and the name. (Robinson 1973, 92)

Charitable organizations existed to serve these people, but their main strategy was to send these poor wretches back to their homes or parents. This was not always possible for immigrants whose homes were thousands of miles away. The reformers concluded that eliminating the stain of poverty from the fabric of American society would require the isolation of the poor, by force if necessary, from their sources of temptation and the instruction of the destitute in the habits of industry and labor. The poor, regardless of the individuality of their plight, would receive aid only while confined within a series of public almshouses and workhouses. Once inside, they would be taught order, discipline, and responsibility. A group of New England philanthropists was assured in 1843 that the almshouse was "a place where the tempted are removed from the means of their sin, and where the indolent, while he is usefully and industriously employed . . . is prepared for a better career." This grandiose plan resulted in institutions that were little more than places of unrelenting work and severe discipline, even for those of 8 or 10 years of age (Volo and Volo 2004, 69) (Rothman 1972, 42).

The almshouses generally failed to relieve the problem of prolonged poverty or its symptoms. The profit from the labor of the residents generally went to the institution, preventing the inmates from accumulating travel money or a nest egg for an attempt at a renewed life. The truly depraved and corrupted among the poor avoided such institutions, as did any children old enough to fend for themselves on the streets by working odd jobs, begging, or stealing. Gangs composed of young men and women flourished while the almshouses filled to overcrowding with the helpless, the decrepit, the abandoned, and the very young. The emphasis on rehabilitation and personal reformation, initially a primary goal of the antipoverty reformers, quickly became irrelevant as the most heartrending members of the poor community were hidden behind brick walls. Gone were any semblance of a comprehensive educational program and any time for childhood play or frolic. A committee in New York reported in 1857 that the general conditions found in such institutions, after more than 30 years of operation, had degenerated into a cruel and punitive system of custodial care (Volo and Volo 2004, 69–70).

THE SCHOOLHOUSE

Youngsters fortunate enough to attend school spent a good deal of time in the schoolhouse. The little red clapboard schoolhouse of one room common to the folklore and anecdotal history of many communities may not have been as common in antebellum America as most people think. School buildings were constructed in a number of ways including in brick, wood frame, logs, and stone. According to period documents, 58 percent of school superintendents in Pennsylvania described their schools in negative terms. It was not unusual to see claims that the schools were "less fit for the purpose of schooling, than would be many modern out houses for sheltering cattle." One schoolhouse was described as "a crumbling, dilapidated, damp, unwholesome stone building with a ceiling eight feet high, room about twenty-six by thirty feet into which one and hundred seventeen are crowded, and placed at long, old fashioned desks, with permanent seats, without backs." One superintendent reported finding "the teacher and pupils huddled together, shivering with cold, and striving to warm themselves by the little heat generated from a quantity of green wood in the stove." Additional complaints included a lack of "outhouses and other appliances necessary for comfort and convenience." Concern was expressed over the fact that schoolhouses were "placed far off the road and buried in the wildest forest" (Burrowes 1861, 20–97).

In many schools sufficient blackboards were also wanting. Many blackboards in poorer regions were just smooth wooden boards, painted black, and covered with chalk dust. "Chalking in" the wood provided a reasonably erasable surface.

Well-supported schools had not only blackboards of real slate but also outline maps, spelling and reading cards, charts, and globes. The average school had only one or two of these instructional materials. Writing paper was scarce in rural schools and considered too valuable for scratch work and student lessons. Students commonly wrote on wood-framed slates. Although these were initially "confined to such as had made advancement in arithmetic . . . now we find the smallest scholars engaged with their slates" (Burrowes 1861, 80).

Furniture was, at best, sparse in most classrooms. "It is useless to complain of school furniture," lamented one superintendent. "It seems that people would sooner see their children have spinal or pulmonary affliction, than furnish the school room with proper desks and seats." A York County, Pennsylvania, superintendent noted, "I witnessed a great deal of uneasiness, amounting in many instances to intense suffering, among the small children, from . . . being seated too high. In some instances, the desks are still attached to the wall, the scholars with their backs to the teacher" (Burrowes 1861, 81, 97).

Nonetheless, documentation exists of a number of new school buildings that were described in more favorable terms. One school superintendent described a "tasteful brick building 30 × 45 . . . furnished with first class iron frame furniture for 62 pupils." Other new buildings were built of wood, and one was "24 × 36 with four tiers of seats for two pupils each accommodating 64 pupils." Another superintendent boasted, "All the rooms are warmed by coal stoves, most of them have ceilings of proper height, windows adapted to ventilation; plenty of black-board surface; and they are tolerably well seated." A new schoolhouse was proudly described as having an "anti-room, closets and platform and in every respect is superior to most of the other [school]houses" (Burrowes 1861, 20–97).

School revenue was directly tied to the success or failure of local commerce. In an 1861 report, the county superintendents in Pennsylvania noted that the frosts of June and early July, resulting in the loss of much of the wheat crop, caused a "pecuniary embarrassment" that forced a shortening of teaching time and a reduction of the wages of some teachers to the point that some of the best educators left the county or became engaged in "other pursuits." Nonetheless, the remaining teachers were applauded for their self-denial and the manner in which they bore up during a difficult time. In the same year that some agricultural districts chose to suspend school for the entire year due to poor crop yields, lumbering districts were favored by high water that made the movement of lumber more efficient. These were favored by increased prosperity, and the schools were unaffected (Burrowes 1861, 24, 20).

TEACHERS

Most teachers received their pedagogical training at a normal school, an institution dedicated to the profession of education roughly equivalent to a junior college program today. In the antebellum period, graduates from normal schools were more common among public schoolteachers than college or university graduates, and many teachers trained in normal schools continued to serve into the middle of the twentieth century. Rural districts were often unsuccessful in obtaining normal school graduates and had to settle for whatever reasonably well-educated persons they could find (Volo and Volo 2004, 80).

Although both men and women taught, male teachers were preferred. As the Civil War approached, many young men left the schoolroom, thereby opening the door for more women to enter the field of education. Of the teachers in Philadelphia, four-fifths were female. A county superintendent of schools noted the employment of female teachers with some dissatisfaction because they were believed to be "inadequate to the task of controlling a winter school." However, he also noted that the "superior cleanliness and arrangement of their rooms, the effect of their natural gentleness and goodness on the scholars . . . amply compensated for their want of physical force." These qualities were appreciated even more when it was found that the young women could be paid lower salaries than the generally older male teachers. The average salary reported in Pennsylvania in 1861 for a male teacher was $24.20 per month. Women were paid $18.11 (Burrowes 1861, 4, 32).

School districts sometimes had to go far afield to find teachers. The Board of National Popular Education, a teacher preparation institution in New England, advertised the availability of its female graduates for rural teaching positions in the Midwest in the following aggressive manner in 1849:

> The Board collects its teachers in classes semi-annually at Hartford, Connecticut, and carries them through a short course of preparatory training. . . . It is desired that the applicants . . . for teachers . . . be made by letter. . . . The application should state the name of the town and county, where the teacher is wanted; the branches in which instruction is desired; the probable number of scholars; the rate of compensation, specifying whether with or without board; and the family to which the teacher may resort on her arrival. It is desireable [*sic*] that information should accompany the application in regard to the place—its population, healthfulness, and social and religious priviledges [*sic*]. If a special preference is felt as to the religious denomination of the teacher, let it be expressed in the application, and it shall, if practicable, be complied with. . . . As applications to the Board are becoming so numerous, teachers may not be expected to be sent unless a compensation of at least $100 per annum, besides board is offered. Instruction in the higher branches or in the case of very large schools, it is expected will command a higher compensation. (Volo and Volo 2004, 81) (*Janesville Gazette* 1849, 1)

Teaching in the common schools was a young person's profession largely because it was generally a part-time job with nominal annual rates of pay translating into one-half or less over the typically shortened school year. The teachers spent a good part of the remaining months attending academies and normal schools or taking on other work, including manual labor and housekeeping (*Boston Directory* 1859, 487).

The majority of teachers were between 18 and 25 years of age, but some were little more than children themselves. A school superintendent complained that it was "to be regretted . . . that parents will urge their sons and daughters to seek to become teachers at so early an age; and it is a great error in directors, as a general rule, to employ such young persons. Men engage persons of mature age and experience on the farm, in the shop or store, in the kitchen or dairy room; but they hire girls or boys of 15 or 16 to train up and educate their offspring." Teaching offered moderately educated young persons, especially women who had no other professional prospects, the respectability of a professional calling without the expense and effort of lengthy studies at law or preparation for the ministry. Nonetheless, some parents preferred "to have there children work in the mines or learn a trade [than to] become qualified to teach school" (Burrowes 1861, 27, 43, 83).

Some school districts established examinations to ensure that teachers were competent to assume their duties. Most exams were a combination of written and oral questions. "They were held publicly, and attended by numbers of citizens, who had a desire to see and hear [the process] for themselves." Emma Sargent Barbour's sister, Maria, wrote about the examinations given in Washington, D.C., suggesting little need for advanced preparation among aspiring educators. "[Hattie was] accompanying me as far as City Hall where I was to be examined, when she remarked that she had a good mind to try just for fun. She went in and passed an excellent examination and next Monday will take a position at my school." Not all examinations were quite as simple as Maria seemingly implies. Many applicants failed the examination process and were turned away, and others, considering that many rural districts were lucky to find teachers at all, ultimately found employment without certification (Burrowes 1861, 40) (Moskow 1990, 193).

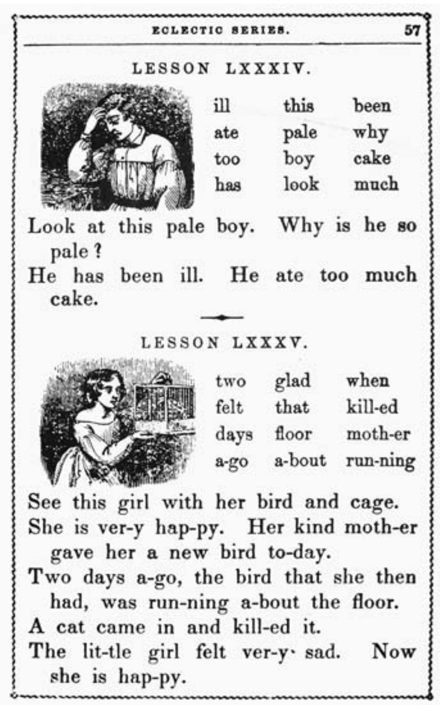
Institutes were held periodically to help teachers to improve their skills. Some occurred only once a year whereas others were held semimonthly on alternate Saturdays. The idea of professional development for schoolteachers had not yet taken hold. It was expected that any person who had successfully passed through his or her own formal schooling as a student could also teach effectively. Naturally, not all teachers performed to the satisfaction of the districts. A Wayne County, Pennsylvania, superintendent wrote of his teachers: "Two last winter had the reputation of being of intemperate habits, and some few are rough and rowdyish in their manner" (Burrowes 1861, 91).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS

Reading was always the main lesson of any school day. Traditional reading materials included the *King James Bible* (1611), regarded by many as the central textbook for all education; the *Westminster Catechism* (1647), the most popular of more than 500 catechisms available to be used with young students; and the *New England Primer* (1688–1690), used widely in the early decades of the republic. However, texts like these, which were generally grounded in a Calvinistic form of the Protestant religion, were falling into increasing disfavor among educators by the beginning of the antebellum period. Nonetheless, they continued to be used but were supplemented with works rooted in a more general morality. Popular nonsectarian materials from the period included *McGuffey's Eclectic Readers* (1838–present), the *Peerless*

Pioneer Readers (1826) by the same author, Webster's "Blue-Backed" *Speller* (1783), and *Ray's Arithmetic*. Spelling was just becoming standardized, and *Leach's Complete Spelling Book* of 1859 contained a "Collection of Words of Various Orthography" that included words of "common use, which are spelled differently by the three most eminent Lexicographers . . . Webster, Worcester, and Smart." Books like these represented a significant force in framing the mores and tastes of the nation and were outweighed only by the continuing influence of the Bible (Volo and Volo 2004, 82) (Leach 1859, 140).

William Holmes McGuffey, though a religious man and an ordained minister, began writing the *Peerless Pioneer Readers* in 1826 because he was dedicated to the cause of secular education. He published the first volume a decade later, and received $1,000. In 1838, he released *McGuffey's Eclectic Reader*, the best-known title among his works. McGuffey was the first to attempt to arrange his materials for students of different ages and to select topics that generated their interest and enthusiasm. In 1845, McGuffey was appointed professor of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia; until his death in 1873, he continued there, periodically revising his readers to suit the interests, abilities, and comprehension of the children who would use them. His books quickly became some of the most popular and effective teaching tools available in the United States at the time. Eventually, he evolved a series of six graded texts, a spelling book, and a high school reader. For most students, the level of the reader from which they could read determined their grade level in school. These readers passed through many editions and were adopted as standard texts by 37 states in McGuffey's lifetime. It is estimated that more than 120 million copies were sold (Volo and Volo 2004, 83).


ECLECTIC SERIES. 57

LESSON LXXXIV.

ill	this	been
ate	pale	why
too	boy	cake
has	look	much

Look at this pale boy. Why is he so pale?
He has been ill. He ate too much cake.

LESSON LXXXV.

two	glad	when
felt	that	kill-ed
days	floor	moth-er
a-go	a-bout	run-ning

See this girl with her bird and cage.
She is ver-y hap-py. Her kind moth-er gave her a new bird to-day.
Two days a-go, the bird that she then had, was run-ning a-bout the floor.
A cat came in and kill-ed it.
The lit-tle girl felt ver-y sad. Now she is hap-py.

McGuffey's Primer, c. 1840. Lesson page from an edition of William Holmes McGuffey's "Eclectic Primer," c. 1840. The Granger Collection, New York.

Emma Sargent Barbour's letter from her young cousin Mary gives additional insight into the nature and varieties of period textbooks: "I am getting along first rate, at school. I don't always get 10—tough by any means. I always get 9 in writing. I study *Robinson's Arithmetic*, it is a very hard one. *Frost's United States History*, *Towen's Speller*, *Weld's Grammar*, the same almost exactly like the one I studied [in the] east, but the *Grammar* is not at all like it. I read out of *Sargent's Reader*." Many schools suffered from a lack of uniform class sets of texts, although the adoption of this practice was frequently a goal. One forward-looking educator wrote, "In time, however, as the old books, (some of which, carefully preserved, have descended from grand-fathers) are worn out, uniform class-books will be used, much to the advantage of teachers and pupils" (Moskow 1990, 99) (Burrowes 1861, 36).

Most lessons were done via rote memorization and recitation. In a time when paper was at a premium, teachers generally heard the lessons of their students. Poems, speeches, readings, arithmetic facts, and times tables were presented orally by the student before the class. Arithmetic and grammar exercises, for the youngest students, were done on a small lap slate or on the classroom blackboard. Older students were sometimes given "foolscap" (writing paper of poor quality) on which to do their mathematics and essays. To stimulate student motivation, less interesting material such as geographic facts were sung to popular tunes and multiplication tables were often taught in verse, such as, “Twice 11 are 22. Mister can you mend my shoe?” or “9 times 12 are 108. See what I’ve drawn upon my slate.” Mental arithmetic was still an innovation in learning, and more than one district supervisor reveled in the fact that it was taught in his schools. “Mental arithmetic has been extensively introduced during the past two years and will soon be considered an indispensable item even in our primary schools.” Rural schools were often ungraded and had no standard final examinations or report cards. Scholastic success was given a showcase via exhibitions, bees, and quizzes held for parents during which students demonstrated their expertise in spelling, arithmetic, geography, and history. In addition to adulation, winners were given certificates and prizes such as books or prints (Anonymous 1971, 13, 65) (Burrowes 1861, 42).

There were few educational standards at this time. There were no state or national norms, and all standards that did exist were local. The length of the school day and year varied as the individual community saw fit. The average length of the school term in 1860 was five months and five and a half days, almost exactly matching those months between harvest and planting when there was little for children to do on the farm. A typical school day ran from nine to four with an hour for recess and dinner at noon. The day often commenced with a scripture reading followed by a patriotic song. Emma Sargent Barbour received a letter from her sister, Maria, addressing her teaching duties: “I am a regular schoolmarm. School commences every day at nine o’clock when they write a half hour and the lessons follow.” A subsequent letter provides more details of a teacher’s day. “School! School!—is the cry, my daily life may almost be embraced in the following programme; rise at seven, breakfast at half past, practice my little singing lesson and ready to start for school at half past eight. Direct the youths how to behave and hear lessons until twelve, then from twenty minutes to a half an hour, hear missed lessons and eat lunch, chat with the boys until one o’clock, then proceed as before until three; prepare for dinner and sometimes attend receptions or receive company in the evening” (Volo and Volo 2004, 84) (Moskow 1990, 122, 139).

The subjects that were taught at any level of education depended on the competency of the teachers and varied greatly from place to place. In the annual report of Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, the superintendent boasted, “The number of schools in which geography and grammar are not taught is steadily diminishing. There is a considerable increase in the number in which mental arithmetic is taught. Algebra was taught in 11 schools; history in 4; natural philosophy in 2; Latin in 1; composition in 5 and in several there were exercises in declamation and vocal music.” In Connecticut, one of the more progressive places where state standards were dictated by the legislature, incorporated towns with 80 families were required to have at least one school for young children that taught English grammar, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Towns with 500 families were to establish an additional school for older students that offered algebra, American history, geometry, and surveying. Those places with larger populations might institute programs that included natural philosophy (physical science), Greek, and Latin as they saw fit (Burrowes 1861, 21).

In addition to the three Rs, schools were expected to infuse a strong moral sense, foster polite behavior, and inspire good character. Another instructional objective, presented in a reading text, was "a desire to improve the literary taste to the learner, to impress correct moral principles, and augment his fund of knowledge." There was no sense of separation of religion or morality from secular education. The report of the Beaver County, Pennsylvania, superintendent of schools noted, "The Bible is read in 140 schools; not read in 17. I trust that all our teachers may become so deeply impressed with a sense of their duty, in the moral education of their pupils, that we may soon report the Bible read in every school." An introductory geography book contained the following extraordinary attestation in its preface: "The introduction of moral and religious sentiments into books designed for the instruction of young persons, is calculated to improve the heart, and elevate and expand the youthful mind; accordingly, whenever the subject has admitted of it, such observations have been made as tend to illustrate the excellence of Christian religion, the advantages of correct moral principles, and the superiority of enlightened institutions" (Town 1849, 22) (Mitchell 1852, 5).

Readers contained lessons emphasizing honesty, morality, and good manners such as "The First Falsehood," the "Effects of Evil Company," a "Contrast between Industry and Idleness," and a "Dialogue between Mr. Punctual and Mr. Tardy." Stories, poems, and essays used in instruction drilled the messages that good triumphed over evil, frugality surpassed extravagance, obedience superseded willfulness, and family always came first. This can be seen even in brief multiplication rhymes: "5 times 10 are 50. My Rose is very thrifty" or "4 times 10 are 40. Those boys are very naughty." The last was inscribed beneath a picture of two boys fighting. Some texts published in the North contained distinctly antisouthern sentiments, whereas many from the South carried pro–states' rights and militant themes. Caroline Cowles Richards wrote in her diary just prior to the outbreak of war, "I recited 'Scott and the Veteran' today at school, and Mary Field recited, 'To Drum Beat and Heart Beat a Soldier Marches By.' Anna recited 'The Virginia Mother.' Everyone learns war poems now-a-days" (Anonymous 1971, 33, 41) (Richards 1997, 132).

Gifted students could pass through the entire local system of schools by age 14 or 15, but only the most well-heeled could move on to college or university. Although college enrollments grew throughout the antebellum period, the slow development of high schools in the northern cities provided for a less expensive educational opportunity than college or the academy for boys who wished to become merchants or mechanics. Most people felt that this form of higher education should not be part of the legal public school system. A high school education was seen as terminal at the time. Boston, a leader in educational matters, did not open a high school for girls until 1855. By 1860, there were only 300 high schools in the United States, 100 of which were in Massachusetts. High schools remained a uniquely urban institution until after the Civil War. Nonetheless, in the decade after the war, only 2 percent of the 17-year-old population had graduated from high school. A foreign visitor to New England found that most middle-class American men had a basic education that stressed reading and writing, but that few exhibited the fine formal education available in Europe (Calkins 1975, 127).

HIGHER EDUCATION

Colleges and universities in America have long been viewed as repositories of knowledge established to train the best minds to deal with advanced philosophical concepts, if not in technical and professional subjects. There were 11 major colleges established during the colonial period. There were 12 more colleges established from the end of the Revolution to 1800; 33 from 1800 to 1830; and 180 from 1830 to 1865. The oldest colleges in the East were established by private groups and chartered by their respective legislatures, but they were otherwise independent of government control. Those in the West and South were generally supported and controlled by their state government. From the early part of the nineteenth century there was some effort to offer higher education to women. Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts (1837) and Elmira College in New York (1855) were nearly equivalent to those schools reserved for men. Vassar in Poughkeepsie, New York, which styled the prototype of modern women's colleges, was not founded until 1865 (Volo and Volo 2004, 86–87).

Although most institutions had a religious purpose and oversight, most had broader interests too. The establishment of new institutions in America that lacked the ancient customs and traditions of European schools inevitably led to the development of a university system rooted in a more general form of Protestantism. Unassociated, as most were, with the older universities of Europe, American colleges tended to humanize religious life, moderate intolerance, and bring the academic community closer to a less sectarian form free of most of the controversies over doctrine that plagued the older institutions. American institutions of higher learning came to be characterized by their relatively heterogeneous student bodies, their acceptance of a common worldview rooted in Christianity, and their openness to new ideas (Volo and Volo 2004, 87) (Cremin 1970, 330n).

The Catholic institutions remained, unapologetically authoritarian, resolute and unalterable in their structure. As the oldest and best-organized religion in the Western world, Catholics demanded the unquestioning obedience of their members to the will of the church, and expected the same from the teachers and students at their colleges. Nonetheless, Alexis de Tocqueville said of the Catholic institutions in Maryland: "These colleges are full of Protestants. There is perhaps no young man in Maryland who has received a good education who has not been brought up by Catholics." The Catholic church in America began its educational system on a diocese-by-diocese basis in response to anti-Catholic legislation in New York that required the daily reading of the King James (Church of England) version of the Bible. The Catholic system included a number of colleges and seminaries, as well as high schools and grammar schools, but these were limited to regions with large Catholic populations wealthy enough to support them. In 1839, more than 5,000 students attended eight institutions in New York alone (Mayer 1960, 78).

Southern colleges and universities offered opportunities comparable to their northern counterparts. The College of William and Mary in Virginia was well thought of even in the European academic community. The University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, first chartered in 1795, remained a single building near the

Stephen Girard founded the Girard College, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the education of orphans. The building was constructed from July 4, 1833, to 1847 and went into operation in 1848. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

New Hope Chapel until 1860. Student enrollment at Chapel Hill increased steadily, with only Yale boasting of a larger student body before the war. The University of Virginia, founded in 1825, was unequivocally cosmopolitan and academically ranked second in the nation in 1860, preceded only by Harvard. Although largely under state control, most of the South's colleges were supported by religious denominations.

Colleges also sprang up in the rural southern countryside from the rootstock of older academies that were clearly offering college-level instruction. Clio's Nursery in North Carolina and the Newark Academy in Delaware were two examples. No fewer than 25 institutions like these were granted state charters before the end of the antebellum period, and several received considerable state aid that helped them to remain solvent despite declining enrollments. Nonetheless, the outbreak of the Civil War had a profound effect on most southern colleges. Roanoke College in Virginia (1842) was one of the few southern institutions to remain in operation throughout the conflict. Many closed for the duration of the war as young men streamed into the military units of the Confederacy. Federal or Confederate forces occupied some college buildings to use as hospitals, barracks, and headquarters during the war (Volo and Volo 2004, 88).

College studies everywhere were heavily laden with classical course content, which seems to have taken on the role of a puberty rite granting access to proper society through the pain and punishment of reading Livy, Cicero, Homer, Plato, Euclid, and other ancient writers in the original Greek and Latin. Instruction was based on the same fundamentals as those of the seventeenth century, and, as with primary education, oral recitation was the most common form of instruction. In much the same way that physical activity was preparation for the life of a laborer, the function of higher education was thought to be the training of the mind through mental discipline rather than instruction in specific course content. In the 1850s, an observer noted the system used at Yale: "The professor or tutor sat in a box, with his students before and beneath him, and the so-called education consisted of questions upon a textbook. Not questions to elicit thought, but simply questions to find out how nearly the students could repeat the words of the book, or, if it were a classic, to find out how little they knew of Latin or Greek grammar." Many students found it impossible to satisfy their instructors by thinking in Greek and Latin, and they were generally indifferent to the classical course content, hoping instead to learn more about the application of science, mathematics, and engineering, which, if treated at all, were given the same superficial attention that they are in grade school today. As late as 1854, many of the professors at Princeton expressed their satisfaction with the traditional curriculum, noting that no "experiments in education" had been given the slightest countenance (Volo and Volo 2004, 88) (Bishop 1969, 59).

In the 1820s, George Ticknor, a professor of European languages at Harvard, proposed a program of college studies based on the departmental subdivisions and elective courses, but the institutions of higher learning in America were slow to adopt this structure. Nonetheless, by the 1840s medicine and law were being taught as separate curricula. Work in the sciences, which covered physics and astronomy with some topics in chemistry and geology, consisted mostly of lectures with occasional laboratory demonstrations. Many important technological advances were initially considered philosophical toys created for the entertainment of those in the lecture hall. Mathematics explored algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and calculus and encompassed the strict memorization of rules with only a limited effort to apply them to practical problems. Rhetoric students studied composition as well as speaking. Other studies included natural and biblical philosophy and logic (Volo and Volo 2004, 89).

College professors were offered small salaries, and often found that at the end of the year they were reduced to dividing the assets of the college treasury because enrollment had not met expectations. There were no research facilities or grants, and there was no tenure, pension, or retirement plan. Instructors served at the will of the college president or committee. There was no special training for college instructors beyond what they knew, which was usually based on their own classical educations. Most institutions provided a number of tutors to assist the professors, but these were almost always young men in the early stages of training for the ministry.

Professorship at the university level evolved from a mere organizational model to one of a larger intellectual and pedagogical specialization, and the college lecture, like its civilian counterpart, soon came to be a device whereby the instructor could present and contrast his own ideas with those of others in a systematic and efficient form. Chester Dewey, a professor at Williams College and later at Rochester, was typical of the breed in the early days of the period. Well versed in the Bible—he was an ordained minister—Dewey was a tireless lecturer, giving more than 4,000 lectures in chemistry, mineralogy, and botany from 1810 to 1827. Each was peppered with biblical quotations and allusions like a well-rehearsed sermon. Nonetheless, Dewey was a serious scientist who enthralled his audience with demonstrations and pranks such as lighting alcohol with an electric spark, passing a current through his students, and making things glow in the dark by coating them with phosphorous (Volo and Volo 2004, 90).

Notwithstanding teachers like Dewey, as early as the first quarter of the century, educators had begun expressing concern over the direction of higher education. In 1820, Alden Partridge, an educator and later superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point, gave a lecture on his views concerning the deficiencies to be found in public colleges and seminaries of higher learning. His speech was subsequently printed and circulated widely throughout the pedagogical community. His main point was that the college years were an opportunity to prepare young students to correctly discharge the duties of any station in life in which they might be placed. The key weakness he found in the American system of liberal education was that it prepared students only "to become members of the college or university," calling for the study of Latin and Greek while giving "very slight attention" to English language and literature, the elements of arithmetic, and other practical matters. "Here they spend four years for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the higher branches of learning; after which they receive their diplomas, and are supposed to be prepared to enter on the duties of active life. But, I would ask, is this actually the case?...Has their attention been sufficiently directed to those great and important branches of national industry and sources of wealth—agriculture, commerce, and manufactures?" (Volo and Volo 2004, 90–91) (Barnard 1969, 840).

Partridge also found the system of higher education wanting in the areas of physical education, then popular among German educators and proponents of the gymnasium for producing "a firm and vigorous constitution." Beyond the superficial niceties of clean clothing and bedding, hygiene at most colleges was little regarded with few or no facilities for bathing and restrooms no more advanced than those of the outhouse found on most rural farms. Athletics were barely tolerated, and at some institutions running, jumping, climbing, and many other forms of physical exertion were considered below the dignity and deportment of the scholar. The lack of exercise produced a student body that was sickly and desk-bound. In midcentury, Oliver Wendell Holmes described them as "a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste complexioned youth[s]," and Nathaniel Parker Willis described them as "hollow-chested, narrow-shouldered, [and] ill-developed looking" (Volo and Volo 2004, 91) (Bishop 1969, 58).

Partridge denounced the large amounts of idle time afforded students away from their studies and the quantities of disposable money available to those students from wealthy families, "thereby inducing habits of dissipation and extravagance, highly injurious to themselves, and also to the seminaries of which they are members." Finally, he decried the requirement that all students follow the same course of study in a prescribed length of time. "All youth have not the same inclinations and capacities...for the study of the classics...the mathematics and other branches of science." By following a predetermined length of time for the course of education, "the good scholar is placed nearly on a level with the sluggard, for whatever may be his exertions, he can gain nothing in respect to time, and the latter has, in consequence of this, less stimulus for exertion" (Volo and Volo 2004, 91) (Barnard 1969, 840).

College students during the antebellum period seem to have been no better in terms of their decorum than modern scholars. Moreover, some of their activities went beyond pranks, drunkenness, and adolescent licentiousness to a level that was remarkably unrestrained and even violent. In general, student manners were good with boys doffing their caps to faculty and attending early morning religious services. Yet although there were long periods of peaceful coexistence on antebellum college campuses, faculty-student relations were often strained at the very best institutions and many disagreements resulted in the smashing of furniture, the use of explosives, and the effusion of blood. One institution in New York found it necessary to codify its regulations forbidding students to "blaspheme, rob, fornicate, steal, forge, duel; or assault, wound, or strike the president [of the college] or the members of the faculty" (Volo and Volo 2004, 91–92) (Bishop 1969, 29).

Rioting among the students was somewhat of a tradition at many schools. In 1807, Harvard students protested the quality of the food; in 1823, 43 of 70 seniors were expelled; and, in 1834, the entire sophomore class was dismissed for the remainder of the year. At Yale in 1830, Benjamin Silliman attended his laboratory with two loaded pistols during a period of student unrest that ended with the banishment of half the sophomore class, and in 1843, a tutor was fatally stabbed when he tried to subdue a window-breaking rioter. Four years later, protesting students shot and killed a New Haven fireman. Princeton experienced six major student rebellions between 1800 and 1830, many of which were related to drunkenness. In 1817, of an entire student body of 200 scholars, 125 were expelled after a pistol was fired through a tutor's door and a bomb was exploded in Nassua Hall, breaking the windows and cracking the walls (Volo and Volo 2004, 92).

Southern schools mirrored their social and cultural environment with frequent duels with pistols between students and outbreaks of physical violence toward the administration. In 1840, six seniors attacked the president of the University of Georgia, and in the same year, a student stabbed and killed the president of Oakland College in Mississippi. The faculty chairman at the University of Virginia was seized and whipped by a throng of rioting students before the state militia could restore order. The man later died of his wounds. A modern historian has noted of these incidents, "Granted they were exceptional and hence memorable; nevertheless they reveal a habit of mutiny that lay dormant from the mid-century to our own times. In the early days of the Republic violence was part of American life, on the frontiers and in the turbulent cities. The collegians did no more than follow the example set by their elders. They were subjected to a galling regime of restriction and repression, to a routine of hardship, to a curriculum of studies that was generally unwelcome. The explosions were likely to be thunderous" (Volo and Volo 2004, 92) (Bishop 1969, 30).

MILITARY EDUCATION

Near the end of the eighteenth century, the young United States felt an immediate want for men trained in the best possible habits and principles of military science. As early as the Revolution, George Washington had recognized the inherent weakness of a country that had to rely on foreigners to shape his army and to plan his fortifications. For quite some time there was a struggle among competing ideas of just what balance of moral, intellectual, and physical disciplines was needed to provide for a corps of properly trained officers for the army of the United States. The English author John Milton penned a pedagogical outline for military education that was very close to the one instituted in American schools. Milton's ideas were based on "virtuous and noble" principles designed to prepare the student "to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war." His program of education included studies in a number of areas such as mathematics, surveying, engineering, navigation, and the art of fortification. He also suggested a dedication to physical education, a knowledge of geography, and any academic activity that helped the student contemplate "the serene countenance of truth in the still air of delightful study" (Barnard 1969, 865–66).

In 1802, Congress established the idea of a national military academy at West Point, but the idea of making a separate institution for the scientific study of warfare had not yet fully matured. As a school, West Point for many years survived "an inchoate existence, without regular teachers, or limited studies, or proper discipline. . . . No professor of engineering or any other department was appointed before 1812 [and] in fact, there were no graduates prior to 1815" (Barnard 1969, 865).

The curriculum chosen for West Point cadets in 1825 included, in their order of importance, mathematics, natural philosophy, mechanics, astronomy, engineering, chemistry, French, tactics, principles of artillery, mineralogy, ethics, and history. Some attempt was made to adapt the school to the tone of higher education in civil institutions, but the object of West Point was not civil, but martial life. Yet as late as 1840, a period newspaper, *Citizen Soldier,* found the U.S. Military Academy at West Point "monopolizing, aristocratic, unconstitutional, and worse than useless." In 1862, Henry Barnard, editor of the *American Journal of Education,* noted of West Point, "It was not to be expected that schools of refined, scientific art should be found by small colonies in the wilderness of a new world. When even their clergymen must resort to Europe for education, and their lawyers for license, it was in vain to expect their soldiers to be accomplished engineers" (Volo and Volo 2000, 187) (Barnard 1969, 721).

As part of his formula for the revision of all higher education, Alden Partridge had also dedicated a good deal of his thinking to the inclusion of military studies and discipline for all students. Although the course of academic studies that he proposed was as extensive as that of any academy or college in New England at the time, not everyone favored the inclusion of military topics and discipline. In 1820, Partridge opened an institution for almost 500 students organized under his own ideas at Norwich, Vermont, and in 1824, he removed the academy to Middletown, Connecticut, at the invitation of the citizens of the region. Here the school grew to house more than 1,200 pupils from every state and territory in the United States, many from Canada, Mexico, and the West Indies, and several from South American nations. In 1834, he reopened his institute in Vermont as the Norwich University, and in 1839, he established a similar school at Portsmouth, Virginia, which came to be known as the Virginia Literary, Scientific, and Military Institute. In 1853, he opened at Brandywine Springs, near Wilmington, Delaware, another institution "in which he fondly hoped his ideal of a National school of education would be realized." His plan, as it developed, emphasized "physical training in connection with military exercises and movements [accompanied by] the acquisition of practical knowledge of the great principles of science that underlie all the arts of peace and war." The success of Partridge's schools in Vermont, Connecticut, Delaware, and particularly in Virginia led to the establishment of similar schools of military training throughout the nation and particularly in the South (Volo and Volo 2004, 94).

As early as the first decade of the nineteenth century, an unequaled interest in military education had been clearly manifest in the South, and by the final antebellum decade, the movement toward military education and the establishment of schools dedicated specifically to the martial arts had gained marked momentum. A military career became increasingly acceptable for the sons of the plantation aristocracy who reveled in a military mythology that traced their descent from the Cavaliers of the English civil wars. The success of southern warriors during the Revolution and during the Mexican War of 1846 also greatly enhanced the prestige of a military education and career. In 1854, a Charlestonian noted that the South cherished a military spirit and wished to diffuse the precepts of military science among its young men so that they might defy the North should it take up arms against the South (Volo and Volo 2004, 94–95).

Notwithstanding the negative attitudes toward a northern education, the aristocratic characteristic of military education at West Point certainly appealed to southerners. So highly prized was the quality of this military and academic preparation that more than one-third of the student body at West Point had southern roots. In 1861, 306 graduates of West Point had joined the Confederate army as officers. U.S. Secretary of War Simon Cameron remarked on the situation in July 1861:

> The large disaffection at the present crisis of United States Army officers has excited the most profound astonishment and naturally provokes inquiry as to its cause. . . . The question may be asked in view of this extraordinary treachery displayed whether its promoting cause may not be traced to a radical defect in the system of education itself. (Patterson 2002, 8)

Notwithstanding Cameron's remarks, public sentiment in the South had increasingly frowned upon a military education at northern schools. North Carolina was among the earliest of the southern states to initiate the study of the martial arts as a regular part of the course of study. Schools in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama also showed interest in military education by the second quarter of the century. By the 1840s, a generation of young men had been trained in light infantry tactics, broadsword exercises, and cavalry evolutions on "the plan of the West Point Seminary" in schools based in the South.

Most initiatives at established academic schools simply added to the ordinary branches of studies the science of camps and tactics—a modification that was found agreeable to the youth of the country. Nowhere did southerners better understand this problem than in Virginia and South Carolina. In 1836, Virginians decided to substitute a military school for the company of state guards by diverting the financial resources of the state from the Lexington Arsenal to the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in its stead. Virginians pointed to the development of VMI as "thoroughly and exclusively Virginian" and pointed with pride to the state patriotism engendered therein. South Carolinians attempted to combine the "enterprise and decision of a military character" with the acquisition of a scholastic education by converting the Arsenal at Columbia and the Citadel and Magazine at Charleston into military schools. Another major southern school, the Georgia Military Institute, was opened in 1851 (Volo and Volo 2000, 187–88).

An important factor in the growth of southern military schools was the zeal of those who graduated. The graduates of these schools, especially those of VMI, devotedly promoted military education throughout the South. Many VMI graduates went on before the breaking of the crisis to serve as instructors in newer institutions. When the war came, it was not surprising that two-thirds of the highest-ranking officers in the Confederate army were from Virginia (Volo and Volo 2004, 95–96).

Nowhere else in the South were there any developments remotely approaching the success of schools like VMI. As the war approached, town after town in the South boasted a new "military academy." However, students attending these institutions generally saw only minor modifications in instruction and the addition of various military activities—riding, military drills, and tactics—incorporated into the routine academic curriculum. Companies of uniformed cadets were established in many places. Most prospered only briefly, to be abandoned when the novelty wore off. State support was generally limited to providing the school with tax exemptions and as many antiquated muskets, artillery pieces, and other arms as needed for training purposes. Some military institutions received increasing public support as the sectional disputes tearing at the nation proceeded toward war.

Yet military education required more than mere financial support. Military schools enjoyed excellent public relations in the South, engaging in activities designed to excite the interest of the populace. Cadets made frequent off-campus visits to communities to display their skills at drill and their attractive, if rather gaudy, uniforms by parading in the town square or on the county fairgrounds. An unbridled martial spirit was abroad by the 1850s, and most southerners regarded their military schools as among their most valuable regional assets. Moreover, a wider usefulness was recognized in having a cadre of military personnel that could quickly respond to possible slave uprisings (Volo and Volo 2004, 96).

SCHOOLS OF SCIENCE

Not until 1827 would the term technology be coined to represent the application of the study of science to real-world situations. Jacob Bigelow first used the term during a lecture at Harvard. At most colleges and universities, only a few scientific lectures were given each year in addition to the classical curriculum. Williams College boasted of an astronomical observatory, but major schools like Dartmouth and Bowdoin adhered to a strictly classical curriculum. As late as 1845, at Yale the first two years of college were limited to Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and during the next two years students were exposed to periodic lectures on natural philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and astronomy. There were two professors of science and three teaching assistants. Harvard offered essentially the same subjects, although some chemistry and natural history were studied in the first two years. Oddly, one of the weakest fields affecting science education was mathematics, which was so mired in the work of Newton and Euclid that it could not easily expand into new dimensions of theoretical thought (Volo and Volo 2004, 96–97).

At the beginning of the antebellum period, no formal laboratory instruction existed at any school even though Amos Eaton had demonstrated its usefulness at Rensselaer College in New York as early as 1817. At Yale, Benjamin Silliman Sr. had a single basement room for experimentation that was enlarged only after the Medical School was established, and John W. Webster, author of the *Manual for Chemistry* (1826), founded a chemistry lab at the Harvard Medical School in that year. Nonetheless, Silliman and his son Benjamin Jr., who was also a teacher, had attracted a number of young men interested in chemistry and geology to Yale. In 1842, the younger Silliman was able to secure a workshop at the school in which to instruct a few students interested in the practical application of scientific or engineering principles.

The early teaching of biological science at Williams College ultimately affected not only the curriculum at Yale and Harvard but also that of Amherst College and the Rensselaer Institute. In New England, private medical schools were opened at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, at Woodstock and Rutland in Vermont, and at Fairfield near Utica, New York. Although their clinical facilities were primitive by today's standards, these rural schools were advanced for their day, successfully competing for students with Yale and Harvard. Yet by the beginning of the Civil War, most of the rural medical schools had disappeared, and their students had been absorbed into the major urban universities. The inspiration for these schools came from abroad where many American physicians had received their own training. It is interesting to note that the scientific school at Yale was founded largely by men trained in agriculture, whereas at Harvard it was founded by those rooted in industry. John Pitkin Norton started the School of Applied Chemistry at Yale in 1847 (Volo and Volo 2004, 97).

Another of the weaknesses in American higher education was in the area of scientific agriculture. Southerners were much more expert in this regard than New Englanders. Many southerners had formed or joined private agricultural societies in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century in an attempt to better underpin the plantation system. The colonials had used seaweed, clam and oyster shells, fish, ashes, and bone meal to improve their soil, but they did not spend a great deal of time using animal fertilizers. This may have been because virgin land was plentiful, but also because direct and purposeful fertilization was a new idea. It was not until several decades had passed that the earliest settlers noticed a change in the soil that they were farming. At first it had been dark, almost black, but with time its color became lighter, and crop yields fell. Scientific agriculturalists in England, like Jethro Tull, believed that active cultivation of the soil was the secret of its fertility. Deep plowing was his answer to diminished crop yields as this helped to dry out wet land and allowed the soil to better utilize rainfall. Jared Elliot, a minister and doctor from Connecticut at the turn of the century, correctly believed that the fertility of the soil was associated with the organic matter that it contained. He showed that the addition of swamp mud to the soil increased the yield and improved the crops, and he was one of the first to note that certain crops rebuilt the soil. Ultimately, he was able to show that animal manures, cover crops of red clover and timothy, and a year's rest between plantings could significantly improve agricultural production. Later experiments showed that root crops such as turnips and carrots helped the soil.

Moreover, turnips, in particular, could be used as winter feed for livestock (Volo and Volo 2004, 97–98).

In the 1840s, many southern planters abandoned their worn-out coastal land for new fields in Mississippi and Alabama, which promised to be more fertile. The rich black soil of these areas promised an abundance of cotton. Yet, in just a decade, these new lands were also showing the effects of erosion and soil worn by extensive single-crop agriculture. This circumstance found the next generation of planters moving on again to Texas and Arkansas. Virginia Senator John Randolph, seeing fields gullied and rivers full of mud, called the farming techniques commonly used in his state "improvident." He warned his fellow planters, "We must either attend to . . . our lands or abandon them and run away to Alabama." Randolph, with a few concerned planters, sponsored programs that trained farmers and their slaves to use modern plowing methods. They introduced technological improvements to farming and encouraged soil experiments. Another planter, Edmund Ruffin, advocated replenishing soils as both healthy economically and as a way to ensure southern "independence." He served for many years as the head of the Virginia Agricultural Society. This group also fostered more modern farming methods, and from 1833 to 1842, Ruffin was the editor of the *Farmer's Register*, a publication dedicated to the improvement of agricultural practices (Volo and Volo 2004, 98).

MECHANICAL AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTES

As Americans became increasingly aware of the role of science and technology in the dramatic economic changes they observed all around them, informal education in various forms grew in popularity. This increasing role played by science and technology in the minds of the American public was reflected in the "tremendous popularity of public lectures on chemistry, steam engines, geology, and astronomy." The number of lyceums that hosted such lectures grew to 3,000 by 1835 (Timmons 2005, 178) (Weiner 1966, 167).

As American colleges and universities increased in enrollment and prestige, a backlash formed from a large segment of the population who believed the universities were of little help to the common artisan or mechanic. In many instances, concerned citizens formed mechanic's institutes to train and educate the technical workforce in the sciences they believed were crucial to successful and enlightened manufacturing. These institutes provided public lectures and various modes of formal education for the sons of local middle-class workers. The most famous and most successful of these mechanic's institutes was the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia (Timmons 2005, 178).

In 1824, the founders of the Franklin Institute intended to provide educational opportunities for working artisans and mechanics, and their children. At various times in its history, the institute provided evening lectures and formal schools for training in the sciences, technology, architecture, drawing, and many other subjects. No matter the subject or the mode of delivery, the target audience was always the working class rather than the children of the wealthy, who were already served by the colleges and universities. The citizens of Philadelphia and surrounding areas embraced this sort of outreach; by 1839, membership in the institute had climbed to 2,500 (Sinclair 1974, 240).

An episode occurring in the first years of the institute's life serves as an example of the original intentions of the founders. In 1830, the Franklin Institute conducted a series of experiments to determine the efficiency of water power, at the time the most important source of power for mills and other manufacturing concerns throughout the nation. Volunteers from the institute, using money raised from donors such as engineers, mill owners, and other interested parties, performed carefully planned experiments with various types of waterwheels and other equipment. The results of the experiments were hailed as an example of the advances that could be achieved when *practical* men of *science* cooperated with private *industry* to find solutions to *technical* problems (Timmons 2005, 178–79).

The italicized words summarize the hopes of many leaders of American science and American industry in the nineteenth century. It was strongly held that science could, and should, be practical. This practicality would manifest itself in finding solutions to technical problems in American industry. Part of the Franklin Institute's mission, and the mission of other technical institutes, was to prepare mechanics for the coming revolution in technology by educating them in the methods and theories of science (Timmons 2005, 179).

Perhaps the most important endeavor undertaken by the Franklin Institute was one that, if successful, might prove the most beneficial to everyday life in America. The study, undertaken in 1830, was intended to determine the causes of boiler explosions on steamboats and to make recommendations as to methods to prevent such explosions. The steamboat, hailed widely as evidence of America's technological abilities and a sign of progress for everyone, was actually a dangerous place in its early days of operation. By 1830, there had been almost 60 explosions taking more than 300 lives in the United States. Although there had been several investigations into the causes of these explosions, including one sponsored by Congress, few conclusions were reached. A special committee of the Franklin Institute, chaired by Alexander Dallas Bache, was appointed to investigate these explosions. In 1835, after years of experiments on boilers, Bache and his committee completed their report (Sinclair 1974, 171).

This study was important for many reasons, not the least of which was calling attention to the continuing tragedies occurring on steamboats across the nation. Besides the obvious benefits, there were other outcomes of the study that established precedents for cooperation among private institutions, business and industry, and the government. Bache's experiments were partially supported by government funding, a novelty in antebellum America. Although funded by government sources, the report was published in the institute's *Journal,* marking the publication as an important repository for practical scientific information (Sinclair 1974, 191).

Although Bache submitted his report to Congress, with recommendations that legislative action be taken to regulate unsafe practices on steamboats, little was done for years. Even a bill passed by Congress in 1838 proved ineffectual for controlling the steamboat industry. By 1848, the lives lost in boiler explosions had risen to more than 2,500. Finally, in 1852 Congress passed a bill that did prove effective in reducing deaths caused by boiler explosions. There can be no question that in this matter, as well as many other practical matters, the Franklin Institute had a positive impact on everyday life in America—a realization not lost on the many Americans who appreciated the institute's work (Sinclair 1974, 190).

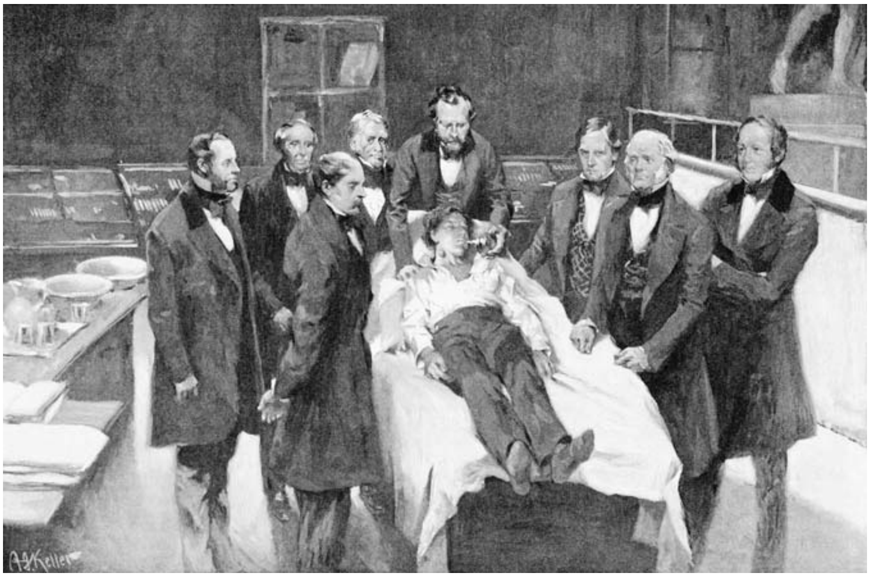
Other modes of formal and informal education, directed at the common man who might not have the time or the resources to attend college, were prominent in American life. The lyceum movement sprouted throughout the country as lecturers traveled far and wide providing entertaining educational opportunities. Often these lectures addressed scientific topics using laboratory equipment as much for special effect as for education. Many Americans achieved a degree of fame through this informal brand of higher education. Amos Eaton, cofounder of the Rensselaer School in New York, became a noted and wildly popular lecturer on "agriculture, domestic economy, the arts and manufactures," among other topics (Marcus and Segal 1989, 83).

Bringing science directly to the people, in theory, was a good idea. In practice, the preponderance of popular lectures and publications often resulted in misinformation and sensationalism. At the close of the nineteenth century, Robert Simpson Woodward, a physicist at Columbia University, lamented the damage done by unqualified lecturers:

> An almost inevitable result of the rapid developments of the last three decades especially is that much that goes by the name of science is quite unscientific. The elementary teaching and the popular exposition of science have fallen, unluckily, into the keeping largely of those who cannot rise above the level of a purely literary view of phenomena. Many of the bare facts of science are so far stranger than fiction that the general public has become somewhat overcredulous, and untrained minds fall an easy prey to the tricks of the magazine romancer or to the schemes of the perpetual motion promoter. Along with the growth of real science there has gone on also a growth of pseudo-science. It is so much easier to accept sensational than to interpret sound scientific literature, so much easier to acquire the form that it is to possess the substance of thought that the deluded enthusiast and the designing charlatan are not infrequently mistake [*sic*] by the expectant public for true men of science. There is, therefore, plenty of work before us; and while our principal business is the direct advancement of science, an important, though less agreeable duty, at times is the elimination of error and the exposure of fraud. (Timmons 2005, 180) (Weiner 1966, 181–82)

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The nineteenth century witnessed the birth of a medical revolution in the United States (and throughout the world) that would lead to better health, increased life expectancy, and an overall elevated quality of life for most Americans. Although this revolution was still a work in progress by century's end, a new interest in the application of scientific methods to such things as surgical techniques, disease prevention and treatment, and physician training laid the groundwork for modern medicine.



First public demonstration of surgical anesthesia (1846), Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston. Hand-colored halftone.

After centuries of medical practices that had changed very little from medieval times, numerous medical milestones occurred in nineteenth-century America. Inoculations helped reduce the threat of some horrible diseases, the use of anesthesia made surgery safer and less painful, and the growing acceptance of the germ theory of disease led to the eventual adoption of antiseptic practices in surgery. Many of the institutions critical to improved health care for the common man formed in the nineteenth century. Modern medical schools emerged, some from the ineffective schools already in existence, whereas others appeared as new experiments in modern medical training; the first woman, Elizabeth Blackwell, received a medical degree from an American college in 1849; the American Medical Association formed in 1847; and the individual states, beginning with Massachusetts in 1869, formed boards of health to monitor medical care. In addition, other institutions related to the overall health of Americans appeared: The first colleges of pharmacology opened; the American Dental Association formed in 1859; and the first dental schools opened after the Civil War (Timmons 2005, 133).

Each of these institutions resulted in both immediate and long-term health benefits for Americans. Science, and to a lesser extent technology, played an increasingly important role in improving medical care. Ironically, advances in both the theory of medicine and the everyday practice of health care arrived at about the same time that many Americans were becoming increasingly aware of some of the dangers to their health caused by the oncoming Industrial Revolution. The juxtaposition of the new wonders achieved by science and technology against the societal ills, including issues of health, brought about by some of these same technical advances, continues to be a point of concern for America today (Timmons 2005, 134).

Antebellum Medical Practices

Health care in the United States in 1800 was minimal, as it was throughout the world. In a time before the germ theory of disease, before standardized and thorough training for physicians, and before science played a significant role in medicine, the health and welfare of Americans was often more a matter of luck than of medical care. The late nineteenth century witnessed a growing awareness from physicians and the general public alike as to the increasing importance of scientific methods applied to medicine (Timmons 2005, 134).

The overall health of Americans around the turn of the nineteenth century was much the same as it had been for previous centuries. Simple infections, treated by antibiotics today, often resulted in death. Infectious diseases were not understood and certainly not curable in 1800. Diphtheria, whooping cough, scarlet fever, measles, mumps, typhus, influenza, chicken pox, and smallpox ravaged the population as physicians stood helplessly by. Autopsies performed on victims of an 1820 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia represent an unusual instance in which antebellum physicians attempted to use scientific principles to investigate the cause of disease. Several diseases in particular caused devastation in the early nineteenth century: yellow fever, malaria, primarily in the South, and cholera and tuberculosis, which struck primarily in the crowded cities of the North. In the country, it was difficult for infectious diseases to establish a foothold, whereas in the crowded cities, epidemics were more common. Boston, although relatively healthy as cities go, provided its residents with a life expectancy five or six years lower than rural Massachusetts. New Orleans, with its swampy, semitropical climate, poor sanitation, and plethora of diseases entering from its port, was "very likely the most dangerous place in the United States" (Shryock 1972, 128) (Larkin 1988, 81).

New Orleans was not the only southern locale in which health problems plagued the citizens. Due to factors such as warm weather and low-lying wetlands, malaria and other diseases were more prevalent than in the North. The difference in life expectancies was so pronounced that life insurance companies habitually charged more for southern policyholders. Southerners' health improved with the introduction of vaccinations, new drugs to treat malaria and related fevers, and new and improved techniques for draining wetlands. Unfortunately, the Civil War resulted in a southern medical infrastructure in disarray (Shryock 1966, 49, 52, 70).

American physicians argued that health and medicine presented unique problems and demands for both the doctor and the citizen. Many of these unique demands were specifically placed on the nervous system: "constant choice and opportunity in business and religion, a lack of standards in personal and social life—all created tension and excitement." From school age through adulthood, competition and the hectic pace of life strained the physical and psychological well-being of Americans. The typical American "lived his life at a pace too frenetic for relaxation or rest." Especially when compared to Europeans, American religion, politics, and business caused stress. A nineteenth-century commentator on the subject concluded, "The result of this extreme activity, is exhaustion and weakness. Physical bankruptcy is the result of drawing incessantly upon the reserve capital of nerve force" (Rosenberg 1966, 149).

In spite of these sentiments about life in the United States, American physicians were unwilling "to exchange its liberties for the placid tyranny of the Russian or Turkish empires" where politics and religion were seen as comfortable and leading to complacency among their citizens. For most Americans in the nineteenth century,

> progress and liberty were unquestionably desirable, and the ailments which they induced in American minds were in a sense additional bits of evidence for the superiority of American ways of life. Technological change might be the cause of mental unease, but almost

all Americans were relatively sanguine in their attitude toward the future of such material change. Many Americans believed that the very processes of technological change that appeared to threaten mental health would ultimately provide remedies. Such ills that might develop in the interval were those of a transitional period in history and a small price paid for social progress. (Rosenberg 1966, 141)

The type of medicine practiced by the typical nineteenth-century American physician is often referred to as "heroic" medicine, a term implying an aggressive intervention—very often to the disadvantage of the patient—involving bloodletting, the use of purgatives, and other potentially dangerous methods. In a time before medicine was established as a scientific discipline, alternatives to the heroic practice of medicine offered a skeptical, and sometimes desperate, public other opportunities for seeking relief from medical conditions (Timmons 2005, 135).

American physicians in the nineteenth century often combined "themes of nature, providence, and nationalism to legitimize their efforts." Popular medical books of the day included herbal remedies, moral aphorisms, and even traditional cures adopted from Native Americans. One of the most popular of these medical books, John Gunn's *Domestic Medicine* (1830), was so widespread that the "typical small library on the southern Indiana frontier, for instance, boasted a Bible and a hymnbook; if there were a third title, it was often Gunn's health manual." Many other herbalist medical manuals gained widespread popularity, such as Samuel Thomson's *New Guide to Health: or, Botanic Family Physician* (1822). The resulting Thomsonian movement affected the healing practices of Americans across the country. Many frontier families looked to these manuals for their health care in lieu of the availability of a local physician. Even trained physicians found use for such "herbals" (Murphy 1991, 75, 76).

Botany and herbal studies seemed a natural fit for the physician, especially the traditional country doctor. Many of America's leading physicians were students of natural history, whether as a subject studied at the university or as a hobby. The latter was especially prevalent, as physicians "concerned with broadening their educational horizons . . . acquired practical hobbies in natural history" including the study of such diverse topics as "botany, zoology, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, anthropology, agriculture, and even gardening." Country doctors, with the task of traveling many miles between patients, were especially encouraged to fill their time "with quiet contemplation of flowers, trees, and rocks." In combination with the popular self-help herbal manuals, nineteenth-century Americans—especially rural Americans—often perceived of medicine as a process of employing nature to help fight sickness and disease (Haller 1981, 204).

Medical movements outside the medical establishment gained popularity with the common people of the United States who were dissatisfied with the medical treatment offered by conventional practitioners. The list of popular movements is as lengthy as the reasons the American people embraced nontraditional medicine:

The tendency for brinkmanship therapeutics resulted in the spawning of countless system-builders [in medicine], each seeking to replace traditional medicine with a newer mode of

> treatment. Mesmerism, Thomsonianism, mind-cure, faithcure, baunscheidtism, Christian Science, electropathy, hydropathy, vitopathy, and chemopathy had all but abandoned the older specifics for promises of quick and harmless cures. These medical heresies rivaled the religious sects, political parties, movements, and fads that emerged, along with the common man, in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, few of the systems did more than compound the errors of the past. (Haller 1981, 100)

Several of these medical heresies had a tremendous impact on the common man in America. One such sect was Mesmerism, a hypnotic technique developed by Austrian physician Friedrich Anton Mesmer. Based on the theory that man possessed an animal magnetism, Mesmerism gained the support of many well-known Americans, from respected physicians and professors to college presidents. Another, phrenology, the belief that the intellect and characteristics of a man could be divined by studying the shape of the head, also attracted a loyal following in the United States (Haller 1981, 104).

Homeopathic medicine became very popular by midcentury. This medical sect, founded in Germany and brought to the United States, depended on a philosophy of "likes cure like," with the applications of highly diluted drugs that caused symptoms similar to those experienced by the patient. Because of the diluted state in which the drugs were administered, homeopathic physicians tended to cause less harm than their conventional counterparts. By the later part of the century, homeopathy reached such a level of acceptance that its adherents formed their own medical schools and medical journals (Shryock 1972, 144).

In some ways, improved technologies actually contributed to the declining health of the country. The mail-order business, made possible by faster transportation—especially railroads—and advertised in the new penny papers, "also brought turn-of-the-century Americans, always distrustful of doctors (and carrying a definite streak of hypochondria), access to a new range of quack practitioners and patent medicines." William G. Rothstein calls the patent-medicine industry "the single most important long-run alternative to regular medicine." With the traveling "medicine man" a not-so-happy tradition in isolated settlements, these same predators were now able to advertise and deliver their elixirs from a distance. Gullible Americans with a little cash could order Swamp Root for "weak kidneys caused by overwork, by lifting, or strain," pepsin gum to "cure indigestion and sea sickness," an electric belt "to cure pain and nervous diseases, and "Swift's Specific," which claimed to be "the only hope for cancer." One could also order cures for syphilis, rupture, "lost manhood," stomach disorders, and almost any other disease, real or imagined. Faster communications and transportation fostered a growing market for these miracle cures, just as the Internet today seems to be accelerating the level of awareness of similar supposedly miracle drugs (Kent 2000, 23, 24) (Rothstein 1972, 158).

Medical historian Richard Harrison Shryock notes several contributing factors to the slow improvement of American medicine. The vast size of the country, its regional differences, its heterogeneous population, and even its complex system of government all contributed to the problem. In addition, an underlying utilitarian view of scientific research resulted in a nation "to whom technology naturally seemed more significant than 'pure' science." This view of science, coupled with a lack of aristocratic patrons—such as those found in many European countries—interested in funding research, resulted in nineteenth-century America trailing in the types of basic scientific research needed to make great breakthroughs in medicine (Shryock 1966, 33).

The first nineteenth-century breakthrough attributed to scientific medicine occurred in 1800, when Benjamin Waterhouse began vaccinating family and friends with Edward Jenner's newly discovered smallpox vaccine. Smallpox had a long history of decimating populations, with a mortality rate of close to 30 percent of those who came down with the dreaded disease. In fact, smallpox nearly accomplished what many white invaders tried—the eradication of the Native American population. At the turn of the eighteenth century, smallpox was a disease dreaded by people all over the world, and the citizens of the United States were no different (Timmons 2005, 138).

Enter Benjamin Waterhouse. Waterhouse was an American-born, European-trained physician who was appointed to one of the first professorships at the Harvard Medical School. In 1800, after reading about Jenner's recent discovery that cowpox could be used to inoculate humans against smallpox, Waterhouse wrote to Jenner asking for samples of his vaccine. To demonstrate his confidence in the safety and effectiveness of the smallpox vaccine, Waterhouse's first subjects were his own children, other family members, and household servants. When several of these newly inoculated children were purposely exposed to the smallpox virus with no ill effects, Waterhouse proceeded to persuade others (Timmons 2005, 138–39).

In spite of his initial success, it was not smooth sailing for Waterhouse and the smallpox vaccine. Several factors conspired to undermine the public's confidence in the vaccination. Through contamination or spoilage, some of the vaccinations proved ineffective, or worse, actually led to the vaccinated subjects contracting the disease. Waterhouse initially planned to profit from the inoculations by demanding a portion of the profits made by other physicians administering the vaccines. This soured some to Waterhouse and his cause. Yet, properly administered, the results were undeniable. With the support of many powerful people, including President Thomas Jefferson, Waterhouse and others were able to instigate large-scale inoculations that led to significant reduction of smallpox outbreaks in the United States (Timmons 2005, 139).

Other advances in antebellum medicine helped promote good health and provide relief from, and sometimes even a cure for, disease. Breakthroughs in pharmacology included the isolation of morphine from opium, and quinine from cinchona bark, and the introduction of the first hypodermic needles to inject such medicines. Morphine became an important—and unfortunately often overused—painkiller, while quinine provided for better control of malaria (Shryock 1972, 131).

Overall, the health enjoyed by the typical American did not improve to a great degree in the first half of the nineteenth century. Especially in the larger cities, Americans' health may have actually deteriorated. In spite of the continuing health problems, there were indications that things were improving slightly. Life expectancy in Massachusetts, for example, climbed throughout the century and from 1850 to 1900, the nationwide life expectancy climbed from about 50 years of age to more than 68 years of age. It was the medical advances of the second half of the century—especially the years after the Civil War—that led to a marked improvement in the nation's health. One of the most important developments was an improved system of physician education (Shryock 1960, 26) (Shryock 1966, 166).

Educating America's Physicians

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the apprentice system continued to play a primary role in American medical training. Physicians were infrequently educated in the sciences, and medical schools were often disorganized and ineffective. In the first decades of the century, the physician's "training varied enormously—there were men with formal medical education, many who had learned through apprenticeship to another physician, and practitioners who were self-instructed and self-certified." Much medical treatment was based, as it had been for many centuries in Europe, on the "humor" theory of sickness. This theory held that sickness was caused by an imbalance of humors, or fluids, in the body. Thus, "bleeding," or the opening of a vein to draw off blood; "purging," or administering laxatives; and "puking," or administering emetics to induce vomiting, were typical treatments given by physicians. These treatments usually did more harm than good, and attendance by a physician was really of no more use than being sick without the benefit of a doctor (Larkin 1988, 87–88).

Around 1800, only four medical schools existed in the United States. By the mid-1820s, this number had grown to 17. It was not until 1825 that Robley Dunglison became the first full-time professor of medicine in the United States at the University of Virginia. Yet, medical training leading to medical degrees did not necessarily ensure qualified physicians. In fact, the public's perception of physicians in antebellum America was much different than today. A practicing physician described the problem:

> It is very well understood among college boys that after a man has failed in scholarship, failed in writing, after he has dropped down from class to class; after he has been kicked out of college, there is *one* unfailing city of refuge—the profession of medicine. (Shryock 1972, 138)

Even the president of Harvard, Charles Eliot, lamented the quality of person often found in physicians:

> An American physician may be, and often is, a coarse and uncultivated person, devoid of intellectual interests outside of his calling, and quite unable to either speak or write his mother tongue with accuracy. (Murphy 1991, 104)

The reason for such a remarkable disdain for physicians was simple: It was extremely easy to become a doctor in the United States. Even in the middle of the century, "almost any man with an elementary education could take a course of lectures for one or two winters, pass an examination, and thereby automatically achieve the right to practice medicine by state law." The education received at American medical schools was sparse, to say the least. How much training, after all, could be obtained in two short terms—the second term being a repeat of the first term, so that students essentially passed through the same training twice? What training that was obtained was usually of low quality. A typical American medical school of the early nineteenth century looked like this:

> First, the lecture was the sole pedagogical method used in all courses, except practical anatomy. Clinical, tutorial, or laboratory instruction was rare, even in subjects like chemistry. Second, the quality of instruction, even at the best schools, could be no better than the state of medical knowledge, and was consequently deficient in all aspects. Third, formal medical education complemented rather than replaced the apprenticeship system. Clinical subjects were supposed to be taught by the preceptor, and scientific subjects by the medical school faculty. (Rothstein 1972, 88–89)

With such inadequate training, it is little wonder that an American physician advised, "A boy who proved to be unfit for anything else must become a Doctor" (Shryock 1966, 152) (Murphy 1991, 104).

SURVEYING

Surveying was essential for many of the activities preceding and following settlement. Americans armed with scientific techniques provided surveys for building roads, railroads, and bridges; for boundaries between states and counties, as well as between private lands held by farmers, settlers, or land corporations; and for the layout of the new towns appearing all over the landscape. Surveying an unknown wilderness as vast and unyielding as North America proved to be a prodigious task. Some American surveyors were well qualified and accomplished incredible feats of accurate measurement; others were not as talented and made grievous errors in their surveying. Nearly all were hampered by poor quality equipment and instruments, low pay, little financial support for the surveys, and extremely difficult conditions caused by the size of the land, geographic obstacles, and unfriendly natives (Timmons 2005, 159).

Railroad building would lead to improvements in surveying techniques out of necessity as tracks were laid into places where roads had never gone. Measuring elevation changes became more important to surveyors. The grade at which a locomotive could climb, or safely descend, was vital, and the knowledge of a particular surveyor could mean the difference between a safe railroad and one fraught with dangers (Timmons 2005, 160).

For the first half of the nineteenth century, surveying and engineering in America usually fell to the Army Corps of Engineers, established at West Point in 1802. The Topographical Engineers, initially a bureau with the Corps of Engineers but later an independent corps, were especially influential in bringing a scientific eye to western exploration. In antebellum America, the Topographical Engineers, "Armed with more accurate techniques and equipment, consumed by an enthusiasm for inquiry, and fired by the spirit of Manifest Destiny . . . provided scientific mapping for half a continent." As early as 1819, the Topographical Engineers participated in explorations involving a great variety of scientists and scientific purposes, as described by an observer to an expedition to explore the headwaters of the Platte and Red rivers:

> Botanists, mineralogists, chemists, artisans, cultivators, scholars, soldiers; the love of peace, the capacity for war; philosophical [scientific] apparatus and military supplies; telescopes and cannon, garden seeds and gunpowder; the arts of civil life and the force to defend them—all are seen aboard. (Lasby 1966, 253)

Whether the job fell to army engineers or civilian scientists, surveying the western lands played a critical role in the development of a uniquely American settlement pattern, and scientific surveying became the cornerstone of land distribution in the West. Land surveyed and sold in square grids, towns, and farms revealed an organization unknown in Europe and other parts of the world. Surveying and mapping were only the first steps in a process that continued with the purchase of land (or, in many cases, land given away by federal and state government) and subsequent settlement. In the words of Andro Linklater, "The desire to possess land drew people westward, but it was the survey that made possession legal." Thus, the planners "transformed land into a commodity that could be precisely delimited, purchased, and registered in a land office, even if no one had ever seen it" (Timmons 2005, 160–61) (Linklater 2003, 166) (Nye 2003, 27).

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS

In the nineteenth century, a growing number of Americans came to realize the profound impact science and technology had, and would continue to have, on everyday life. Americans from all walks of life embraced science in ways that are foreign to our modern experience. In today's world, where entertainment can be had with the touch of a finger to a remote control; where electronic games are a chief (and cheap) source of diversion for millions of children and adults; and where every newspaper offers a plethora of social and cultural activities for any age, it is difficult to conceive of science as entertainment. But in a nineteenth-century world where diversions were not as easily obtained, such activities as traveling lectures and scientific demonstrations offered the general public the opportunity to experience new and wonderful things (Timmons 2005, 169).

Scientific and technological developments in nineteenth-century America were more eagerly anticipated and embraced by the general public than they are today. Courses and lectures offered to the public at such places as the Albany Institute in New York or the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia were well attended by artisans, mechanics (an emerging class of skilled laborers who worked with the new machines of the industrial age), and others of diverse social and economic backgrounds. Exhibits at museums such as Charles Willson Peale's museum in Philadelphia and the Smithsonian Natural History Museum in Washington, D.C., attracted interest from people in all walks of American life. Later in the century, cities began building museums as vessels of public education. The motto of New York's American Museum of Natural History, for instance, was "for the people, for education, for science." Special exhibits such as those found at the 1876 Centennial in Philadelphia drew visitors from all over the country to marvel at scientific and technological wonders from the United States and the rest of the world (Timmons 2005, 169–70).

Americans embraced science in the nineteenth century, hoping to attain a higher intellectual plane:

> Though abstract science and the institutions which foster it did not flourish in antebellum America, a social climate favorable to its ultimate growth was created.... Americans could view science as an admirable, even socially prestigious, avocation—if not as a practical vocation. Science clubs and botanical and mineralogical trips sponsored by academies and secondary schools all helped to provide young men and even young women with a sedate interest in science and left in the minds of a few an inspiration sufficient to encourage the devotion of later years to its pursuit. (Timmons 2005, 170) (Rosenberg 1966, 159)

SCIENCE AND TECHNICAL SOCIETIES

"Nothing, in my view, more deserves attention than the intellectual and moral associations in America." This line, from the most famous foreign commentator on American democracy, expressed the view that to understand nineteenth-century Americans, one must attempt to understand their desire to come together to form clubs, societies, and associations. During his extended tour of America, Tocqueville was struck by the fact that

> Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types—religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute.... In every case, at the head of any new undertaking, where in France you would find the government or in England some territorial magnate, in the United States you are sure to find an association. (Tocqueville 1969, 513, 517)

Tocqueville realized the power behind these associations. He knew that, in a democracy, such associations spurred action:

> As soon as several Americans have conceived a sentiment or an idea that they want to produce before the world, they seek each other out, and when found, they unite. Thenceforth they are no longer isolated individuals, but a power conspicuous from the distance whose actions serve as an example; when it speaks, men listen. (Tocqueville 1969, 516)

These sentiments applied to all sorts of associations, including the many scientific and technological associations formed in the nineteenth century. An understanding of the workings of these associations leads to a better understanding of American attitudes toward the sciences (Timmons 2005, 176).

The first scientific societies founded in the United States were, for the most part, gathering places for educated Americans to discuss science, as well as other intellectual subjects. They were not scientific societies in terms of the modern definition—organizations of professionals specializing in particular branches of science. Moreover, before the mid-nineteenth-century scientific societies were regional, rather than national, in nature. For these reasons, the first societies played a smaller role in the advancement of American science than did organizations established after midcentury.

The American Philosophical Society (APS) was the first learned society of any importance founded in the British colonies of North America. Its incorporation represents America's first sustained attempt to emulate the learned societies of Europe, even before achieving independence. The society, patterned after the Royal Society of London, published the first volume of its *Transactions* in 1771. The stated purpose of the APS was to extend man's knowledge of science. The knowledge that the society claimed to target, at least at its inception, was not the esoteric and theoretical knowledge of pure science, but rather useful knowledge that might be utilized for the good of the American people.

Although the founders of the APS initially claimed an almost exclusive interest in practical science, in reality pure science played a small but important role in the pages of the *Transactions* of the society. For instance, although the subjects of applied mathematics such as surveying, navigation, mechanics, and astronomy dominated the early volumes, a few contributors did write papers on pure mathematics (Timmons 2005, 176).

Although conceived of as national societies, the American Philosophical Society and others like it remained largely local in scope. The lack of a truly national scientific organization hindered the advancement of science in the United States. This all changed in 1848 when members of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists formally changed their name to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), and in the process changed the scope of the organization to include the promotion of all the sciences in America (Timmons 2005, 176–77).

Benjamin Silliman Sr., the first president of the AAAS, was one of the most influential American men of science in the nineteenth century. Silliman, already established as a professor of chemistry and natural history at Yale, was the founder and publisher of the *American Journal of Science* (1818–present). Under Silliman's guidance, and the guidance of future leaders, the AAAS made many significant contributions to life in America in the nineteenth century, including pioneering support of conservation of natural resources. The original founders of the AAAS conceived of the association as "a vehicle for influencing national scientific policies and eliminating amateurism in American science." The AAAS's role as promoter of American science, however, resulted in a large membership that included the leading American scientists of the day, as well as a large number of nonscientists from academia, politics, and various walks of life. Although such a membership was rooted in the democratic foundations of the nation, it also led to a dilution of the quality of science presented at the annual meetings and published in the association's journal, *Science*. Several American scientists, convinced of the importance of including only the scientific elite in shaping the role of science in America, began plans for a new scientific organization sanctioned by the federal government and open to only the best scientists in the nation (Timmons 2005, 177) (Sinclair 1974, 250).

In addition to the societies formed by so-called pure scientists, the nineteenth century was extremely important to the development of the engineering profession in the United States, as witnessed by the formation of various engineering societies. The first such society, formed in 1852, was called the American Society of Engineers and Architects (later becoming the American Society of Civil Engineers). This was closely followed by the appearance of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers and other societies for engineering specialties. A rough progression of the application of new science and technology can be seen from these various societies: The need for civil engineers and architects for roads and building construction preceded an increased need for technical expertise in mining and refining the minerals needed for continued progress (Timmons 2005, 177–78).

Physicians in America also understood the importance of organization. Building on a foundation of local and state organizations, the American Medical Association (AMA) was founded in 1847. Among its other responsibilities, the AMA helped regulate physician licensing, set standards for medical schools, oversaw a code of conduct for practicing physicians, and established journals for the publication of medical advances (Timmons 2005, 17).

LITERATURE

Taken against the devastated backdrop of the Civil War, American tastes in literature during the antebellum period seem frivolous. Students studying the period, blessed with the knowledge of the coming civil crisis, often expect that its literature, journalism, poetry, and plays might exhibit an overwhelming dread, a foreboding, or a sense of impending tragedy. Yet contemporary American readers and writers were generally unaware of the coming cataclysm. Even if they sensed that a major civil disturbance was on the way, they had no way of foretelling the extent of the disaster. America had not yet passed through the crucible that would change a group of states united by a common political system and revolutionary history into the United States. Generally, America's attention was drawn to other things: the opening of the West, the war with Mexico, the development of the railroads and the system of canals, the politics of nullification and self-determination, or the reform of urban society (Volo and Volo 2004, 204).

It is difficult to find a looming American tragedy in antebellum literature. Certainly, it cannot be found in the entertaining stories of Washington Irving or the adventure novels of James Fenimore Cooper, two of the most popular American authors of the period. Nor can it be found in the introspection of Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, or Henry David Thoreau, or in the melancholy, gloom, and horror mongering of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, or Edgar Allan Poe respectively. Most Americans simply did not choose to read literature that proclaimed the imminent dissolution of the union. Only in the South did a secessionist press flourish, and it found only a small audience. In fact, most readers outside the halls of academia preferred the wildly popular romances, escapist adventures, and Gothic tales written by lesser-known American authors and published in the penny press. No doubt the momentum for a new realism concerning the fate of the nation was beginning to well up here and there, especially in the antislavery movement, but no clear and unmistakable portent of disaster appeared in print (Volo and Volo 2004, 204–5).

Literacy

One measure of literacy in a society is the extent to which writing and reading replace oral communications. "Literacy . . . makes practical the maintenance of a communication network wider than one's locality." If only the ability to write one's name is used as the standard for literacy, documentary evidence suggests that most Americans were probably literate. If the ability to read for comprehension is added, drawing a valid conclusion as to the general literacy of the antebellum population becomes more difficult. The difference between signing one's name and a true literacy, where theoretical concepts and political strategies are being shared or modified in written or printed form, has enormous implications. It is almost certain that most native-born Americans, as opposed to recent immigrants, possessed a basic reading literacy. However, simple comprehension is a great deal different from the sophisticated skills required to read difficult prose, political and philosophical treatises, theoretical works in languages other than English, or the Greek and Roman classics.

Literacy was first measured as a separate category in the census of 1850, but informal surveys and anecdotal evidence suggest that the ability to write, and particularly to read, was quite high. An analysis of legal documents, letters, and journals of the period suggests that as much as 90 percent of free white men in New England were literate. This proportion shrinks to 70 percent among those on the frontier where there were few books available beyond the Bible. The planters of the aristocratic South seem to have mirrored the high literacy rates found among their social and economic peers in England. In the South, at least 70 percent of the white male population could read, and the planter aristocracy probably owned the most extensive personal libraries in the nation. This does not mean that southern males read constantly. Although southern planters were well educated, Aristotle, Caesar, and Cicero were more likely to be the names of slaves laboring in their fields than those of books on their nightstand. These authors were the stuff of schoolrooms, and adult reading preferences resided in more practical works (Volo and Volo 2004, 205).

In 1800, Americans across the nation read more for purposes other than a mere schoolroom recitation of Greek and Roman classics. Although it was common to see period house plans showing libraries, only the wealthy classes could afford to devote an entire room to books. The classical titles on the householder's bookshelf were more often for display than for everyday reading, just like the specimen cases filled with fossils and insects or the magnifying glasses, stereoscopes, and other optical curiosities that resided there. Four types of reading material have been identified as popular with readers of the antebellum period. In order of their volume of production these can be grouped as: religious tracts; purposeful or instructive texts; newspapers and magazines; and novels written for a variety of purposes, including entertainment. These categories, while somewhat arbitrary, can serve to describe the majority of the printed materials sought by nineteenth-century readers (Volo and Volo 2004, 206) (Kaser 1984, 14).

The Cheap Press

Much of what Americans read was considered literature of the lowest class at the time and has come to be most closely associated with the paperbound volumes of Irwin P. Beadle's dime novels—advertised as "a dollar book for a dime." These, however, were not being published before 1860. Technological improvements in publishing and printing were initially made in the 1830s, but they were largely limited to inexpensive newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets. Nonetheless, in the 1840s, they were applied to the fantastically popular hardcover novels, causing the price of the genre to fall from several dollars per bound volume to as little as 50¢ or a quarter dollar. Unbound and paperback editions were available for as little as 6.5¢, although the better works generally brought an average price of a quarter dollar. Thereafter, the emergence of a new popularity in reading and writing among the American middle class underpinned a growing national interest in publishing and professional authorship (Lupiano and Sayers 1994, 119).

Conspicuous among the publishers of this inexpensive form of reading material were Rufus Griswold and Park Benjamin, who started a weekly magazine called *Brother Jonathan* in 1839. This publication concentrated on reprinting popular British novels without paying royalties to the authors. Another weekly called *The New World* concentrated mainly on reproducing the works of American authors. The remarkable steam-powered rotary press, invented in 1847, made paperbound publishing, in particular, remarkably inexpensive, and there was an enormous demand for cheap imprints among political parties, states' rights proponents, antislavery organizations, temperance and reform movements, and advertisers. Victor Hugo's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1834) and Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) were among the hundreds of British novels pirated by the American cheap press. Although both sold for $10 in deluxe leather-bound editions, they sold for a mere 10¢ in paperback, making them available to a whole new segment of the reading population (Smith 1981, 907).

At these prices, the work of Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, Washington Irving, or James Fenimore Cooper reached a wide audience. The power of this literature to influence the minds of nineteenth-century readers should not be underestimated. The young were warned at the time that in the choice of books there was a "great need of caution," and the potency of literature to govern the minds of readers proved inestimable. Fictional characters possessed a remarkable ability to influence society. Uncle Tom, Topsy, Ivanhoe, Hawkeye, Hester Prynne, Ichabod Crane, and Ebenezer

Scrooge were incredibly familiar characters to those that read as much as antebellum Americans did (Hawes 1835, 144–58) (Faust 1996, 154).

Romanticism

Most American intellectuals of the prewar period were widely read in the literature of European romanticism, and they used romantic allusions freely in their writing. A romantic movement that emphasized feeling, imagination, and nature swept the nation in the decades before 1860. It embraced the past, drawing strongly on the styles and ways of ancient civilizations and medieval times. Romanticism could be found in architecture, painting and decoration, and even in the institutions of government. The South, in particular, felt that its pastoral society with its ruling elite and slavery-bound servants more closely matched the ideal of ancient Rome than the industrialized society of the North with its venial politicians attempting to rule the urban centers by manipulating the teeming immigrant masses.

Lacking, for the most part, true aristocratic roots, southern planters invented a social mythology for their entire class, and they came to believe in it. The foundation for much of what they did was based directly upon what they read. Largely isolated from the reality of European aristocracy, they lionized the stratified but benevolent social order portrayed in the romantic novels of authors like Walter Scott and strove to maintain a romanticized version of the old aristocratic order as they believed it to be before the American Revolution. They behaved in a haughty manner reminiscent of the old nobility of Europe; taught their sons an aristocratic code of social behavior; and married off their daughters as if they were sealing dynastic treaties between feudal estates. Individual liberty, manliness, and respect for authority and position were held in such high esteem that a man might put his life on the line like a medieval champion in shining armor from *Ivanhoe* (1819) or *The Talisman* (1825) (Volo and Volo 2004, 207).

Northern intellectuals held many beliefs that were unknown to the old aristocratic families of Europe. Democracy in America had destroyed many old social and political relationships and replaced them with new ones. Many aspects of American life had been altered in forging the United States. Besides politics and social structure, family relationships, education, the role of women, speech, literature, science, entertainment, and many other areas of life changed. Although most Americans avoided the study of social philosophy in the traditional sense, they were, nonetheless, possessed of a number of assumptions with regard to the new nation, its population, and its society. Foremost among these was a restless ambition born of a faith in the concept of universal equality among all free white men (Volo and Volo 2004, 208).

The number of those that tried to cultivate a sense of letters, the sciences, and the arts in the egalitarian North was immense. However, a foreign visitor to America in the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville, feared that "the absence of great patrons, of schools for instruction, of time to develop and refine talent" might inhibit Americans from achieving the highest quality of work in these areas. Tocqueville correctly predicted that American democracy would produce "mediocre writers by the thousands" and an "ever increasing crowd of readers . . . continual[ly] craving for something new."

Tocqueville was convinced that this would ensure "the sale of books that nobody much esteems." However, he failed to predict the greatness that other writers might achieve. Indeed, James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving were already captivating many European intellectuals at the time of Tocqueville's visit (Volo and Volo 2004, 208) (Smith 1981, 158).

Writing as a Profession

Literary pursuits were deemed a gentleman's avocation prior to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. American gentlemen "loved their books and often acquired a polished literary style, but they seldom ventured into print." To write a treatise on surveying, mining, or husbandry and share it among one's social equals was one thing, but to publish them for the common people to read often offended their sense of propriety. The language of antebellum writing was therefore filled with socially acceptable catchwords such as "Nature," "Reason," "Wit," "Honor," "Virtue," "Prudence," and "Sense." Its style was utilitarian and conversational, and it seemingly excluded the stiffly artificial, indirect, and abstract forms of earlier years for a style that more closely resembled modern prose (Volo and Volo 2004, 208) (Middleton 1952, 7).

Washington Irving was one of the first Americans to find dignity in the role of a professional author. He is best known for the short stories that introduced the Headless Horseman, Ichabod Crane, Rip Van Winkle, and Dietrich Knickerbocker (his own pseudonym) to American readers. Although he has been called the father of the American short story, Irving ventured into essays, poems, travel books, and biographies. One of his greatest works, written in the later years of his career, was *The Life of George Washington* (1855–1859). Irving was the first American author to achieve international fame (Volo and Volo 2004, 208–9).

Washington Irving at first studied law in private schools and was admitted to the New York bar in 1806. He started his writing career in 1802 by making contributions to the *Morning Chronicle*, a newspaper edited by his brother, Peter. He later joined with his other brother William in writing a magazine-like publication known as *Salmagundi* (1807–1808). From 1812 to 1814, he was the editor of a similar magazine, *Analetic*, which circulated in both New York and Philadelphia. The first of his works to achieve lasting fame was his comic history of old Dutch New York called *A History of New York* by Dietrich Knickerbocker (1809). Although the stories in this book quickly became part of New York's folklore, it was the success of Irving's *Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon* (1819) that allowed him to become a full-time writer (Volo and Volo 2004, 209).

The *History* and *Sketchbook* were the first American works to gain widespread attention in Europe. Irving noted, "Before the appearance of my work the popular traditions of our city [New York] were unrecorded.... Now they form a convivial currency and... link our whole community together in good-humor and good fellowship." Moreover, the stories contained in these works of literature helped to forge a link between writing and art. John Quidor and Albertus Browere, both native artists from New York, gloried in producing illustrations of Irving's Dietrich Knickerbocker characters; and Asher B. Durand, Thomas Cole, and William Sidney Mount, all noted landscape painters, produced works based on themes found in *Sketchbook*. Literary and artistic journals like the *New York Mirror* (1823–1842) and *The Knickerbocker* (1833–1865) provided the public with engravings of the artists' paintings. "At no other time in the history of American art was the writer so closely allied to the artist" (Hoopes and Moure 1972, 15).

Ironically, much of the work for which he is best known, filled as it is with Americana, was actually written by him in Europe, where Irving lived from 1815 to 1832. He lived in London, Paris, Dresden, and Madrid. While in Spain, he worked for the U.S. Embassy, served as a secretary for the American Legation under Martin Van Buren, and had a brief romantic liaison with the writer Mary Shelley. From 1828 to 1832, when he returned to New York, he wrote several works with Hispanic themes. These included a number of books that concerned the history and legends of Moorish Spain, including *Columbus* (1828), *Conquest of Granada* (1829), *The Champions of Columbus* (1831), and *Alhambra* (1832). Upon his return to America, he toured the West and South, producing travel books titled *The Canyon Miscellany* (1835) and *A Tour of the Prairies* (1835). From 1842 to 1845, Irving was the U.S. ambassador to Spain (Volo and Volo 2004, 209).

Irving's home in Tarrytown-on-Hudson in Westchester County, New York, is called Sunnyside. It is a small unimposing Gothic Revival–style cottage open to the public as a historic landmark home. Although it is nestled in the heart of the Hudson Valley that Dietrich Knickerbocker so loved, Irving lived there only briefly from 1836 to 1842 and again from 1848 to 1859, when he died. During the last decade of his life, Irving served as the president of John Jacob Astor's Library, which later became the New York Public Library. He published a 15-volume set of his own major works (1848–1851). Besides the five-volume life of George Washington that he finished during this period, he wrote a careful presentation of the life, beliefs, and teachings of the prophet Mohammed called *Mohomet and His Successors* (1850). After his death, his major works were collected and published in 21 volumes that were made available to the public in 1860 and 1861 (Volo and Volo 2004, 210).

The Romance Novel

Beginning in the second decade of the century, the novel—the most popular form of antebellum escapism—gained a growing acceptance and appeal among the general reading public. Middle- and upper-class women have long been recognized as the chief consumers of this literary form. They read a flood of paperbacks filled with melodramatic situations, thrilling crises, and unspeakably evil villains. So great was the popularity of the novel that it drew criticism. As late as 1856, the Code of Public Instruction for the state of New York recognized the necessity of excluding from all libraries "novels, romances and other fictitious creations of the imagination, including a large proportion of the lighter literature of the day." The propriety of such "a peremptory and uncompromising exclusion of those catch-penny, but revolting publications which cultivate the taste for the marvelous, the tragic, the horrible and the supernatural [is without] the slightest argument." The code also expressed an obvious disgust for works dealing with "pirates, banditti and desperadoes of every description." A published guide to propriety for mothers, written by Mrs. Lydia Child in 1831, decried "the profligate and strongly exciting works" found among the novels in the public libraries. "The necessity of fierce excitement in reading is a sort of intellectual intemperance," producing in the estimation of the guide's author "weakness and delirium" in women and young girls. The works of Lord Byron, Camden Pelham, Edward Maturin, Matthew G. Lewis, and Ann Radcliffe were all identified as having "an unhealthy influence upon the soul" that should be avoided (Rice 1856, 325) (Child 1831, 93–94).

For modern audiences, the only recognizable name in Mrs. Child's list of forbidden authors is that of Lord Byron (George Gordon). Mrs. Child does not identify her reasons for including Byron in her list of authors to be avoided, but his collected works along with his letters and journals were available at the time to most American readers in a multivolume edition. Byron, Scott, Shakespeare, and Dickens were probably the most famous British authors known to those outside of Britain in the antebellum period. Byron was certainly the most notorious of the romantic poets and satirists. His influence on European poetry, music, novels, opera, and painting was immense. His 1814 work, *The Corsair,* sold 10,000 copies on the first day of its publication (Volo and Volo 2004, 210–11).

The Adventure Novel

Second only to Sir Walter Scott's works in popularity were the American adventure novels of authors like James Fenimore Cooper. Inspired by Scott's historical novels, Cooper drew many mutually exclusive stereotypes, characterizing Indians as good and evil, male characters as wise or foolish, and female characters as fair or dark both physically and temperamentally. His first novel, *Precaution* (1820), was poorly accepted by American readers, largely because it imitated the British form of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice.* Cooper's second work, *The Spy* (1822), was an outstanding success. Cooper is said to have started writing because he needed money, and the success of *The Spy,* which sold 8,000 copies in the first month after its release, seemed a satisfactory means to that end. Still, many male readers considered novels to be "trivial, feminine, and vaguely dishonorable" because they appealed to the emotions and aroused the imagination. Nonetheless, Cooper found that there was a great demand for adventure tales derived from the Revolution; and his writing was sufficiently manly and moral to find acceptance by a wide audience. His work successfully emphasized American incidents and scenes as interesting and important, but they were popular among men mainly because of their masculine adventure themes. He also wrote a series of American sea tales, starting with *The Pilot* (1824), which featured the person of Captain John Paul Jones (Volo and Volo 1998, 208).

Like Scott, Cooper promoted a social vision of a stable and genteel society governed by its natural aristocracy, "perpetuating property, order, and liberty" as represented by a reunited American gentry. That this view resonated with the southern image of itself would have upset Cooper with his very northern attitudes. *The Pioneers* (1823), Cooper's third book, was dedicated to the proposition that the American republic, poised on the verge of "demagoguery, deceit, hypocrisy, and turmoil," could be transformed into a stable, prosperous, and just society. It sold 3,500 copies on the first day of its release (Taylor 1996, 21–27).

"Few storytellers in all history have enjoyed so wide a popularity as [James] Fenimore Cooper." Cooper's novels were often read aloud to eager audiences. He hammered out one adventure after another, acting out exciting plots against the lush and unforgiving scenery of the American wilderness. He introduced the first classic American fictional hero in the person of Natty Bumpo, the character known as Hawkeye in the five adventure novels that make up his Leatherstocking Saga. The history of Bumpo, who may have been based on an old hunter that Cooper knew in his boyhood at Cooperstown in western New York, was not at first planned, and the series was not written in chronological order. Bumpo is introduced in *The Pioneers* (1823) as an angular, irritable 70-year-old who deplores the advance of civilization upon the wilderness. He then appears in his best-known incarnation in his thirties in *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826); in his eighties in *The Prairie* (1827); again in his thirties in *The Pathfinder* (1840); and finally in his twenties in *The Deerslayer* (1841) (Volo and Volo 2004, 214–15) (Nevins 1966, 2).

Cooper seems to have grasped the process by which the old frontier came to be dominated by a civilization with European roots, and he communicated it clearly to his readers. "He had a realistic understanding of many facets of pioneer life: the romance, the heroism, the lawlessness, the crudity, the simplicity, the provincialism, the honesty, the corruption." His portrayal of the settlement of the old New York frontier as a spiritual adventure resonated well with a public interested in westward expansion and religious revival. Cooper's depiction of the frontier can be criticized in that he filled his plots with "improbabilities." His pages are filled with random encounters, idle young women wandering in the wilderness to serve as the objects of rescue, and eligible young men to furnish suitors for the women. However, Cooper never claimed to be a realist, only a "romancer." It was the succession of adventurous episodes, not the overall plot that riveted his readers. The same "cliffhanger" formula can be found in the cinema available to early twentieth-century moviegoers or the more recent television miniseries format. Once Cooper had hit upon a money-making formula, he maintained it, writing over 30 novels. He considered *The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer* his best works (Nevins 1996, 7, 24).

In 1826, Cooper took his wife and went to live in Europe, and he did not return until 1833. He had written four best sellers among his first six novels. He then set about making it eminently clear that he was uneasy with what he considered American vulgarity and lack of manners by taking his countrymen to account in a series of books in 1838—*The American Democrat, Homeward Bound,* and *Home as Found.* Like a parent correcting a child, Cooper lectured Americans on their lack of decorum, condemned the tone of their politics, and criticized their press. He made it clear that he was offended by the seeming pushiness and familiarity of the lower classes, and expressed a belief in limiting suffrage to men of good breeding who might direct the fortunes and culture of the rest of America. The newspapers were quick to denounce him, and he became the target of unrestrained personal criticism even though his work remained popular. He launched a legal and literary counterassault on those editors and politicians that disagreed with him; yet when he died in 1851, many literary greats attended or spoke at his memorial including Daniel Webster, Washington Irving, and William Cullen Bryant (Volo and Volo 2004, 215).

The fact that he grew up in a region of New York from which most Native Americans had been removed colored Cooper's depiction of Indians. His knowledge of native life was almost completely acquired from his own reading of personal narratives and histories of Indian peoples written in the previous century. Cooper neglected to derive certain elements of Native American life from these sources. Except for a few chapters at the end of *The Last of the Mohicans*, Indians appear as individuals with personal traits rather than as communities or tribes with a social organization. His Mohican allies and friends, Chingachgook and Uncas, are clearly idealized portraits possessed of every virtue and no vices; almost all other Indians are depicted as evil, villainous, and untrustworthy. However, "to wish that Cooper had been more realistic and scientific in his portrayal of the forest, and frontiersmen, and the savage, is to wish that he had been a different kind of writer, and to miss his true achievement." Although many of his novels are not highly regarded today, the best of them can still enthrall both young and old readers. Three of his Leatherstocking tales have been made into major motion pictures, and one of these, *The Last of the Mohicans*, has been remade several times and has come to characterize an entire period of American history (Nevins 1966, 34).

Juvenile Literature

Youngsters were expected to read the Bible, their lessons from their schoolbooks, and little else in the way of entertaining literature. Like Lydia Maria Child, who advised young women to avoid novels, the Reverend Doctor Joel Hawes warned young men that in the choice of books there was a "great need of caution." He believed that a person's character could be "ruined by reading a single [ill-advised] volume." Yet he confessed that one book, "wisely selected and properly studied" could "do more to improve the mind, and enrich the understanding, than skimming over the surface of an entire library" (Hawes 1835, 144–58).

Several publications surfaced during the antebellum period to attempt to fill the gap between dry religious tracts and scandalous romance novels. In 1827, a weekly literary magazine was founded in Boston with the purpose of providing appropriate reading material for youngsters. Known as *The Youth's Companion*, the magazine remained in publication for more than a century and received contributions from many famous authors including Alfred Lord Tennyson, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Louisa May Alcott, John Greenleaf Whittier, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jules Verne. In 1830, Sarah Josepha Hale published another work, *Poems for Our Children*, that included classics such as "Mary Had a Little Lamb." In 1853 and 1854, Nathaniel Hawthorne published his tales for children: *A Wonder Book* and *The Tanglewood Tales* (Volo and Volo 2004, 216).

School readers made their first appearance in the schoolroom during this period. The *Peerless Pioneer Readers*, containing stories of interest to children, were first introduced in 1826 by William Holmes McGuffey, and the first of a long list of

McGuffey's Eclectic Readers, was published in 1836. Six readers in this series appeared between 1836 and 1857 with their sales reaching a peak during the Civil War. Literally millions of copies found their way into schoolrooms and children's nurseries during the antebellum period. In 1846, Epes Sargent's *School Reader* was published. Elijah Kellogg's blank verse *Spartacus to His Gladiators* appeared in Sargent's first edition and became a standard exercise in classroom declamation of young students for decades (Volo and Volo 2004, 216–17).

Escapist Literature

Americans were quick to record in their letters and journals the completion of *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839), *The Pickwick Papers* (1837), *The Deerslayer* (1841), *Ivanhoe* (1819), or other works of obvious quality, but they also read a great deal of low-quality material, much of which they did not mention. Nonetheless, many of these works have been identified. They include such masculine titles as *Con Cregan* (1860), *Son of Eric, Gold Friend, The Quadroon of Louisiana* (1856), *Son of the Wilderness, Scar Chief of the Halfbreeds, Wild West Scenes,* and *Our Own Heroes.* Other popular works were *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862), *The Mystery, Macaria,* and *Louisa Elton.* Captain Mayne Reid, a friend of Edgar Allan Poe, published *The Rifle Rangers: Adventures of an Officer in Southern Mexico* in 1850, and Ann Stephens, the first author published in Irwin Beadle's dime-novel format, wrote *Malaeska: The Indian Wife of the White Hunter* in 1860 (Volo and Volo 2004, 218).

Each of these publications was unquestionably escapist literature of the lowest sort. Yet books of this type sold well. An American author like Reid was able to follow his first success with other successful titles such as *The Scalp Hunters, The War Trail,* and *Forest Exiles.* In 1853, Reid wrote a novel inspired by his 15-year-old spouse, appropriately titled *The Child Wife,* and in 1856 he wrote a popular play called *The Quadroon* that combined a theme of tragic love between a white man and a free mulatto woman with a knife duel, a steamboat explosion, a slave auction, and two murders. The success of *The Quadroon,* which was transformed into a popular stage play in the North, reflected the extent of the involvement of the reading public in the slavery controversy. Another young American author, distinguished before the outbreak of hostilities, was John W. DeForest. From 1851 through 1859, DeForest wrote several books including the *History of the Indians of Connecticut,* and the novels *Witching Times, Oriental Acquaintance, European Acquaintance,* and *Seacliff.* DeForest went to war as a captain with the 12th Connecticut Volunteers, and many of his battlefield reports were printed by *Harper's Monthly.* In these, DeForest shared the simple truth of life in the army and on the battlefield (Croushore 1949, vii, 130–31) (Kaser 1984, 4, 5) (Morgan 1992, 32).

Social Commentary

The works of the English novelist and social commentator Charles Dickens were widely read in America. In Dickens's very popular works, readers found some character, situation, or condition that seemed to bolster the many different views of modern society held by Americans. Social reformers in this period generally championed the cause of the poor, but Dickens was generally unconcerned with the economic aspects of social reform, choosing rather to deal with an increased appreciation of the value of the human being. Ignorance, for him, was the great cause of human misery (Volo and Volo 2004, 219).

Dickens's stories emphasized the need to enlighten traditional ways of thinking. However, many in the American South misread Dickens's message and saw the misfortune, destitution, and disease that filled his works as characteristic of all urban life. Modernization and urbanization were the great evils haunting the romantic domains of the southern imagination. For these, Dickens's novels mirrored the inevitable bleak future of America if northern concepts of social progress continued to be implemented as English ones had for decades without noticeably improving society. Southerners despised such ambiguous social remedies as the poorhouses and the workhouses that filled Dickens's pages. The debtor's prison of *Little Dorrit* (1855) and the orphanage of *Oliver Twist* (1838) were obviously not sufficient to solve the social ills characteristic of an urban society. Southerners were left with a portrait of cities, like those of the North, veritably teeming with the exploited masses from which they chose to be separated.

Although thoroughly English in its settings and personalities, the interactions of Scrooge with characters from *A Christmas Carol,* first published in 1843, seemed to embody the very limitations of modern society in midcentury. Stripped of its sentimentality, the story portrays a secular, rather than a traditionally religious, attitude toward the holidays. The spirits and ghosts of Christmas are remarkably worldly in their appearance and temporal in their outlook. The awakening of a social conscience in Scrooge is uppermost in their endeavors. Ultimately, it is the specter of an unlamented death, a topic of great concern to persons of the nineteenth century, that brings Scrooge around. Yet even a morally awakened Scrooge refuses to devote his life to social work. Instead, he acts out his reformation on a very personal level. Apologists for the southern way of life proclaimed that Scrooge's treatment of Bob Cratchit emphasized the abuses possible in an age governed by the "work for wage" system that so lacked a sense of personal involvement and family dedication. The personal responsibility that many southerners felt toward their neighbors, their workers, and even their slaves seemed noble in contrast to the socially anonymous caretaking for the unfortunates found in Dickens's works (Halliman 1984, 111).

Nonetheless, Americans North and South loved Dickens's works, and all his writings were instantly read and eagerly put into print. Because much of his work was published in England in serial form, it was sometimes reprinted without the permission or knowledge of the author by the American press. Within hours of their arrival in the United States, many of his works were reprinted and available for sale. His *American Notes* (1842), generally critical of the republic and much of New York society, sold 5,000 copies in New York City in two days at the price of 12.5¢ a copy. In Philadelphia, 3,000 copies sold in just 35 minutes. It was estimated at the time that 400,000 sets of Dickens's works were sold in the United States before the war. Many of these were published by the paperback press and brought no money to the author (Smith 1981, 255, 907).

In 1842, Dickens and his wife toured America, and thousands of citizens turned out to welcome them in New York City. Thousands more greeted them in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Richmond. Dickens, described as a small but intelligent looking man with a fashion of dress approaching that of a dandy, was a stark contrast to his quiet and unassuming spouse. He came to America believing that the United States was the hope and promise of the world, but he found New York filthy, crowded, and unsophisticated. In his *American Notes,* written upon his return to England, he left a generally stark verbal description of many American cities as they appeared in the middle of the antebellum period (Volo and Volo 2004, 220).

Dickens described those Americans he saw in New York as crude, violent, and lacking in the manners expected of middle-class Englishmen. He was particularly taken aback by the widespread acceptance of the offensive habit of chewing tobacco and spitting the results into any convenient curbside. He was also aghast at the conditions he found in American tenements, prisons, and places of recreation. He considered the tenements hideous, the prisons loathsome, and the taverns low and squalid. He also expressed a strong aversion for the American press, calling it a "foul growth" upon America's utilitarian society. He found the American form of Republican government polluted by political trickery and underhanded tampering during elections, and fettered by shameless greed and veniality among its highest officials (Volo and Volo 2004, 257).

Dickens liked the city of Richmond, but he was much dismayed and distressed by the ever-present reminder of slavery everywhere in the South. The city was the third largest in the South and had proven an elegant state capital with fine buildings and traditional architecture. Dickens proclaimed the city the most picturesque in America. Despite his personal hostility toward race-based bondage, which he made obvious at every opportunity, Dickens and his wife thrilled the residents of Virginia with their visit. Ironically, he was also impressed by the excellent morale exhibited by the slaves in the factories and warehouses he visited, and he expressed that he greatly enjoyed their spirituals and tunes (Wish 1950, 500, 507).

He was struck by the absence of a festive air in the Quaker-dominated city of Philadelphia. He wrote of it in comparison to his native London:

> How quiet the streets are. Are there no itinerant bands, no wind or stringed instruments? No, not one. By day there are no Punches, Fantoccini, dancing dogs, jugglers, conjurers, orchestrinas, or even barrel-organs? No, not one. Yes, I remember one. One barrel-organ and a dancing monkey. Beyond that nothing lively, no, not so much as a white mouse in a twirling cage. Are there no amusements? Yes, there is the lecture room and evening service for the ladies thrice a week, and for the young men the countinghouse, the store, the barroom and the filthy newspaper urchins are brawling down the street. These are the amusements of the Americans. (Smith 1981, 769–70)

The author also toured toward the West. He found Cleveland, Ohio, unacceptably dirty and unsophisticated. He reported that the Indians, who were so highly esteemed by the authors of romantic literature, were actually "wretched creatures . . . squatting and spitting" (Smith 1981, 945).

Dickens felt better about the French quarter of St. Louis, Missouri:

> In the old French portion of the town, the thoroughfares are narrow and crooked, and some of the houses are very quaint and picturesque; being built of wood, with tumble-down galleries before the windows, approachable by stairs or rather ladders from the street. There are queer little barbers' shops and drinking houses, too, in this quarter; and abundance of crazy old tenements with blinking casements; such as may be seen in Flanders. Some of these ancient habitations, with high garret gable-windows peeking into the roofs, have a kind of French shrug about them; and being lopsided with age, appear to hold their heads askew, besides, as if they were grimacing in astonishment at the American Improvements. (Wish 1950, 368–69)

At the end of his *American Notes*, Dickens tried to soothe the disappointment and the anger that he anticipated his comments would engender among his American readers by declaring at least the upper classes of society "frank, brave, cordial, hospitable, and affectionate." Indeed, many among the social and literary elite viewed Dickens's comments with sympathy and found them rooted in a reality that they themselves saw every day in many urban centers. Most attributed the starkness of Dickens's criticism to the author's own exaggerated expectations for the "noble course" that had begun in the United States. Hoping to see an American Zion inhabited by the stately scions of the founders of the American republic, Dickens was devastated by the realities of the American lifestyle, the frailties of its population, and the political bickering that had no meaningful bearing on the operation of the world's great republican experiment. This was a factor in the formation of his judgment of America to which Dickens himself admitted in later years. Nonetheless, when *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843–1844), Dickens's American novel, appeared shortly after his return to England, it proved especially offensive to some of the residents of New York City, and many citizens were loath to forgive him for his characterizations. One man wrote that Dickens had written "an exceedingly foolish libel upon us, from which he will not obtain credit as an author, nor as a man of wit, any more than as a man of good taste, good nature, or good manners. . . . Shame, Mr. Dickens!" (Smith 1981, 257, 258).

Poets

A contemporary observer of the antebellum scene noted that "we have no national school of poetry. . . . We've neither a legendary past nor a poetic present." This observation may help to explain America's fascination with stories of the Revolution like Cooper's, with tales of medieval times like Scott's, or even with whimsical anecdotes of the New York Dutch like Irving's. But George Templeton Strong, who wrote the comment, was clearly mistaken. The antebellum period began the golden age of American poets, which, although interrupted by war, continued throughout the nineteenth century. An anthology of American poems published in 1842 sold over 300,000 copies at $3 a copy. It has been pointed out that William Cullen Bryant was the period's newspaper editor-poet, John Greenleaf Whittier its abolitionist-poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes its doctor-poet, James Russell Lowell its gentleman-poet, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow its professor-poet. Each was a poet and something else, but it was Longfellow who became the great popular poet of the century (Smith 1981, 972, 976–77).

William Cullen Bryant began life as a lawyer, but in 1814 he published "The Yellow Violet," which combined a praise of nature with a moral principle, thereby setting the mode of American poetry for the century. One year later he wrote "Thanatopis" and "To a Waterfowl." He started his life as an aggressive Federalist, became the editor of the *New York Evening Post,* turned Democrat, and ended as an antislavery Republican. Much of Bryant's work exhibited strains of the traditional Puritan ethic: propriety in one's private life, devotion to the task at hand, a deep interest in public affairs, and a faith in the American citizen. Many of his poems engaged the concept of unmourned death, a nineteenth-century preoccupation. Both the devoted Christian and the transcendentalist could read his work with pleasure (Beard and Beard 1927, 785).

Of all the literary figures of the time, John Greenleaf Whittier, the son of Quaker parents, was the one most closely identified with antislavery. Even William Lloyd Garrison, premiere antislavery activist and newspaper editor, took note of him in *The Liberator.* In the late 1820s, Whittier worked feverishly for several abolitionist newspapers, finally becoming editor of the prestigious *New England Weekly Review.* His early works—*New England Legends in Prose and Verse* and *Justice and Expedience*—urged immediate emancipation for all blacks. In 1846, Whittier published *Voices of Freedom,* a book of antislavery poems. He served as a speaker and lecturer for the cause and supported the rising Republican Party in the 1850s. His work praised nature and looked to the pleasure of common things. A contemporary described him as "a breath of air from a world of purity and beneficence." Although many of his verses have become mere historic curiosities with the passing of slavery, his rhymes caught the manners and morals of the common people. His famous poem "Barbara Frietchie" was written during the war (Volo and Volo 2004, 232) (Smith 1981, 977).

The works of Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell were almost indistinguishable to the casual reader. Both were Harvard graduates, but it was Lowell who became the leader of their literary circle called the Fireside or Schoolroom Poets. This group included Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, and sometimes Emerson. Lowell's work was blatantly moralistic, making him seem conservative by modern standards, but, being an ardent abolitionist and temperance advocate, he was hardly considered so in his own time. His poem, "The Present Crisis," was written in 1844, and it made a deep impression on northern audiences. It was four years later that Lowell published four volumes: *Poems, Fable for Critics, The Biglow Papers,* and the *Vision of Sir Launfal.* Of these, only *The Biglow Papers* was political. The *Vision of Sir Launfal,* with its emphasis on the value of heartfelt charity, was America's contribution to the Arthurian Holy Grail legend. In 1857, Lowell became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine, and during the war he helped edit the *North American Review* (Volo and Volo 2004, 233).

Holmes left Boston after Harvard to study medicine in Paris, and he returned to find that the aging frigate *Constitution* was rotting in its mooring. Energized by a report that the heroic ship from the War of 1812 was to be demolished, he penned the immortal poem "Old Ironsides" that appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* in 1830. The poem helped to save the vessel from destruction and prompted its preservation. It quickly became the subject of classroom recitation everywhere. One of Holmes's most famous poems was "The Chambered Nautilus," which drew an analogy between the ever-expanding shell of the creature and the need for constant spiritual growth. His work in the decades after the Civil War made his reputation as a poet extraordinary (Smith 1981, 982).

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was a born storyteller, producing romantic tales of the far away and long ago much like the other successful authors of the period. He was perfectly democratic in his poetry, and his work needed little scrutiny to make its point. Longfellow held the chair of literature at Harvard. His most popular poems among those available during the period were "The Village Blacksmith," "The Song of Hiawatha," "The Wreck of the Hesperus," and "The Courtship of Miles Standish." When published in 1855, "The Song of Hiawatha" sold 50,000 copies in five months at $1 a copy. "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere" appeared in Longfellow's *Tales of the Wayside Inn*. Written in 1860, this largely inaccurate and romanticized version of Revolutionary history became popular during the Civil War, but it ignored many of the facts of the encounter at Lexington in 1775, including the capture of Revere and the contributions of other alarm riders. The poem became the subject of classroom recitations and American history lessons into the twentieth century. For generations of Americans, Longfellow was their poet, and he lived for three-quarters of a century, thereby fixing his place above all the others in the minds of most Americans (Volo and Volo 2004, 233) (Smith 1981, 977).

Ironically, though little poetry of value was produced below the Mason-Dixon Line at this time, southern life served as the inspiration for some of the most original and endearing of American lyrics. Francis Scott Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner" is undoubtedly the most famous. The earliest southern poet considered to be of any merit is William Crafts (1787–1826), who celebrated the sporting passion of his native Charleston in "The Raciad" and later penned "Sullivan's Island." William Grayson (1788–1863) authored several volumes, but only "The Hireling and the Slave" (1856) gained any notice because it purported to show the superior condition of the unpaid slave to the paid hireling (Volo and Volo 2004, 234).

Historians

During the antebellum period, there appeared an incredible dedication among amateur historians and antiquarians to gathering the papers, folklore, and objects of colonial and revolutionary life that seemed to be slipping away in a newly industrialized America. In colleges, libraries, state archives, and private collections, there was preserved the work of a thousand hands. Among these was George Tucker of Virginia who produced a southern gentleman's history of the Old Dominion; Timothy Smith, who did the same for Mississippi; and Timothy Dwight, who produced four massive volumes of historical observations concerning New York and New England. Between 1818 and 1865, more than 400 titles were published on the history of Illinois alone.

The growing interest in former times among amateurs was usurped by a cadre of professional writers of history dedicated to the laborious and scientific style of historical writing then popular in Germany. A remarkable number of the historians who achieved lasting reputations in the field were connected with Harvard University. The massive *Life of George Washington* and the Spanish histories assembled by Washington Irving, who was not a Harvard man, have already been mentioned. However, Irving's biography of Washington came late in the antebellum period (1855), and other historians of note had already been at work on similar projects.

However, it is clear that many of the Harvard historians harbored moralistic, anti-Catholic, anti–Native American, and pro-Protestant prejudices in their writings that have gone largely uncorrected in many twentieth-century textbooks. All were well-to-do men of letters who were largely unable to deal with American history without including the backdrop of Spain, Britain, or France. Beyond the struggle for independence, America, in isolation from European history, seemingly had too few significant experiences in its short existence around which these men might pull their histories together as literature. The coming cataclysm of the Civil War would resolve this problem and lead to the publication of thousands of historical works concerning the details of the conflict. The separate opinions of the antebellum historians, given form by a common regard for recording the colonial history of America as they thought it should be, were also reflective of the popular literature and poetry of the day. Nonetheless, the group's reporting of factual events was detailed and their labor exhaustive. Their works, taken collectively, remain a foundation for all future study in this area (Volo and Volo 2004, 236).

Harvard graduate William Hickling Prescott was one of the first to achieve literary success by writing history. Taking his style from European historians like Edward Gibbon (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776), Prescott amassed a monumental pile of printed material and documents from which he fashioned the three volumes known as the *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* (1838). This was an immediate success on both sides of the Atlantic, and it was followed by *Conquest of Mexico* (1843) and *Conquest of Peru* (1847). However, Prescott considered the production of histories a form of literary entertainment for the reader, not the stuff of serious scientific research (Volo and Volo 2004, 236–37).

George Bancroft followed his graduation from Harvard with a stay at the University of Göttingen, where he learned to write history in the German style by including an intensive and systematic analysis of all the available data. He began to distribute his 10-volume *History of the United States* in annual installments in 1834. From the founding of the colonies to the adoption of the Constitution, Bancroft wove his way through long and arduous researches somewhat prejudiced by his own New England origins and Democratic politics. His work portrays early America as an unblemished utopia to which the nation needed to return.

At approximately the same time, Richard Hildreth, the Massachusetts jurist and antislavery novelist, produced a six-volume work detailing American history from the Federalist point of view. His first volume appeared in 1849, but with the final volume of the work, completed in 1852, it spanned the period from the age of discovery to the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Hildreth was an abolitionist and temperance crusader, and his desire for reform bled through in his historical writing, costing him some readership. He had first come to attention as an author by writing antislavery tracts. His later work, *Despotism in America* (1854), described the sociological and psychological effects of slavery on American history. Both of his American histories contained some inaccuracies based in their author's politics, but they represented a great treasure of data concerning the social evolution of America.

Foremost in the field of precise historical scholarship were Jared Sparks and Peter Force. Sparks, president of Harvard and editor of the *North American Review,* produced a 12-volume compilation of the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* in 1830. He followed this with 12 volumes of the *Writings of George Washington* (1837), and 10 volumes of the *Works of Benjamin Franklin* (1840). In 1853, he produced a four-volume compilation of important letters between prominent Americans and George Washington known as *The Correspondence of the American Revolution.* These massive collections are still used for historical research today. In his editing, Sparks corrected the eighteenth-century grammar and spelling of the documents he researched to reflect the new American standards being developed by men like Noah Webster. Unlike Force, Sparks was more than a mere collector. The documents and letters he compiled were always accompanied by his commentary on their value and meaning (Volo and Volo 2004, 237).

Peter Force was a publisher, politician, and editor of *The National Journal.* Together with Matthew St. Clair Clarke, the secretary of Congress in 1833, Force undertook the task of compiling an extensive library of American documents with the financial support of the federal government and succeeded in publishing 20 volumes before losing his grant of $22,500 per 800-page text. The first volume of his monumental work, *Documentary History of the American Revolution,* appeared in 1837. By this time, Clarke had retired from the project after calculating that the research cost to himself and Force was $11,000 per volume. Having lost his financing, Force nonetheless continued the work for three decades. His research was conducted in the best traditions of scientific historical scholarship. Unlike Sparks, who was working on similar projects at the time, Force offered no interpretation of his collection and was thereby able to collect an incredible mass of paperwork. His collection remained unhampered by the inclusion of any political editorials or romantic intrigues to tempt the palates of contemporary audiences (Volo and Volo 2004, 237–38).

In 1867, the entire Peter Force Library (more than 22,000 unbound volumes, 40,000 pamphlets, and 129 bound works) was purchased by the Library of Congress for $100,000. The collection began chronologically with Spanish documents written in the late fifteenth century (1490), but the majority of the documents date from 1750 to the end of the Revolution. Represented herein were eighteenth-century American newspapers, imprints, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, atlases, official reports, private papers, and colonial correspondence. Taken together, they are today known as the *American Archives.* So massive was Force's work that some parts of it have yet to be indexed.

Few people at the time would have chosen Benson J. Lossing from among a list of eminent American historians, yet his dedication to capturing the words and memories of the last survivors of the American Revolution before they faded away led him to the publication of a large two-volume work known as the *Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution* (1851). Beginning in 1847, Lossing traveled more than 8,000 miles through the original 13 colonies making sketches of historic places and relics from the Revolution and jotted down the reminiscences of the war taken from those whom he stumbled upon during his visits. Interspersed in his own narrative of the Revolution were the accounts of these eyewitnesses to history and tales of his own travels. Although his interviews were based on hearsay and anecdote and done in a random rather than a systematic manner, Lossing made a record of unmatched scope and variety that most contemporary readers found interesting (Volo and Volo 2004, 238).

Although he was personally excited by American history, Lossing's career as a woodblock engraver, and the New York engraving company that he founded, took up most of his time. He did much of his research in his spare time, but Lossing was no neophyte historian. He had experienced modest success as both a writer and an illustrator before undertaking his monumental task. In 1840, he had published and illustrated the *Outline History of the Fine Arts* and had earned some literary distinction with a series of short illustrated paperbacks called *Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-Six.* Moreover, Lossing was one of the first historians to grasp the benefits to the reader of matching fresh and authentic illustrations with his text, and he included 1,100 woodcut engravings, original pen and pencil drawings, and watercolors with his 700,000-word text (Volo and Volo 2004, 238–39).

Lossing's *Field-Book* began appearing in monthly paperback installments in July 1850. A total of 30 were printed while the enormous two-volume edition of almost 1,200 pages was being prepared. This was released in two parts in 1851 and 1852, respectively. These works sold well among history buffs, but academic historians were critical of Lossing's journalistic approach to history, which they thought had "sacrificed academic standards on the altar of popularity." Nonetheless, Lossing had measured the pulse of the public correctly. Most readers found the stiff academic style of the period frustrating and boring, whereas Lossing's histories were interesting and stimulating. Possibly for this reason Lossing found that his work was in great demand. His subsequent illustrated articles were published by *Harper's Magazine*, almost one every month throughout the 1850s, and the publication of his *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (1868) was only delayed in its release by the outbreak of the Civil War. He later published a three-volume *Field-Book of the Civil War* (1868) based on his studies of both Confederate and Federal war records. All of Lossing's work was done with a fervor that matched his love of history. By 1890, he had written and published more than 40 books and hundreds of magazine articles. His purpose throughout was "to lure readers into history" (Volo and Volo 2004, 239) (Cunningham 1968, 78–79).

Much like Lossing, Francis Parkman actively sought out the scenes of his histories by camping, hiking, and exploring America's rivers and mountains in an attempt to bring the ethic of nature into his writing. After graduating Harvard with a degree in law, Parkman set out in 1846 to gather firsthand information about the American Indian. The results of his travels can be seen in the vivid and authentic-sounding descriptions of Native Americans included in *France in the New World, The California* *and Oregon Trail,* or *The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac.* All of these were published between 1849 and 1851. His post–Civil War works, including seven volumes written between 1865 and 1892, left an indelible stamp on all subsequent writing about the period of the wars for control of North America between France and England. Parkman's research was prodigious, and very few errors or omissions have been detected by subsequent researchers. Moreover, his easy narrative style, popular with antebellum readers, failed to attract negative criticism from the academic historians (Volo and Volo 2004, 239).

Parkman visited French-speaking Canada and the Adirondack region of New York to do much of his research, and he actually traveled the Oregon Trail in 1845. However, for his own *Conspiracy of Pontiac,* Parkman drew heavily on the earlier work of Alexander Henry, a New Jersey adventurer and author of *Travels and Adventures in Canada.* Henry's work was a classic tale of the Canadian fur trade that recalled the days of the French and Indian War. Because he had traveled the northern forests and toiled up the rivers in his own canoe, Henry understood the life of the French coureurs de bois and native trappers. Henry David Thoreau called Henry's book a "classic among books of American travel . . . that read like the argument to a great poem, on the primitive state of the country and its inhabitants" (Volo and Volo 2004, 239–40) (Brooks 1944, 167–68n).

Newspapers

There were millions of newspaper subscribers in the country before the Civil War. European visitors to Brooklyn, New York, were amazed that the English-speaking population of the town of about 300,000 supported a newspaper circulation of 70,000—about one paper for each family. Newspapers gained influence steadily during the first half of the nineteenth century as education spread the power of reading across the population. Alexis de Tocqueville noted in 1831 that Americans had settled the continent with the Bible, the axe, and the newspaper. Many news sheets had their foundation in the colonial press, but new papers were constantly being founded. The weekly *Philadelphia Register and National Recorder* appeared as early as 1819, and the *Springfield Republican* was founded in Massachusetts in 1824. In 1825, the *Boston Traveler* was founded as a daily, and in 1833 *The Sun* was founded as a penny daily in New York. In 1834, the *New Yorker Staats Zeitung* was founded as a German-language weekly. James Gordon Bennett launched *The New York Herald* in 1835, and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* the *Blade* of Toledo, Ohio, and the German-language *Volksblatt,* all daily newspapers, began publication in 1836. In 1837, the *Connecticut Courant,* the country's oldest weekly (begun in 1764), became *The Hartford Daily Courant.* In the 1840s and 1850s, the *Boston Herald,* the *Chicago Tribune,* the *Chicago Times,* the *New York Times,* and the *Sacramento California Union* were all founded as daily news sheets (Volo and Volo 2004, 240) (Cremin 1970, 409).

Although the *Baltimore Sun* and the *New Orleans Picayune* were prestigious dailies, southern papers were slower to develop than those in other parts of the country. They were almost completely dependent on northern sources for type, presses, and newsprint—a weakness that was sorely felt during the Civil War. Nonetheless, an incredibly large number of local publications appeared as citizens came to favor the newspaper as an individualized form of communication (Volo and Volo 2004, 240).

Newspapers printed speeches in their entirety within a few days of their being given. Political arguments, essays, letters to the editor, and discussions among dedicated readers—both genuine and planted for effect—flowed in the wake of every issue. Persons read alone, or in small groups, with the leisure to reread and analyze what was printed. Many extraordinary pieces of literature first appeared in the press. Many of Dickens's works and Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* first appeared in newsprint as serials. In 1823, the *Troy Sentinel* of New York printed an anonymous Christmas poem by a learned biblical author, Clement Clarke Moore, titled "A Visit from St. Nicholas," which later became better known as a book called *'Twas the Night Before Christmas*. However, in the estimation of the publishers, the most important articles to be printed were the official proceedings taking place in Washington, D.C., often with biting editorial preambles. Even routine congressional debates were reported in painstaking detail (Volo and Volo 2004, 240–42).

The power of the press to influence a wider audience than that which could be assembled at any one place and time was not to be underestimated. Some papers tried to remain neutral, but others sought out political alliances either because of the agenda of the editors or, more commonly, to attract a lucrative trade in political advertising and public printing. Neutrality on any topic of public interest often doomed a newspaper to failure. At times, the papers were so full of scandal and untruth that their publishers were prosecuted for libel; and more than one duel was fought over the comments made in the press.

The papers that sprang to the side of Andrew Jackson in his 1828 presidential campaign—and they were too numerous to be counted—bitterly assailed the administration of John Quincy Adams. In this way, they became an organ of the political party; and, in an era of slow-moving news and uncorroborated sources, they became an effective tool for convincing the party voter of the universal appeal of its candidate or position.

One of the earliest influential newspapers in the South was the *Courier*. Begun in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1803, it quickly became one of the most influential and popular of southern papers. Its editors refused to give in to public pressure during the tariff, nullification, and secession crises, reporting only the activities of the conventions without adding any editorial support for their positions. As early as 1828, Robert B. Rhett used his Charleston-based newspaper, the *Mercury*, to urge resistance to the unrestrained rule of the federal government. Rhett pleaded with his readers for the southern states to secede en masse in defense of states' rights and southern culture. The *Mercury* continued to plead the case of disunion right up to the eve of the Civil War.

The *Richmond Whig* was a leader when it came to strong opposition to disunion. The *New Orleans Crescent* opposed any form of violence. The *Memphis Eagle* portrayed peaceful secession as an absurd pipe dream. Many papers, including the *Natchez Courier*, the *Nashville Banner* and the *New Orleans Bulletin*, reminded the South of its intense reliance upon the North and warned that before any drastic measures be taken, the South had best make itself independent first (Volo and Volo 2004, 242).

Other papers foresaw and accepted the inevitable conflict. *DeBow's Review,* a monthly commercial publication located in New Orleans, urged the South to diversify its economy and build railroads, factories, and canals and thereby free itself from any dependence on the North. By midcentury, *DeBow's* was increasingly seen as a vehicle for secessionist propaganda. The *Hornet's Nest* of Charlotte, North Carolina, published a list of northern businesses that did not support the South's position and urged other editors to print the list in their publications, a counsel that the *Southern Confederacy,* one of the most vehement of secessionist papers, applauded (Volo and Volo 2004, 242–43).

The secession press was most intense in South Carolina and Mississippi. Besides the Charleston *Mercury,* several other newspapers actively stressed southern independence. Some, like the *Natchez Free Trader,* plainly recommended secession as the only recourse for southern grievances. Southern nationalism was hawked by the respected *Southern Literary Messenger,* once edited by Edgar Allan Poe; and even the *Southern Quarterly Review* was pleading the cause of disunion. Virginian papers tended to be less unanimous in these opinions. Yet the *Richmond South,* edited by Roger A. Pryor, and its sister paper, the *Enquirer,* edited by Henry A. Wise, both sported prominent secessionist themes. The Richmond *Examiner* and the *Dispatch*—once neutral and conservative—threw all their powers, and their large circulation, into the cause of secession by 1860 (Volo and Volo 2004, 243).

Although there were many local news sheets, most people looked to illustrated newspapers such as *Leslie's* or *Harper's.* A number of American engravers made a living during the early antebellum period by circulating prints of early artworks. These sold well, and many antebellum inns and parlors were decorated with the likenesses of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, or Jackson. Alexander Anderson was an American woodblock and copper engraver who produced his earliest work for mass publication near the end of the eighteenth century. Anderson was forced to improvise his own tools and methods, even hiring a blacksmith to make thin sheets from copper pennies for his first engravings. His first financially successful copperplate engraving was of American naval hero John Paul Jones (Brooks 1944, 159).

New York publisher Frank Leslie produced woodcut illustrations for his *Illustrated Newspaper.* The combination of stark black-on-white graphics and terse prose to interpret ongoing news events was a new concept in the American newspaper business that was quickly adopted by other news agencies. Leslie, whose true name was Henry Carter, had emigrated from Britain in 1848. There he had worked as an engraver for the *Illustrated London News,* which was the first newspaper to employ graphics. In London, Leslie learned the processes for turning pencil sketches into woodcut engravings that could be transferred to newsprint economically. In 1852, P. T. Barnum, the famed American showman, developed a process by which the sketch was divided into several pieces to be engraved on as many blocks by individual engravers and carefully assembled into a single printing surface. Barnum hired Leslie as a supervising engraver for the short-lived *Illustrated News* (Volo and Volo 2004, 243).

Leaving Barnum, by 1854, Leslie had set up his own organization and published the first issue of *Frank Leslie's Ladies' Gazette of Paris, London, and New York,* one of the first illustrated fashion magazines in America. The *Illustrated Newspaper* quickly followed in 1855. Leslie employed more than 130 engraving and print artists as well as a substantial number of roving sketch artists. He introduced a number of different papers to American readers: the *Illustrated Zeitung*, a German-language edition aimed at the Germanic immigrant population of the North; the *Budget of Fun*, a whimsical publication featuring cheap fiction; the *Ten Cent Monthly;* the *Lady's Illustrated Almanac;* and the *Lady's Magazine and Gazette of Fashion*. All of these bore his name, beginning their titles with "*Frank Leslie's*" (Volo and Volo 2004, 243–44).

In a day when a partisan press was the rule, *Leslie's* stood apart. Except for tolerating an anti-Irish sentiment and portraying Negroes in a stereotypical and condescending manner, *Leslie's* condoned little that was political. Within four years of Leslie's first publication, two independent graphic news weeklies were launched in competition with his newspaper empire: *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Illustrated News*. Fletcher Harper, the well-financed publisher from Harper and Brothers, actively tried to recruit Leslie's artists and engravers and aggressively tried to exceed Leslie's circulation. Leslie provided poor and erratic pay for his artists, many of whom he lost to competitors. By the opening of the Civil War, the two newspapers were within 10,000 copies of one another, with the *New York Illustrated News* a distant third (Volo and Volo 2004, 244).

Two of the best sketch artists of the period were the brothers William and Alfred Waud. Ironically, each served with a different paper: William working for *Leslie's* and Alfred for *Harper's*. William proved particularly adept at ingratiating himself with the social elite of South Carolina during the secession crisis. Because of the paper's uncommitted stance, wherever Waud traveled, he found individuals to be cooperative and helpful. Leslie instructed him to use the utmost care in making his sketches and to avoid giving any indication of political sympathies toward one side or the other. Nonetheless, Waud left *Leslie's* in 1863 to work at *Harper's* with his brother Alfred and another fine artist Theodore Davis. William Waud's genius and discretion were matched by an army of artists who continued with *Leslie's*, including Eugene Benson, Arthur Lumley, Henry Lovie, C. S. Hall, F. H. Schell, and Edwin Forbes. Forbes, a mere 22 years old, drew so well that readers "scanned the drawings in *Leslie's* for familiar faces" (Volo and Volo 2004, 244) (Forbes 1994, preface) (Stanchak 1992, v–xii).

The quality of the sketches drawn by these artists was not always reproduced faithfully by the engravers, and, in viewing these graphic scenes, great care must be taken. What the artist drew was not so much reproduced as copied. The field artists were often in a hurry to get their work back to the engravers. Unfinished sketches of prominent figures in the scene with backgrounds and lines of soldiers "roughed in" and labeled as "trees here" or "Capitol building here" were often sent off to the engravers to be filled by hands whose eyes had never witnessed the scene. In many cases, this made the illustration more one created by imagination than reality. The results were sometimes unfortunate. Engravings of historic episodes from the American Revolution, popular in the press at the time, were often wildly inaccurate as to the cut and design of uniforms and equipment from the eighteenth century as engravers dressed Washington's soldiers in Federalist-era uniforms (Volo and Volo 2004, 244–45).

The South was generally dependent on northern publishers to print its books and newspapers. In the entire South, there was only one type factory, no facilities for printing maps, and an entire inability to make inexpensive wood-pulp paper. A well-illustrated magazine, such as *Harper's* or *Leslie's*, could not be published in the South. The *Southern Illustrated News* and other papers were often limited to a single sheet of newsprint. These made an attempt to mimic *Harper's* and *Leslie's* with crude engravings but were obviously not comparable to the northern news outlets. Nonetheless, patriotic southerners bombarded their newspapers with so much unsolicited poetry on nationalistic themes that some publications began charging to print it. Newspapers like the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* were particularly successful in creating a wide public identification with the stirring events of the winter of 1860 and the spring of 1861 (Volo and Volo 2004, 245) (Faust 1988, 8, 17).

Material Life

CHANGES AND CONFLICT, 1821–1861
CHRONOLOGY, 1821–1861
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE
SLAVERY

ANTEBELLUM HOMES

There was no single characteristic house style during the antebellum period, but the elegant plantation homes built in the American South, with their central entrances, balconies, columns, and formal ballrooms, came closest to representing a discrete architectural style for the period. The focus on southern architectural characteristics somewhat distorts the character of home building in the period. Actually, the majority of homes built from 1820 to 1860 were Greek Revival, Classical Revival, and Federalist style structures or some adaptation thereof. Moreover, surviving examples of stately northern mansions and palatial southern plantation houses reflect the power, idealism, and tastes of only the wealthiest Americans. Unlike the homes of the wealthy, most of the functional and sturdy structures belonging to average Americans no longer exist in an unmodified form, having undergone numerous renovations in the twentieth century. Their original contours and characteristics were seldom recorded except by accident in a photograph, painting, or sketch (Volo and Volo 2004, 115).

Although home ownership served as an ideal during the period, many families, especially in the cities, had to settle for apartments, boardinghouses, and tenements. Even among individual homeowners, there was a wide diversity of residences including mansions, villas, multistory houses, cottages, cabins, and soddies. The Irish immigrants were noted by observers at the time for building shanties—structures that were virtual shacks. Yet the majority of homes built during the antebellum period were simple frame farmhouses. In the largely rural areas of a young America, a husband and wife might sit down, pencil and paper in hand, with thoughts focused on cornfields or pumpkin patches rather than on cornices or pilasters. These amateur architects tended to design plans for a practical house, a functional barn, a predator-proof chicken coop, or a well-drained pigpen. Fenced farm fields and properly planted orchards were far more important to the common farm family than symmetrical facades or grand staircases. Many of these plans were piecemeal and disordered, and few such drawings survived (Volo and Volo 2004, 115–16).

Yet in an odd custom among rural societies in nineteenth-century America, some of the best plans were rescued from obscurity. Prizes were sometimes offered for successful farmhouse designs by a number of agricultural improvement societies. Many of the most functional plans were submitted and displayed at county fairs or published in farm journals. Ordinary periodicals often carried house plans, and few illustrated magazines failed to carry a floor or building plan of the month. Evidence gleaned from sources like these has allowed historians to construct an accurate picture of the average farm home (Volo and Volo 2004, 116–17).

A number of architectural pattern books were published during the period that contained a variety of house plans of different sizes and prices. Among these was *Rural Residences*, published in 1837 by Alexander Jackson Davis. This particular architectural pattern book was thought to have introduced the Gothic Revival style to North America. In a similar manner, *Victorian Cottage Residences* and *The Architecture of Country Homes* were published by Andrew Jackson Downing in 1842 and 1850, respectively. Both emphasized the Carpenter Gothic style (Volo and Volo 2004, 117).

THE MIDDLE-CLASS HOME

The typical middle-class home could be divided into three classifications of rooms: public rooms, private rooms, and workrooms. The common public rooms included the hall, parlor, dining room, and library, and the private rooms were the bedchambers and nursery, which were almost exclusively located on the second floor. The placement of a bedroom on the first floor of a two-story home, except in the event of sickness or infirmity among the occupants, was considered risqué in many circles. The final category of rooms included workrooms such as the kitchen, pantry, laundry, scullery, or cellar. These were often the haunts of servants, if the family could afford them, or places where the homeowners did not want to be seen doing the work of servants. Of course, every middle-class family hoped to support the fiction that they were wealthy enough to avoid doing their own hand labor (Volo and Volo 2004, 117).

The Front Hall

In addition to the practical purposes of providing a barrier against the cold or containing the mud and dirt from outside, the front hall of an antebellum home had a very important social function. Business dealings in these times were much more likely to be done face-to-face, and guests needed a place in which to be greeted when calling. The front hall provided a reception area where these dealings could take place without exposing the family's private quarters to the view of strangers. In the absence of a servants' entrance, shopping purchases were often delivered here, and in urban areas, mail might be delivered at any time during the day (Volo and Volo 2004, 117).

The front hall was the public face of the home, and it was important that it be decorated in a fashion that was appropriate to the social standing of the family. It was likely for the hall to be furnished with a pair of chairs for visitors, a mirror for checking one's appearance, and a table to receive calling cards. Upscale homes often had massive pieces of furniture that combined several of these features. Floors could be tiled for the practical purpose of accommodating the dirt of a high-traffic area, but more often they were covered with carpet or oilcloth. Elizabeth Blair Lee wrote, "I have enquired [*sic*] about carpets & oil cloth—the latter is much the cheapest for the Hall—the best quality costs $1.25 to $1.50 for a square yard—a poor carpet costs that & dust makes the oil cloth best in other respects." Oilcloth was often made of canvas coated with a thick layer of oil-based paint and decorated with a geometric design. The effect of these designs was often remarkably similar to that of real tile, marble, or carpet (Volo and Volo 2004, 117–18) (Laas 1991, 313).

The procedure known as "calling" was a social function that was required by proper society and governed by convention. On the topic of calling, *Martine's Hand-Book of Etiquette* stated, "Such visits are necessary, to maintain good feeling between the members of society; they are required by the custom of the age in which we live, and must be carefully attended to." Martine counseled that ceremonial calls be kept brief. "Half an hour amply suffices for a visit of ceremony. If the visitor be a lady, she may remove her victorine [a type of veil], but on no account either the shawl or bonnet, even if politely requested to do so by the mistress of the house. Some trouble is necessarily required in replacing them, and this ought to be avoided." Upon exiting the home, callers would leave a card identifying themselves, which would be placed in a cardholder in the front hall. Elaborate cardholders were made from silver or china. Ladies magazines contained patterns for handcrafted ones. "In leaving cards you must thus distribute them: one for the lady of the house and her daughters . . . one for the master of the house, and if there be a grown up son or a near male relation staying in the house, one for him" (Martine 1866, 112–13, 116).

This photo of Professor George Agassiz by James Black is an example of a carte de visite that would be kept in photo albums, or used when visiting a home or office as a means of introduction. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Socially conscious women kept a list of family members and business acquaintances who formed a basic calling circle. It would be expected that persons on this list would be visited at least twice a year. Failure to reciprocate in calling could be considered a grievous slight. Naturally, close friends and family would see each other more frequently. Martine warned, "Keep a strict account of your ceremonial visits. This is needful, because time passes rapidly; and take note of how soon your calls are returned. You will thus be able, in most cases, to form an opinion whether or not your frequent visits are desired." Brides were kept particularly busy making rounds as they introduced themselves in their new social position. Women were reminded that "it is the custom for a wife to take her husband's cards with her, and to leave one or two with her own" (Volo and Volo 2004, 118) (Martine 1866, 116).

The Parlor

The parlor was the most public room in the antebellum house. Parlors were common to both the North and the South and across the social classes. Some more affluent homes had a front parlor solely dedicated to formal visitations and a back parlor for family use, but a single parlor was most common. The parlor was the place where important visitors and relations would be received. Where the front hall was the public face of the home, the parlor was where the first impressions of the family were formed. Decorating decisions were made in a very calculated manner so as to project the image a family wished to portray. Parlors contained a family's best in every way. It would have the highest ceilings, the largest fireplace, and most elaborate furnishings. The center feature of most parlors was a large circular table with a kerosene or oil lamp. Here the family would gather to write, read, converse, play games, or engage in needlework and crafts. The need to gather around the central light, which may have been the only one in the room, helped to foster a communal atmosphere. The parlor table allowed family members to be together, yet various members of the family could be engaged in a variety of pastimes. They were able to function as individuals, yet remain a part of the family community as a whole.

The second focal point of the parlor was the fireplace. The mantel was often heavily decorated with pictures, collections of natural objects, or mementos. What could not fit on the mantel might be contained on shelves or étagères around the room. An intense appreciation of nature prevailed during this time, leading to the collection of seashells, fossils, minerals, pinecones and dried flowers, all of which might be displayed in the parlor. It was felt that objects like these reflected a harmony between the natural world and the civilized one. Homes decorated with objects of nature were thought to demonstrate nature's beauty in family life. Additionally, using natural objects as decorative accents showed a wife's sense of economy, an attribute much extolled in women (Volo and Volo 2004, 118–19).

Other parlor furnishings might include an upholstered sofa, armchairs, and a pair of easy chairs, all covered in matching fabrics. Rocking chairs were very much in fashion during the period, and parlors were just one room in which they might be found. Common upholstering materials included brocades, silk damask, and tapestry, all adorned with tassels, cords, and fringe. It was not unusual for sofa ensembles to contain a large gentleman's armchair and a smaller chair with half arms for the lady, which accommodated her wide skirts and kept her posture properly erect. The placement of chairs around the room allowed social groupings to change as activities varied. A person might move from the solitary activity of reading quietly to join a game with other family members at the table. Sofas were designed with slight curves to encourage conversation. Ownership of a piano or parlor organ bespoke solid middle-class status. Parlor organs, as opposed to pianos, tended to be an outgrowth of domestic religious worship during which the family celebrated the Sabbath by singing hymns and playing ecclesiastic music. These were particularly important to homes that actively fostered the Christian development of family worship. The reed organ, which was perfectly suited to use in the parlor, was being produced in the United States by the 1840s. Pianos were more a status symbol rather than the organ in heralding the financial stability, educational accomplishment, and cultural propriety of the owner and his family. More than 20,000 pianos were being produced annually in America by the time of the Civil War. Advertisements for pianos and organs filled period newspapers and magazines. Retailers offered payment terms even for their least expensive models that sold for about $300 (Volo and Volo 2004, 119–20) (Crawford 1977, v).

Families enjoyed singing and listening to pieces played on the piano. As with many of the activities undertaken by antebellum society, people followed their inclinations with little restraint. Consistent with this view was the growing popularity of piano concerts given in both public halls and private parlors. An 1853 editorial in the *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle* gives a generally negative perspective on this phenomenon: "A hobby of society at this present day is to be music-mad, and the adulation and toddyism lavished upon every Piano Forte player of any talent is enough to disgust all sensible people with the instrument forever.... [O]ne would suppose that there was nothing else worth living for in this life but music and the Piano Forte player especially." The editors further noted that "Signor Pound-the-keys... fills his pockets for one night's work with as many dollars as three-fourths of the community earn in a year" (Volo and Volo 2004, 120) (Howard 1965, 199–200).

The piano was generally considered a feminine instrument, and women actively cultivated their musical talents on it. "Young ladies are the principal interpreters of domestic music," stated *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1860. This association with the feminine led to the selection of many accessories that were generally thought to interest women to adorn the piano top. Yet the pursuit of musical excellence may not always have been motivated by a love of harmonious tones. The piano provided a reason for courting couples to be in relatively close physical proximity during a time when proper behavior generally forbade such intimacy. By the piano, the couple could exchange glances as the young woman played, and the young man could bend closely, as he courteously turned music pages for the seated player (Anderson 1997, 22).

The sheet music industry, aided by advances in printing and engraving, was already well established and flourishing at the beginning of the period. The sheet music itself was often beautifully lithographed, providing the additional bonus of an inexpensive piece of artwork for the parlor. Some families acquired so much piano sheet music that a separate piece of furniture, sometimes known as a Canterbury, was acquired by the family to hold it. Possession of such a piece of furniture was an additional status symbol (Volo and Volo 2004, 120).

Assorted small tables around the parlor contained additional bric-a-brac, a stereoscope with its 3-D photographs, or perhaps a gilded album that was used to collect *cartes de visite*. Filling albums with *cartes de visite* was quite a family hobby, popular with families across the middle and upper classes. Edwin Weller wrote to his fiancée, "I should be pleased to aid you in filling up your Album with nice Pictures, and will do so if I have an opportunity." Some albums were elaborate and decorated with silver or brass clasps and covered with velvet, wood, or mother-of-pearl. Inside, the album contained 20 or more pages of precut frames ready to receive the *cartes*. With time, the *cartes* became relatively inexpensive, and at least one photographer advertised on the back of his work, "CARTES DE VISITE, 6 for $1.00." Filling an album was an accomplishment likely to be made only by middle- or upper-class families with incomes that allowed for a good deal of discretionary spending. People generally stood for photographs at landmark times in their life, such as just after marriage or betrothal, following the birth of a child, or before leaving for war. *Cartes* could also be purchased, and collectors acquired pictures of famous people or *cartes* that contained a religious or poetic sentiment (Walton 1980, 25, 65).

The walls of a home were often covered in wallpapers that boasted large floral bouquets tied with ribbons, verdant foliage, or oversized fruit—a style that had started late in the decade of the 1840s and persisted into the 1860s. The walls were usually further ornamented with paintings and, for the less affluent, black-and-white prints or color lithographs. Attractive prints of good quality and color were readily available in the second half of the period, and many families took advantage of this new technology. Subjects included farmyard scenes, prints of famous racehorses, European riverscapes or landscapes, hunting vignettes, still lifes, and biblical tableaus. The popularity of farmyard pictures in homes decorated in brocade and tassels can be attributed to the passion for establishing a sense of harmony with nature and an underlying yearning, in an increasingly industrialized environment, for simpler times.

European subjects might be used as wall hangings to remind the family members of travels they may have made, a fact the family would have been desirous to publicize to visitors. Another popular subject was that of famous people, both historical and contemporary. These were chosen from among musical, literary, political, and military venues especially from the Revolution, the War of 1812, or the Mexican War of 1846. Representations of these people might take the form of a painting, a print, an engraving, or a bust. The public figures with which a family chose to decorate their home made a powerful statement about the owners of the parlor (Volo and Volo 2004, 121).

Not only did the selection of these works of art show good taste and education, but also they served as silent but concrete reminders of revered values. George Washington, for example, was admired as a selfless leader who put the public interest above his private preferences. The presence of his picture in the parlor showed that the family valued this attribute. A picture of Thomas Jefferson showed a respect for the law, and that of Andrew Jackson a certain egalitarianism. These pictures served as constant reminders to children of what was expected of them in adulthood. Many of the women depicted in this form were wives of famous men such as Martha Washington or entertainers like the singer Jenny Lind. The message for young girls was an expectation that they would be quiet movers, gently working behind the scenes (Volo and Volo 2004, 121–22).

Floors were carpeted with patterns that tended to be floral or of natural colors. However, carpets were sold by the linear yard and came in strips a little more than two feet wide. They had to be pieced and sewn together much like wallpaper patterns. Susan Evans wrote to her sister, Emma Sargent Barbour, about the installation of new carpet. About a dozen women came to assist her in the installation. "I had to help cut the breadth, but we were not very experienced hands and consequently the carpet was cut wrong, or rather one breadth fell short. We measured it before hand, but could not seem to make the figures match any other way." Nonetheless, extant examples show that carpets were often sewn with remarkable skill by professional installers who hid the seams and flawlessly matched the patterns. Mats often covered carpets in high-traffic areas or where fireplace sparks were likely. It was not unusual to take up the carpet in summer and replace it with sewn reed mats to make the home seem cooler and to save wear and tear on the generally expensive carpet. Elizabeth Blair Lee compared prices for a carpet from two merchants in Washington and Philadelphia, respectively, and stated that they ranged from $150 to $262 for a room.

Many Americans revered intellectual pursuits, and books were, therefore, a must in the parlor. Diary entries refer to reading more than any other pastime in middle-class homes. Large, heavy Bibles were most often displayed on the central table as a symbol of the family's dedication to religion. Other books were frequently displayed on tables or on built-in bookshelves. Books brought learning and the world outside into the home. A parlor containing books showed that the owners valued knowledge and wished to better themselves. The information contained therein provided greater understanding of the natural world and the Lord's works. Antebellum middle-class Americans were fond of creating literary allusions in their lives, and they did not limit themselves to pictures of famous authors or samples of their works. Statues and ceramics containing scenes from literature were used to decorate the parlor, as were religious symbols (Moskow 1990, 68) (Volo and Volo 2004, 122).

Windows were almost buried beneath a shroud of fabrics. Closest to the window would be a thin curtain, most likely made of lace, which served as both a barrier to flies and a window treatment. These would be covered with a second layer made of heavy fabric that could be closely drawn to block out the light entirely and prevent the fading of upholstery and rugs. The ensemble would be topped off with a valance fashionably trimmed with cords, tassels, and braid. Overall, the antebellum parlor was a place of abundant accumulation. It also gives insight into the spirit and the structure of the society of which it was a part (Volo and Volo 2004, 123).

The Library

Although it was common to see period house plans showing libraries—and many trade catalogs displayed library furniture—libraries were only affordable to the upper classes and the wealthiest among the upper middle classes. Although the antebellum home, in comparison to the home of an earlier century, was becoming increasingly dominated by feminine interests and decorations, the library remained largely a male domain. It was a place to which a man could retreat and engage in the kind of activities that did not coincide with the outward picture of the female-dominated home and hearth. Here a man could smoke, drink, and discuss money, politics, and war without exposing the rest of the family to such vulgarities. Libraries were usually on the ground floor and off to one side. Decorations were more subdued than in the parlor. Walls were paneled or covered in dark-colored paper. Heavy bookshelves filled with leather-bound volumes were a necessity, and other furniture would include a desk or writing table, large gentlemen's chairs, and various occasional tables. If a man had hobbies or interests, it would be here that he would pursue them. Gun cases and other weapons collections might be featured, and specimen cases containing fossils or insects might be displayed among accompanying magnifying glasses and other optical aids (Volo and Volo 2004, 123).

The Dining Room

The luxury of a room dedicated solely to the purpose of dining was another badge of middle-class status. Families of lesser means ate in kitchens or in areas adjacent to the parlor, set aside for dining. Dining room furniture tended to be massive, often of mahogany or other dark wood. Elizabeth Blair Lee wrote to her husband, "I have look[ed] at some furniture & find that dining room furniture alone will cost four hundred dollars of oil walnut which is as cheap as oak." The standard number of chairs was eight. A sideboard was a common complement, providing an excellent place to display oversized serving pieces and candelabras. Walls tended to be dark to show up well under candlelight, the standard lighting for this room. Even during luncheons, it would not be unusual to draw the draperies and eat by candlelight. The formal dining experience was one of tremendous ritual and ostentation. Books of etiquette contained page upon page of rules guiding proper behavior while dining. Certain foods required highly specialized serving or eating utensils, and attention to proper form while dining was extremely important. Of the 30 pages that Martine dedicates to dining in his etiquette book, 10 of these pertain solely to carving meats at the table. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the upper classes developed a passion for complicating the dining process by introducing such superfluous table items as spoon warmers, cheese servers, and other odd serving pieces in an attempt to further ritualize the dining process and to distinguish those "in the know" from the common folk (Volo and Volo 2004, 123) (Laas 1991, 212).

The Kitchen

The main utilitarian room in the mid-nineteenth-century house was the kitchen. It was here that the most mundane, labor-intensive household duties took place. The kitchen was always located on the ground floor with a door to the outside, to facilitate deliveries. It was not necessary for it to be adjacent to the dining room, and in certain circles, distance was considered an asset, keeping odors contained. Very large homes might have a separate building that served as a summer kitchen. Kitchen furnishings were functional and simple. There was usually a large central worktable, a cupboard for storing dishes, and a "safe" for storing cheeses, breads, cooked meats, pies, or puddings. The safes were a kind of screened cupboard that protected kitchen items from insects, pets, and vermin, but they did nothing to regulate their temperature (Volo and Volo 2004, 124).

Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book advises, "The kitchen floor should be covered with an oil cloth.... Nothing is cleansed so easily as an oil cloth, and it is much better than a painted floor, because it can be moved to be painted." In many homes, the kitchen was also the scullery and the laundry. In those cases, there would also be a deep sink with a drying rack for washing vegetables and pots. Indoor sinks generally had hand pumps but drains to the outside were a rarity. Dirty water often had to be bailed out and emptied outside. Dishes were washed in a large wooden bowl as a measure to keep down breakage. Pots were stored by hanging them from racks (Volo and Volo 2004, 124) (Beecher 1850, 253).

In this period, unlike in the previous century with its massive stone hearths, many homes had a single dominating feature in the kitchen—a wood-burning iron stove. Cast-iron stoves had become fairly standard in middle-class homes in the North by 1860. Many styles had been patented with special functions or unique characteristics. They ranged from simple cylinders for heating a small room to large, ornate contrivances for larger spaces. Iron stovetop and oven combinations for the kitchen were just becoming fashionable, and many were installed into existing kitchen fireplaces. Some had several levels for cooking, baking, and heating water. Metal chimney pipes were often routed through the walls or ceilings to several other rooms to provide indirect heating from a single stove. Even elaborate systems of stovepipes were seemingly ignored in terms of the overall household aesthetics and were viewed as the price for efficient and modern heating. In rural areas and in much of the South, particularly among the lower classes, cooking was still done on an open hearth. There were those who resisted the kitchen stove solely because they felt that the hearth was the traditional heart of the home (Volo and Volo 2004, 124–25).

Kitchen furnishings might include an ice chest, which was a large double-sided wooden box with charcoal or sand sandwiched between the inner and outer layer of sideboards for thermal insulation. These became more sophisticated with time, but there was no attempt at true refrigeration. A block of ice was simply placed in the box to keep dairy products cool. The melt water was captured in a pan below. Ice was cut from ponds and lakes in winter and stored for future use in an icehouse. Commercial icehouses could be found in urban areas. Dry goods such as flour, sugar, and cornmeal were stored in crockery or in tinned iron or wooden containers. Rural kitchens, and those of families of lesser means, were also likely to be more family oriented than those found in the more wealthy homes, which had servants or slaves. These kitchens may well have been used for sewing or helping children with studies. Responsively, they would contain additional furnishings to suit their multipurpose functions (Volo and Volo 2004, 125).

The Bedrooms

The bedrooms of the late antebellum period were very different from those of the previous century. They were no longer the semipublic multiple-use spaces of the eighteenth century in which a person might receive close acquaintances. Bedrooms were now very private places and would not even be referred to in polite conversation. Beds retained the use of rope springs and feather mattresses, but the wooden frames had lost some of the mass of earlier times. The heavy bed curtains of former years had all but disappeared. Built-in closets were just beginning to come into vogue in 1860, and clothing or linens were stored in trunks, chests of drawers, and wardrobes (Volo and Volo 2004, 125).

After her husband sent her some cloth samples for bed linens, Elizabeth Blair Lee wrote, "The linen is wonderfully cheap—Cotton that width costs in the city $1.25 cts & not of the best quality—that linen here would sell for $1.50 to 60 cts.... You could not do better to buy than buy two pairs—they will take about 11 yards—I have 12 prs of double linen sheets & two prs single... & two pairs of Blankets—for we cannot get any blankets here for less than six dollars. I would like one pair" (Laas 1991, 313).

Beside the bed might be found a small table upon which to rest the chamber stick used to guide one to the bedroom upon retiring. Oil lamps were usually not found in bedrooms, and carrying an oil lamp with its liquid fuel from room to room was considered a major fire hazard. An overturned or dropped candle presented less danger of a quickly spreading conflagration. Therefore, store-bought candles continued as an important commodity through the end of the century. Many communities required that homeowners have leather fire buckets at hand, filled with sand, to stop the spread of accidental fire. Some of these were imprinted with the commercial logos of fire insurance companies. People generally did not sit in bed and read before sleeping nor did they lounge about in their lingerie. Bedrooms were likely to be drafty places most of the year and cold in winter (Volo and Volo 2004, 125–26).

The Nursery

Cribs and cradles were frequently found close to the parents' bed to facilitate breast-feeding and as a precaution should the child take ill during the night. Older children in lower economic situations might also sleep in the same room. Families who could afford it had a nursery for the children, and children of particularly wealthy families might share the nursery with a nanny. Nurseries also often doubled as schoolrooms and might also contain globes, maps, and perhaps a blackboard as needed for instruction (Volo and Volo 2004, 126).

The Necessary

Whereas wealthy families might have had inside plumbing and the accompanying bathroom facilities, most people had to make to with ceramic washbasins and pitchers on a washstand, and a chamber pot under the bed. Full-fledged baths were labor-intensive events that involved bringing up heated water from the kitchen to the bedchamber so that a compact metal tub could be filled. Only the lower classes bathed on the ground floor, if at all. This relegated total immersion baths even for the middle-class homeowner to special occasions. Sponge baths were the more common occurrence. Freestanding outhouses were the rule almost everywhere, but outhouses were not convenient at night. Most bedrooms contained a covered chamber pot. Some chamber pots were hidden in various pieces of furniture like chairs and stools, but some were merely stored beneath the bed until their contents were emptied into the slop jar in the morning and disposed of down the outhouse hole (Volo and Volo 2004, 126–27).

THE SOUTHERN PLANTATION HOUSE

The mention of the antebellum South invariably brings to mind images of stately mansions with porticoes, balconies, and ballrooms. The grand, white-columned plantation house has become so symbolic of the antebellum South that many people think it was developed there. On the contrary, the South developed no distinctive style of architecture of its own, but it was very successful in adapting existing modes from Europe, and even from the North, to its own needs and inclinations. From colonial times, upland southern homes continued an Anglo-Saxon building tradition. Southern structures can be found that show Tudor, Stuart, and Jacobean influences. It was, however, the Georgian style that really took hold during colonial times and reigned until the Greek Revival style came into favor during the 1830s. Later plantation houses still bear traces of a lingering Georgian influence. In the Deep South, with its historic ties to France and to Spain, a blend of European influences was adapted to the subtropical climate of the Gulf Coast and Mississippi Delta. This is particularly true of the existing plantation houses in Louisiana that survived the ravages of destruction during the Civil War due to the early capture of the region by federal troops. Houses were constructed high off the ground, away from dampness and potential flooding. Walls were built thick to keep out the heat, and long, sloping roofs extending over two-storied porches provided a perpetual shade and comfortable space for outdoor living (Volo and Volo 2004, 127–28).

Regardless of their European antecedents, most southern plantation houses exhibited a number of common architectural features. The facade was symmetrical with evenly spaced windows and central doorways both in front and in the rear. Rounded colonnades extended upward from the ground to support an elaborate band, called a "frieze," running above the doorways and windows but below the cornice. This provided a classical dignity to the home and was sometimes decorated with designs and carvings. The roof either was hipped, sloping down to the eaves on all four sides, or it was gabled, the slope of the roof forming a large triangle. The area supported by the columns was called the "entablature." Beneath this were the balconies and covered porches. Sometimes external staircases divided and curved gracefully from the upper balconies to the center of the house.

As the indisputably common feature of the typical southern plantation house, columns deserve special mention. A column is an upright pillar or post that may be purely decorative or may serve as a structural support for the roof. With details reminiscent of the Parthenon, pillared homes reflected a passion for antiquity and classic style. They were introduced into the American South by Anglo-Americans who moved into the region about the time of the Louisiana Purchase (1803) (Volo and Volo 2004, 128).

Inside the southern plantation home, there was frequently a large center hall and a grand staircase with large rooms to either side, allowing for good air circulation and ventilation. High-ceilinged rooms with full-length windows allowed for the circulation of the cooled porch air and gave the rooms a sense of dignity and scale unlike that seen in any other region of the country. When open, the windows sometimes served as walkways onto the porch. Sleeping chambers were generally kept on the second floor. Dormer windows, which added light to the attic, were also common (Volo and Volo 2004, 128–29).

Regularity of design was carried from the main house to the outbuildings that made up the entire plantation, creating a sense of symmetry and a pleasant arrangement of structures. Two pavilions frequently flanked the central building. A typical domestic complex included a detached kitchen about the size of a single-room house, a springhouse or root cellar for the cool storage of milk products, a smokehouse to preserve meats, a laundry, and sometimes an icehouse, a schoolroom, or a storehouse. Slaves and servants were often quartered in these work buildings, or they were provided with separate housing out of sight of the main building. Northern travelers often compared the scene posed by a plantation to that of a small village (Volo and Volo 2004, 129).

GREEK REVIVAL HOUSES

Stately, pillared Greek Revival homes reflected a passion among their owners for antiquity. Popular from about 1825, these homes commonly featured pedimented gables, a boxy symmetrical shape, a heavy cornice, a wide unornamented frieze, and bold but simple moldings. Many of these structures had entry porches with columns and decorative pilasters. Long, narrow windows often flanked the front door. Actually, the earliest example of note of Greek Revival styling was not a domicile but an office building—Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania, built in Philadelphia, in 1798.

Many architects, trained in Europe, worked in the Grecian style, and the fashion spread via carpenter's guides and pattern books. The style spread across the country, ironically, taking hold in the South more slowly, at first, than in the North, and penetrating the Deep South only in the very last decade before the Civil War. With its classic clapboard exterior and bold, simple lines, Greek Revival architecture was the most prominent housing style in the United States for seven decades, receiving a designation at one point as the "National Style."

The Greek Revival also came to be viewed as the embodiment of the paternalistic, chivalric, and aristocratic ideals of the South. It remained an integral part of the conservative southern culture in a time when the industrialized North was moving forward. The southern planter aristocracy considered the style a physical manifestation of the ideal of Greek democracy and of the independence of individual states. The new state capitol building in South Carolina, completed in 1860, was constructed in Greek Revival style, as were many of the federal buildings planned for Washington, D.C. (Volo and Volo 2004, 129).

Arlington House, residence of Robert E. Lee before the Civil War, is a good example of Greek Revival architecture. Hand-colored woodcut.

The federal capital at Washington was highly valued as a symbol by nineteenth-century Americans. Carefully laid out in a district allocated from within the boundaries of Maryland to salve the pride of the South, the nation's capital city had been under construction since the turn of the century. Americans pointed proudly to the imposing structure of the U.S. Capitol Building, as well as the General Post Office, the Bureau of the Treasury, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Executive Mansion, as representative of a vigorous young nation preparing to take its place among the leading countries of the world (Volo and Volo 2004, 130).

Unfortunately, Washington was also symbolic of other things. The plans for the city, like the basic founding concepts of the nation itself, were as pretentious as they were visionary, and in 1860 both lay unfulfilled and disordered. Sprawling along the banks of the Potomac with the "Old City" of Alexandria, Virginia, across the water, the great buildings of the new capital remained incomplete even after the expenditure of vast sums of money and six decades of effort. The U.S. Capitol Building, an imposing architectural edifice, lay unfinished with its original dome removed—scaffolding and a towering crane representative of restructuring and rethinking. The wings of the building were "stretched bare and unfinished, devoid even of steps." The imposing obelisk of the Washington Monument, at that time, lay as a mere foundation. Blocks of marble, lumber, cast-iron plates, and the tools of workmen strewn about the district gave quiet testimony to the fact that the plan for the nation's first city, like the social and political plan for the American nation itself, was incomplete and open to revision. As the gap between northern and southern political beliefs widened during the antebellum period, the Greek temple form of architecture came more and more to symbolize stability and authority in the South at a time when its lifestyle, institutions, and political rights were under increasing attack (Volo and Volo 2004, 130) (Leech 1941, 5–6).

CABINS

Few residents of the South lived in plantation manors. The vernacular architecture of the Upland South was characterized by the log cabin, constructed of horizontal courses notched together at the corners. This technology was brought to the area with the migration of the Scots-Irish and Germans who came from central Pennsylvania in the early nineteenth century. Many of the cabins of white yeoman farmers varied little in construction from those of slaves. What set them aside were the unique additions and porches, which personalized these homes in a way that the uniformity of slave housing rarely permitted. Porches, an architectural concept imported from Africa, were used as extended workrooms for the house and to that end were generally furnished with tables and some kind of seating. One popular style of cabin was the dogtrot, which could be described as two, two-room cabins joined together by a central breezeway onto which each section opened and that could be used for outdoor activity (Volo and Volo 2004, 130–31).

Wood was the characteristic building material in the Lowland South due to the abundance of timber, particularly yellow pine. Post and beam buildings assembled with basic mortise and tenon joints or notch joints were versatile enough to be used for outbuildings and farmhouses alike. Exterior walls were usually shingled or sided with planks. Interior walls might be finished in lathe and plaster. Wood framing, requiring the use of pit saws or water-powered sawmills, was generally reserved for larger homes. These building techniques changed little before the Civil War (Volo and Volo 2004, 131).

GOTHIC REVIVAL HOUSES

It is said that Sir Horace Walpole began the Gothic Revival in architecture when he decided to renovate his English country home in the mid-eighteenth century. In an attempt to get away from the boxlike symmetry of the more classical Georgian style, Walpole included arched windows, pseudo-medieval battlements and parapets, and other Gothic details to the design. The new look was inspiringly romantic, bringing to mind the style of storybook castles. Fanciful, romantic features that appealed to the emotion ultimately replaced the orderly classical ideals that appealed to the intellect. The Gothic style was also strongly suggestive of ecclesiastical structures like churches and convents. Some of the common features of Gothic Revival architecture were steeply pitched roofs, pointed leaded glass or clover-shaped windows, asymmetrical floor plans, grouped chimneys, pinnacles, crenulated battlements, and wide verandahs. Gothic Revival design became extremely popular in America in the 1840s.

Alexander Jackson Davis was one of the first architects to formalize the Gothic Revival style in his 1837 book *Rural Residences*. His design for Lyndhurst, a quarried stone country estate in Tarrytown, New York, was an archetype of the style. Wealthy homeowners from all over the North attempted to reproduce at least some of the features of this romantic and imposing structure, although they did not follow the Gothic pattern blindly. An excellent example is the Lockwood-Matthews mansion in Norwalk, Connecticut, begun in 1860 and finished during the Civil War (Volo and Volo 2004, 131).

Little by little, houses throughout the country began to show the influence of a frivolous and romantic Gothic design. Andrew Jackson Downing helped to spread this trend by applying it to wood-frame buildings. In both his pattern books, *Victorian Cottage Residences* (1842) and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), Downing suggested the scrolled ornaments, lacey trim, and vertical board and batten siding made of wood that best characterized what is known as the "Carpenter Gothic" style. Many older homes of wood, brick, and stone had Gothic appointments layered on as an afterthought either in wood or in cast iron. The "Wedding Cake House" designed by G. Bourne in Kennebunkport, Maine, is an excellent example of such a home. Basically a Federalist-style brick structure built in 1822, the Wedding Cake House had lavishly carved buttresses, spires, and lacey spandrels applied to its facade, and a Palladian window was set in above its main entrance by 1855. In the post–Civil War years, the fanciful and overly elaborate details of the Gothic style lost popularity among homeowners. Nonetheless, Samuel Sloan's pattern book, *Sloan's Homestead Architecture* (1867), remained a popular source of architectural details inspired by the Gothic Revival (Volo and Volo 2004, 131–32).

This photo is an example of Gothic architecture of the mid-nineteenth century. This is Lyndhurst in Tarrytown, New York, the home of Mrs. Helen Gould. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The Gothic Revival may have experienced its best and most lasting expression during the late antebellum period in ecclesiastical structures. Arched windows made from leaded stained glass, pseudo-medieval appointments, towers with gargoyles, and buttressed sidewalls adorned these buildings. Trinity Church of Boston, designed by George Brimmer and begun in 1829, is one of the earliest examples. Other examples of ecclesiastical structures in the Gothic style include: the First Unitarian (North) Church of Salem, Massachusetts (anonymous architect, 1836), Trinity Church, New York (Richard Upjohn, 1839), and St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York (James Renwick, 1858). Although the Gothic style went out of fashion, these churches were built over many decades, thereby keeping the style in the public eye well after the Civil War (Volo and Volo 2004, 132–33).

CLOTHING AND FASHION

A contributor to the *National Recorder* in 1829 made the following observation on women's fashion:

The history of woman is the history of the improvements in the world. Some twenty or thirty years ago, when manual labour performed all the drudgery, some five or six or seven yards of silk or muslin or gingham would suffice for the flitting flirting of the most gay and volatile of the sex. But as soon as the powers of steam are applied, and labour is changed from physical to intellectual, the ladies, in their charitable regard for the operative class of the community, begin to devise means for their continued employment, and as the material is produced with half the labour, the equilibrium must be sustained by consuming a double quantity. (McClellan 1937, 406)

Although the observer's remarks were made tongue-in-cheek, there is some basis here in fact. Industrialization had redefined the role of women in the home. Men were caught up in an economy where they worked outside the home and away from the household for an extensive part of the day. The same industry and commerce also brought increased wealth to a growing middle class, and a larger share of the family's dispensable income came to reside in the hands of the women of the household. New laborsaving inventions also freed women from much of the drudgery of household labor and increased the amount of free time they had. With both the time and the money to follow fashion, they anxiously awaited the arrival of the latest fashion magazines, which contained illustrations of the latest Paris fashions (Volo and Volo 2004, 136–37).

One of the greatest influences on American women's fashion during the period was *Godey's Lady's Book*. Louis B. Godey founded the magazine in July 1830. In addition to serials, essays, poems, and craft projects, it featured engraved fashion plates. Each month, the magazine depicted morning dresses, promenade dresses, seaside costumes, riding habits, dinner dresses, and ball gowns. Such wardrobe depth was seldom needed for the vast majority of the magazine's readers, whose clothes could generally be categorized as public or social and domestic or work, with a few seasonal additions for summer and winter. As time progressed, *Godey's* began to show fashions better suited to the lifestyle and interest of the middle-class American woman. By the 1860s, *Godey's* had become a fashion institution, setting the standard for fashion savvy. Other magazines such as *Peterson's*, *Arthur's*, *Graham's*, *Leslie's*, and *Harper's* began to follow suit or grew in popularity (Volo and Volo 2004, 138–39).

Fashions in the opening years of the nineteenth century, like the architecture and furniture, echoed the past. Napoleon's campaigns in Italy focused the attention of architects and designers on the ruins of Rome, and an almost universal interest in politics further stimulated the revival of the republican ideals of ancient Greece and Rome. Artists drew inspiration from ancient history, and classic style became popular in every kind of decoration. This strong classical influence in fashion lasted only briefly in the opening years of the antebellum period. After 1820, there was a reaction against the high-waisted Empire style and the togalike draping of fabric related to Greco-Roman influences (Volo and Volo 2004, 139).

WOMEN'S DRESS

The period 1820–1830 marked the transition from the Empire style to a new romantic look. Fashions reinforced the image of the affluent woman of increased leisure. Skirts became increasingly fuller. Sleeves were set low on the shoulder restricting movement and making them very impractical for household labor. Working-class and rural women wore garments that were less hampering but that followed the basic style and silhouette of the period.

The waistline moved gradually downward from just below the bust to just above the anatomical waistline. The bodice during the 1820s and 1830s generally had wide, V-shaped crossover folds draped from the shoulder to the waist. This was often covered with an extremely wide capelike collar called a "pelerine." Made in either white or matching fabric, the extremely popular pelerine extended over the shoulders and across the bodice. The fichu-pelerine was a variant that extended into two long strips that crossed at the waist and passed under a belt. When the neckline was open, a chemisette, or tucker, was commonly worn beneath to fill in the opening. These fillers created the impression of an underblouse but were actually sleeveless and sideless articles that were secured around the waist. This construction created less bulk and could be easily laundered. They could be varied to create a different look with the same basic garment. The neckline during this early part of the period was usually high and crowned with a small collar or ruff. The pelisse-robe was another style of day dress. Adapted from the outer garment of the same name, it was a kind of coatdress that was secured down the front with buttons, ribbons, or hooks and eyes (Volo and Volo 2004, 139).

From 1825 to 1832 the exaggerated fullness of the sleeve was the most striking feature of women's dress. Almost as much material was required to make a pair of fashionable sleeves as for the skirt of a gown. The leg-of-mutton sleeve, or gigot, was greatly puffed at the shoulder and graduated into a long sleeve that fitted tightly at the wrist. The demi-gigot sleeve was full from the shoulder to the elbow then fitted from the elbow to the wrist frequently with an extension over the wrist. Some sleeves were a small puff covered by a sheer oversleeve. Another sleeve was full to the wrist but tied at intervals with ribbons or fabric bands. Yet another was extremely full from shoulder to wrist where it gathered into a fitted cuff. Sometimes the cuff was accessorized by a *santon,* which was a silk cravat that was worn around the neck (Volo and Volo 2004, 139–40).

Skirts ended at the instep until about 1828 when they became shortened to ankle length or just above. In 1836, they once again returned to the top of the foot. From the beginning of the period until 1828, the skirt was fitted through the hips with gores gradually flaring out to create fullness at the hem. Thereafter, skirts began to get fuller at the hips as the fabric was gathered or pleated into the waist. Popular fabrics included muslin, printed cotton, challis, merino, and batiste.

Evening dresses followed the same basic silhouette with a few alterations. Necklines were lower, and sleeves and skirts were shorter. During the 1820s, the neckline could be square, round, or elliptical. In the 1830s, they were usually off the shoulder. Evening dresses were usually made in silks, satins, gauze, or organdy.

Around 1836, the silhouette began to undergo a transformation, which moved fullness and extravagance from the top of the garment toward the bottom. Bodices usually ended at the waist but increasingly came to a point at the front. The "Y" bodice was most common. It had a fanlike appearance and remained in vogue through the remainder of the antebellum period.

Sleeves in this period were set low and off the shoulder, and the puffiness of the sleeve began to migrate down the arm. Bishop sleeves were loose sleeves that grew wide at the elbow, causing the sleeve to hang in a curve and creating the appearance of a slightly bent arm. They extended from a row of vertical pleats at the shoulder and fell into a full, relaxed sleeve that gathered at the wrist. A newer style also emerged that was fitted at the shoulder but widened about halfway between the elbow and the wrist into a bell shape. Because of this looseness, undersleeves, which would conceal the forearm from view, were worn for modesty's sake. Undersleeves were separate, straight sleeves that fitted closely at the wrist and extended to the upper arm where they were secured by a drawstring. Most commonly they were of white cotton or linen (Volo and Volo 2004, 140).

Skirts became increasingly fuller with excess fabric gathered into the waist. Many hems were edged with braid or other trim to reduce wear. Additional horizontal trim was added for balance, but overall the effect created a certain heaviness at the bottom of the garment. Trims included ruching, cording, scallops, and flounces. Most skirts had one or two flounces at the bottom, but some had row upon row down the entire length of the skirt. Others had a horizontal panel at the front of the skirt. An innovation at the time was the inclusion of sewn-in pockets. In the past, pockets were a part of a woman's underdress. They were separate articles that were suspended from a band tied at the waist and could be reached through slits in the outer skirt (Volo and Volo 2004, 140–41).

Evening dress continued to follow the same silhouette as in the day. Necklines were off the shoulder and either straight or with a dip at the center. Many had berthas, a wide neckline covering, which provided additional modesty for older or more conservative women. Fabrics included silk, moiré, velvet, and organdy. The use of trims increased greatly. Popular choices included lace, ribbon, and flowers.

The study of fashion during the last decade of the antebellum era is particularly exciting because this period represented the first time that there was widespread photographic documentation of what people actually wore. No longer is the study merely subject to interpretations of the hand-drawn or engraved fashion plates to which period women may have aspired. Whether or not a woman could afford the extravagances touted by the fashion plates of the day, it can be seen that the look that she was hoping to attain was the same. Women of this period wanted to create the appearance of a narrow waist. Virtually all lines of garments emphasized the smallness of the waist by creating the illusion of width at the shoulders and hips. This was further accentuated by foundation garments, which altered the body's physical appearance.

The dress bodices during the period can be classified by three basic styles. There was the "O" bodice, distinguished by the fullness of the fabric as it cascaded over the bust and gathered in around the waist. "O" bodices were especially popular prior to the Civil War. The bodice that was becoming fashionable at this time was the "V" bodice. This very fitted style was characterized by double or triple vertical darts extending from the waist. The darts, as well as the side and back seams, were usually boned. Stays could be made from whalebone, metal, or even wood. The third style of bodice was the "Y" style from the prior decade. Like the "O" bodice, "Y" bodices were relatively loose fitting.

Regardless of style, bodices ended at the natural waistline. The bodice portion of the dress fastened at the center front by hooks and eyes whereas the skirt portion had a side-front closure. This created an awkward opening that extended vertically from the neck, then horizontally along the waist and then vertically again down a few inches along the left front skirt seam. The *armscye*, or armhole, was almost always diagonal or horizontal to give the shoulders a sloping and wider appearance (Volo and Volo 2004, 141).

Sleeves by this time were very full, particularly at the elbow, again imparting the illusion of the slender waist. Sleeves, too, came in three fundamental styles. Straight sleeves were simple, loose-fitting sleeves that gathered together into a cuff at the wrist. Bishop sleeves continued in popularity. Pagoda sleeves tended to be found on more elaborate dresses. This was a loose sleeve, which was widest at its hem and usually of bracelet length and worn with an undersleeve (Volo and Volo 2004, 141–42).

Often sleeves had sleeve caps. These were ornamental pieces of fabric that covered the top few inches of the sleeve supporting the image of the wide, sloping shoulder. Sometimes the impression of a sleeve cap would be created through the use of trim. Short cap sleeves, which revealed a woman's arm, could only be found on ball gowns.

The necklines of day dresses usually came to the base of the neck. Many were trimmed by small, white collars, which were sewn flat and met in the front. Some had very short stand-up collars. Collars were basted inside to protect the garment from wear and soiling. They could easily be removed for frequent launderings from which the entire garment could be saved. The collars would be constructed of sturdy white or very light-colored fabric that could stand up to the repeat washings this portion of the garment required. Sometimes these collars had matching sets of cuffs, which were similarly attached and served the same purpose. Collars were frequently decorated with a broach at the center of the neck. If a bow were used, the tails of the bow would extend diagonally away from the center, continuing to proffer the illusion of the broad upper torso. Ball gowns often had wide, bateau necklines (Volo and Volo 2004, 142).

Many of the fabrics and dyes used at this time did not hold up to frequent laundering. Garments were often taken apart and resewn when cleaned. The *Household Encyclopedia* provided nine pages of instructions for washing various fabrics, such as "Take rice-water, and wash them quickly, without soap." Other methods employed included the use of bran, ox-gall, salt, elixir of vitriol, and egg yolk. Most women's dresses were never totally laundered but rather spot cleaned as needed (Volo and Volo 2004, 142) (Haskell 1992, 15–23).

Skirt lengths were long but seldom touched the ground where they would have become exceedingly hard to keep clean. Hem tapes were common to many skirts. The tapes or trims were wrapped around the finished hem and could be removed for cleaning or replacement. Skirts were very full and were either fully gathered or pleated at the waistline. No effort was made to make the stomach area appear flatter because, once again, the fuller an area away from the waist seemed, the narrower the waist appeared (Volo and Volo 2004, 142).

Fabrics used for dresses and skirts included silk, linen, wool, and cotton. These were available in an almost infinite variety of weights and weaves, some of which are no longer available today. By far, cotton and linen were the most common choices for everyday wear. Silk was expensive. If the average woman owned a silk dress, it would be saved for very special occasions. Linen, because of its extreme durability and ability to be produced at home, was considered frontier or laborer clothing. This was particularly true in the South where it was in common use among the slave population. Wool continued to have its place because of its warmth and especially because of its fire-retardant qualities. Cotton, a status symbol earlier in the century, had become readily available and affordable for even modest households by the 1830s due to an extremely well-developed textile industry and the invention of the cotton gin. From time to time, there were movements in the North among abolitionist women to avoid the use of cotton due to their belief that cotton was produced largely as a result of slave activity, but this tended to be confined to relatively small groups (Volo and Volo 2004, 142–43).

The color palette available at this time was basically that which could be achieved by natural dyes. While southern women tended to wear lighter hues, popular colors included browns, soft blues, greens, lavenders, and grays. Yellows and deep berry-toned reds were also in use. Black was a common color for trim and detailing. Even though chemical dyes had been introduced by the end of the 1850s, these colors were mostly found in decorative fabrics for the home. Although some showy young women in the North did wear them, proper ladies did not. *Peterson's* counseled against the use of bright colors saying, "though they may gratify the savage, will not please the educated eye." Readers were warned about wearing yellow and yellow-greens: "It is scarcely necessary to observe that, of all complexions, those which turn upon the yellow are the most unpleasant in their effect—and probably for this reason, that in this climate it is always a sign of bad health" (Shep 1987, 127–29) (Merrifield 1861).

Popular patterns included geometrics such as dots, checks, and stripes. Sometimes these were combined with small floral motifs or grouped into small clusters. Large florals were not in style nor were the very small floral calicos, which were not popular until later in the century. Patterns were also created by variations in the weave or with the use of shiny and dull threads.

Trim to dresses was generally placed in horizontal or diagonal lines, continuing the illusion of the narrow waist. Day dresses had little trim except on the sleeves or bodice. Skirts, if trimmed, were done so near the hemline. The trims used included braid, piping, binding, or ribbon. Ribbons were commonly gathered, pleated, or ruched. Some skirts appear to be trimmed at the hem but had actually been fitted with a hem protector. This tape wrapped around the hem of the garment to protect it from wear. It was much less expensive to replace a worn hem tape than to replace the garment, and the process was less labor intensive than turning the skirt. Some ball gowns had flounces or even a series of ruffles along the skirt. Trims on gowns tended to be more expensive and elaborate than those on everyday dresses (Volo and Volo 2004, 143).

Accessories

Dresses were updated or embellished by the use of accessories. A dress might be given a different look by the addition of a "fichu." There were several styles of fichus, but, basically, they covered the upper back much like a shawl collar and extended over the front in long tails that either met at the waist or crossed over each other. Some extended down the skirt a foot or so. Fichus were often made of sheer, gauzelike fabrics. They were decorated with ruffles, ribbons, lace, and bows. These were particularly popular in warmer climates at a time when propriety dictated that a lady's shoulders be fully covered until evening. A cooler dress with a scooped neckline could be worn and covered by the lightweight fischu. They were also worn over ball gowns by older women. Once again, practicality dictated that the fischu be a separate piece that could be cleaned more easily than the entire dress. This also allowed dresses to be easily changed to reflect new trends in fashion. Berthas served a similar purpose to fichus but were like oversized collars rather than wraparounds (Volo and Volo 2004, 133–34).

Sashes and waistbands were made of rich fabrics often embroidered or trimmed. They extended well down the length of the dress. Belts of many different styles were worn and some were quite elaborate. The Medici belt stands out as perhaps the most notable style. It was several inches wide at the sides and back but the front flared out into two exaggerated points that extended up to the area between the breasts and down to midstomach. The Bretelle corset was similarly shaped with shoulder straps almost like braces.

Ball gowns, naturally, would not have been found in the majority of women's wardrobes, but their splendor and overstated nature demands some comment over and above the few aforementioned remarks. Ball gowns had scooped necklines, short sleeves, and extremely full skirts. Silk was the fabric of choice. Ball gowns were elaborately decorated with long sashes, tiers of laced ruffles, flower garlands, or whatever extravagance might have struck the wearer.

Skirts worn with shirts and jackets or with vests and jackets were popular among young women in their teens and twenties. It was not until the mid-1860s that the skirt and blouse unaccompanied by the jacket was seen. The jackets were similar to what is called the bolero today. Jackets frequently matched the skirt fabric. As the fashion grew more popular, the jackets became decorated with more and more black braid, which was often done in increasingly ornate patterns. Vests were generally of a solid fabric. Blouses were white and generally closed by buttons rather than the hooks and eyes that fastened dress bodices. The end of the blouse was sewn into a waistband as opposed to hanging loose (Volo and Volo 2004, 144).

Riding habits consisted of a skirt, jacket, blouse, and occasionally a vest. Hats were small and frequently had a veil. The fabric was closely woven to withstand snags on branches, and dark colors were preferred for practicality. Of course, not all women rode for exercise. Some rode in parks to be seen, and these ladies often preferred more elaborately decorated outfits. *Godey's Lady's Book* offers this description of an illustration: "Riding habit of black cloth with fluted worsted braid and large gilt buttons; white cashmere vest; scarlet cravat; black felt hat with black feather and scarlet bow" (Volo and Volo 2004, 144–45).

White wedding dresses came into fashion toward the end of the period; however, many women still followed past traditions and were married in their best dress. Those fortunate enough to be able to afford such a specialized garment tended to wear dresses that might be considered plain by ballroom standards. Expense was more likely to be put into the fabric rather than trim. Generally, weddings were held during the day. Wedding dresses were, therefore, day dresses with jewel necklines and long sleeves. In keeping with the look of the day, headdresses and veils tended to lie flat on the head to avoid adding height. Coronets of real or artificial flowers were arranged so that they framed the face and added width (Volo and Volo 2004, 145).

Undergarments

Quite possibly, undergarments reached the highest level of complexity and sophistication in fashion history during this period. Undergarments served to protect the outer garment from body soiling, molded the body to create the ideal look, and served to distribute the weight of the full skirts over the hips. Like the previously discussed collars and cuffs, undergarments were constructed of serviceable fabrics that could be laundered repeatedly. They were usually white.

The garment worn closest to the skin was the chemise—a knee-length, loose-fitting shift. The body was almost triangular in shape due to the gussets on the sides. This basic garment had changed little in the previous 600 years. During this period, the neck was so wide that it was almost off the shoulder and the sleeves were short, "infant sleeves." Trim, if any, would be found at the neck or sleeve cuff. Sometimes the yoke would be decorated with small tucks. Its prime purpose was to help absorb perspiration and protect outer garments. It was sometimes affectionately called a "shimmy."

Drawers by this period had come to be worn by women of all classes. Commonly known as "pantalettes," they were constructed of two independent legs attached to a waistband and extended to just below the knee. Sometimes these were decorated with tucks, fancy stitching, or eyelet (Volo and Volo 2004, 145).

The corset was worn on top of the chemise. The purpose of this garment was to make the waist look small compared to other parts of the body and to shape the upper portion of the body upward and outward from the waist to the bust. Corsets were lightly boned and usually had steel clasps at the front while lacing up the back to allow for adjustment. Some had laces in the front with a "busk" inserted for rigidity. Busks were often made of whalebone. Light corsets were introduced to girls around age 12 and certainly by the age of puberty. Over the corset was worn a corset cover, or camisole. These were sleeveless and extended to the waist (Volo and Volo 2004, 145–46).

Early in the period women wore a small cotton- or down-filled pad known as a bustle. It was not as dramatic or highly structured as the bustle that was to reappear at the end of the century. The bustle was tied around the waist and located at the back. Worn in addition to multiple layers of petticoats, it served to create extra volume and further support the full skirt (Volo and Volo 2004, 146).

The crinoline, or hoop, was the major fashion innovation for women during the 1850s and is perhaps the single garment most associated with women's clothing during the antebellum period. The circumference of skirts increased steadily throughout the decade with some reaching 12 to 15 feet. This proliferation of fabric required the use of more and more petticoats to sustain the volume. *Peterson's Magazine* touted the crinoline as a solution to the problem:

> There can be no doubt, that, so long as wide and expanded skirts are to be worn, it is altogether healthier to puff them out with a single light hoop than with half-a-dozen starched cambric petticoats as has been the practice until lately. Physicians are now agreed that a fertile source of bad health with females is the enormous weight of skirts previously worn. The hoop avoids that evil entirely. It also, if properly adjusted, gives a lighter and more graceful appearance to the skirt. (Volo and Volo 2004, 146) (*Peterson's Magazine* 1856, 204)

Crinolines could be covered or caged. Caged crinolines were a series of hoops of varying sizes suspended from strips of tape, which descended from the waist. Covered crinolines were fabric petticoats that contained casings to hold the hoops. Generally, day dresses had crinolines that were somewhat smaller than those worn for the evening. Atop the crinolines were placed one or more petticoats for added fullness and to soften the ridges that could be created by the hoops. Skirts tended to be so much greater in circumference than the crinolines that they tended to drape over this support in folds.

Even a small sampling of period photographs would indicate that few women actually wore hoops in the extreme proportions depicted in fashion plates of the day. The normal proportion for the diameter of the hoop was approximately 50 percent to 70 percent of the wearer's height. Women engaged in vigorous work would decline wearing them. The structural material that made the hoop was often of long thin strips of whalebone, called "baleen," turned back on itself in a circle (Volo and Volo 2004, 146).

The nightdress was ankle-length white cotton and approximately two and a half to three yards wide at the hem. The collar, cuffs, and yoke were often decorated with embroidery, lace, ruching, and tucks. Nightcaps, often decorated with lace and bows, were still worn. Prior to dressing, a woman might wear a morning robe over her nightdress (Volo and Volo 2004, 148).

Outerwear

Until the mid-1830s, the pelisse was the common outer garment. The pelisse followed the general silhouette of the dress and sleeve style of the day and was similar to the modern coat. After that time, when it came to outerwear, women had a wide variety of options, including capes, cloaks, shawls, jackets, and coats. Capes varied in length from just below the hip to just above the ankle, and they fit closely to the top portion of the torso. Some capes had arm slits for ease of movement. Cloaks were extremely full to accommodate the full sleeves and skirts.

Jackets and coats naturally followed dress lines, making them many times wider at the hem than at the shoulder. Jackets, or "paletots" as they were called, may have been more popular than coats because they were more lightweight. Even coats tended to be 6 to 10 inches shorter than the hem of the skirt.

Shawls were very popular, and retailers advertised the arrival of new shipments of them. They were oversized and extended well down the back of the skirt. Commonly, two-yard squares were folded into triangles. Double-square shawls could be 64 inches by 128 inches or more. Some shawls were knitted or crocheted; others were made from wool or lace. Many were decorated with fringe, ruffles, or lace, and paisley shawls were particularly popular (Volo and Volo 2004, 148).

"Mantel" was the general term used for other outer garments not previously mentioned. Mantels tended to be basically triangular in shape although the back could easily have a rounded point. They extended over the shoulders and were slightly shaped at the arms. The long ends in front assumed a variety of shapes. For summer wear, the fabrics tended to be light and unlined. Winter mantels were made of heavier, lined fabrics. Evening mantels were made of luxurious fabrics such as velvet or satin and decorated with braid and other rich trims (Volo and Volo 2004, 148–49).

Headgear

Hats in the 1820s and early 1830s were either large brimmed with high, round crowns or bonnet style. They were commonly decorated with feathers or lace and tied beneath the chin with a large ribbon. The "capote" was a style of bonnet that had a soft fabric crown and a stiff brim.

The "coal scuttle" bonnet was popular during the 1840s. These bonnets fit the head closely on the sides and extended straight out on all three sides, creating an almost tunnel effect for the wearer. Over the next decade the bonnet brim shortened and widened somewhat, making it more attractive for wearers and improving their visibility. Bonnets were popular throughout of the period. They were one apparel item that women could constantly update by reworking the trim or decorations to meet the current vogue. Favored decorative features included ribbon, lace, and clusters of silk flowers or berries. These were used on the outside of the bonnet as well as inside of the brim to frame the face. Huge ribbons several inches wide were tied in large bows beneath the chin. The outsides of bonnets were covered in silk or more commonly polished cotton, which was then pleated, ruched, piped, or quilted. A gathered flounce or skirt was often found attached to the base of the bonnet at the nape of the neck. For summer wear, bonnets were often made of straw.

When serious protection from the sun was needed, it was the slatted bonnet that came to the rescue. These work garments were made of cotton or linen and bore no decorations or trim. They had long back pieces that extended over the shoulders, and the front could be folded back or fully extended to shade the entire face. Women were seldom photographed in sunbonnets due to their unflattering appearance.

During the day women wore dainty caps made of muslin, lace tulle, and ribbon. These would never be worn outdoors. Crocheted nets were also worn, but they were generally not considered suitable for dress occasions. Some older, conservative women wore more substantial caps, often with lappets, which fully covered the head and were reminiscent of the caps more commonly worn during the previous century (Volo and Volo 2004, 149).

Ancillary Clothing

Aprons were an important item in a nineteenth-century wardrobe. The difficulty involved in cleaning garments made clothing protection an important step in household management. Early in the period, aprons covered almost the entire dress. The aprons fit closely at the top of the chest and tied at the back. They hung down loosely from shoulder straps to just above the hem (Volo and Volo 2004, 149–50).

As skirts widened, household aprons grew to accommodate them. Aprons became extremely large, enveloping almost the entire skirt from front to back and extending down to within a few inches of the hem. Often they had rectangular tops, which were known as "pinners" because they were held in place by pins rather than the neck strap common in the twentieth century. Smaller aprons would be worn for mealtimes unless servants served the meals.

Aprons would often be made from fabrics with small plaids or checks that would help to hide stains. Although they could be solid, they were seldom white. Aprons were made from linen, flannel, wool, or cotton. Wool was greatly preferred for safety around fires. It does not burn as quickly as linen, and its odor when burning gave fair warning. Burns were the second leading cause of fatality for women at this time, surpassed only by death during childbirth.

Fancy, decorative aprons were sometimes worn only for show. These were made of fine quality fabrics and were sometimes decorated with lace, embroidery, or ruffles. These aprons would be much shorter than their functional counterparts, extending only two-thirds to three-quarters of the way down to the hem. Light-colored fabrics were often used, and many were made of polished cotton-type fabric. Ladies' magazines of the period gave patterns for these as sewing projects. These aprons would be worn when doing needlework or when receiving guests at home (Volo and Volo 2004, 150).

Gloves were an essential of a nineteenth-century woman's wardrobe. Arthur Martine, in his *Hand-Book of Etiquette, and Guide to True Politeness* remarks, "When dancing is expected to take place, no one should go without new kid gloves: nothing is so revolting as to see one person in an assembly ungloved, especially where the heat of the room, and the exercise together, are sure to make the hands of the wearer redder than usual. Always wear your gloves in church or in a theater" (Martine 1866, 55).

Daytime gloves were short. Commonly, they were joined by a button at the wrist. Some were secured by short lacing. Kid leather was the most common material, but fabric and lace were also used. Fingerless gloves of netted lace or silk, known as "mitts," were popular during the 1840s and 1850s. Evening gloves were long, to the elbow, until the second half of the 1830s when they were shortened to wrist length.

For day wear, gloves could be found in a wide variety of colors, but only white was proper for evening and formal wear. Some were embellished with decorative stitching or embroidery (Volo and Volo 2004, 150).

Footwear

Shoes were slipperlike with flat, square toes. After 1840, they began to have small heels of one inch or less. For ordinary wear, they were made from leather or cloth and were black, light brown, or gray. Formal day dress shoes would be made of fancier fabrics such as satin. Black satin shoes were the dominant evening fashion until about 1840. Evening shoes after that time came in a variety of styles. Some had ribbon ties, which wrapped around the ankle. Others displayed embroidered tops. Evening shoes were often in bright colors to match the ensemble.

Women's boots were ankle height and laced up the sides at the inside with elastic gussets at each side. Some buttoned at the sides. Dressy boots might be made from kid or satin. Congress gaiters, rather low-cut boots finished with a wide piece of elastic on the side, were made of cloth, came in a variety of colors, and were tipped in patent leather. Balmoral boots, which laced up the front, were considered very stylish and were widely popular. Rubber overshoes were introduced in the late 1840s.

House slippers were low-heeled mulelike foot coverings commonly done in Berlin work. The Berlin work was a form of needlework done on the canvas that made up the vamp, or upper part of the shoe, and many patterns were featured in ladies' magazines. The mule was a low, open-backed affair that covered only the front of the foot. Slippers were also crocheted in a low bootie style (Volo and Volo 2004, 151).

Items at Hand

As with the previous century, fans remained a popular accessory. The traditional, semicircular fan was often covered in paper or silk. Some were beautifully painted. The average fan length of this period was 6 to 10 inches. Circular fans were also fashionable. These fans had handles that, when folded backward, revealed an accordion-pleated, fabric fan. Round or spade-shaped palmetto or straw fans were less expensive and were sometimes homemade (Volo and Volo 2004, 151).

Umbrellas and parasols were two different accessories, and each served a separate purpose. Umbrellas were for use in inclement weather. They were large and black and were meant to protect the carrier from the weather. Parasols were small, ladylike contrivances. Their purpose was to protect the carrier from both the sun and unwanted glances. When hats were very large in the 1820s and 1830s, the parasol was often carried unopened. Parasol frames were made of metal. Handles were ivory or wood. Parasols designed for carriage rides often had a hinge at the top of the stick, which allowed the top to tip to better fit the confined space. They varied from 16 to 22 inches. Parasols used for walking were generally larger, 22 to 26 inches. Silk was the most common fabric. Trimming was lace or ruching. Paper oriental-style parasols with cane ribs were used at the seaside or for informal occasions (Volo and Volo 2004, 151–52).

Purses came in a variety of styles. Patterns for crocheted, knitted, or Berlin work purses abounded in ladies' magazines. Purses were decorated with tassels, cording, and embroidery. Shapes were round or rectangular, but the six-inch-square bag was most popular. One of the most interesting kinds of purses was a long, thin, knit or netted cylinder closed at both ends with a slit in the center. These were called "miser purses" or "long purses" and were quite popular. Toward the end of the period, small bags, sometimes referred to as "waist pouches," were suspended from the waistband. Formal purses often had beading or were made with metallic thread (Volo and Volo 2004, 152).

Jewelry

In the 1820s and 1830s, gold chains with lockets or scent bottles were fashionable. *Chatelaines* were still being worn. Popular in the previous century, these ornamental chains were suspended from the waist and contained a variety of useful items, many often related to sewing such as scissors, a thimble, a needle case, or a pincushion. They could also feature a scent bottle, a penknife, or anything else that a woman wanted to keep handy. Brooches, bracelets, and drop earrings were also popular. In the 1830s, it became fashionable to wear a narrow velvet ribbon or tress of hair around the neck. Known as a "Jeanette," this adornment often supported a heart of pearls or small cross.

The 1840s saw less jewelry being worn. Watch ownership, however, was fairly common by this time, even for women. Watches were worn on watch chains and were tucked in the belt or carried in a watch pocket at the waist. Patterns for crocheted, beaded, and braid work watch pockets appeared in period ladies' magazines. Watches were hung on a long, fine chain worn around the neck, which extended well below the waist. Some were suspended on a short chain from the belt.

Many photographs from the end of the period show women wearing some jewelry. Popular materials included jet, ivory, bone, onyx, jade, amber, garnet, and pearl. With its discovery in California, gold was the order of the day. Particularly fashionable was the brooch worn at the center of the neckline. Brooches varied in size from large to small and were worn both vertically and horizontally. They closed by simple "C" clasps without safety catches. Cameos were highly favored and often bore images of mythological figures. The female head, almost synonymous with the modern cameo, was just coming into fashion toward the end of the war. Cameos were made from sardonyx, shell, lava, ivory, and coral (Volo and Volo 2004, 152).

The mid-nineteenth century was a very romantic and sentimental era. It was a common practice to have a piece of hair as a keepsake from a loved one. Many period brooches contained a lock of a beloved's hair under glass in the center of the brooch. Other brooch materials included goldstone, agate, bog oak, enamel, horn, and mosaics. The mosaic pieces were very small and portrayed classical scenes or floral sprays. Enameled pieces were usually blue or black with a gold figure in the center (Volo and Volo 2004, 152–53).

Other neckline decorations included short necklaces of single-sized pearls or beads, especially jet. Long chains, popular earlier in the period, were still being worn by some. Both a beaded and a long chain necklace might be worn at the same time.

Bracelets were also stylish and often were worn in pairs, one on each wrist. These tended to be large, almost chunky, bangle style. Serpents were one motif much in vogue. Jet beads strung on wire were also worn. Dangling earrings with long ear wires were worn. These were usually shorter than those worn later in the century. Many earrings were made of hollow wear, an inexpensive rolled gold that appears almost puffed or was formed into hollow tubes. Naturally, this made the earrings very light in weight. Use of acorns as a motif was widespread. Often earrings and brooches came in matched sets.

The wearing of rings was widespread. Unmarried females would wear a ring on the first finger of their left hand no doubt in hope that they would soon be wearing it on the third digit of that same hand. A simple gold band was the prevalent sign of a married woman. Generally, diamond rings were not worn. The diamond mines of South Africa were not discovered until 1870, and it was not until this time that diamonds would become affordable to anyone but the most affluent. Rings were likely to bear garnets, amethysts, pearls, onyx, amber, jade, red coral, or cameos (Volo and Volo 2004, 153).

Hairstyles

In the early 1820s, women generally parted their hair in the middle and had tight curls around the forehead and temples. The back was usually tied into a knot or bun. After 1824, elaborate plaits of false hair were often added. *La Chinoise* was a style that was popular in 1829. Hair was pulled from the back and side into a large knot atop the head while the hair at the forehead and temples was arranged in tight curls. By the mid-1830s, the hair was parted in the middle and pulled flat against the temples from where hanging finger curls, plaits, or loops of hair covered the ears. The hair at the back was pulled into a bun or chignon (Volo and Volo 2004, 153).

As with other fashion items, hairstyles of the late antebellum period were intended to emphasize a broad upper body. To that end, the center part is almost universal in period photographs. This allows for a wide, bare forehead, making the face appear broad while creating no height on top. To continue this illusion, the fullest part of the hairstyle was at or below the ears. Most women had long hair, which they wore rolled, braided, or otherwise confined and pulled toward the back of the head. If the hair was not confined, it was generally fixed in long finger curls and pulled to the side of the face. The variety of curls and hair rolls was as rich as the ingenuity of the women who styled them. Ladies' magazines of the period offered many suggestions for elaborate hairdressing for evening wear and suggested incorporating such items as flower blossoms, pins, combs, chains, feathers, and false curls (Volo and Volo 2004, 153–54).

MEN'S CLOTHING

Martine, in his handbook of etiquette, remarks, "There are four kinds of coats which a man must have: a business coat, a frock-coat, a dress-coat, and an over-coat.

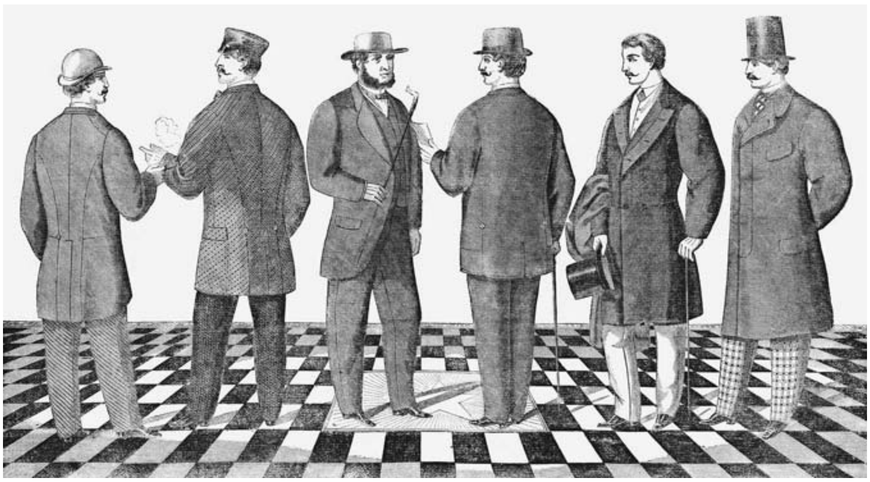
A well dressed man may do well with four of the first, and one each of the others per annum. An economical man can get along with less." Yet this was not reality. Just as the average woman did not have a specialized outfit for every task of the day, most men did not enjoy the wardrobe depth detailed by Martine. Like women's clothing, men's clothing in practical application tended to fall into formal and informal, summer and winter. New clothes would be considered best dress until they became worn, and they would then be relegated to work status (Volo and Volo 2004, 155) (Martine 1866, 49).

A shirt, vest, and trousers would be the very least in which a man would allow himself to be seen in public. A man appearing with anything less was considered to be in a state of undress. Even laborers and farmers would not allow themselves to go with less. The rare workman who would not be so attired, such as the blacksmith, would wear a heavy leather apron, which covered him somewhat above the waist.

Dress shirts were made of white cotton. Longer than the modern shirt, they were pullovers that buttoned from the midchest to the neck. Small vertical tucks commonly decorated either side of the buttons, but this became less favored as the decade progressed. Shirts had neck bands and detachable collars. Work shirts were made in a variety of colors and checks and could be made from cotton or linen.

For formal day wear, the collar was upright with a gap between the points, which just touched the jaw allowing for freer movement of the head and neck than had been the style earlier in the century. For informal wear, men wore either a shallow single collar with sloping points meeting at the center and forming a small inverted V-shaped opening or a shallow double collar similar to the modern collar.

Stocks or cravats were worn around the neck. Stocks were often black and fastened at the back. As the period progressed, they were abandoned in favor of the cravat. The cravat was a band of fabric passed around the neck and tied in either a bow or a knot with hanging ends. Sometimes they were fastened with a decorative pin. Silk was the fabric of choice, and it was one area where a man might be able to display his good taste even if his purse prohibited further extravagances. Ladies' magazines of the period, however, offered patterns for woolen and cotton knitted cravats. Even laborers would simulate the look, although they may only have been able to knot a cotton kerchief around their neck (Volo and Volo 2004, 155).



The various types of men's clothing worn during the mid-nineteenth century can be seen in this picture. © North Wind / North Wind Picture Archives—All rights reserved.

The suit ensemble consisted of a coat, waistcoat, and trousers. For dress occasions, tailcoats were worn. Tailcoats could be either double-breasted with large lapels or single-breasted with smaller lapels. Collars were cut high behind the neck with a rolled collar, which joined the lapel in a V- or an M-shaped notch (Volo and Volo 2004, 155–57).

Frock coats, which had a fitted torso, collar lapel, and skirt flaring from the waist, were popular throughout the period. Prior to the 1830s, sleeves were full at the shoulder and formed a puff at the top when the excess fabric was gathered into the armhole. After 1830, the skirt became somewhat shorter and narrower and the coat became longer waisted. Early in the period, the most fashionable coats had padding in the shoulders and chest area, but this disappeared during the late 1830s.

Jackets were single-breasted garments with side pleats and no vent in the back. The front closure was straight but curved back slightly below the waist. Collars, lapels, and pockets were small.

Toward the end of the period, the fuller suit seems to have been favored by the average man. Perhaps this was due to comfort or the need for less-skilled tailoring. The formal suit appears to have been the look to which men of power aspired. Lapels sported a more modern single notch than earlier in the century. Frock coats sometimes had velvet collars and cufflink-style buttoning. Trousers had buttoned, full fall fronts or buttoned French flies. Wool was the fabric of choice, and linen was popular during the summer, especially in the South. Farmers seemed to favor tweeds and more sturdy woolens. Generally, solids dominated, and browns and grays were most common. Black was the choice of professionals, who also preferred fine woolen broadcloth, serge, and twill. These fabrics often had a certain amount of silk woven into the fabric to give it a finer finish and lighter weight.

Vests or waistcoats were worn under the suit coat. Early in the period, they had straight standing collars or small, notchless, rolled collars arranged so that only the edge would be seen at the edge of the coat. They were either single- or double-breasted, although single-breasted was more popular during the 1820s. Lapels narrowed and were less curved in the 1840s, but by the end of the decade they had widened again. They could be made of the same fabric as the suit or they could be of much finer, dressier fabrics such as silk taffetas, embossed silks, or brocades. Patterns ranged from tone-on-tone to stripes, checks, and paisleys. The neckline cut came to lie flat and moved lower during the period. Watch pockets were becoming common (Volo and Volo 2004, 157).

For outdoor wear, men wore overcoats that were referred to as greatcoats. Between 1820 and 1840, these often reached down to the ankle and had deep, rolled collars. The fit was very close to the body at the beginning of the period, but this characteristic disappeared in the 1840s. The box coat was a large, loose-fitting greatcoat with one or more capes at the shoulder. Coats of this looser style became increasingly popular as the period progressed. The mackintosh was a waterproof coat made of rubber cut like a short, loose overcoat. While their water-repellent nature was welcome, many chose not to sport them due to the offensive odor they emitted. Capes continued to be worn and were especially the fashion for evening wear. They were cut in gores and fit smoothly at the shoulder. Some featured large standing collars; others had flat ones. Some had capes of varying lengths and even multiple capes at the shoulder. In the 1830s and 1840s, short, round capes lined with silk were the fashion for evening wear. Later in the period, some men wore shawls over their suits as outerwear (Volo and Volo 2004, 157–58).

Hat styles varied. The top hat was popular for both day and evening wear. Many southern gentlemen favored what has come to be called the "plantation hat." This a low-crowned, stylish hat with a substantial, but not overstated, brim. The commonly found round hat had a round crown with a medium brim. This should not be confused with the derby, which was not developed until later in the century. Many men wore flat-topped straw hats in the summer. Rural men often wore wide-brimmed, high-crowned hats, which offered less in fashion but more in protection from the elements and a cool space above the head.

As with women, gentlemen wore gloves. These were made of leather, wool, or cotton for the daytime and silk or kid for the evening. Leather-work gloves and riding gloves were also common. When "dressed," men carried canes often with fine detailing and gold or silver trim. In inclement weather, they carried large black umbrellas.

Shoes had low heels and square toes. Shoes with laces first became popular during the 1830s. Work shoes were often fashioned with the rough of the leather exposed. This allowed a cheaper grade of leather to be used, and the nap of the leather could be greased to help repel moisture. For formal wear, the shoe was made with the smooth side out. It was often open over the instep and secured with a ribbon bow. Leather or tarred canvas gaiters, which covered the shoe top and were secured by a strap under the shoe, were worn in bad weather. Spatterdashers, which reached to just below the knee, were longer versions of gaiters that were worn for hunting and other sporting activities. Knee-high boots were worn for riding. Later in the period, shorter half boots with elastic sides or laced closings were also worn.

Male jewelry included cravat pins, brooches worn on shirtfronts, watches, jeweled shirt buttons and studs, and decorative gold watches and watch chains. Rings of all types were popular. They took the form of signet rings, seal rings, mourning rings, and commemorative rings. As the period progressed, jewelry lessened and was generally limited to rings, cravat pins, watches, and watch chains (Volo and Volo 2004, 158).

Braces or suspenders buttoned on to the trousers by means of leather tabs. It was quite the fashion for women to crochet them or decorate them in Berlin wool work. Once again, ladies' magazines featured patterns for doing this. Makers were cautioned, "This crochet should not be done too tightly, as a little elasticity is desirable." Elastic had been invented by this time, but its only apparel application was in wide panels in shoes. Men unfortunate not to have braces made by an attentive woman may have sported those made of linen cloth (Volo and Volo 2004, 158–59) (Shep 1987, 290) (Weaver 1864).

Throughout the period, men wore drawers that extended down to the ankle and had button fronts. These could be made of silk stockinette, cotton, or linen. In the early years of the period, some men wore corsets or padding at the shoulder, chest, hip, or calf to have a fashionable silhouette. Later, an undershirt—a long-sleeved pullover that buttoned to midchest—was added. However, one-piece Union suits with the trap door in the rear were not developed until after the war.

When it came to lounging in the privacy of one's home, gentlemen had several specialized items of attire. The lounging or smoking cap was an elaborate item made of rich fabrics and adorned with embroidery, beadwork, or braid. They generally came in three basic styles: the round pillbox style; the fitted six-panel cap; and the teardrop-shaped Scotch style. The first two styles ended with a tassel on top. The last was finished with a narrow ribbon at the back of the cap at the point. Ladies' magazines carried patterns for making and decorating these. In addition to slippers, which greatly resembled the woman's slipper, a man might have preferred the dressing or lounging boot. These boots were made of fabric and were decorated with elaborate embroidery.

Nightshirts were made of white cotton and extended to the ankle. They had long sleeves and small turned-down collars. The nightcap was a bag-shaped item with a tassel on top. Some were knit or crocheted, but these were going out of style. Over his nightshirt, a gentleman may have worn a wrapper. This was a long, sack-style robe with a plain sleeve confined by a cord at the waist.

Men wore their hair parted on the side, in a short to moderate length often in loose curls or loosely waved but cut short in the back. Beards came into fashion around 1825 with a small fringe of whiskers. Facial hair continued to grow longer throughout the period, and many arrangements of facial hair became stylish. Men sported beards of all styles, lengths, and degrees. Mustaches were equally in favor. Photographs from late in the period show the tremendous variety that abounded (Volo and Volo 2004, 159).

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

Children's clothing rivaled women's fashions both in complexity and ornateness. Some middle- and upper-class children were dressed in layers of clothing, often in impractical fabrics. *Godey's Lady's Book* carried the following description with an accompanying illustration: "Child's dress of green silk with narrow pinked ruffles, corselet of green silk, white muslin gimp, white felt hat with white wing." Ornate as it sounds, this outfit is not classified as a party dress. Gauze, silk, wool, and taffeta were common fabrics suggested for children's dress in ladies' magazines. Print fabrics tended to be small geometric or abstract designs. These kinds of designs allowed for economical use of material since it was easier to match such prints and there was less waste when cutting patterns. Braid or ribbon were popular trims even for the children (Volo and Volo 2004, 159–60).

In rural areas, children's clothing was considerably more practical, much the same as their parents'. Muslin or cotton was the fabric of choice for country and poorer folk. To allow for growth, it was common for seams at the shoulders and under the arms to be folded in an inch each, so that they could later be let out as the child grew. Sometimes a waistband was added as the child grew. Several tucks of an inch or so were often made near the hems of skirts and trousers. These created an attractive detail that could later be let down to accommodate growth (Volo and Volo 2004, 160).

Little girls were dressed very much like their mothers. *Godey's Lady's Book* contained an illustration for a corset for a little girl, which laced down the back only. Not everyone encouraged its use, however, as the editor of *Peterson's Magazine* points out: "Stays or tight bands about the ribs compress them readily, as these bones are not fully formed, hence readily cause deformities, and alter the natural and healthy position and action of the lungs, heart, liver and stomach, and produce a tendency to disease in these organs" (Shep 1987, 326) (Weaver 1864)

The main difference between a woman's attire and a girl's was that a girl's skirt was considerably shorter, ending about midcalf. Pantalettes hung just below the edge of the dress. These would be plain for everyday and would be adorned with lace or eyelet for dressier occasions. These pantalettes differed from women's in that the crotches were sewn, and they buttoned at the sides. Like her mother, a little girl wore a chemise as the basic undergarment. Once the hoop made its debut, even young girls of age seven began to wear one, although it would likely have only one hoop ring at this time. Once again, like adult women, she would wear under- and over-petticoats. One popular style dress for Sundays and parties around midcentury was the bateau or boat neckline. This extremely wide neckline was another impractical fashion and many photographs show one sleeve slipping off the child's shoulder. Like their mothers, little girls wore undersleeves and chemisettes. They also wore tuckers. A tucker was a panel of crimped muslin secured by a tape and sewn on the inside edge of the neckline and sleeve edge. The purpose of this was to save wear on the fabric, and the tucker could be removed and laundered separately from the garment. Blouses and skirts were not popular for toddlers but were worn by young girls (Volo and Volo 2004, 160).

Fancy aprons for children were popular. These tied around the waist and covered almost the entire skirt portion of a dress. The top covered only part of the dress front and crossed over both shoulders on top. These were commonly decorated with flounces, bows, and other decorative details. Pinafores, which covered almost the entire dress, were more practical and much more common across all economic lines. They were constructed in such fabrics as muslin, calico, or linen. The pinafore fit closely to the chest and hung down loosely to the hem. Another layered style for young girls was the white dress covered by another jumperlike dress (Volo and Volo 2004, 160–61).

Children's jewelry tended to be modest and simple. Little girls wore strings of beads, lockets, and chains. Very young girls wore coral necklaces or pairs of coral bracelets. Infants were given elaborate coral rattles mounted in silver or teething rings also made of coral.

Boys wore a series of different types of outfits, each befitting a certain age group. Very young boys often had shirts that buttoned to the waistband of their pants and provided a neater look. From age one to four, boys wore a Nankeen suit. This

This Currier and Ives lithograph, "The Burning Glass," shows the clothing that children wore during the mid-nineteenth century. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

was a dresslike costume worn over white underdrawers not unlike the girl's pantalettes, although they were likely to be less fancy. It was a blousy sack, often with a large sash or a cord tied around the waist.

Between the ages of four and seven, boys wore the French blouse. Essentially, it was a loose, dresslike tunic secured at the waist by a belt and large buckle or sash. This would have been worn over loose knee pants, although it was also worn over skirts for very young boys. They may also have been attired in a loose jacket and waistcoat, once again with loose knee pants. Boys may also have been clad in a suitlike outfit with a slightly cutaway jacket, gently rounded in front, and very loose trousers, which extended to about midcalf.

From 7 to 12, a boy may have worn what would be thought of as a suitlike outfit consisting of a loose, ankle-length trouser and waist-length sack coat with a ribbon tie fashioned into a bow. The pants might have box pleats. At this time, suspenders became fashionable. Sailor suits were also popular for young boys 7 up to 14. Some boys in certain areas did not wear long pants until 14 or 15.

As older teens, boys dressed much as adult men. They wore pants, vests, and jackets. Jacket types included sack, frock, and a short, military style. Boys' undergarments included an undershirt and drawers that reached down to the knee. When boys graduated into longer pants, they wore longer, ankle-length drawers that fit the leg more closely.

For outerwear, children often wore coats, jackets, and cloaks similar to those worn by women. They also wore capes secured by buttoned tabs across the chest. Girls generally wore small hats, usually straw for summer and cloth for winter. As with women, slatted bonnets were worn in rural areas. Brims tended to be small, and they were very simply decorated. Boys wore caps and small hats with rounded crowns (Volo and Volo 2004, 161).

Girls wore leather or canvas short boots for day wear and slippers for dressy occasions. Some of the slippers had ankle straps. The boots either laced up the side or had elastic gussets on the side. Canvas boots often had toe and heel portions covered in leather for added protection and durability. Boys wore footwear similar to adult shoes or short pull-on boots sometimes decorated with a tassel on the front (Volo and Volo 2004, 162).

Girls wore their hair in a short, ear-length blunt cut, which was pushed behind the ears. Some wore their hair in long finger curls. The latter seems to have been more popular among girls of higher economic status. Occasionally, ribbons were used to keep the long hair out of their faces. Girls of about eight or nine began to wear their hair in hairnets. Sarah Morgan, at age 19, wrote in her diary, "The net I had gathered my hair in fell in my descent and my hair swept down half way between my knee and my ankle in one stream." Like their mothers, the hair was center parted. Boys parted their hair to the side. The sides and back were usually short. Due to the fashions in which young boys were attired, when looking at photographs, the part is often the only clue to the sex of the child (Volo and Volo 2004, 162) (East 1991, 102).

Finally, the editor of *Peterson's Magazine* offers the following advice to mothers about clothing children:

> To guard against cold, the child should wear flannel, of varying thickness, according to the season of the year, next to the body, and fitting tolerably close, for, without this protection, the present style of dress, causing the clothes to project away, leaves the body exposed to sudden chills. The head should be lightly covered, so as to protect it from the sun, or sudden change of temperature; but it should never be covered with thick or heavy material. Anything causing fullness or congestion about the head will very commonly act by sympathy, as it is called, on the stomach, and cause obstinate and violent vomiting.... A pin should never be used about a child's clothes at any age; buttons and strings should always be the modes of fastening. (Shep 1987, 326) (Merrifield 1861).

Infants wore long gowns that were often twice the length of the child. This provided the child with greater warmth. Long gowns could not be cast off as loose blankets could. The gowns were generally white to withstand the frequent washings that infant clothing required and were of "soft material, entirely free from starch." For the first few weeks after birth, infants wore long narrow strips of fabric known as "belly-bands." These were several yards long and were designed to protect the navel. In addition to diapers, or napkins as they were called, infants wore a shirt, a pinner that contained their lower limbs, a skirt or skirts, and a dress. Babies also wore caps for which women's magazines frequently carried patterns (Haskell 1992, 344).

As the child grew older, clothing adjustments were made. Mothers were commonly advised to "keep socks on after the child is two months old; before this, its pinners will be sufficient protection.... When a child shows a disposition to creep, shorten its clothes that it may have free use of its limbs, and protect its feet with stockings and shoes" (Haskell 1992, 385–86).

The antebellum era was the first era to provide students of fashion with an abundance of pictorial documentation. Ladies' magazines and their fashion plates achieved tremendous popularity during the period and had a wide readership among members of both the upper and middle classes. The fashion plates provide a monthly history of changes in styles and supply tremendous detail. Even though the fashions depicted in these magazines may have been extreme, they show the ideal and provide insight into the styles to which many aspired. The development of photography later on in the period documents what was actually worn and provides insight into adaptations of the fashion plate exemplars. Unfortunately, documentation of working-class clothing remains sketchy, as what few pictures these people might have had taken always showed them in their best clothing (Volo and Volo 2004, 163).

FOOD AND DRINK

Food Preservation

Despite movements during the period toward modern foods, the single most important controlling factor of diet remained the food that was available. For most people, the majority of fresh food choices were governed by regional and seasonal availability. Certainly a person's economic situation provided the means for wider choices, but even these were limited. The storage of food in the mid-nineteenth century was a problem for everyone, regardless of economic status, and this reality colored the types of foods that people ate, how they were prepared, and their very quality. In addition to recipes for cooking and suggestions on maintaining the household, books like *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book* (1850) invariably contained suggestions on how to make slightly spoiled foods palatable. "If meat begins to taint, wash it and rub it with powdered charcoal and it removes the taint." To restore rancid butter, Miss Beecher advised putting "fifteen drops of chloride of lime to a pint of water, and work the butter in till every particle has come in contact with the water" (Volo and Volo 2004, 165) (Beecher 1850, 30–31, 286).

Many foods, such as grain, root crops, and cooked and smoked meats, would last for a reasonable amount of time if kept in a cool, dry place. This was not a major problem during the winter months when the temperature and relative humidity were low, but hot and humid weather posed a significant problem, especially in the South with its difficult climate. One of the earliest solutions to keeping food from spoiling during warm weather was the icehouse. Originally, farmers used axes and long saws to harvest ice. The ice was cut from frozen ponds or lakes in large blocks. This could be an individual or community operation in rural regions, but there were a number of ice companies that hired large crews to cut ice and transport it to the cities and commercial storage facilities (Volo and Volo 2004, 165–66).

Regardless of its source, ice was most often stored in wooden or brick structures known as icehouses, which were usually constructed partially below ground level or into a bank of earth or cliff side. The temperature a few feet into the ground rarely becomes warmer than about 45 degrees Fahrenheit even on the warmest days. Icehouses were owned by individuals or were cooperatively owned by a group of farmers living in close proximity. Most icehouses were located near a pond or other source of quiet water where thick ice was likely to form and a minimum distance was needed for transportation. Licenses were issued to local communities to cut ice from frozen canals as early as the 1840s. It could then be moved many miles by sledge along the frozen canal with little effort. The ice was usually cut in late January or early February, when it was thickest, and brought to the icehouse where it was stacked in layers with spaces between filled with sawdust or straw to prevent melting and to keep the cakes from freezing into a solid block. Once the structure was filled, the top layer of the ice was covered with a canvas tarp and sawdust or straw for insulation. Melting in the icehouse ranged from 25 percent to 50 percent annually, but the ice could last through the following October if conditions were favorable. By the dawn of the Civil War, the icehouse had become an indispensable component on the rural farm.

Thomas Moore patented the first domestic icebox in 1803. The icebox gave individual homes and city residences a means of keeping food cold. Fresh meat, dairy products, and perishable fruit could be kept in good condition for much longer if kept cool. Household iceboxes, many of which were homemade, consisted of a wooden box inside another, separated by some insulating material, with a tin container at the top of the interior box. The exterior of the boxes were made of oak, pine, or ash wood and they were lined with zinc, slate, porcelain, galvanized metal, or wood. Charcoal, cork, flax straw, ash, or mineral wool provided the insulation between the walls. Irregularly shaped ice blocks were sold to consumers in baskets. Even with the icebox, the frozen blocks would only last for about a day. Boston families could obtain 15 pounds of ice per day from an iceman for two dollars a month just prior to the Civil War. By 1850, *Godey's Lady's Book* called the icebox a "necessity of life" (Volo and Volo 2004, 166).

In 1825, Frederick Tudor and Nathaniel Wyeth solved the problems of preserving ice and made ice harvesting a commercial interest. Commercial ice harvesting was conducted in the months of January, February, and March in the New England and mid-Atlantic states. Holes would be driven into the ice to determine its thickness, which varied from as little as 6 inches to as much as 30. After clearing the ice of any snow cover, rough ice would be planed. The field was then marked off in squares using a narrow blade, which was steered by plow handles drawn by a horse. An ice cutter, which cut approximately two-thirds the depth of the ice, was then employed to cut the ice into sheets of approximately 12 blocks. The sheets would then be channeled to the edge of the pond by long-handled ice hooks, and from there they would be transported to the storage facility. An icehouse that could hold 25,000 tons of ice would require nearly 100 men with 10 to 12 teams of horses to fill it. The entire process would usually take 15 to 30 days. Ice was not only provided to city residents in the North, but it was also shipped to southern cities and even to the West Indies. Between the 1825 and 1860, New Orleans alone increased its demand for ice 70-fold. In the 1860s, a rudimentary refrigeration system was invented, but American ships were carrying ice to such faraway places as Calcutta and Bombay in India for another 40 years (Volo and Volo 2004, 166–67) (Giannitti 1994, 148) (Root and de Rouchemont 1976, 148) (Rowe 1948, 207–20).

Modern Advancements

By midcentury, the railroads had become the prime cause of increasing the diversity of food for the American table. Perishables such as milk, oysters, and lobsters were transported by rail to urban areas in large cars filled with ice. The railroad not only augmented the diet, it also served to improve the quality of the food that was eaten. Beef was fatter, more tender, tastier, and less expensive. The cattle no longer were driven to market on hoof, and hence, they developed less muscle. The cattle were fed on grain that was also shipped via the railroad, thus improving the flavor. Finally, the entire cost was reduced because there was less weight loss between pasture and market. A similar situation arose with pork. Prior to railroad transportation, a desirable breeding characteristic among hogs was their ability to walk to market. This made long-legged varieties superior to short-legged ones. With the advent of rail shipping, breeders began to focus on more portly hogs and tastier meat (Volo and Volo 2004, 167).

The processing and preservation of food had always been a domestic activity, until Frenchman Nicolas Appert invented vacuum-packed, hermetically sealed jars early in the nineteenth century. In 1818, Peter Durand introduced the tin-plated can to America. The following year, Thomas Kensett Sr. and Ezra Daggert began canning oysters, fruits, meats, and vegetables in New York. In 1825, Kensett filed the first American patent for tin cans, but it was not until 1839 that tin cans came into widespread use. In 1821, William Underwood, who would go on to be famous for canned meat spreads, established a canning plant in Boston. He canned a variety of vegetables, fruits, and condiments, producing grape and mushroom catsup, jams and jellies, and mustard. In 1849, Henry Evans was granted a patent for a machine that limited the amount of hand labor needed to produce tin cans. It increased worker production from 5 or 6 cans an hour to 50 or 60 per hour, stimulating the processing of food as a commercial endeavor. Lobster and salmon were the first foods to be commercially canned. The canning of corn, tomatoes, peas, and additional varieties of fish rapidly followed. Gail Borden obtained a patent for condensed milk in 1856, and although his earlier attempts at canning were less successful, the condensed milk met with great success (Volo and Volo 2004, 167–68).

By 1860, five million cans a year were being produced. Canned foods were welcomed because not only did they permit consumers to eat out-of-season products but they also provided a certain consistent quality. Americans living in isolated western territories particularly welcomed the profusion of canned foods. The line from the song, "My Darling Clementine," which describes Clementine's footwear as "herring boxes without topses," refers to the oval-shaped fish tins that were plentiful in mining towns (Volo and Volo 2004, 168).

Putting Up the Harvest

Food preservation was an essential household activity. The harvest season came but once annually, and if a family were to live comfortably through the year, careful attention had to be paid to putting up harvest surplus until the next growing season. Families generally ate well through most of the winter as the household was still enjoying the abundance of the harvest. Spring and even early summer were generally the hardest times. Fresh produce was not yet up and stored foods were often becoming limited. Catharine Beecher cautioned housewives, "One mode of securing a good variety in those months in spring when fruits and vegetables fail is by a wise providence in drying and preserving fruits and vegetables [in the fall]" (Volo and Volo 2004, 168) (Beecher 1850, 224).

Produce was preserved by a number of methods, and much of it was stored in crocks and jars. Instructions for sealing these vessels included a number of methods for a variety of containers: "[S]oak a split bladder and tie it tight over them [jars]. In drying, it will shrink so as to be perfectly air tight." "[C]over each tumbler with two rounds of white tissue paper, cut to fit exactly the inside of the glass." "[S]ecure [jars and crocks] with paper dipped in brandy and a leather outer cover." Finally, "cement on the covers [of stone jars] with a composition of bees-wax and rosin melted together, and thickened with powdered brick dust" (Volo and Volo 2004, 153) (Leslie 1999, 238, 264, 405–6).

Hundreds of men and women obtained patents for jars that would ease these time-consuming processes. Perhaps the most famous of these was John Mason who patented his Mason jar in 1858. These threaded glass jars had zinc lids with threaded ring sealers. Newspapers often carried notices of patent jars for sale. One such ad boasted "Tomatoes, green corn, peaches or any other fruit or vegetable may be preserved without sugar, by using Spratt's Patent Cans, which are acknowledged to be the only reliable self sealing cans to market." Immediately below this statement followed another notice that asserted, "Few things will be found more delicious in Winter than finely flavored apples and pears, kept fresh in 'Arthur's Self-sealing Cans and Jars.' Let every housekeeper try a dozen or two.... She will thank us for our advice next Christmas if she follows it." Jars such as these were a welcome improvement for both city and rural homemakers who had to preserve nature's bounty until the next harvest season (Volo and Volo 2004, 169) (*New York Times* 1857, 5).

Food Attitudes

Modern issues of vitamins, salt, fiber, and fat content were virtually nonexistent for most people during the antebellum period. A few groups emerged during this time urging people to refrain from eating meat or to increase grain consumption, but generally their followers were thought to be eccentric by most Americans. Some women's magazines and receipt books did urge balance and moderation in diet. *Peterson's Magazine* contained the following statement on corpulence: "Dr. Radcliffe recommends that the mouth should be kept shut, and the eyes should be kept open; or, in other words, that corpulent persons should eat little food, and that the quantity of sleep should be diminished. These precautions may be followed with discretion, but it may be dangerous to carry them too far." Most meals at this time contained meat, which was likely to be high in fat content, and bread in one form or another. Frances Trollope, a visitor to the United States in the 1830s, was shocked by the American diet. She remarked on the extraordinary amount of bacon and other meats eaten in American homes. "Ham and beef steaks appear morning noon and night." Equally astonishing to her was the way eggs and oysters, ham and apple sauce, beefsteak and stewed peaches, salt fish and onion were eaten in combination (Volo and Volo 2004, 169) (Shep 1987, 155) (Merrifield 1861) (Stewart 1975, 202).

Common Foods

Pork was the most common kind of meat consumed, particularly in the southern diet. Pork might be served three times a day in some households without engendering comment, but it was not likely fresh pork. Salt pork and smoked pork were the staple varieties during most of the year except during the harvest season. The abundance of pork was mainly due to the fact that pigs were relatively easy to maintain. They required little space and tolerated a wide variety of foodstuffs, including leavings from household food preparation. Pigs did not have to be put to pasture and consumed less feed than cattle to add the same amount of weight. They could be, and often were, set to fend for themselves in the brush along the margins of the family farm (Volo and Volo 2004, 169–70).

Pork could be easily preserved in a number of ways, including pickling, salting, and smoking. Salting and drying retarded the growth of bacteria, as did pickling, smoking, and sugar curing. It was a common practice among farmers' and upper-class planters' wives alike to sell their cured hams as well as surplus lard, butter, and eggs.

In 1856, the mistress of a Georgia plantation recorded the selling of 170 pounds of ham. James Fenimore Cooper summed up the feelings of many in *The Chainbearer* (1845) when he wrote: "I hold a family to be in a desperate way when the mother can see the bottom of the pork barrel. Give me children that's raised on good sound pork afore all the game in the country. Game's good as any relish and so's bread; but pork is the staff of life" (Volo and Volo 2004, 170) (Cooper 1970, 97).

Beef was popular in the North especially after the expansion of the railroads to the West. With his commitment to cash crops such as tobacco and cotton, the southern planter was not inclined to set aside large portions of land for the grazing of cattle. Many households preferred their beef relatively fresh. During the deep winter, cuts of beef were stored for months in barrels packed with snow. "Hung beef" was another preference where the beef would be hung for several weeks in a dry place to allow it to age. Beef could be preserved by drying or smoking or in brine, but it was not as versatile as pork. Most farmers did keep enough cows to provide their own supply of dairy as well as some beef in the form of male calves.

Lamb was eaten less often, but it was popular, particularly in Kentucky, where it remained a mainstay of the local diet. Lamb was only available in the spring and early summer. Once the lamb matured, its meat, now known as mutton, proved to have a strong flavor that was not favored by the American palate. The main disadvantages of mutton were that the animal was more valuable as a source of wool than of food and that the meat was not easily preserved (Volo and Volo 2004, 170).

Chickens were also an important source of meat. Once again, they required little space but were difficult to preserve. Like other domesticated fowl, chicken was generally eaten fresh. Chickens had the additional appeal of being egg producers while they lived. Eggs were another good source of protein. Eggs were preserved in several ways. Receipts instructed homemakers to "pack them in fine salt, small end down . . . [or] pack them small end down, and then pour on them a mixture of four quarts of cold water, four quarts of unslacked lime, two ounces of salt, and two ounces of cream-tartar." They could be "preserved for two or three months by greasing them all over, when quite fresh, with melted mutton suet, and then wedging them close together [the small end down ward] in a box of bran or charcoal." Hard-boiled eggs were sometimes pickled in vinegar (Volo and Volo 2004, 170–71) (Beecher 1850, 206–7).

In the South and rural areas, hunters would supplement the cuisine by bringing home such victuals as geese, rabbits, squirrels, wild turkeys, partridges, pheasants, deer, and reed birds. The meat supplied in this manner was particularly important for poorer families. Even youngsters of 10 or 12 might be experienced enough with firearms not to waste a shot in haste. Defending against predators alone made knowledge of firearms and their use imperative, and it helped to fill the larder in times of want (Volo and Volo 2004, 171).

Fish and seafood were eaten in abundance in shore communities. Relating a visit to the island of Nantucket, Herman Melville's Ishmael observed, "Chowder for breakfast, and chowder for dinner, and chowder for supper, till you began to look for fish-bones coming through your clothes." Freshwater fish included bass, cod, sturgeon, pickerel, perch, pike, whitefish, and catfish. Fish could be salted or smoked but much of it was eaten fresh or made into chowder or stews. Oysters were extremely popular. They were eaten fresh but were also pickled and canned. Oysters were also made into catsup. Catsup was the general name for a paste that was bottled and used as a sauce. Lobster and anchovies were also made into catsups (Volo and Volo 2004, 171) (Tanselle 1983, 214).

Salt

As can be seen from the previous discussion, salt was indispensable to the rural family. Besides its use in preserving foods, heavy doses of salt were needed to maintain the health of horses, cows, and other livestock, and for use in tanning leather. Common salt could be mined or retrieved by evaporating seawater. The North relied extensively on the salt works at Onondaga Lake near Syracuse in New York State for this important substance. There, the brine (saltwater), which welled up naturally from the floor of the lake, had provided an extensive source of salt made by evaporation for decades. Even Native Americans had used the site to provide themselves with salt. More than nine million barrels of salt, worth in excess of $30 million, were produced in New York State annually in the 1850s. In 1860, a new source of salt was found west of the Appalachian Mountains at the Saginaw River site in Michigan. This resource yielded more than 500,000 barrels of salt annually for the residents of the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region. Previously, residents of the region had relied on a small supply of salt laboriously boiled from the mud of salt licks. So successful were the commercial domestic sources that the North did not need to import any foreign salt (Fite 1976, 26).

Southern salt works were not nearly as productive as those that served the North. Besides hundreds of coastal evaporating operations that utilized seawater, there were only five principal southern sources of salt located in Louisiana, Alabama, Virginia, and Kentucky. The major production centers, making 3,000 bushels of salt a day, were in the Kanawha Valley of western Virginia and at Saltville, Virginia. Salt brine was pumped up from among the salt-bearing layers beneath the earth and air-dried until it became a thick white sludge. Completely drying the salt at its place of origin was found to be inefficient and uneconomical. Most of this salt was transferred to railcars for transportation to northern and southern cities. On the eve of the Civil War, the southern government apprehended a major shortage of salt (Volo and Volo 2004, 171–72).

Milk Products

Dairy products were difficult to keep in the warm southern climate. Milk provided an inviting medium for bacteria, a very real problem in an age when unsanitary conditions abounded. A visitor to the South in 1838 reported that milk was a rarity and that she found it plentiful only in Kentucky. Cheese also suffered in the South due to the presence of high humidity. Making hard cheese was a good way to preserve dairy products for long periods, and those in northern climates commonly did so. In the South, the only cheeses readily available were simple cottage cheeses and cream cheeses, which did not require the long curing of hard cheeses. Some hard cheeses were imported and could be found in coastal cities (Volo and Volo 2004, 172–73).

In 1851, Jesse Williams of New York revolutionized commercial cheese making. He began to purchase milk from other farmers. By combining the milk and producing large cheeses, he could achieve a uniform taste and texture. Up until this time, commercial cheese makers would buy up batches of cheese curd from farmers to make into cheese, but the quality and taste varied greatly. Initially Williams's cheese factory would produce four cheeses daily, each cheese weighing 150 pounds. This "store cheese" quickly became popular, and central New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire quickly became cheese-making regions (Volo and Volo 2004, 173).

Greens and Root Crops

Vegetables were eaten fresh in season, and in the very Deep South were even available during the winter. Vegetables such as beets, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, onions, parsnips, potatoes, radishes, rutabagas, sweet potatoes, turnips, and winter squash were stored in root cellars, where the climate allowed. The optimum temperature for the storage of root crops ranges between 50 and 55 degrees. This is fairly easy in the summer and early fall but could be most difficult during cold northern winters. Root cellars were insulated with straw and an insulating layer of snow was welcome. In some cases certain vegetables were packed in straw and stored in barrels. The straw acted as a barrier to prevent the spread of spoilage to the entire barrel. Carrots were often buried in sawdust boxes. Other vegetables such as corn, beans, and peas were dried and used in cooking. Onions that were harvested when their necks were long were braided and hung in the cellar. Green corn was preserved by turning back the husk leaving only the last, very thin layer and then hanging it in the sun or a warm room to dry. When it was needed for cooking, it was parboiled and cut from the cob. Sweet corn was parboiled, cut from the cob, dried in the sun, and stored in a bag that was kept in a cool, dry place. Sweet corn was also dried in the husk and then buried in salt. String beans, squash, and, in the South, okra were strung on thread and hung to dry. String beans were strung whole, and other produce was sliced thinly and dried in strips. Cabbage was made into sauerkraut. Cauliflower, cucumbers, green peppers, mushrooms, onions, red cabbage, string beans, and tomatoes could be pickled. Sometimes, assortments of vegetables were pickled together. In addition to those just mentioned, carrots, radishes, cherries, green grapes, and nasturtiums might also be included. Vegetables could also be preserved by making them into catsups and relishes. Mushroom, tomato, and walnut catsups were popular (Volo and Volo 2004, 173–74).

Southern cooks seemed to have especially favored fresh greens as they are frequently mentioned in diarists' accounts. Some slave owners encouraged their slaves to grow their own vegetables to supplement the basic diet of cornmeal, salt pork, and sweet potatoes provided to them. It was observed by at least one man that the addition of fresh vegetables seemed to lessen disease. During the winter, a small supply of vegetables could be grown in hot frames that utilized the heat of manure and sunshine to keep temperatures warm enough to produce plants year round as far north as Virginia (Volo and Volo 2004, 174).

Fruits and Berries

Although most fruits and berries were made into jellies, jams, and marmalades, or preserved in sugar syrup for off-season consumption, they were also eaten fresh when seasonally available. Apples, peaches, and pumpkins could also be sliced thinly and dried. Peaches and plums could be what was called "half dried" and packed closely in stone jars with a thick layer of brown sugar in between them. Cherries were dried whole. Apricots, cherries, grapes, and peaches were sometimes preserved in brandy. Some fruits, mainly apples and peaches, were mashed, boiled, skimmed, and dried into what were called "leathers," which were stored in boxes. Apples and pumpkins were also stored whole in barrels much like vegetables. Apples were frequently wrapped in newspaper prior to being placed in the barrels. Apples were also made into apple butter, a seasoned saucelike condiment that could be spread on bread. Squashes and pumpkins were also preserved whole. While still on the vine, they were placed on boards to keep them off the ground. At harvest, the stems would be cut long and tied off at the ends. They were then cured in the sun before being stored indoors (Volo and Volo 2004, 174).

Bread

American housewives had extreme pride in their bread making. Catharine Beecher devoted an entire chapter of her book *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book* to bread making. She counseled, "A woman should be ashamed to have poor bread, far more so, than to speak bad grammar, or to have a dress out of fashion.... When it is very frequently the case that a housekeeper has poor bread, she may set herself down as a slack baker and negligent housekeeper." She reminded housewives to be "aware of their responsibility in reference to the bread furnished to their family. As this is the principal article of food, there is no one thing on which the health of a family, especially young children, is more dependent."

Commercially produced bread was one area in which modern convenience was strongly resisted until the early years of the following century. Many believed like Beecher that "Baker's bread [was] often made of musty, sour or other bad flour, which is made to look light, and the bad taste removed by unhealthy drugs. Of course, to the evil of unhealthy flour, is added unhealthy drugs, and there is no mode of discovering the imposition" (Beecher 1850, 227, 239–31).

Beverages

From colonial times most meals were served with beer or cider. Rural housewives brewed what was known as small beer "every week or so" and it was consumed shortly after brewing. Receipt books contained recipes for spruce beer, ginger beer, sassafras beer, and molasses beer. Strong beer was brewed annually in October from roasted malt barley and hops and in most cases was made by those with expertise in the craft.

English brewing techniques did not translate well to the humid American climate. Wild yeasts were often picked up from the air and ruined the taste of the product. The influx of German immigrants in the second quarter of the nineteenth century brought new brewing methods that yielded better beers and ales.

The Eagle Brewery, a commercial operation later to be known as the Yuengling Brewery, opened in Pennsylvania in 1829. Many others soon followed. During the period, beer became an increasingly more popular public beverage choice, and beer gardens opened outside large cities attracting both immigrant and native-born citizens. The beer garden was more than a place to drink under the shade of a tree; it was a social center. Some places were very fancy and built ponds or offered entertainment. By 1850, 431 breweries were producing 750,000 barrels of beer. It was 10 years later that the number of breweries grew to 1,269 and were producing over 1 million barrels of beer, 85 percent of which was consumed in New York and Pennsylvania.

Cider was an excellent way to preserve the apple harvest. The liquid from the pressed fruit was allowed to ferment naturally in the cellar until it was mildly alcoholic. Hard cider that was served in taverns had a slightly higher alcohol content because sugar was added during the fermentation process (Volo and Volo 2004, 175).

Fruit wines were also made in the home. Receipt books often contained recipes for blackberry, blueberry, currant, elderberry, gooseberry, and raspberry wines. Shrubs and bounces were also made from fruit harvests but required the infusion of a brandy or whiskey. Nonalcoholic versions of these fruity beverages were also made. Currants, cherries, and fox grapes were commonly used in these recipes. Commercially produced wine was generally found only on the tables of the wealthy because tariffs added to already high import costs. Commercial wine-making efforts using European grapes met with repeated failure. There were some successes with native grapes such as the Catawba. German vintners from the Rhine Valley used Catawba grapes to make wine on the islands of Lake Erie and in the Ohio Valley. Lawyer Nicholas Longworth planted Catawba grapes in Cincinnati in 1825. By 1842, he had planted 1,200 acres and had produced the country's first sparkling wine. By the late 1850s, Ohio was the leading wine-making state until the vines were destroyed by disease shortly before the Civil War. California made wines prior to the gold rush, but it was not until 1857, when Agostin Haraszthy successfully planted classic European grapevines that the roots of California wine growing really began (Volo and Volo 2004, 175–76).

Traditionally, Americans drank a good deal of whiskey and other hard liquors. The rate of heavy drinking in the 1820s was much higher than today. Men of all social classes met regularly for a friendly drink in the local tavern. On Sunday, taverns often opened during the noon hour so that men could get a drink before returning for the afternoon service. Tavern keeper Ezra Beaman of West Boylston, Massachusetts, kept a detailed record of the food and drink purchased during the 1820s and 1830s. He kept his bar well supplied with brandy, Holland gin, and New England rum. For those who preferred milder alcoholic choices, there was Lisbon wine, strong beer, and hard cider. Popular drinks at the time included flips, slings, and toddies.

As attitudes changed and the temperance movement took hold, consumption of strongly alcoholic beverages declined. Some motion toward temperance began in the eighteenth century, but the movement truly became aggressive in the nineteenth century. Activists began demonstrating and demanding legislative action. Supporters of the movement wanted new rules for American behavior that made public drinking less acceptable and generally restricted access to liquor in many states. In 1829, the American Temperance Union was created and membership quickly climbed to 100,000 members. By 1833, membership in the nation's 5,000 temperance societies reached 1.25 million. In 1846, Maine passed a prohibition law. In 1852, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island followed suit. Prohibition was voted for in Michigan in 1853 and began in Connecticut in 1854. Many of these laws were repealed during the wartime turmoil of the 1860s (Volo and Volo 2004, 176).

Many country innkeepers gave up serving liquor to become temperance barrooms that served coffee or lemonade. A number of New England towns had a Temperance Hotel as well as a traditional tavern. Beecher even included a chapter titled "Temperance Drinks" in her receipt book, which contained recipes for sarsaparilla mead, effervescing fruit and jelly drinks, and ginger beer. She introduced the section with an explanation of various positions held by temperance supporters that ranged from those who "will not use any kind of alcoholic liquors for any purpose [and] such [who] will not employ it in cooking, nor keep it in their houses." To those who shared Beecher's more moderate view on alcoholic consumption, Beecher said that she thought "it proper to use wine and brandy in cooking and occasionally for medical purposes." Beecher further speculated that "the cause of temperance [would] be best promoted by going no further" (Volo and Volo 2004, 176–77) (Beecher 1850, 183).

Beginnings of Modern Snacks

Mineral springs abounded in many regions and Americans had long believed strongly in the health benefits of "taking the waters." Pharmacists reasoned that they could improve upon the curative powers of the waters by adding a variety of natural ingredients such as birch bark and dandelion. The flavors that emerged as most popular were ginger ale, root beer, sarsaparillas, lime, and strawberry. Pharmacists and scientists continued experimenting with the natural fizz of some waters and developed a way to artificially carbonate water. By the 1830s, both artificial and natural mineral waters were welcomed as refreshing and healthy beverages.

French-fried potatoes had been an American favorite ever since Thomas Jefferson brought the recipe back from France and served them at his home in Monticello at the turn of the century. They were on the menu at the stylish Moon Lake Lodge in Saratoga Springs, New York, in 1853 when a dinner guest complained that they were cut too thick. Chef George Crumb prepared a thinner batch and presented them to the patron, who still found them objectionably thick. Crumb returned to the kitchen, planning to spite the complaining guest by making a batch so thin and crisp that they could not be skewered with a fork. To Crumb's amazement, the diner was delighted and other guests began to ask for the crispy potato chips. They were added to the menu as "Saratoga Chips," a house specialty, and soon thereafter were sold locally in small packages.

The graham cracker first made its appearance as a health food. Originally, the unsalted, unleavened biscuits of whole grain flour were touted by New England preacher and self-proclaimed nutritionist Sylvester Graham in the 1830s. Graham encouraged the use of whole grains in baking and advised homemakers to boycott commercially baked bread. At a public appearance in Boston, a group of his supporters dumped slacked lime on a group of resentful bakers who assailed the gathering. The movement had strong supporters in certain parts of the country and certain stores carried Dr. Graham's flour, bread, and crackers (Volo and Volo 2004, 177).

The early Dutch settlers and the Pennsylvania Germans introduced doughnuts to America. The deep-fried cakes were a special treat on Shrove Tuesday, prior to the Lenten fast. The inclusion of a hole in the center is said to date back to 1847 when Hanson Gregory of Maine complained that his mother's doughnuts were raw in the middle. He tried poking holes in the center of her next batch and liked the results, and the modern doughnut was born (Volo and Volo 2004, 178).

COOKBOOKS

It was not until 1796, when Amelia Simmons published *American Cookery,* that the first cookbook written by an American author was published. Prior to that, American cooks referred to English works for culinary guidance, and the few cookbooks that had been published in the colonies were wholesale reprints of older English works. Although certain American ingredients such as turkey, tomatoes, chocolate, and vanilla had made their way into English works by the mid-eighteenth century, their appearance in cookbooks was in no way in deference to American tastes. It merely showed the evolution of the English epicure. Simmons's book started a vogue for recipes in the United States. Over 160 receipt books, as they were called, appeared during the first half of the nineteenth century. Receipt books contained far more than recipes. They were commonly divided into three sections, cooking, medicine, and household management. These books provided information on how to deal with household emergencies and day-to-day trifles. Some contained philosophical guidance on household management.

One of the most prolific food writers of the antebellum period was Eliza Leslie. Her first book, *Seventy-Five Receipts for Pastry, Cakes and Sweetmeats*, printed in 1828, was so popular that it was even included as an addendum to other nineteenth-century cookbooks. Her *Directions for Cookery,* which was published in 1837, is considered to be the most popular cookbook of the nineteenth century, with 60 editions published by 1870. Leslie followed these works with the *Lady's Receipt-Book* in 1846 and the *Ladies New Receipt-Book* in 1850. Other popular receipt books of the period included Lydia Maria Child's *The American Frugal Housewife* (1832), Sarah Josepha Hale's *The Good Housekeeper* (1841), and Catharine E. Beecher's *Domestic Receipt-Book* (1846) (Volo and Volo 2004, 178).

Just as the South had developed a separate culture, it evolved its own particular style of cooking that was recorded in its cookbooks. In 1824, Mary Randolph published *The Virginia House-Wife,* which is said to be the first regional American cookbook. A cousin of Thomas Jefferson, Mrs. Randolph represented the old Virginia aristocracy. Lettice Bryan's *The Kentucky Housewife* (1839) came from an area much more rural. *The Carolina Housewife,* written by Sarah Rutledge in 1847, included numerous recipes for rice breads, cakes, and pilaus (rice-based dishes). Eliza Leslie's *Miss Leslie's New Cookery Book,* published in 1857, was widely used throughout the South (Volo and Volo 2004, 178–79).

DINING OUT

Nearly all Americans in the early nineteenth century ate their meals at home or in the homes of their hosts. In rural areas, eating a meal in public was an unusual event. Public dining was offered only in taverns or ordinaries with the exception of community outdoor dinners on special occasions such as the Fourth of July. Travelers were forced by circumstances to take their meals at taverns and inns. Although local men also frequented these establishments to drink, they generally did not eat there unless the establishment had been catered for a dancing or sleighing party or for a ball (Volo and Volo 2004, 179).

Meals at these establishments were not brought on demand, but were served only during specified times. Englishman Isaac Wald complained, "At each house there are regular hours for breakfast, dinner and supper and if a traveler arrives somewhat before the appointed time for any one of them, it is in vain to call for a separate meal for himself; he must wait patiently 'til the appointed hour, and then sit down with the other guests that may happen to be in the house." The food served in taverns could be considered home cooking. It was unpretentious and very much in the style of the region. Both food quality and portion sizes varied greatly. Perhaps because diarists seldom recorded average or acceptable meals or innkeepers took advantage of travelers with no alternatives, journals abound with reports of horrid dining experiences. After eating at a tavern in Shelborne Falls, Massachusetts, in 1838, Nathaniel Hawthorne remarked that the meal "was about the worst [he] ever saw . . . hardly anything . . . to eat . . . at least not of the meat kind." Baynard Rush Hall detailed his breakfast at a stagecoach inn while traveling through the Midwest in the 1830s: "[T]he coffee was a libel on diluted soot . . . Eggs, too!—It certainly was not without hazard to put them in the mouth without first putting them to the nose . . . a sausage coiled up like a great greasy eel [and] hot rolls . . . a composition of oak bark on the outside and hot putty within" (Volo and Volo 2004, 179) (Larkin 1999, 10) (Hall 1916, 27).

Although some offerings were incredibly meager, Hawthorne recalled seeing a group of young college students being served what was typically a children's breakfast of bread and milk "with a huge washbowl of milk in the center, and a bowl and spoon set for each guest." Other meals were reported as being quite substantial. An 1832 diary claimed that a full-scale New England breakfast at an inn included ham, beef, sausages, pork, bread, butter, boiled potatoes, pies, coffee, and cider (Volo and Volo 2004, 179).

By the 1820s, many taverns had become hotels, which offered guests breakfast and supper. What could be termed the first luxury hotels first came about in 1829 when the Tremont House opened in Boston. This was followed in 1836 by the Astor House in New York City, which was considered by many to be the best hotel in the country at the time. Initially, hotels continued the custom of supplying set meals at fixed hours for all paid guests whether they chose to consume them or not. In the 1830s, the new, larger eastern hotels began offering table d'hôte meals from a menu of items. This became a common feature in major hotels by the 1850s. French cuisine was frequently featured, although a number of establishments offered American-style meals (Volo and Volo 2004, 179–80).

A growing number of city restaurants serving midday meals to businessmen began to open, and they began to compete with the high-quality cooking found in the hotels. Brothers Giovanni and Pietro Delmonico opened an ordinary cafe in 1827. In 1830, they opened up a "Restaurant Francais" next door. Delmonico's was soon recognized by the New York elite for its culinary excellence. In 1826, the Union Oyster House restaurant opened its doors in Boston. At this time, the nation was seemingly in the throes of an oyster craze. Virtually all principal towns and cities had some type of oyster parlor, oyster cellar, oyster saloon, oyster bar, oyster house, oyster stall, or oyster lunchroom. The owners of the Union Oyster House installed the fabled semicircular oyster bar where Senator Daniel Webster was a regular customer. Webster had his daily tall tumbler of brandy and water with a half-dozen oysters. He seldom had fewer than six plates. In addition to oysters, clams and scallops were served in season. The Union Oyster House is also famous for having been the first place where the commercially produced wooden toothpick was used. Charles Forster of Maine imported the picks from South America and hired young men from Harvard to dine at the Oyster House and to ask for toothpicks as a promotional gimmick. The toothpick fad quickly spread beyond Massachusetts, and it was not unusual to see scores of young dandies with the slim stick of wood protruding from their lips in cities everywhere (Volo and Volo 2004, 180).

COOKING APPLIANCES

Although an iron stove had been invented by Benjamin Franklin in the eighteenth century as a room heater, cast-iron ranges for cooking were a rarity in homes until the 1830s. Until this time, the stone or brick fireplace dominated the kitchen, and it remained common in southern kitchens until after the war. Around 1830, economical iron stoves were being produced as factory-made commodities for the home. These early iron stoves, like the pots and kettles used on them, were cast directly from the raw molten iron as they passed from the smelting furnaces to the sand molds on the ground in a process that had its technological roots in the fifteenth century. The impurities left in the iron during this process caused stove parts to be generally brittle and not very durable or long lasting. Jordan Mott began casting stoves from purer pig iron in New York about 1835, and experiments with cast-iron stoves continued throughout the remainder of the century with stunning results. Tinned iron stovepipes, almost identical to those used today, were also developed. Wood and coal were the principal fuels used in these stoves, but tar, sawdust, and kerosene were all tried. A gas-fired range appeared around 1850, but it was considered dangerous and was extremely expensive (Volo and Volo 2004, 180–81).

The antebellum period was a period of transition in food availability, preservation, preparation, and consumption. America was moving from a society whose diet was solely the result of domestic industry and cooked on the hearth to one that had expanded to include commercially prepared food, tinned consumables, and manufactured ranges. Industry generally took men away from the home during this period, and eating out became more than a traveler's necessity. Transportation improved and products that were once only locally available were now sent to markets across the nation. It was the dawn of the period of modern convenience and accessibility, which was to explode following the Civil War (Volo and Volo 2004, 181).

Economic Life

A NATION OF MECHANICS

Early America was deemed a nation of mechanics by the more theoretically focused scientists of Europe. The nineteenth-century sense of the term "mechanics" included artisans, craftsmen, and other persons who worked with their hands. Today we would classify them as technicians rather than research scientists. America was certainly a nation of mechanics during the antebellum period, and it continued to be so throughout the remainder of the century (Volo and Volo 2004, 41).

American inventors made the United States a warehouse of wonders for the world. While European scientists delved into the nature of matter, heat, light, or electricity, Americans were producing practical applications of these scientific principles in the form of inventions that generally helped to improve life. American inventors showed great ingenuity in the antebellum period, and important advances were made in many fields, including the development of a practical telegraph, the evolution of the mechanical reaper, the use of ether as anesthesia, and the harnessing of steam power for waterborne commerce. On the other hand, the invention of safety matches, the development of a lace-making machine, and the patenting of the attached rubber pencil eraser seemed frivolous. Yet all of these advances affected the daily lives of those in the antebellum period (Volo and Volo 2004, 41–42).

INVENTIONS

During the antebellum period it was not unusual for a person to choose a career as an inventor. Inventiveness seemed to be an American trait, and it was widely believed that any mechanical problem could be solved if one applied enough hard work and creativity to it. As early as 1820, German political economist Georg Friedrich List wrote, “There is no clinging to old ways; the moment an Americ[an] hears the word invention he pricks up his ears” (Volo and Volo 2004, 42) (Calkins 1975, 280).

As more inventors worked on a particular problem, their solutions tended to converge around the naturally correct one. This is a repetitive characteristic of the practice of engineering known as “convergent technology.” In 1838, Congress created a new patent law to deal with competing claims to inventions. Up to that time, anyone who claimed a patent received one, even if competing claims for the same invention were made. The new law established, for the first time, the principles of formal research, requiring the patent office to withhold a patent until all other prior patents had been scrutinized for the inclusion of important original ideas. Ironically, the pace of invention accelerated under the new law. Before 1838, no more than 500 patents had been granted. In the next decade alone, more than 10,000 were issued. Unscrupulous advertisers used this circumstance to advance themselves in the newspapers as agents of the Patent Office, who, for a fee, would act as “preparers of Caveats, Specificiations, Assignments, and all the necessary Papers and Drawings” so that inventors might be “saved the time and cost of a journey to Washington, and the delay there, as well as [being saved] all the personal trouble in obtaining their patents” (Volo and Volo 2004, 42–43) (Calkins 1975, 280).

LABOR

The greatest changes in employment and manufacturing prior to the Civil War were in the transition from hand labor to increased mechanization in almost every task. Household manufacturing, which was still widespread in the 1820s, declined in importance during the next four decades. Many of the items consumers once made for themselves, including basic things such as tools, textiles, and clothing, now came from factories. The craftsman, who previously made goods to the specifications of individual customers whom he knew, now enlarged his shop or took a place in a factory to turn out ready-made products for the general public. The financial capital needed for increasing mechanization caused certain geographic areas blessed with inexpensive waterpower or access to raw materials to become centers for the manufacture of specific items. Danbury, Connecticut, with its hat factories; Lowell, Massachusetts, with its textile mills; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with its iron foundries are examples (Volo and Volo 2004, 43).

Domestic manufacture remained strong in many rural areas of the country and in many industries where it was not immediately possible to apply power and machine technology to the required task. Shoemaking can serve as an example in this regard. At a time when power machinery had not yet been developed for making shoes, the process was one ruled by trained specialists who made hand-cut and hand-sewn shoes. The invention of a machine to produce small wooden pegs to attach the leather soles to the upper part of the shoe changed the way shoemakers assembled their wares. The quiet stitching of sole to upper was replaced by the dull sound of the cobbler's hammer. At the same time, sewing machine technology was successfully applied to the stitching of leather, resulting in the establishment of factories in which women sewed the uppers together and the men attached them to the lower structure of the shoe and fitted the finished product with soles and heels by hand. As a result of mechanization, there were more people involved in shoemaking than in any other industry in the nation save agriculture. By 1858, Lyman Blake had patented a sewing machine that attached the soles to the uppers mechanically, greatly facilitating the shoemaking process. This made the price of shoes, especially work shoes, much more affordable. Sizes and widths were first introduced to shoe production at this time. The general public could now buy shoes in sizes, and slave owners could provide cheaply made shoes to slaves by the barrel. Although harness and saddle making remained male-dominated crafts, the extension of power stitching to the entire shoemaking process left the traditional shoemaker with little beyond specialty work and a small repair business (Volo and Volo 2004, 43–44).

The conversion to machine operations brought many more women into the manufacturing trades and wrought changes in the relationship between labor and management that reverberate even today. The right to strike was first established by the Massachusetts State Court in 1842 when a group of mill girls in Lowell, Massachusetts, refused to return to work at their looms because of long working hours. In 1860, 800 female workers from the shoemaking factory in Lynn, Massachusetts, went on strike for higher wages. They took to the streets dressed in their best hoopskirts and carrying parasols in a March snowstorm. The strike lasted more than two weeks, and the results were somewhat ambiguous, with the shop manager being thrown into a pond. Nonetheless, as the Civil War began, many northern women were hired to make pistol holsters, riding boots, infantry shoes, cartridge boxes, and other leather items, and other women wove the cloth and sewed the uniforms for hundreds of thousands of federal soldiers on water-powered mechanical looms and sewing machines. These ladies generally filled the civilian positions of men drafted away from their trades and into the federal armies (Volo and Volo 2004, 44–45).

TRANSPORTATION

In 1800, transportation in the United States was not much different than it had been throughout the world for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Although improvements to sailing ships over the centuries had made travel and transportation of goods easier and faster between coastal cities, inland transportation continued to depend primarily on horses or horse-drawn vehicles and boats propelled by man power (paddles, poles, etc.). For most Americans, walking continued to be the most common mode of travel (Timmons 2005, 11).

Horse-drawn carriages, wagons, or stagecoaches usually followed animal or Indian trails. Even well-traveled routes between population centers could only charitably be called roads. Various improvements were attempted, such as the so-called corduroy roads, built with a foundation of logs parallel to the path layered with smaller logs perpendicular. These logs were often covered with sand and dirt in an attempt—usually quite futile—to smooth out the ride. Later roads made of tarred planks provided a slight improvement to the comfort of a traveler. The appearance of toll roads in some parts of the country made overland travel somewhat faster and marginally more comfortable. These roads connected towns and, in the process, provided rural Americans increased opportunity for social interactions with neighbors and townsfolk (Lacour-Gayet 1969, 49) (Timmons 2005, 11).

The decisions as to where roads would be built (and, later, where railroads would be built) affected settlement patterns. Immigrants settled along main roads and railroads, while established towns bypassed by the new transportation systems often shrunk in population and sometimes disappeared altogether. A grand plan to build the National or Cumberland Road connecting the East to the interior of the country was begun in 1802 but not completed until 1852. However, by 1818 the road had connected the eastern United States to the Ohio River, and as new sections opened it became a main artery for settlers traveling west and for western farm products moving east. The difficulties facing a traveler in the United States contributed greatly to the fact that the country was still a thin strip of settled area along the Atlantic Coast in 1800 (Timmons 2005, 11–12).

A myriad of technical innovations in the nineteenth century combined to change forever the way Americans would look at travel and transportation. The perfection of steam engines allowed great improvements in transportation both over land and on the water. New methods developed to harness the power of electricity led to wondrous machines that changed the face of urban transportation. By the end of the century, the rapid development of the first automobiles formed a punctuation mark for a century of transportation advances never before seen (Timmons 2005, 12).

The Steamboat

As the nineteenth century approached, the steamboat represented the most promising advance in transportation since humans first domesticated horses. It gave rise to a new era in travel and in transportation of goods across the country and across the world. Although the steamboat eventually gave way to the railroad as the fastest and most convenient mode of transportation, its importance remains as America's initial foray into the applications of technology to transportation.

Robert Fulton did not invent the steamboat. Fulton's name is forever attached to the steamboat, however, because the American visionary was the first man to fully utilize its capabilities and to take economic advantage of those capabilities. The first Americans to build working steamboats were James Rumsey and John Fitch in the 1780s. Rumsey successfully tested a steamboat driven by jet propulsion on the Potomac River in 1786. Fitch experimented with several types of steamboats, using both paddle wheels and screw propellers for propulsion. Fitch attempted to capitalize commercially from his invention, using one of his vessels to carry passengers and freight on the Delaware River between Philadelphia and Burlington, New Jersey (Timmons 2005, 12).

Fitch and Rumsey, along with other early steamboat builders, were technical innovators who were never successful in establishing their steamboats as viable commercial enterprises. That honor falls to Fulton and his partner Robert Livingston. After years of unsuccessfully attempting to sell his ideas on steamboats, submarines, torpedoes, and other inventions to the British, the French, and the Americans, Fulton finally built and launched his steamboat in 1807. Although the vessel is called the *Clermont* by history books, Kirkpatrick Sale, in his book *The Fire of His Genius: Robert Fulton and the American Dream*, points out that Fulton actually registered his boat as the "North River Steamboat of Clermont," and referred to the boat as the *North River*. Calling the boat the *Clermont* is a historical inaccuracy that has, over a period of time, embedded itself in American history (Timmons 2005, 12–13).

Fulton's steamboat was an instant success. Not only had he surpassed his predecessors in his technical knowledge of steamboat design, but, with the help of a monopoly obtained by Livingston from the state of New York guaranteeing sole rights to steamboat navigation on the Hudson, Fulton's new steamboat proved a financial success (Timmons 2005, 13).

To Fulton and Livingston, along with a third partner, Nicholas J. Roosevelt, also goes the credit for operating the first steamboat on the Mississippi River, the *New Orleans*, launched from Pittsburgh in 1811. The ship made it to New Orleans and operated on the lower Mississippi for some time. After several setbacks, however, the partners withdrew from the Mississippi and were replaced by, among others, Henry Miller Shreve's steamboats, and others like them, which made the Mississippi the busy waterway that Americans had envisioned it would some day become. Before the appearance of the steamboat on the Mississippi and its tributaries, passengers and goods were carried down the river on various types of boats that were built to float *downstream* but, unfortunately, were not very efficient for the trip back *upstream*. Some boats, like the keelboat, could be propelled upstream by poling or by pulling on ropes from the bank. Both methods, of course, were very slow, expensive, and difficult modes of travel. Other boats were specifically built for the trip downstream and turned into scrap lumber upon arrival at their destination. The steamboat was a tremendous improvement to either of these systems (Timmons 2005, 13–14).

Although not as famous as his competitor, John Stevens probably contributed more to the technical advancement of steamboats than did Fulton. The list of innovations by Stevens and his sons, particularly Robert L. Stevens, is long. From experiments with propeller-driven steamboats to advances based on a solid understanding of the science of hydrodynamics, the Stevens family designed and built the vessels that were to become synonymous with American steamboat lore. After his father's death, Robert made many important improvements to the design of steamboat hulls and boilers. His most important contribution, however, may have been his introduction of the use of coal instead of wood to feed the boilers of his new ship, *The Philadelphia* (Timmons 2005, 14).

An important improvement to the basic steam engine design came from an American named Oliver Evans. In 1803 Evans invented a high-pressure, double-acting steam engine. It was this new kind of steam engine that powered steamboats later in the century. Fulton used a Watts-type engine in the *North River* (aka *Clermont*), but the more powerful Evans engine was needed for western rivers. In 1816, riverboats began using an Evans engine in the horizontal, rather than vertical, position. At first the piston was attached to a flywheel that turned the steamboat paddle wheels, but soon designers found they could attach the piston directly to the paddle wheels (de la Pedraja 2001, 224).

The first decades of steamboat travel, especially in the West, provided a "rough democracy of accommodations":

> There were no staterooms, and passengers bedded down on berths that folded down from the walls of the cabin. Female travelers simply slept behind a curtain. When boats became overcrowded passengers "took part in a sort of lottery" every night to determine who got the berths and who would be allotted "chairs, benches and tables" to sleep on in descending order of their desirability. On Thomas Hamilton's first night on a Mississippi steamboat, "fortune fixed me on the table, and there I lay with the knee of one man thrust directly into my stomach, and with my feet resting on the head of another." (Larkin 1988, 226–27)

Life aboard a western steamboat was generally, "heterogeneous and disorderly" with "incessant card playing" by, as a traveling minister described them, a crowd of "profane swearers, drunkards, gamblers, fiddlers, and dancers" (Larkin 1988, 226–27).

The first steamboats were not only crude and uncomfortable for passenger travel; they also often proved dangerous to the passengers. Fires, accidents involving boiler explosions, and hulls damaged by river obstacles frequently resulted in injury or death. The race to build faster steamboats and then to run them "all out" led to many careless and senseless accidents. It was not until the 1850s that the government began to regulate steamboats and their boilers in an attempt to make the vessels safer. Shreve, seeing the need to improve safety on his steamboats, designed and built a snag boat to deal with underwater obstructions. His steamboat, equipped with a specially designed bow, cleared navigation paths along the Mississippi and important tributaries, making river travel safer for everyone (Timmons 2005, 15).

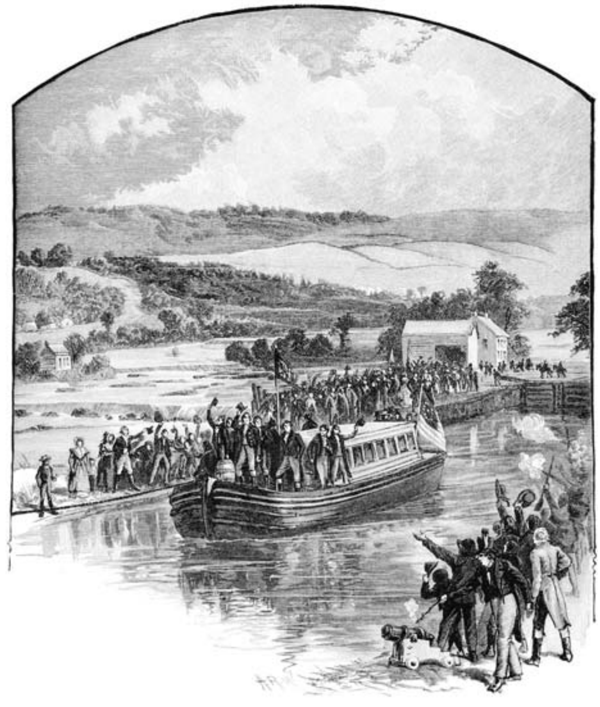
It did not take long for steamboat owners to realize the economic advantages of offering comfortable, even luxurious, accommodations to their passengers. Shreve designed and built the *Washington* for service on the Mississippi, employing for the first time the philosophy that passengers could travel on steamboats in an opulent setting unlike any they had experienced. From a humble beginning just after the turn of the century, when the first steamboats carried a few passengers on hot, loud, and dangerous journeys, the steamboat quickly advanced until, in 1857, the *New World* could transport 1,000 passengers in comfort between New York City and Albany. By the 1870s thousands of steamboats carried passengers and cargo on eastern rivers, on the Mississippi, and on the Great Lakes. In addition, people were able to make the Atlantic crossing in a matter of days rather than the weeks that sailing ships took for the same trip (Timmons 2005, 15–16).

Although steamboats were viewed primarily as passenger transportation vessels, they also contributed to burgeoning trade along the river (and later canal) routes in the United States. Utilized to tow barges packed with agricultural products and mined resources such as coal, steamboats grew in size to handle increased demands for these products. Yet, in spite of the importance of faster transportation and more efficient hauling of goods, the most important long-term consequence of the steamboat actually occurred on dry land. There, settlements appeared where once there had been none, and small towns grew to become important cities flourishing on the trade supplied by the steamboats (Timmons 2005, 16).

Canal Building

In the early nineteenth century, canals quickly became vital arteries for commerce in the fledgling United States of America. With overland travel being difficult at best, American politicians, civic and business leaders, and engineers turned to canals to transport crops and raw materials east and manufactured goods west. Canals also became a preferred mode of travel for many Americans looking for a more comfortable journey than could be had over rough inland terrain. In the process, the canals came to symbolize nationalistic feelings of pride and accomplishment for a country that was only beginning to make its place in a new and changing world.

Canals have a long history, dating back to the ancient Egyptians more than three millennia B.C. Canals played an important role in Chinese and in European commerce and transportation long before the United States came into existence. In the eighteenth century, small canals began to appear in America, the first of which were used to help transport coal from mines in Pennsylvania to cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Canal planners often sought funding from the local, state, and federal governments, but this was a time in America's history when many national leaders believed the Constitution forbade such actions by the federal government. Therefore, early canals were usually financed by a combination of private investment and state funding. The most famous and most important canal built in the United States, the Erie Canal, was built using this financial model (Timmons 2005, 16).



Ceremony opening the Erie Canal (1825), Governor Clinton and other dignitaries on the first boat. Hand-colored woodcut. © North Wind / North Wind Picture Archives—All rights reserved.

Suggestions for a canal across the state of New York, to connect the Hudson River with Lake Erie, first arose during colonial times. Later, such luminaries as George Washington and Robert Fulton became proponents of such a plan. However, it was not until 1817 that ground was actually broken for the long-dreamed-of canal. Over the next eight years work continued on the canal, and sections were opened for use as they were completed. Finally, in 1825, the full length of the Erie Canal was opened to traffic. Stretching across 363 miles of wilderness, the Erie Canal was 40 feet wide and 4 feet deep. Much of the credit for the canal is given to the governor of New York, DeWitt Clinton, whose vision for a canal across his state was instrumental in its completion. Often derisively referred to during construction as "Clinton's Ditch," the governor and his supporters were vindicated when the canal was completed and immediately began to turn a profit (Timmons 2005, 16–17).

The Erie Canal represented the largest construction project undertaken in the United States up to that time. American engineers, previously trained in Europe, learned their craft on the Erie project under the direction of its chief engineer, Benjamin Wright. These newly trained engineers then fanned out across the nation to build other canals and public works projects. These engineers made numerous innovations in canal building, including the design and construction of scores of locks, many with improvements made over previous designs. American engineers designed other modes of moving boats from one elevation to another on the canals. Some used lifts, operating much like an elevator, and others designed inclined planes along which the boats were pulled to the next level. A surveyor and engineer named Canvass White patented a new kind of cement vital to the building of the canal. Presaging the use of immigrants on the massive railway projects later in the century, the canals employed European, most particularly Irish, immigrants working under extreme conditions for very low wages. Thousands of laborers were used on the massive project, and many died from malaria, cholera, and other diseases (Timmons 2005, 17).

The importation of these laborers to dig the canal, and later to handle the unskilled, low-paying jobs operating the canal, led to difficulties all along the canal's length. From offending the local communities by working on Sundays to living in dirty, often temporary shantytowns, the hard-drinking canal workers—in 1835 one could find a tavern or grog shop an average of every quarter mile along its entire length—provided a multitude of threats to the middle-class inhabitants of the local towns and countryside (Nye 2003, 184).

The Erie Canal was enlarged several times over its life as more and larger vessels sought to carry goods up and down its length. It played a key role in the growth of New York cities such as Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo, and helped make New York City the most important port in the world. Rochester experienced such phenomenal growth after completion of the canal that a visitor described the scene as a mass of confusion where the "very streets seemed to be starting up of their own accord" and the "halffinished, whole-finished, and embryo streets were crowded with people, carts, stages, cattle, pigs, far beyond the reach of numbers." In Rochester, as in other towns in the path of the monumental canal, everyday life was forever changed (Nye 2003, 151–52).

Before the Erie Canal, it took 20 days and cost $100 a ton to move freight from Buffalo to New York City; after completion of the canal, the time and cost was reduced to 8 days and $10 a ton. By 1854, 83 percent of the nation's entire shipment of grain moved through the Erie Canal. By 1871, as the railroad began to take over as the nation's most important mode of transportation, this number had fallen to only 30 percent. However, the Erie Canal continued service well into the twentieth century (Lacour-Gayet 1969, 52) (Bauer 1988, 140).

Other major canals followed on the heels of the much ballyhooed Erie Canal. In fact, sections of the country entered into a decades-long race to build canals with the expectation of the economic impact they would have on the local areas.

A long-planned canal connecting the Susquehanna and Ohio Rivers was completed in 1834 and later linked to the Erie Canal. Whereas the Erie Canal had helped make New York City the most important port on the eastern seaboard, another man-made waterway, the Illinois & Michigan Canal, provided access to the Mississippi River from Lake Michigan and began the tremendous explosion of growth of Chicago, where the canal entered the lake. Later, railroads contributed further to Chicago's rise as the nation's "second city." When a canal was completed in 1830 bypassing rapids in the Ohio River near Louisville, navigation became possible all the way from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. The network of canals connecting the Mississippi Valley to the Great Lakes also helped cities such as Detroit and Cleveland become major centers of trade and population. Just as railroads were to do a few decades later, the location of major canals played a crucial factor in the development of population centers in the United States (Timmons 2005, 18–19).

Canals became more than just modes of transportation; they became symbols of progress. They also became tourist attractions. Families came to marvel at the engineering feats exhibited at canals throughout the country:

> The citizen who contemplated such public improvements [as canals] became aware of the power of democracy and saw himself as part of the moral vanguard, leading the world toward universal democracy. These man-made objects became national symbols. Traveling to America's natural wonders and great public works became the act of a good citizen, just as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the sign of a good Christian. (Timmons 2005, 19) (Nye 2003, 36)

Parades, fireworks, and other celebrations accompanied the opening of new canals as community leaders and local workers alike reveled in their accomplishments. Canals became "one of the first icons of the [American] technological sublime" (Nye 2003, 34).

While canals helped form many of the major cities in the United States, this increasing population promoted more travel along the canals themselves. The canals brought people, news, and ideas to the western settlements, in the process connecting the country in a way that many had thought impossible. The travel was not fast by today's standards. The 400-mile trip from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh took 6 1/2 days and cost about $6. If the traveler continued on to St. Louis, the trip took 13 days and cost $13. Unlike the steamboats that plied the major rivers in later decades, the canal boats were small and cramped, providing sparse, dirty, and unpleasant accommodations for the canal traveler. One magazine correspondent traveling on the Erie Canal complained of poor food, overcrowding, and unbearable mosquitoes—not a particularly pleasant way to travel (Lacour-Gayet 1969, 53) (Nye 2003, 177).

One story of a pioneer family in 1834, related by William Chauncy Langdon in his book *Everyday Things in American Life,* serves to illustrate the importance of canals to common families in the United States and also relates a certain degree of "American ingenuity" when it came to getting things done:

> A man, a Pennsylvanian, living on the Lackawanna River, whose name is lost to fame, decided, as many others did, to take his family and move out West, beyond the Mississippi. So,

> as the others did, he built himself a boat; it was like a small-sized flatboat. He put his family and all he owned aboard, and floated down the Lackawanna River. . . .
>
> They floated down the Lackawanna to the Susquehanna and down the Susquehanna to Columbia and the Pennsylvania Canal. He got his flatboat transferred to the Canal and went on by the smooth canal and up the 108 locks through the mountains (sometimes called foothills) to Hollidaysburg. Here the Lackawanna man knew he must give up his boat, sell it as lumber, and go on over the mountains, "hiring" his way from others. He probably, in looking for a purchaser for his lumber, expressed his regret at having to sell. But the canal people there at Hollidaysburg were not asleep. . . . So they made a proposition to him. Would he take a chance on letting them try to rig up a car that would carry his boat and take it in "as is" condition up the five inclined planes and down the other five inclined planes over the mountain to Johnstown? There he could slip it off the car into the canal again and he could go on without extra expense to Pittsburgh, and on a thousand miles more in his own boat down the Ohio River to St. Louis or wherever he wanted to go. The Lackawanna man said he would take the chance. He did; they did.

In spite of the vagaries surrounding this story of the Lackawanna man, this sort of travel was common to Americans during the age of canals. It inspired the canal authorities of that region to modify their equipment so that any canal boat could be "lifted out of the water, divided into sections, put on wheels, and rolled along their way over the mountain, with reverse action and reassembling at the other place." This use of inclined planes became a common method for lifting boats over higher ground to other sections of a canal (Langdon 1941, 123–24, 125).

The Great Lakes region experienced perhaps the most notable gains from being easily connected to the eastern population centers for the first time. In the meantime, the trend started by the canals to connect the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region to the northeastern parts of the country helped to isolate the South both socially and economically from the rest of the nation and became one of the causes for the rifts developing along the North and South lines. Canals had become the first in a series of improved modes of transportation that were recognized as crucial if the expanding territories of the country were to come together as a cohesive nation (Timmons 2005, 20).

Canals were primarily nineteenth-century phenomena in the United States. From the beginning of the century, when there were only about 100 miles of canals in the country, until the end of the century, when more than 4,000 miles were in use, canals provided much-needed links to important waterways on the North American continent. The canals, useful though they were, did present certain disadvantages, especially in comparison to the coming railroads. They were limited by location, speed, and the volume of commercial and human cargo they could carry. The railroads, in contrast, could go where canals could not, at much higher speeds and with a much larger carrying capacity. By the middle of the nineteenth century the railroad had already begun the process of overtaking canals and inland waterways as the most important form of transportation in the United States (Timmons 2005, 21).

Railroads

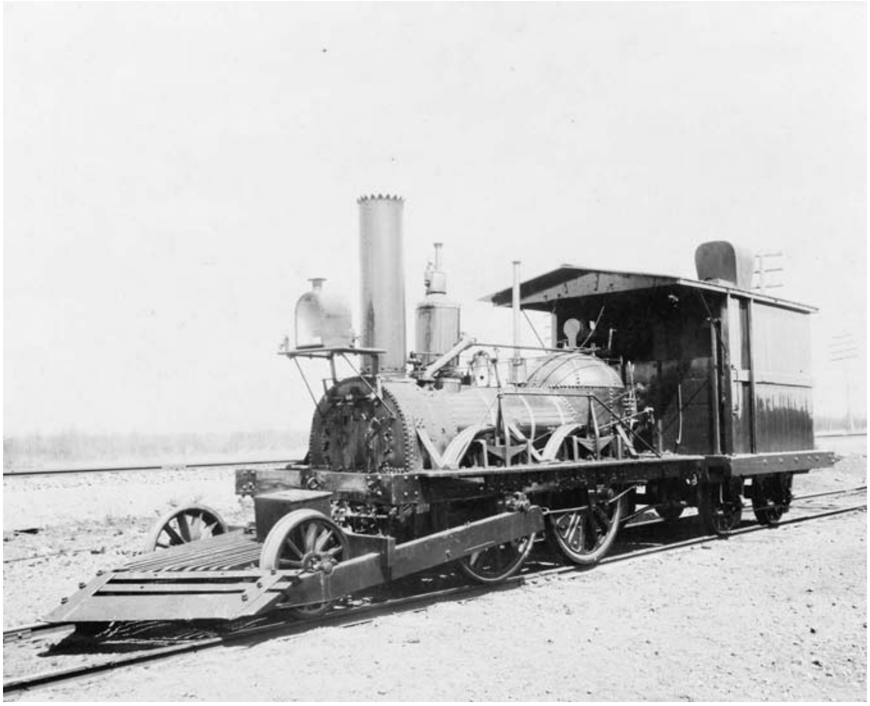
The coming of the railroads had, quite possibly, the most profound effect of all technological innovations on everyday life in nineteenth-century America. Steamboat travel was a boon to those living on or nearby major waterways, but for the growing population of Americans living in the interior of the country, far away from the ocean and from major rivers, the railroad represented the first real opportunity to travel faster and farther than their feet or horses could take them. Before rail travel, the 90-mile trip between Philadelphia and New York was accomplished partially by boat and partially over land. At best it was an arduous and sometimes dangerous trip taking an entire day to accomplish. When the railroad began connecting major cities, such trips were reduced to a matter of hours, with the added benefits of increased comfort and convenience (Douglas 1992, 1–3).

Even before the steam locomotive, rails were built utilizing cars pulled by horses or mules, or even outfitted with sails and propelled by the wind. Of course, the dream of rail travel did not become a reality until the appearance of the first practical steam locomotives. Although the steam locomotive was not invented in America (that claim goes to the English engineer Richard Trevithick), this newest form of locomotion was enthusiastically adopted by Americans and quickly adapted to the needs of the vast country. Amazingly, although the first steam locomotive did not appear in the United States until the second quarter of the century, by the end of the third quarter railroads literally crisscrossed the entire country. From its start in the 1830s, the railroad industry grew to more than 30,000 miles of track in 1860 and to more than 200,000 miles of track by the turn of the twentieth century. Such phenomenal growth forever changed life in America (Timmons 2005, 21).

One of the first Americans to envision the endless possibilities of rail travel was John Stevens, who had already contributed so much to the evolution of the steamboat. Stevens concentrated his later efforts on convincing the American government and investors of the importance of rail travel. In 1825, after years of writing letters and lobbying for his vision of modern travel, Stevens, already an old man of 76 years, laid out on his own estate a small section of track, demonstrating its effectiveness with a crudely built steam locomotive (Timmons 2005, 21–22).

John Stevens imported the first steam locomotives from England, most notably the *John Bull,* and adapted them to run effectively on American rails. Soon, however, American railroaders found that their own country presented problems not seen in England and began to develop their own track and locomotive technology. Because of the annoying and dangerous tendency exhibited by other locomotives of running off the tracks, an American inventor, John Jervis, designed an eight-wheel locomotive that handled relatively sharp curves. By the time American rails were being built over steep grades and long distances, other advances in locomotives and track construction were paving the way toward a continental system of railroads (Timmons 2005, 22).

In the late 1820s and early 1830s, railroad companies began to spring up across the Atlantic seaboard. One of the first, and even today one of the best-known, of these railroad companies was the Baltimore and Ohio (known as the B&O to Monopoly players around the world), established in 1827. The first railroads provided very limited comfort to the weary traveler. Crowded into wooden wagons connected by chains, sitting on hard seats without backs, an early trip on a railroad was sure to be uncomfortable. Add to this the fact that cars often had no windows, and it



The original "John Bull" locomotive of Camden & Amboy Railroad Company (c. 1893). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

becomes apparent that railcars were not a pleasant place to be on a hot summer afternoon. Worse yet, if the car did have windows and open doors, dust, soot, and sparks from the locomotive provided for a more unpleasant, even dangerous, trip. One magazine article complained about the hard seats, the overcrowding, and the poor ventilation, calling the typical railroad car "a moving stable." Throw into this volatile mix other factors—a lack of reliable schedules, frequent accidents, fires started from the locomotive, washed-out bridges, breakdowns, robberies, and constant changes of cars due to nonuniform rails—and one can see that early travel on railroads could often be a very disagreeable experience (Timmons 2005, 22) (Nye 2003, 177).

This fact was not lost on famous visitors to the United States. In his influential book *American Notes*, Charles Dickens chronicled his travels in America. In one section, he wrote about his first experience with an American railroad:

> There are no first and second class carriages as with us [in England]; but there is a gentlemen's car and a ladies' car: the main distinction between which is that in the first everybody smokes; and in the second nobody does. There is a great deal of jolting, a great deal of noise, a great deal of wall, not much window, a locomotive engine, a shriek, and a bell.
>
> The cars are like shabby omnibuses, but larger: holding thirty, forty, fifty people. The seats are placed crosswise, a narrow passage up the middle, and a door at both ends. In the centre of the carriage there is usually a stove, fed with charcoal or anthracite coal; which is for the most part red-hot. It is insufferably close.
>
> In the ladies' car there are a great many gentlemen who have ladies with them. There are also a great many ladies who have nobody with them: for any lady may travel alone from one end of the United States to the other and be certain of the most courteous and considerate treatment everywhere. If a lady take a fancy to any male passenger's seat, the gentleman who accompanies her gives him notice of the fact, and he immediately vacates it with great politeness.
>
> The conductor or check-taker or guard, or whatever he may be, wears no uniform. He walks up and down the car, and in and out of it, as his fancy dictates; leans against the door with his hands in his pockets and stares at you, if you chance to be a stranger; or enters into conversation with the passengers about him. A great many newspapers are pulled out, and a few of them are read. Everybody talks to you, or to anybody else who hits his fancy. Politics are much discussed, so are banks, so is cotton. Quiet people avoid the question of the Presidency, for there will be a new election in three years and a half, and party feeling runs very high: the great constitutional feature of this institution being that directly after the acrimony of the last election is over the acrimony of the next one begins.

> Except when a branch road joins the main one, there is seldom more than one track of rails; so that the road is very narrow. The character of the scenery is always the same. Mile after mile of stunted trees: some hewn down by the axe, some blown down by the wind, some half fallen and resting on their neighbors. Now you emerge for a few brief moments on an open country, glittering with some bright lake or pool; now catch hasty glimpses of a distant town with its clean white houses and their cool piazzas, its prim New England church and schoolhouse; when whir-r-r-r! almost before you have seen them comes the same dark screen: the stunted trees, the stumps, the logs. It rushes across the turnpike road, where there is no gate, no policeman, no signal, nothing but a rough wooden arch, on which is painted WHEN THE BELL RINGS, LOOK OUT FOR THE LOCOMOTIVE. On it whirls headlong, dives through the woods again, emerges in the light, clatters over frail arches, rumbles upon the heavy ground, shoots beneath a wooden bridge which intercepts the light for a second like a wink, suddenly awakens all the slumbering echoes in the main street of a large town, and dashes on haphazard, pell-mell, neck-or-nothing, down the middle of the road.

Dickens's amusing and romantic description of a trip on an American railroad portrayed what many Americans must have felt during their first trips over the rails (Langdon 1941, 353–55).

A serious problem developed for American railroads as competing inventors and companies struggled to establish a foothold in the lucrative new business. As rails went up across the country, it became clear that a lack of uniformity in the railway gauge would cause increasingly difficult problems for travelers and cargo. It was not unusual in the early history of railroads for a journey to necessitate several changes of trains to accommodate different track gauges. For the weary traveler, this caused frustrating delays. For the farmers, manufacturers, and other businesses that were becoming increasingly dependent on the railroads for transporting their goods across the country, the delays meant loss of product and loss of profit. The problem finally came to a head when the federal government agreed to subsidize the building of a transcontinental railroad. The question of what gauge rail to use was crucial, as it would have been entirely unacceptable to embark on such a building project without a standard size for all involved. After much political maneuvering by the myriad of railroad companies, Congress settled upon 4 feet 8½ inches as the gauge of choice, effectively making that size the future standard for American railways (Timmons 2005, 23–24).

The impact on freight delivery was perhaps even more dramatic than that on the delivery of human cargo. Farm products and raw materials from the West were shipped east in a fraction of the time and at a fraction of the cost. In turn, manufactured goods were available for the first time at a reasonable cost to settlers in the West. Many western towns, where forests were nonexistent, were literally built using the wood, nails, and other supplies delivered by the railroads. Later in the century, it was not uncommon for settlers in frontier towns to order prefabricated houses from the Sears or Montgomery Ward catalogs. Of course, these ready-to-build symbols of civilization were delivered by the railroad. In Cheyenne, Wyoming, one observer noted that "Houses arrive by the hundreds from Chicago, already made." The exchange of mail, magazines, and other items of popular culture finally linked the vast continent into a single nation (Timmons 2005, 26) (Nye 2003, 165).

Coast-to-coast communication received a tremendous boost when railroads began delivering the mail in 1838. Although not as romantic as the fabled Pony

Express, the railroads delivered mail quickly, efficiently, and inexpensively all over the country. Special cars were built in which mail clerks sorted the mail as the train moved; the mail was then either left at destinations along the way or sent on to distribution centers (Timmons 2005, 26).

Interestingly, although the railroad connected vast sections of the country, it did not bring equal prosperity to each area it touched. Quite the contrary, improved transportation meant that certain areas of the country would grow and prosper as raw materials for manufacturing and food for workers became easier to obtain. As the railroad "encouraged regional economic specialization," the gap between the industrialized North and the agrarian South grew. Instead of developing its own industries, the South shipped its agricultural products—particularly tobacco, sugar, and cotton—to the North for processing. Everyday life in the North was affected by technological improvements in transportation, whereas the South (and, for the most part, the West) remained close to its agrarian roots (Timmons 2005, 26) (Nye 2003, 171).

Advances in railroad technology made rail travel safer and more comfortable for the American public, as well as for rail workers. A serious problem hampering early rail travel was the absence of an effective braking system. An alarming death rate caused by accidents, as well as the loss of valuable freight, plagued the industry. The first braking systems consisted of hand brakes on each car operated by a brakeman. A young New Yorker, George Westinghouse, developed an alternative to this slow, ineffective, and dangerous system. Westinghouse conceived of a braking system that employed compressed air to operate a piston that in turn applied the brakes. This system was much faster, safer, and very reliable, and in the long run cheaper than employing dozens of brakemen for each train. In spite of its obvious advantages, the air brake did not become standard equipment on all trains until 1893, when Congress passed the U.S. Railroad Safety Appliance Act. Westinghouse's air brakes became standard equipment on trains all over the world. In addition to the air brake, Westinghouse built a device for restoring derailed railroad cars to the track and made a mark in the burgeoning natural gas and electricity industries (Timmons 2005, 26–27).

Workers on nineteenth-century railroads experienced many hazards to their safety and their lives. Before the general adoption of Westinghouse's new braking system late in the century, railroad brakemen were particularly susceptible to accidents. One veteran brakeman described the hazards of the job during inclement weather to a congressional committee in 1890:

> Say, for instance, it is a bad night—what we call a blind night on the road—sleeting, raining, snowing, etc. We hear the call for "down brakes." Of course we cannot always be on top of the train [from where the brakes were operated]. During cold weather we go into the caboose occasionally to warm ourselves. We are called out by a signal "down brakes." We get out on top on the train. We find that the top of the cars are completely covered with sleet. In attempting to get at those brakes a great many brakemen lose their lives, slip off the cars and again, even if they do reach the brakes, it is more often the case than it is not that they find that the brakes are frozen up, and they cannot twist them. That again occasions danger. They cannot set the brakes at all, cannot set the dog, cannot twist the brake. What we call the dog is the little piece of iron which catches onto the ratchet wheel. As no brakes are set, all will

depend on the engine to stop the train, and if the train was going with any speed it would take some time to stop it.

The rail workers also experienced dangers in coupling the cars by hand; the loss of fingers was often the least severe consequence of accidents (Timmons 2005, 27) (Licht 1983, 183).

The big railroad companies often set the standard for the development of the American business model—for example, technological innovation, labor relations, government relations, and the national scope of business. The railroad companies' choices concerning the location of the new lines and of the terminals had ramifications of a scope unimagined at the time. In addition to connecting already populated areas, railways were often built into vast unsettled areas *before* populations arrived, thus making the railroads incredibly influential in determining where settlement occurred. The famous newspaperman Horace Greeley wrote, "Railroads in Europe are built to connect centers of population; but in the West the railroad itself builds cities. Pushing boldly out into the wilderness, along its iron track villages, towns, and cities spring into existence, and are strung together into a consistent whole by its lines of rails, as beads are upon a silken thread." From this one could infer that it is not so much a matter of railroads *affecting* everyday life in America as *dictating* or at least *directing* it (Timmons 2005, 28) (Nye 2003, 157).

Once settlement began, the railroad depot invariably became the center of activity for the township. Townspeople gathered at the depot for arrivals with the expectation of mail, news, goods, and visitors. The depot was usually the site of the town telegraph office, another important source of news and information. Even when no trains were in the station, the depot was a central gathering place for townspeople and day visitors from outlying areas.

The railroads were probably the single most important factor in the astonishingly rapid settlement of the American West. With the coming of the railroad, settlers were no longer isolated from the rest of the country. Mail, news, and supplies, which had previously taken weeks or even months to reach their destination, now could reach locations across the country in a matter of days. Moreover, the very future of a western settlement often depended on the route decided upon by the railroad. The railroad brought farmers and manufacturers closer to their markets and information in a timely manner to the entire country. What canals had begun the railroads brought near completion; by connecting the country, the nation was united both geographically and culturally (Timmons 2005, 28).

Transportation in the City

Mass transit plays an important role in modern America, especially in the cities. The idea of mass transit in the United States dates back to the early part of the nineteenth century, when several cities began using large horse-drawn coaches, called omnibuses, to transport passengers between predetermined locations. The first omnibus in America appeared in New York City in 1827. By building cars drawn by horses but riding on rails, the passengers in large metropolitan areas such as New

York and New Orleans rode in greater comfort by the 1830s. This form of transportation continued to predominate in the major cities until relatively late in the century. However, technology had yet to change considerably the everyday transportation habits of urban Americans. People still depended on the horse for transportation in the city, even as the nation was beginning to build a network of railroads that would revolutionize transportation between population centers (Timmons 2005, 34).

COMMUNICATIONS

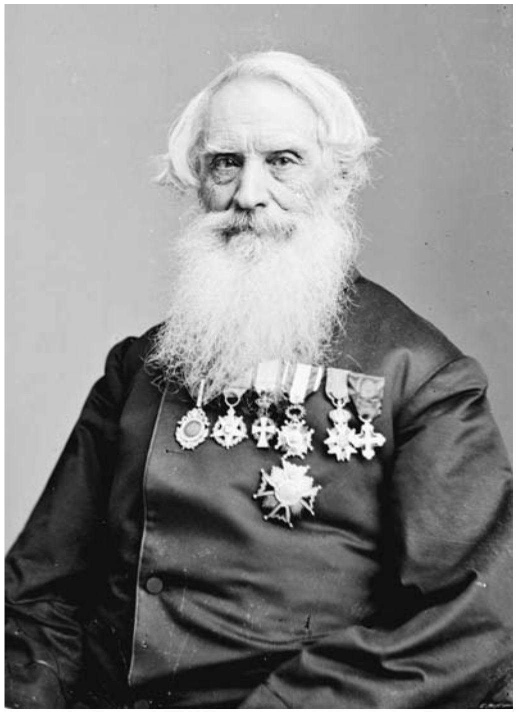
Suppose it is 1800 and you have important information to send to a relative, friend, or business partner—maybe news of a birth or death, or a time-sensitive business matter. The problem is that you live in the Deep South and the prospective receiver of the information resides in New England. In turn-of-the-century America, it takes close to three weeks for a letter to be sent across the country, by which time the news is no longer new (Timmons 2005, 47).

Such was the state of communication in America, indeed the world, in the early nineteenth century. Yet, as the United States expanded westward, the problem of communication grew exponentially. In Europe, where distances were less and roads were better, mail could be delivered relatively quickly and with some degree of reliability. In the ever-expanding United States, however, with its poor or nonexistent roads and its untamed wilderness, mail and other information could not be delivered quickly or reliably. The benefits of the steamboat and the railroad as mail carriers were realized almost immediately after their arrival on the American scene. Yet these new technologies simply resulted in faster means of delivering age-old forms of communication. The real revolution in communications in the nineteenth century came with the development of new technologies that changed the message and the way the message was delivered (Timmons 2005, 47–48).

The Telegraph

The importance of the telegraph to communication was incalculable. Its introduction changed the scale of communication by an order of magnitude. Before the telegraph, all messages were hand carried by messengers on foot or horseback, or by ships. The speed with which the message arrived at its destination was limited by the messenger's speed, a situation that had not changed in the history of mankind. (In fact, while traveling on business, a young Samuel F. B. Morse missed his wife's funeral, receiving word of her death too late to return—an event that later inspired his invention of the telegraph.) With Morse's invention, messages were sent and received over vast distances almost instantaneously, and the world would never be the same.

The experiments of another American, less famous than Morse today but well known in nineteenth-century America as one of the country's leading scientists, prepared the way for the telegraph. In 1830, Joseph Henry displayed the power of the newly discovered electromagnet. Henry sent an electric current over a mile-long wire that signaled a device to strike a bell. Henry's improvements to the electromagnet and his demonstration of a crude signaling device provided the impetus for the invention of a working telegraph. In fact, if Henry had been more interested in personal and commercial gain, he might have earned the title of "father of the telegraph." Instead, that honor goes to a fellow American greatly influenced by Henry's work (Timmons 2005, 48).



Samuel F. B. Morse. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Samuel Morse, a successful portrait painter, was on a ship bound for the United States from Europe in 1832 when he first heard of the capabilities of the electromagnet. Almost immediately, he realized the potential for using such a device for sending messages over long distances. Although various inventors had already built crude telegraphs, each invention involved the use of too many wires to be practical. Morse's first attempts to build a device also proved overly complicated and impractical. By 1835, however, Morse had successfully built a one-wire system and was working to perfect a new language for telegraphy—Morse Code. Although Morse began demonstrating his invention in 1837, it was not until 1844 that the true potential of the telegraph was demonstrated. Using a grant from Congress of $30,000, Morse constructed a line between Washington and Baltimore and sent his now-famous quote from the Bible. (Actually, before the line was totally completed, news from the 1844 political convention in Baltimore was sent over the partially completed line to Washington—historically the first news sent by telegraph, but not as dramatic a story as "What hath God wrought?") (Timmons 2005, 48–49).

At first, messages sent by Morse's telegraph were recorded on paper with a series of dots and dashes, to be deciphered later. Soon, however, the telegraph inventor reorganized these same dots and dashes into today's Morse Code and operators were taught to read the message by the sounds the device produced (Timmons 2005, 49).

The impact of the telegraph was almost immediate, and its growth rate was astounding. Morse and his partners opened lines between major cities in the United States and were soon challenged by competitors in the new business of telegraphy. Only a decade after that first line between Washington and Baltimore was completed, there were already more than 20,000 miles of telegraph wire in operation in the United States (Timmons 2005, 49–50).

Two American industries, both still in their infancy, began experiencing incredible growth thanks in part to the telegraph. When the Erie Railroad began dispatching its trains by telegraph in 1851, a long and profitable relationship between the two emerging technologies began. As other railroads began using the telegraph, train schedules became more reliable and the train/telegraph station assumed a central place in large cities and small whistle-stops alike. The railroad industry quickly became one of the largest employers of skilled telegraph operators.

Another industry highly suited to the capabilities of the new telegraph was the newspaper business. Before the telegraph, only local news was truly new. National stories took days, perhaps weeks, to reach across the country, and international news might be months old before it became available to the typical American. With the advent of the telegraph, newspapers in New York could receive news from Philadelphia, Boston, and eventually from overseas in a timely manner. Even more important to rural Americans, the local newspaper, which had previously satisfied itself with printing local gossip and such, now had access to news from the world at large.

A new type of competition arose among newspapers to see which one could get the news out fastest to an insatiable public. The telegraph became an important tool in this contest and led directly to the establishment of cooperative news services such as the Associated Press (AP) and the United Press International (UPI). The AP engaged the telegraph to relay breaking news to newspapers across the country. In fact, the AP was founded by a group of rival New York City newspapers in part to share the cost of receiving news over the telegraph. The telegraph truly made the world, at least from an information standpoint, a very small place.

The telegraph changed the way American businesspeople went about their daily work. The pace of business picked up considerably as time became an important factor in business transactions. No longer did a businessperson in New York have to wait several days after sending a message to an associate in Philadelphia before receiving a reply—several weeks, or longer, if the associate happened to be in San Francisco. Those active in the stock market were especially affected as "tickers" made stock data almost instantaneously known throughout the country. They learned that they must react quickly to new information or possibly lose business to a faster-acting competitor (Timmons 2005, 50).

As the new technology expanded into the far reaches of the United States, the telegraph and telegraph operator became the central feature of most towns. Railroad schedules, news, business and financial information, and even the official time were all sent along the telegraph lines. This instantaneous communication led to a fundamental change in the pace of life for many Americans. In today's world of satellite communications, CNN, and the Internet, it is difficult to grasp the significance of the new invention. The telegraph meant "business that used to occur at a leisurely pace was telescoped into minutes or hours of time." In the twenty-first century, business and industry is truly international in scope. In the nineteenth century, however, the telegraph provided for the first time the opportunity for "merchants in Boston [to] place orders in Atlanta overnight; farmers in Ohio could check the daily price of hogs in Chicago." The pace of business, and of life in general, was changed forever. By the later part of the nineteenth century, the telegraph became an important tool for various types of businesses. Shipping and financial concerns—as well as newspapers—found an outlet for time-sensitive information through the telegraph. By the 1880s, approximately 80 percent of the messages sent over Western Union telegraph lines were business related (Timmons 2005, 50–51) (Spar 2001, 70) (Israel 2001, 265).

In addition to official and business messages, the telegraph allowed people in everyday life to send and receive messages about deaths, births, holiday greetings, and all forms of social correspondence. Information that used to take days, weeks, or even months to arrive at its destination was now sent almost instantaneously. The telegraph operator became one of the most important citizens of a town, as his skill and knowledge connected the townsfolk to the rest of the world (Timmons 2005, 51).

The telegraph also made life safer for ordinary citizens, both in the cities and in the countryside. In the West, the telegraph was instrumental in tracking down outlaws by sending descriptions around the country. In cities, telegraphs were used to summon doctors, firefighters, police, and other emergency personnel. In addition to using general-use telegraph lines for such emergencies, companies developed their own private lines for calling firefighters, police, and doctors—or just for calling a taxi. The telegraph giant, Western Union, built the first transcontinental telegraph in 1861, eight years before the completion of the transcontinental railroad. With the completion of the line, the fabled Pony Express was rendered obsolete. Instead of waiting weeks for messages to be carried across the country, the telegraph accomplished the feat almost instantaneously. Western Union came to dominate the American telegraph market (Timmons 2005, 51) (Israel 2001, 265).

Contemporary observers who watched its use grow exponentially understood the importance of the telegraph. The commentary of a nineteenth-century British writer summarizes nicely the perception of the new technology:

> [The telegraph] is employed in transmitting messages to and from bankers, merchants, members of Congress, officers of government, brokers, and police officers; parties who by agreement have to meet each other at the two stations, or have been sent for by one of the parties; items of news, election returns, announcements of deaths, inquiries respecting the health of families and individuals, daily proceedings of the Senate and the House of Representatives, orders for goods, inquiries respecting the sailing of vessels, proceedings of cases in various courts, summoning of witnesses, messages for express trains, invitations, the receipt of money at one station and its payment at another; for persons requesting the transmission of funds from debtors, consultation of physicians, and messages of every character usually sent by mail.

As indicated by this description, telegraphy touched people from all walks of life (Standage 1998, 60–61).

As with many new technologies, ignorance of the technical details of the workings of the telegraph was widespread. When Western Union began wiring money across the nation, many people assumed the same could be done with other goods, from articles of clothing to family pets. If Western Union could squeeze money through the thin wires, it was thought, why not other material goods?

The technology of telegraphy was applied to countless other tasks in the United States. Several inventors adapted telegraphic technology to devise ingenious fire alarm systems in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, and other major cities. Although superior to old systems requiring watchmen around the city, the new telegraphic fire alarms proved slow to catch on. Improvements to telegraphy increased the volume, speed, and accuracy of the new form of communication. Multiplexing, the ability to transmit multiple messages over one wire at the same time, was one such advance (Timmons 2005, 52).

Advances in Writing

The printing press holds a special place in the history of communications. Gutenberg's invention in the fifteenth century, as well as improvements made over subsequent centuries, made literacy a foundation of social, intellectual, and scientific advance. The most important improvement to the printing press in the nineteenth century—and perhaps since Gutenberg's invention itself—came from an American inventor, Richard M. Hoe. Hoe invented and patented the first useful rotary press in the 1840s. The Hoe rotary press greatly increased the speed and decreased the cost of printing, spawning a period of incredible growth for the American printing industry.

A few decades later another American, William A. Bullock, provided another boost to the printing industry with his invention of the web perfecting press. This press accomplished all of the printing process by using a roll of continuous-feed paper while printing on both sides at the same time, all at an incredible rate of speed. The new and improved printing presses had a particularly profound effect on everyday life in America. Resulting in an abundance of inexpensive books, magazines, newspapers, broadsides, and leaflets, the improved printing press played an expanding role in educating Americans in far-flung communities without access to traditional educational opportunities (Timmons 2005, 65).

In addition to allowing Americans to keep up with the news and views from their own country, inexpensive printed materials gave citizens of this isolated country, for the first time, ready access to the culture of Europe and beyond. The explosion of the print industry and American literacy went hand-in-hand in the 1840s, as witnessed by a set of amazing statistics. From 1840 to 1850, the population of the United States increased approximately 35 percent, from 17 million to 23 million (all statistics quoted from Bode 1967, 150). In the same decade, the value of books published in the country increased by over 107 percent—from \$2,850,000 to \$5,900,000—while the number of literate Americans increased almost 71 percent (6,440,000 to 11,000,000). The newspaper industry saw a similar explosion, with the number of dailies increasing from 138 to 254 and the number of weeklies from 1,266 to 2,048 (Timmons 2005, 65–66).

Advances in printing presses brought daily newspapers to the cities. The *New York Sun*, founded in 1833 by Benjamin H. Day, sold for a penny—a fraction of the cost of his competitors' papers. It printed eye-catching news stories aimed at the general public. Day used boys to hawk his papers in the streets, teaching them to shout the headlines to draw attention to the paper. He also pioneered the use of advertisers and advertising dollars to significantly increase the paper's income, so that the price could be kept down for the reading public. With the help of new printing technologies, the newspaper moved west with the settlers. By 1830, America had between 1,000 and 1,200 newspapers, three times as many as in France or England. David L. Jamison describes the importance of the town's newspaper:

> The role of the frontier and small-town press went beyond news and politics. In towns with no schools, newspapers might be the only voice of literacy. The press helped to educate the public, and the network of papers, linked by the postal exchange system, provided a mechanism for common dialogue in a nation of small and often scattered communities. (Timmons 2005, 66) (Jamison 2001, 421)

Hand-in-hand with the explosion in newspapers, the American public developed an insatiable appetite for short stories. For many reasons, "the short story was a genre perfectly suited to the rising middle classes. Not only were short stories written in the language of the people; they could be read and absorbed in one sitting and then discarded." Entire novels were published in serial form in American newspapers and magazines. Other popular forms of literature included sermons, trial reports, and novels. The popularity of nineteenth-century American writers such as Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and James Fenimore Cooper can be at least partially attributed to the increasingly easy access to their works brought about by advances in the printing industry (Timmons 2005, 66) (Stauffer 2001, 529).

TECHNOLOGY ON THE FARM

Like transportation and communication, agricultural practices around 1800 were not very different than the traditional practices many centuries old. Draft animals such as horses, mules, and oxen provided most of the power for farmwork that humans could not provide themselves. Science and technology dramatically changed agricultural practices in nineteenth-century America. In 1800, 80 percent of all Americans were farmers. By 1880, this number had dropped to just over 40 percent. Much of the reason for this decrease can be attributed to increased efficiency in agricultural practices. This increased efficiency can in turn be attributed to two things: an exponential rise in the use of machines and advanced tools on the farm and an ever-increasing application of scientific knowledge to farming practices (Timmons 2005, 71) (Pursell 1995, 109, 114).

The nineteenth century ushered in an era of inventiveness in agriculture unlike any other in history. From the cotton gin, actually invented just before the turn of the century; to the reaper, invented around midcentury; to the combustion engine tractor, which appeared near the end of the century, machines went from playing essentially no role in agriculture to being indispensable tools for the modern farm. In the process, the typical farm in America, and therefore the typical farmer, began a gradual evolution from the family sustenance farm to the large-scale operations associated with farming in the twentieth century (Timmons 2005, 72).

The Axe: The Simplest Tool of All

In a century that witnessed the invention of incredibly powerful and complicated machinery, an American improvement to an ancient implement led the way to settlement of virgin lands. Americans transformed the short, straight axe brought from Europe into a model with a long, curved handle made of hardwood, usually hickory. The new axe allowed settlers to clear forested land at a much faster pace. These new axes, originally handmade by blacksmiths, were soon manufactured in factories. The factories used machines that cut, heated, and tempered the blade, producing high-quality axes at low costs (Timmons 2005, 72).

As Americans moved west from coastal areas, the first order of business wherever they settled was to clear land for farming. For this reason, the new and improved axe played a central role in the settlement of America. As one chronicler of western settlement queries, "I ask you to look at this splendid tool, the American axe, not more an implement of labor than an instrument of civilization. If you cannot use it, you are not American. If you do not understand it, you do not understand America" (cited in Nye 2003, 44). The axe led the way for farming, and thus for settlement. As historian David Nye so eloquently and succinctly describes:

> A settler enters the vast primeval woods. Using a new technology, the American axe, he transforms the forest into field and meadow, allowing it to be farmed for the first time. Initial settlement draws others to the area. As the population increases, a community emerges. As the land is "improved," its value rises. The region prospers. (Timmons 2005, 72–73) (Nye 2003, 43, 44)

Clearing the land for agriculture was not the only use for the handy tool. Log cabins—the traditional home of settlers, farmers, and woodsmen—were fashioned with the aid of an axe. In addition, the American axe hewed most of the furniture and other meager belongings inside the cabin (Timmons 2005, 73).

The log cabin became a symbol of the American frontier; it was used symbolically to great political benefit by politicians from Andrew Jackson to Abraham Lincoln. A vivid description of a typical early nineteenth-century cabin, inhabited by a hunter and his family, comes from an English immigrant named Morris Birbeck:

> The cabin, which may serve as a specimen of these rudiments of houses, was formed of round logs, with apertures of three of four inches between; no chimney, but large intervals before the "clapboards," for the escape of the smoke. The roof was, however, a more effectual covering than we have generally experienced, as it protected us very tolerably from a drenching night. Two bedsteads of unhewn logs, and cleft boards laid across;—two chairs, one of them without a bottom, and a low stool, were all the furniture required by this numerous family. A string of buffalo hide stretched across the hovel, was a wardrobe for their rags; and their utensils, consisting of a large iron pot, some baskets, the effective rifle and two that were superannuated, stood about in corners, and the fiddle, which was only silent when we were asleep, hung by them. (Nye 2003, 55)

This description of circumstances surrounding the lives of a frontier family in 1817 sheds light on just how little science and technology influenced everyday life at the beginning of the century. The entire cabin—from the walls to the roof (the floor probably being dirt)—could be attributed to the hunter's axe, as were the sparse furnishings. The iron pot was most likely fashioned by a local blacksmith, just as the baskets were probably made by local weavers, possibly even the settler's wife. The fiddle, the center of attention during nonworking hours, was almost certainly handmade. The only hints of technology in the cabin were the rifles, only one of which appeared to be in working order. The other two possibly awaited a time when a skilled gunsmith could fix them or make new parts to replace those that did not work. It would yet be many decades before Whitney, Colt, and others made it possible for a hunter readily to acquire interchangeable parts to repair a weapon (Timmons 2005, 73).

The Cotton Gin

Renowned as the inventor of the cotton gin, Eli Whitney's name is synonymous with the idea of American ingenuity. Interestingly, Whitney made his original fortune, not to mention achieved his original fame, as a pioneer in the mass production of firearms. Whitney championed the idea of interchangeability of parts and, in the process, became known for developing the American System of manufacturing. Although he had only partial success in creating muskets with truly interchangeable parts for the U.S. government, Whitney's plans, in his own words, to build tools "similar to an engraving on a copper plate from which may be taken a great number of impressions perceptibly alike" formed the basis for mass production techniques. Requirements for mass production in the arms industry spawned whole new industries to design and build tools and machines required for the production of weapons (Timmons 2005, 74).

Eli Whitney did not create the first machine for removing seeds from cotton to prepare it for further processing. Long before the nineteenth century, a machine called a charka was used to separate the seeds from the long-staple cotton grown primarily in India. Unfortunately, this machine did not work on the short-staple cotton grown in the United States, making cotton an unprofitable crop in America. Meanwhile, Whitney and others realized the market for cotton was increasing with the growth of the textile industry in Britain. If only southern cotton farmers could overcome the bottleneck caused by hand cleaning cotton, they could capitalize on the burgeoning market. Whitney's machine, designed to work on the American type of cotton, produced a revolution in farming practices, especially in the South (Timmons 2005, 74).

The first cotton gins were powered by a hand crank and could, in Whitney's own words, do the work of 10 men. Soon, bigger and more efficient gins powered by horses or water appeared. These machines replaced the work of 50 men! The southern United States soon became the world's major producer and exporter of cotton. American cotton exports grew from less than 10 million pounds in 1800 to more than 2 billion pounds in 1850—an astounding increase of almost 20,000 percent. At the same time, land prices in the South rose as the profitability of growing cotton increased. "What would be the comparative value of the soil of our Southern and Southwestern States," asked Daniel Webster in 1836, "if the spinning of cotton by machinery, the power loom, and the cotton gin, were struck out of existence?" Perhaps no machine ever influenced a particular product, or geographic region, as much as the cotton gin influenced cotton and the American South (Solbrig and Solbrig 1994, 192) (Nye 2003, 36).

Along with changes in farming practices, the cotton gin brought significant social changes. In his classic work *Yankee Science in the Making,* Dirk Struik points out that "rarely, if ever, was such a social revolution promoted by so simple a machine." The cotton gin and the resulting explosion of cotton production in the southern United States resulted in several negative social and agricultural phenomena. First, whereas ginning had previously presented the bottleneck to cotton production, picking the cotton became the new bottleneck. The need for labor boosted the practice of slavery in the South and led to larger plantations where cotton could be grown very profitably (Timmons 2005, 75) (Struik 1991, 183).

Second, cotton is a notoriously soil-depleting crop. With land rather plentiful and easy to come by and cotton production proving to be a lucrative business, southern farmers tended to grow cotton in the same fields year after year until those fields were spent; then the cotton grower moved on to virgin lands. This type of farming practice contributed to the slow erosion and degradation of the fertile farmland of the South and the westward push to new land (Timmons 2005, 75).

Finally, some historians place blame squarely on the shoulders of the cotton gin for the South's traditional agrarian lifestyle and its subsequent resistance to industrialization. Although this is certainly an oversimplified picture of the antebellum South, Whitney's invention did make possible the large cotton plantations that came to define the cotton-growing states.

Although the agrarian lifestyle dominated the southern United States in the nineteenth century, southern farmers and growers were generally open to advanced farming practices. Contrary to the popular image of the South, plantation owners were among the first Americans to embrace new agricultural technologies. While the cotton gin was the most important farm machine to the plantation owners, other technologies emerged in other parts of the country—technologies that would prove just as critical to farming as the cotton gin was to growing cotton (Timmons 2005, 75–76).

New Weapons for an Untamed Land

Throughout the nineteenth century, American frontiersmen were fond of saying, "God made all men, Colt made all men *equal*." The invention of the Colt revolver is just part of the story, though. Samuel Colt's innovative manufacturing techniques and business practices exemplify the American system of manufacturing.

Although Colt was not the first to envision a revolver type weapon (the American Elisha Collier actually built pistols and rifles with revolving cylinders several decades before Colt), it was Colt who showed the technical expertise and the perseverance needed to manufacture and market the new weapons. Colt first conceived of his radical design while a young man serving aboard a ship bound for East India. After seeing a revolver made by Collier, Colt made a rough wooden model with several improved design features and proceeded to spend the rest of his life perfecting his invention. Upon returning to the United States, Colt made money as a traveling chemistry lecturer while working on his invention, obtaining a patent for a pistol with a revolving cylinder in 1835. In spite of its many advantages over older-style firearms, Colt's first attempts to produce and market the revolver failed. Finally, after winning converts during Indian wars and the Mexican-American war, Colt's new pistol became the most popular weapon in the West (Timmons 2005, 152).

Many Colt firearms were made at Eli Whitney's armory at New Haven, Connecticut. It had actually been Whitney—of cotton gin fame—who first attempted to manufacture firearms using the concept of interchangeability of parts. Eventually, though, Colt established his own factory in Hartford, Connecticut. Colt had written


A replica of an 1860 Colt army revolver. Author's Collection.

earlier that he longed to build a gun so that "each arm would be exactly alike and all of its parts would be the same." Like Whitney's operation, Colt's armory was a model of nineteenth-century efficiency. The region in which Colt established his factory had a large concentration of skilled mechanics and machinists and already had a history of producing machine-made interchangeable parts. The visionary manufacturer believed that these skilled workers might "by constant practice in a single operation . . . become highly skilled and at the same time very quick and expert at their particular task" leading to "better guns and more of them for less money." Colt's experiences with mass production were instrumental in establishing the American System of manufacture as a viable business model. Like many other manufacturers of the time, Colt built an entire town, Coltsville, around his factory, including employee accommodations and public meeting places for religious services, concerts, and lectures. He employed hundreds of workers, including many immigrants, to operate his factory. Colt, like Whitney before him and many others to come, found that one of the advantages of the assembly line method was that unskilled workers could do—for a fraction of the cost—what skilled artisans had done before (Timmons 2005, 152) (de Camp 1961, 81).

The Colt revolver was not an instant success. One of the first groups to buy the Colt revolver was the Texas Rangers, but sales were so low that, for a time, Colt was forced to stop production. Luckily for Colt, the Rangers found the revolvers quite useful and their requests for more of the guns motivated a new attempt from Colt. The Colt legend grew along with the Texas Ranger legend, as seen in a particular incident involving the lawmen and the new firearm. One afternoon in 1841, Ranger Jack Hayes found himself isolated in a fight with a Comanche war party. Hayes was armed with only a single-shot rifle, but also one of the new Colt revolvers. The Comanches waited patiently, showing themselves as they moved in and out of cover, until Hayes fired his rifle. Their experiences with fighting the Rangers told them that the time was ripe to rush the lone man as he reloaded his weapon. When they did, Hayes opened fire with his Colt revolver. The repeated fire saved his life, as the Comanches retreated under the barrage and other Rangers appeared on the scene. It was episodes such as this that caused the Rangers to request more of the revolvers from Colt (Timmons 2005, 153).

In spite of its reputation, the Colt revolver was not made with true interchangeable parts. Although mass production guaranteed similarity in parts, most still required filing and fitting to work properly. Colt employed a well-known mechanic, Elisha Root, to help mechanize his factory, but even Root showed little interest in the concept of interchangeable parts.

> [Root's] tenure at Colt's armory was not distinguished by an aggressive pursuit of interchangeability, with its requisite principles and practices of precision production, but rather by mechanization of work processes. When he moved to Hartford [the location of Colt's factory], Root had had no experience with the model-based gauging techniques used at the national armories to ensure the interchangeability of musket parts. This fact alone may explain why the Colt armory did not use as rigorous a gauging system as, say, the Springfield Armory and also why parts of the Colt revolver, despite the implications of its inventor, did not come close to being interchangeable. (Hounshell 1984, 48)

In spite of Colt's failure to achieve interchangeability, his promotion of the concept and his manufacturing techniques did much to spread the idea, if not the actual practice, of the American System (Timmons 2005, 153–54).

Thanks largely to Colt and his factories, the pistol became commonplace on the American frontier. Ownership of a Colt revolver was understood to be a necessity in much of the West. Interestingly, Hollywood dramatizations of fast-draw gunslingers "shooting from the hip" are mostly myth. The cost of cartridges precluded extensive practice and the abuse received by Colt revolvers often adversely affected their accuracy. Also, most western towns outlawed carrying guns while in town. Of course, this simply led to an increased popularity in smaller Derringer type handguns that could be easily hidden from view. Yet the Colt revolver was far superior to any other weapon in the West. It became the model upon which new guns were designed. Following the Colt revolver, inventors such as B. Tyler Henry, Oliver Winchester, and Christopher Spencer designed repeating rifles; later in the century Richard Gatling invented his famous machine gun (Timmons 2005, 155) (de Camp 1961, 84).

PLANTING, CULTIVATING, AND HARVESTING THE CROPS

The plow is nearly as old as farming itself. For centuries, farmers used plows made primarily of wood. With the appearance of iron plows, stronger, longer-lasting devices were available to farmers. In 1814, Jethro Wood patented a cast-iron tipped plow with interchangeable parts that proved very popular amongst American farmers. When one part broke, there was no need to replace the entire plow. Interchangeable parts, an innovation usually attributed to firearms manufacturers, actually began with Wood's plows. However, it was steel that was destined to create a revolution in plow technology. Plows composed partially of steel, primarily in the share tip, were first built and sold in the United States in the early nineteenth century (Timmons 2005, 76) (Hurt 1994, 101).

Although cast-iron plows were very successful in many areas of the United States, as the century wore on, one shortcoming continually came to light: The thick soil of the western prairie habitually stuck to the moldboards, causing delays as the plower stopped to clean off the prairie soil. In response to this problem, in 1837 an Illinois blacksmith named John Deere built a wrought iron plow with a steel share. The story of Deere's invention, as told by historian Douglas Hurt, made the Deere name synonymous with American agriculture:

> Sometime in 1837 Deere had an idea that would change farming in the Midwest and permanently etch his name in American agricultural history. In the sawmill of Leonard Andrus where he had gone to repair a pitman rod, he noticed a broken steel mill saw. Deere took the saw blade back to his blacksmith shop and cut off the teeth with a sledge hammer and chisel. Next, he cut a diamond-shaped moldboard from a piece of wrought iron that he then heated and bent over an anvil until it took the desired trapezoidal shape. To this moldboard Deere attached a steel share that he had cut from the saw blade. Last, he gave the moldboard a high polish. Deere's moldboard cut easily through prairie sod and allowed the soil to peel away without dulling the share or clogging the moldboard. His new plow was lighter than the prairie breakers, and it required only about half the draft for cast-iron plows.

Unfortunately, Deere's first plows were prohibitively expensive. After years of perfecting his design and the process for manufacturing steel shares, sales began to increase, and Deere's new plow became the implement of choice among farmers throughout the country. By 1858, Deere's Moline, Illinois, factory was producing more than 13,000 steel plows per year. The Deere plow, possibly more than any other machine or technological advance, made farming the endless prairie lands a practical venture (Timmons 2005, 76) (Hurt 1994, 137–38) (Ess 2001, 33).

The plow, such an overlooked and seemingly simple implement, was actually a great source of national pride. But preparing the ground for planting was only part of the process. Tools and machines for bringing in the harvest played a central role in the mechanization and resulting growth of American agriculture (Timmons 2005, 78).

Grain harvesting during the first half of the nineteenth century was performed in much the same way as it had been for centuries—by hand. Although improved hand tools made the job marginally faster, reaping continued to be an arduous, time-consuming job. When an entire crop, ready for harvesting, might be wiped out due to inclement weather at any moment, time was of the essence. Harvesting by hand required the use of a scythe, or similar cutting instrument. An improved sort of scythe, the cradle, "was equipped with an arrangement of long tines or fingers to catch the grain as it was cut and enable the reaper deftly to lay it to one side in an even windrow . . . it took a mighty biceps and an unbreakable back to make a good cradleman." At best, a man with a cradle could cut four to six acres per day. On a small New England farm, four to six acres per day might have been sufficient; however, on the increasingly larger farms of the West, this harvest rate was a severe limitation to the number of acres of grain a farmer could realistically plant (Timmons 2005, 78) (Langdon 1941, 305–6).

Simply cutting the grain was only the start of the process. Someone then had to follow behind the harvester to bind the grain into sheaves, another laborious task. The sheaves were piled together into shocks, a task that "required speed and skill so that the sheaves would stand upright and stay in place and protect the grain from the rain." After the harvest was complete and the sheaves of grain had been stored in the barn, the threshing process began:

> To get the grain out of the heads and free from the husks or chaff was the threshing. In the earlier days of the hand-tool period this was done on the barn floor with a flail. The sheaves were unbound and the gavel or unbounded sheaves were laid evenly on the floor in two rows with the heads overlapping. Then two men beat the grain heads with flails in alternate rhythmic blows. . . . When thoroughly threshed, the grain and chaff were scooped up into the large shallow winnowing basket or tray and tossed into the air so that the breeze would blow the chaff away while the grain would fall back into the basket or tray.

From plowing to sowing to cultivating to reaping to threshing and winnowing, a wheat crop required an incredible amount of manual labor. Little wonder farms at the turn of the nineteenth century tended to be small (Langdon 1941, 309, 310–11).

The appearance of mechanical reapers in the United States dates to the early years of the nineteenth century. These reapers, however, were commercial failures, and American farmers continued to depend on the scythe or the sickle for harvesting grain. Change was imminent when Cyrus McCormick patented a much-improved device in 1834 that eventually became the most popular reaper on American farms. Even then it was several decades before the McCormick reaper came into wide use, and then only in certain areas of the country. Part of the reason for the delay in adopting the reaper was due to technical flaws that McCormick worked out over a number of years. But another reason for the slow acceptance of mechanical reapers was that for the machines to become economically feasible a whole new way of farming was required. Small farms, primarily operated for sustenance, could not justify the costs of reapers or other large machinery. The farmer's labor, supplemented by seasonal hired help, remained the most efficient way to operate a small farm. It so happens, however, that as McCormick began building improved reapers, labor costs began to rise and farm size was on the increase. Economic historian Paul A. David has calculated that it required a minimum farm size of 46.5 acres to make the reaper economically justified (Timmons 2005, 79) (Basalla 1988, 153).

American schoolchildren know Cyrus McCormick as the inventor of the mechanical reaper. As is usually the case in history, the truth is not quite so simple, as exhibited by David Hounshell's summary of the history of the reaper:

> Almost from the beginning, participants in the reaper's history as well as those who chronicled its development fought vigorously over who really invented the reaper. As with the sewing machine, men had long dreamed of and tried to devise a mechanical means to reap grain, yet the basic element of such a machine eluded would-be inventors until the early 1830s. In the United States both Obed Hussey and Cyrus Hall McCormick, one from Ohio, the other from Virginia, hit upon the idea of using a vibrating knife or blade to cut the stalks of grain. Hussey made his reaper work effectively by vibrating the blade in slots cut in guide

> teeth or fingers. He patented this machine in 1833 and began to sell it in 1834. McCormick claimed that he had anticipated Hussey in the essentials of the reaper, but he did not patent his machine until mid-1834. McCormick's blade lacked the effective slotted finger bars of the Hussey machine. Yet, as is often the case in the history of American invention, McCormick moved through the courts to become eventually the famed hero who invented the reaper. (Hounshell 1984, 154)

The McCormick reaper was extremely important to large-scale farming, but the early history of the machine was also fraught with difficulties for the farmer who purchased the machine. For instance, if a McCormick reaper required a replacement part, the farmer supplied the information to the McCormick dealer, including the part and the year his reaper was manufactured. The dealer might have the part in stock, or he might have to send for the part from the factory. Either way, once the part arrived the farmer still had to fit the part to his reaper, no simple task in a time when true interchangeability of parts had yet to arrive on the scene (Hounshell 1984, 459).

Labor considerations, both at the factory and on the farm, greatly affected the design and production of McCormick reapers. A shortage in farm hands induced McCormick to introduce a self-raking reaper in the 1860s. This reaper "eliminated the need for a laborer to rake the cut grain off the reaper's platform." Interestingly, the McCormick factories were having difficulties in finding laborers to build their machines. McCormick's brothers, whom Cyrus had left in charge of the company while he traveled to Europe, wrote to the company's founder concerning the labor problems: "strikes have prevailed—men go off to escape [the] D[ra]ft . . . Workmen such as we most needed are independent." The labor shortage for McCormick's factories became an ongoing problem for decades to come (Hounshell 1984, 165, 166).

By midcentury, McCormick's company was mass producing the new machines. McCormick's first reapers, like those invented by competitors such as Obed Hussey, simply cut the grain, leaving the rest of the process—raking, threshing, and binding—to laborers walking with or riding on the machine. In time, each of these processes was automated; eventually a "combine," a single machine that performed each task, made harvesting a faster, more efficient process. Initially, horses, mules, or oxen powered these machines. The larger ones often required great teams of animals for propulsion. By 1860, approximately 70 percent of the West's wheat harvest was handled by mechanical reapers such as McCormick's. The sales of mechanical reapers—McCormick's and his competitors'—continued to rise dramatically through the century. In 1880, they sold 60,000 of the machines; by 1880, the number had increased to 250,000. It became important, perhaps even a status symbol, for a gentleman farmer to own a McCormick reaper (Hurt 1994, 144) (Ess 2001, 35).

In addition to machines for the harvest, countless other technical innovations increased productivity on the farm. During the first half of the century, most of the grain in the United States was planted by hand—a slow, inefficient process in which the grain seed was distributed by hand and then covered and worked into the soil by hand. By 1850, new and improved seed drills for efficient planting helped expedite the process. These drills encouraged uniform planting practice, which in turn made harvesting by mechanical means more practical. A large horse-drawn planter could drastically cut the time and manpower required to seed a field. After the grain was sown, mechanical cultivators, also drawn by horses or mules, relieved the farmer from tedious and backbreaking weeding chores while greatly reducing the time needed for cultivation (Timmons 2005, 83).

FOOD PRESERVATION

Preserving the products of farming and ranching was an important prerequisite for increased productivity. It didn't matter how much food a farmer could produce if it spoiled before it arrived in the consumer's hands. Several technologies arose in the nineteenth century that benefited both farmers and consumers by making food products easier to obtain and safer to eat. One of these technologies, the canning process, became an important part in the everyday life of many Americans—when they were able to get the food out of the can (Timmons 2005, 84).

Tin cans became relatively common for storing and preserving food early in the nineteenth century, but opening such cans required chisels or other forceful methods. Canned foods became particularly popular with soldiers, although they had "to attack their canned rations with knives, bayonets, and even rifle fire." Various can openers appeared beginning in the 1850s, although the device used in households today did not make it into American kitchens for some time to come. One early can opener was patented by an American, Ezra Warner, in 1858. Warner's invention was an improvement, although it still required a considerable amount of force to use. Warner defended his device against detractors:

> The advantages of my improvement over all other instruments for this purpose consist in the smoothness and rapidity of the cut, as well as the ease with which it is worked, as a child may use it without difficulty, or risk, and in making the curved cutter susceptible of being removed, so that if one should be injured it may be replaced by another, thus saving all the other portions of the instrument, and consequently much expense, and in that the piercer will perforate the tin without causing the liquid to fly out, as it does in all those which make the perforation by percussion of any kind. (Petroski 1994, 186, 188)

Another innovation to preserve food to be delivered to the consumer's table came via the railroad. With the appearance of the refrigerated railcar late in the nineteenth century, farmers could raise vegetables and other highly perishable food items as cash crops, opening the way for various sections of the country, particularly California, to become agricultural centers. Farmers found that they could transport fresh fruits and vegetables to population centers in the refrigerated cars and make a very nice profit doing so. In addition, cattle ranchers reaped the benefits of refrigerated railcars as meatpackers began taking advantage of the new technology. By the end of the 1860s, dressed meat (meat prepared for the market) was shipped across the United States in the refrigerated cars. Meatpackers began developing distribution systems that included cold-storage warehouses in major cities, meaning that residents of those cities would have easier (and safer) access to meat year round. In smaller towns, where the customer base did not warrant a cold-storage facility, peddler cars sold to small retailers or directly to the public. In this way, more and more Americans gained access to beef, pork, lamb, and other meats they had seldom been able to buy before (Timmons 2005, 85) (Saffell 2001, 276).

SCIENTIFIC FARMING

Technological advances were not the only factors contributing to the giant steps made in agriculture in nineteenth-century America. The realization, dawning more slowly on some than on others, that science might be profitably applied to agricultural methods led to large gains in agriculture efficiency and output. Farming and farmers were generally held in the same high esteem established by Thomas Jefferson around the turn of the century. Jefferson held that the self-sufficient farmer formed the backbone of American democracy. His interest in advancing agricultural practices by applying modern scientific techniques laid the foundation for just such a belief throughout the whole country. To use a technological metaphor, farming "may be considered the great wheel which moves all the machinery of society." Although many Americans—especially the poor, uneducated farmer of the South and West—may not have subscribed to such philosophical views, they were pervasive enough to constitute a major force in American society (Timmons 2005, 87) (Buel 1967, 4).

Many of the ideas concerning the role of progress in agriculture were written, circulated, and published in farmers' almanacs, journals, and handbooks. Farming periodicals dedicated much of their space to scientific farming and the application of technology to agriculture. One of these early periodicals, the *Farmer's Register*, emphasized agricultural machinery, and another, the *Prairie Farmer*, concentrated on common school education for farmers and on farm machinery. A typical example comes from Jesse Buel's *The Farmer's Companion; or, Essays on the Principles and Practice of American Husbandry*, published in 1840. Buel was a successful printer and editor who left his career to immerse himself in a quest to create a model farm outside of Albany, New York. He spent the rest of his life creating his ideal farm and working as a spokesman for enlightened farming in America. Buel firmly believed that "the more it [agriculture] is enlightened by science, the more abundant will be its products." With a working knowledge of the scientific practices in agriculture, the farmer would find that:

> The elements are subservient to his use; the vegetable and animal kingdoms are subject to his control! And the natural laws which govern them all, and which exert a controlling influence upon his prosperity and happiness, are constantly developing to his mind the new harmonies, new beauties, perfect order, and profound wisdom, in the works of Nature which surround him.

Although Buel seems to wax poetic, the notion of the gentleman farmer subjugating nature with his knowledge of science had a powerful influence in America (Wik 1966, 84) (Buel 1967, 4, 7, 11–12).

Of course, small farmers trying to scratch out a living for themselves and their families might scoff at Buel's notions, certain that they had neither the time nor the inclination to engage in such affairs. Buel, however, maintained that the farmer actually possessed more time to pursue scientific studies than those in other professions. Whereas those in industry or mercantilism might work day and night in their chosen professions, Buel claimed that the farmer had the nighttime hours to spend in study and contemplation, "to the improvement of his mind—to the acquisition of useful knowledge." In fact, Buel even listed the various studies a farmer might undertake, from the properties of soils and usefulness of different fertilizers, to methods of irrigation and crop rotation, to scientific methods in animal husbandry. All of these intellectual pursuits would lead not only to improved agricultural techniques and outputs, but also to a more general benefit to society as a whole; for "whatever tends to improve the intellectual condition of the farmer . . . essentially contributes to the good order of society at large and to the perpetuity of our country's freedom." Granted that the typical farmer did not adhere to, and probably was not interested in, the extremes to which Buel went in maintaining a model farm; however, the idea that agricultural practices could be improved with knowledge and applications of science found its way into the very fabric of American agriculture in the nineteenth century. Another growing branch of science—chemistry—met with a similar fate, as proponents of progressive agriculture often clashed with skeptical farmers intent on maintaining traditional farming practices (Buel 1967, 7, 12).

Chemistry—and science in general—played an ambiguous role in American agriculture during the nineteenth century. The American scientific community realized the importance of basic chemical research for the growth and advance of agricultural and industrial concerns. Scientists insisted that agriculture "must be made rational and scientific." As the century progressed, these views were adopted by an increasing number of politicians who lent their support for the funding and organization of chemical research, and by farmers whose support was crucial to "selling" the importance of science to agriculture. During the 1850s, Congress overcame its aversion to funding agricultural research by, in rapid succession, granting "$35,000 for agricultural experimental work on a two-acre plot near Missouri Avenue in Washington, D.C."; hiring an entomologist to join the Patent Office, as well as hiring a chemist and a botanist for research positions; and arranging with the Smithsonian Institution to publish meteorological statistics. Government support of scientific research aimed at improving agriculture in America became more pronounced as the century wore on (Rosenberg 1966, 144) (Wik 1966, 90).

There remained, however, a large gap between the producer of science and the consumer. The desire of the scientist to engage in basic research often conflicted with the insistence of the public to realize immediate practical results. Some science popularizers maintained that "every farm should be considered a chemical laboratory and every farmer a practical chemist and philosopher." In contrast, some farmers disdained "book farming" just as artisans and others without scientific training often questioned the utility of basic science (Rosenberg 1966, 147).

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, American chemistry, like many other American sciences, began to take on a decidedly German flair. Seeking graduate training in chemistry in Germany, many of these young scholars were greatly influenced by Justus von Liebig's classic work, *Organic Chemistry in Its Application to Agriculture and Physiology*. By bringing advanced notions of chemistry and its applications back to their own country, agricultural chemists were at the forefront of scientific research and education in the United States. In fact, the first chair at the first scientific school (established at Yale in 1847) belonged to the field of agricultural chemistry. Thanks to its immediate and obvious applications to agriculture and industry, chemistry became one of the first sciences institutionalized in universities and government agencies.

One of the earliest contributions made by chemists to American agriculture was soil analysis. Originally believed to be a panacea for the depleted soils of eastern lands, chemists slowly began to realize that the simplistic approach of analyzing a soil sample to determine the chemicals needed for replenishment was not a magic wand. Commercial chemical fertilizers made their way into the market by midcentury. By the turn of the twentieth century, American farmers used almost two million tons of commercial fertilizer annually. Although chemists made advances in the area of soil analysis and fertilization throughout the century, these advances were made at a pace that did not satisfy the farmer who wanted fertile fields *this* season.

The list of scientific contributions to nineteenth-century agriculture is long. Stephen Babcock developed a simple, accurate, yet inexpensive test to determine the amount of butterfat in milk. This solved an ongoing problem of compensating dairy farmers fairly based on the butterfat content of their milk. Luther Burbank developed hundreds of strains of plants from plums to lilies to the Burbank, or Idaho, potato. Norbert Rillieux, the son of a plantation owner and a New Orleans slave, developed a much-improved process for refining sugar from sugarcane. Rillieux, who received a first-class education in France, invented a new type of evaporator that revolutionized the sugar industry by making sugar cheaper for the consumer and sugar production safer for workers involved in the process. Countless other Americans contributed their own discoveries and inventions to the ongoing quest to feed a growing population (Timmons 2005, 90).

Finally, it should be noted that the relationship between farmers and technological advances was not always friendly and fruitful. The nineteenth century witnessed the first hint of backlash against the scientific and technological changes that many Americans accepted and embraced. It is true that improved modes of transportation helped to speed along technological developments in agriculture. With canals, steamships, and railroads, farmers were able to move more of their products to market in a shorter period of time; the Erie Canal, in particular, played an important role in the development of the Midwest as a major grain-producing region. It is also true that farmers and railroads often had unstable relationships. The importance of the railroads to agriculture, especially commercial agriculture, was obvious. The farmers of the prairie states certainly realized their dependency on the railroads for transporting their crops to urban markets. However, farmers often accused the railroads of unfair business practices such as price gouging. In fact, by the last third of the century, negative reactions against the railroads from all directions were commonplace (Timmons 2004, 91).

The new reality in farming was that advances brought about by technology and science led to a gradual loss of autonomy for individual farmers. They became dependent on the railroad to transport their crops out and supplies in, on the banks to finance the ever-increasing amount of equipment needed on a modern farm, and on unpredictable markets for their products. Nineteenth-century science and technology was certainly a two-edged sword for the American farmer (Timmons 2005, 93).

CHANGING NATURE OF WORK

Industrialization had a tremendous impact on the common American in the nineteenth century. In 1800, the vast majority of Americans led a life dominated by locality. Farms were small and provided most, if not all, of the necessities of life. Artisans and craftsmen operated from small locales—most often from the home itself—and seldom participated in trade outside of their local area. Of course, all of these factors meant that the typical American lived and worked in a rural, rather than urban setting (Timmons 2005, 93).

Industrialization did not happen all at once, nor did it spread smoothly and continuously once it had begun. Rather, small components of the workplace were automated, piece by piece, over a period of time. At the beginning of the century, "the production of consumer goods, from shoes and house wares to luxury coaches, remained located in artisan workshops." As the century progressed, these small, individually owned workshops faced more and more competition from factories mass-producing similar goods. Generally, the workshops either adapted or closed. The owner of the shop, or master craftsman, was forced to expand from the traditional few journeymen under his tutelage to a larger number of workers. To cut costs, the location of the shop might be moved from the building in which the craftsman lived into "lower-rent manufacturing districts or wherever inexpensive space could be found." By the middle of the century, small-scale factories operating in less than ideal conditions replaced many of the small artisan workshops—the sweatshop was born in the United States. As a result, "in the push to increase production, keep costs low, and maintain workshop survival, craft skills that had been passed from master to journeyman and apprentice for centuries were divided and lost" (Greenberg 2001, 421–22).

Exacerbating the situation was an increasing reliance on immigrant labor in the workshop. With competition for jobs with Irish and German immigrants in the East, Chinese immigrants on the West Coast, and black laborers—including slaves hired out by their owners—in the South, white artisans and craftsmen came under more pressure to find jobs. To make matters worse, ownership did not consider laborers to be any more or less important than natural resources or machinery and equipment. In fact, workers increasingly came to be viewed as both necessary cogs in the industrial machine and, on occasion, as potential threats to elite power and privileges, but rarely, if ever, as partners in a great ongoing experiment. In those mining and manufacturing industries populated by foreign-born workers, Anglo-Saxon managers tended to look upon them as predestined to be toilers. Indeed, it was the rare industrialist, like one Bridgeport, Connecticut, factory owner, who would acknowledge that his employees "have had a large share in enabling me to make my money and I feel I owe them some recognition of that fact." Labor participation in decision making was regarded as an abdication of management responsibility (Kent 2000, 59).

This sort of management theory sometimes ended in conflict. Workplace boycotts and even violence often resulted. In 1810, only about 75,000 Americans worked in industry. By 1860, this number had risen to 1.3 million. Conditions in factories and sweatshops were often atrocious, but workers did make gains in the number of hours worked and increased wages through the century. In 1840, the typical factory worker worked 11 1/2 hours a day, 6 days per week (Wahl 2001, 422).

As the manufacturing industry grew in the United States, factories took on a distinctive American flavor. Traditionally located next to rivers (required as a power source), factories began to spread to the cities where they could take advantage of a ready workforce and access to transportation for importing raw materials and exporting finished products. A typical American factory was powered by steam engines, with intricate systems of belts, pulleys, and drive shafts to translate the power to the various machines located throughout the factory (Timmons 2005, 94).

Endemic to these new kinds of factories was a new kind of worker. The nineteenth century witnessed the birth of the archetypal American factory worker: hardworking, dependable, moral, and upstanding—all traits expected from workers involved in the great democratic experiment that was the United States. Of course, with America's rejection of class systems, workers who displayed such traits were regularly promoted and given more responsibility, as well as the requisite salary and social standing that went along with it. The American dream was born (Timmons 2005, 95).

In one sense, people powered this dream; however, in another very real sense, power came from nature and from advances in technology. Waterpower dominated in the early nineteenth century in the United States because so much of it was available in the East and because it was cheap. In fact, in 1803 there were only five steam engines in use in the United States; by 1838, this number had grown to about 2,000 stationary steam engines. Steam engines had several advantages over waterpower, including better reliability (sometimes streams ran swiftly, sometimes not at all), and more horsepower. "Thanks to the stationary steam engine, shops could produce more goods at lower prices than before, while riverboats carried the merchandise to markets throughout most of the country." Several American inventors contributed to the steam power revolution; two of the most important were Oliver Evans and George Corliss (de la Pedraja 2001, 224–25).

Oliver Evans is a neglected figure in American history, perhaps primarily because his ideas and inventions were ahead of his time, and it would be several decades after his death before many of them came into common use. Evans's innovations included a fully automated flour mill, including several new kinds of milling tools and machines. But Evans's most important contribution was his design for a new kind of steam engine, one operating under high pressure rather than the low-pressure steam engines then in general use. Evans envisioned many uses for his steam engine.

He built steam-powered vehicles for use on land and water, and applied steam engines to various industrial purposes for mills and waterworks. The high-pressure steam engine of Evans's design became a staple in the industrial revolution yet to come in the United States.

American George H. Corliss patented an improved stationary steam engine in 1849. The Corliss engine was self-adjusting, meaning the engine could automatically increase or decrease the amount of steam going to the cylinder based on changing work requirements. Corliss and his new steam engine gained international fame when a single Corliss engine supplied power for the large array of machines on display at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. Other American inventors, most notably Charles T. Porter and John F. Allen, contributed important improvements to the steam engine. As steam engines improved, their use in various manufacturing industries increased. One of these, the textile mill, is representative of the industrial growth of nineteenth-century America (Timmons 2005, 95).

MILLS

The rise of large-scale textile mills in the nineteenth century caused a profound change in the lives of multitudes of Americans, especially children and young, unmarried women. American textile production was primarily a home-based industry before the nineteenth century. Farm wives performed the labor themselves—from cleaning the raw material, generally wool or cotton, to spinning and weaving—until a finished clothing product resulted. This process was long and tedious, but necessary if the farmer's family were to be clothed. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, small mills began dotting the landscape wherever running water could be found to power the equipment. These small mills generally performed only part of the process, leaving the individual farm wife to finish the weaving. Early in the nineteenth century, larger mills made their appearance in the United States. These mills were significant for several reasons. They generally performed all of the operations of finishing textiles, leaving nothing to be done by the individual except purchase the final product. These large mills also required new machinery and new power sources as demand for their product rose. Finally, as the mills grew in size, the need for increasing numbers of employees initiated an irreversible change in the very fabric of American life. By the end of the century, industrialization meant that more Americans worked in factories and industrial settings than in agriculture. As other large industries grew, they often patterned their organization after the textile mills (Timmons 2005, 96).

Textile mills were not the only industrial sites in antebellum America. Paper, flour, and sawmills also dotted the landscape anywhere swiftly flowing rivers could be harnessed to supply power for the machinery. In 1840, more than twice as many people worked in mills as in the iron industry, and three times as many as in machinery, hardware, cutlery, and firearms manufacturers combined. Usually, towns sprang up where the mills appeared. An observer in 1808 narrates the birth of a town:

> To this mill, the surrounding lumberers, or fellers of timber bring their logs, and either sell them, or procure them to be sawed into boards or into plank, paying for the work in logs. The owner of the saw-mill becomes a rich man; builds a large wooden house, opens a shop, denominated a store, erects a still, and exchanges rum, molasses, flower [sic], and port, for logs. As the country has by this time begun to be cleared, a flower-mill is erected near the saw-mill. Sheep being brought upon the farms, a carding machine and fulling-mill follow. (Timmons 2005, 104) (Nye 2003, 91–92, 98)

So, according to this observer, technology begot technology. What was once sparsely inhabited woodland becomes farmland as the forest is cut and the lumber is milled. As the area becomes more settled, a flour mill becomes a necessity to process the grain grown on the surrounding farms. And, of course, a small textile mill follows, as demand for manufactured products increases. All the while, a town is appearing in the former wilderness:

> For some years, as we may imagine, the store answers all the purposes of a public-house. The neighbours meet there, and spend half the day, in drinking and debating. But the mills becoming everyday more and more a point of attraction, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a taylor, [*sic*] and various other artisans and artificers, successively assemble. The village, however, has scarcely advanced thus far, before half its inhabitants are in debt at the store, and before the other half are in debt all round. What therefore, is next wanted is a collecting attorney. . . . The attorney is also employed by the neighbours. (Nye 2003, 92)

As seen by this passage, progress brought on by technology is a mixed bag. Along with blacksmiths, shoemakers, and tailors, the members of the new community must deal with debt and collecting attorneys. The last thing to make its way into town, according to our narrator, is a church—making the village complete. Sometimes the village remained a village, or eventually disappeared altogether. At other times, the village grew into a thriving city. In addition to Lowell, Massachusetts, other milling villages included Minneapolis, Rochester, Louisville, and Richmond, to name a few (Timmons 2005, 105) (Nye 2003, 104).

Interestingly, according to historian David Nye, the preceding narrative can be retold later in the century by replacing the mill with a canal, a railroad, or an irrigation dam as the central stimulus around which a new settlement grows. The pattern remains the same: A new technology appears in the wilderness—whether that wilderness is a forest or the central plains—and around that new technology all of the trappings of civilization spring up. This view of American history maintains that everyday life is not simply *affected* by science and technology, but *shaped* by it (Timmons 2005, 105).

The location of villages, towns, and cities was often directly dependent on the location of industry such as mills; and, in turn, the location of the mills was predicated on several geographical factors. As mentioned previously, waterpower was of primary importance, at least until later in the century. In 1840, for instance, more than 66,000 mills in the United States were powered by water, whereas fewer than 1,000 were steam powered. A closely related need was a navigable waterway to float logs downstream to the sawmill, to export products of the mills and surrounding area, and to import those goods not produced locally. In addition, the flour mills, and therefore the towns, had to be centrally located so the farmer could conveniently bring his grain to be processed. Since, for instance, ground corn molded much faster than the unmilled kernels, the central location was also a must for frequent trips to the mill (Nye 2003, 94, 98).

Technological advances added greatly to the proliferation of mills in the United States. Sawmills sprung up anywhere vast virgin forests offered lumber for the taking and nearby transportation systems—natural waterways, canals, or railroads—provided a means for moving the finished product to a market. Simple innovations such as improved axes and crosscut saws contributed to increased logging, but with the advent of steam power, the logging industry took off. Water-powered sawmills made it possible to cut logs into lumber at an unprecedented rate. Inevitably, steam-powered sawmills slowly eclipsed them in number and importance (Timmons 2005, 105–6).

THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

Processes for refining ores into useful metals have long been a part of man's history. Iron and steel played an important role in the Industrial Revolution, and several nineteenth-century innovations led to increased production. Most notably, when Englishman Henry Bessemer developed, through a fortuitous series of accidents and engineering insights, a new process for making steel (the now-famous Bessemer process), demand for the product grew exponentially. From stronger rails and bridges to better machines for all purposes, steel put the exclamation point on the Industrial Revolution.

The growth of the U.S. iron and steel industry mirrored closely the development of other technologies in the country. The railroads depended on first iron, and later steel, for rails, railcars, and bridges. The steamship builders likewise used large quantities of iron and steel to build their vessels. The telegraph—and late in the century, telephone—industries needed high-quality products for the never-ending reels of wire required to connect America. Iron and steel were needed for farm and home equipment, building materials, and countless other manufacturing and industrial applications (Timmons 2005, 106).

Antebellum America lagged far behind England in iron production, producing far less than was needed by burgeoning industrial concerns. With a seemingly never-ending supply of firewood from the great eastern forests, America's iron industry depended on charcoal for processing the ore. Eventually, however, the changeover to coal smelting provided American iron producers with the competitive edge required to produce more, and higher-quality, iron. Before 1840, nearly all of the American iron production was dependent on charcoal. By 1860, anthracite coal accounted for more than 56 percent of the iron production, much of it taken from deposits in coal-rich Pennsylvania (Marcus and Segal 1989, 103) (Adams 2001, 133).

MINING

America has always been fortunate to be rich in ores, minerals, and other natural resources. Mining these resources was extremely important for industries of the United States during the nineteenth century. Advances in science and technology led the way as a small, agrarian country became, by the end of the nineteenth century, an industrial giant (Timmons 2005, 108).

One of the earliest mineral resources mined extensively in the United States was coal. Coal mining used technologies that were generally primitive, although some advances were made in the nineteenth century. Fans used to circulate fresh air, a compressed-air jackhammer, and the safety lamp all made coal mining safer and more efficient. The real imprint of technology on coal mining, however, was left by the increased demand for coal from railroads, the iron and steel industries, and other American manufacturing and business concerns (Mulcahy 2001, 336–37).

The successful miner became an expert geologist by necessity. They "learned to interpret the geological structures near their work areas and, drawing on their general knowledge, adapt their mining methods to them." Although not formally educated, the miner developed these skills over many years of on-the-job training. In his report in the *First Geological Survey of Pennsylvania,* Henry Darwin Rogers maintained:

> It is of the greatest importance in mining that the collier should make himself familiar with the derangements of the strata in his particular neighborhood, so as to determine for himself, if possible, the prevailing character and direction of the displacements. An intimate acquaintance with the underground workings of the adjoining mines, will very frequently show him that these follow a certain rule or law, and it will teach him to infer, from the presence of peculiar signs of irregularity, not only the nature of any fault or derangement which he may be approaching, but the readiest means for either avoiding or passing through it.

This informal education in the science of geology was an important tool for the coal miner (Gordon 1994, 267–68).

Coal mining was a dirty, dangerous, and cramped job requiring no small amount of skill, knowledge, and vigilance. The typical coal mine ran under the coal vein, where the miner drilled holes and used black powder to blow large areas of the trapped coal to pieces—a very dangerous procedure. The pieces were then loaded into a cart and taken to the surface. The miner was usually paid by the ton, so any impurities in the cart were not counted (Mulcahy 2001, 334–36).

In a mining process such as this cave-ins were always a fear, as were flash floods and other natural disasters. Long-term exposure to the coal dust caused a high incidence of respiratory conditions, such as black lung disease and silicosis. In addition to the dust, gases accumulating in the mines presented a constant threat. Methane, carbon monoxide, and carbon dioxide were all odorless, colorless gases that could overcome a miner before he was aware of a problem. Miners developed various methods for testing for these gases, all of which were uncertain. To test for methane, the miners could apply a "flame to a suspected pocket [of methane gas], which was very risky."

To test for carbon monoxide, the miners carried a caged canary into the mine—if the canary was overcome, the miners quickly left the area (Mulcahy 2001, 335).

Although coal miners worked somewhat independently once they entered the mine, their success—and even their lives—often depended on the skill and watchfulness of others. While deep in a mineshaft, the miner

> could be endangered by bad judgment on the part of the mine operator, by the aboveground staff handling the pumps, hoists, and ventilating equipment, or by almost anyone working underground in the mine. Other miners might, for example, block the ventilation system, cause an explosion by using candles when safety lamps were called for, or cause a crush by robbing too much coal from the pillars [that supported the ceilings of the mine shaft]. Each miner relied on the managers and owners of the mine for adequate ventilation and drainage systems and for the overall plan of mine developments. He could be endangered by the failure of past mine operators to keep adequate records of their work, thereby creating the possibility of inadvertently breaking into old, unmapped workings filled with gas or water, or by the operators of adjacent mines who, through greed or incompetent surveying, extended their underground workings beyond their property lines. (Gordon 1994, 266)

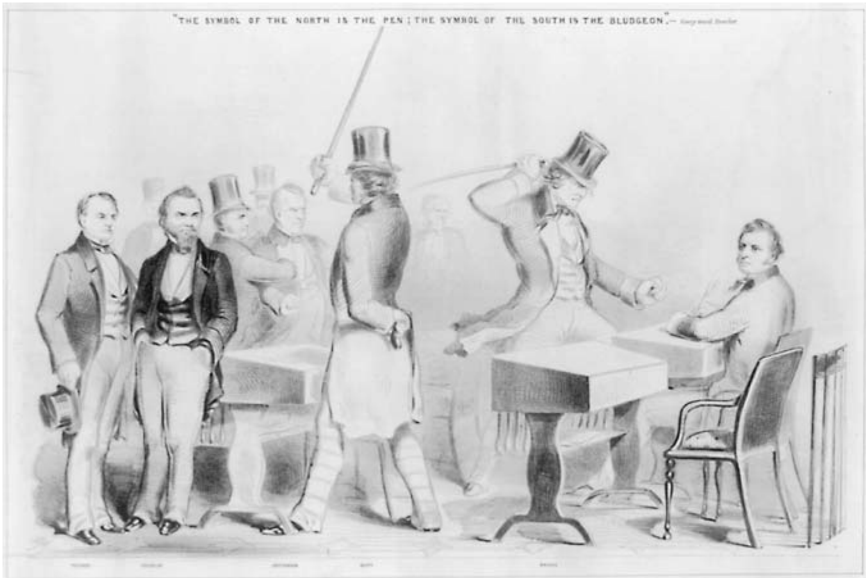
Political Life

POLITICS AS USUAL

The most modern element in American life in the first half of the nineteenth century was a vigorous interest in politics. Politics became a great national pastime, almost a hobby, shared by both the North and the South. This interest crossed many of the old social and economic lines to engage devotees from many classes in sharp debates on an almost daily basis. This widespread participation almost certainly added to the furor for war (Volo and Volo 2004, 197).

Unfortunately, restraint was conspicuously absent from the political process. Antagonists on all sides assailed their opponents with arguments taken from the law, the Bible, literature, pamphlets, election speeches, and the press. When unprepared to rebut these arguments on an equal footing the opponents often resorted to ridiculous remarks and unsupported allegations. A southern observer wrote of the period: "The hot headed politician and preacher seemed to be molding public opinion without any regard to the country as a whole. Both North and South proving, from their point of view, the righteousness of their positions by resorting to both the Bible and the Constitution" (Volo and Volo 2004, 197) (Fletcher 1997, 2).

Politics became increasingly characterized by intemperate and abusive language, or even fisticuffs, especially when the subject turned to inflammatory issues such as slavery. When Senator Charles Sumner, a man of "wicked tongue" and "intemperate language" with regard to slavery, was physically beaten with a cane by Congressman Preston Brooks in the nation's legislative chamber, the blows were struck not only in the halls of Congress, but in the barbershops, parlors, and taverns of every small town and city. Yet these attitudes cannot fully explain how the geographic sections of the nation could share so many important cultural and political characteristics and still be mutually antagonistic to the point of shedding blood. The actual causes of the war are both sophisticated and multidimensional, and any discussion along these lines inevitability remains academic. It is clear that although slavery was the root cause of secession and then civil war, it was part of a larger divide over disputes involving temperance, urbanization, poverty, politics, or economics (Bowman 1983, 383–84).



This lithograph titled "Argument of the Chivalry" depicts the assault on Senator Charles Sumner by Congressman Preston Brooks. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The decade before the war was one of rapid economic and social change in America; and politics was gaining a more general audience than at any time since the Revolution. The Whigs and Democrats were searching for new issues that would mobilize the voters behind the old party structure. This attempt to underscore the meaning of the old parties was to have far-reaching consequences as political and social agendas began to attract the interest of the common man and woman. One unforeseen consequence of trying to bolster the old parties was that, ironically, it would lead to their virtual dissolution (Volo and Volo 2004, 197–98).

The 1856 election proved to be the death knell of the old two-party system. In the presidential race, the newly formed Republican Party championed the slogan, "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont and Victory." John C. Fremont may have been made a national hero for his role in mapping and exploring the West, but he was an unacceptable presidential candidate in the South. The governor of Virginia warned that if the antislavery Fremont won the 1856 election, his state would secede. Consequently, the Democrats decided to run the more moderate James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. Buchanan won the election against Fremont due to the entry into the race of a weak candidate from the American Party, former president Millard Fillmore (Volo and Volo 2004, 198).

As a major third party, the Republicans had not had time to organize an electoral victory behind Fremont. Nonetheless, by the end of the decade, the Republican Party had become the foremost instrument of antislavery sentiment in the country. Its condemnation of the Slave Power forces, coupled with the earlier northern outrage over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision, brought it adherents. The events, both real and fabricated, taking place in "Bleeding Kansas" and the schemes of fanatical abolitionists, like John Brown, to forcibly liberate slaves and promote slave insurrections, tended to radicalize even the most moderate politicians.

"Both North and South seemed to be swayed by the demagogue," observed William Fletcher, who would go on to fight as a southern private (Volo and Volo 2004, 198) (Fletcher 1997, 2).

Northern office seekers began calling for an assault on the traditions and honor of the South with all the enthusiasm that their rhetoric could convey. Such attacks fueled southern indignation, created a desire for vindictive satisfaction, and retrenched the positions of southern moderates. In a letter to a moderate northern friend, Dr. Richard Arnold of Georgia expressed a widely held opinion with regard to slavery: "The abolitionists . . . have by their intemperance, united the whole South against them as one man. . . . I will observe that with you slavery is an abstract question, with us it involves life and property, safety and security. Its abstract right I do not argue for . . . the institution of slavery, although indefensible on the grounds of abstract rights, can be defended and well defended upon this, that so intimately is it mingled with our social conditions, so deeply has it taken root, that it would be impossible to eradicate it without upturning the foundations of that condition . . . for without a population of blacks the whole southern country would become a desert." Arnold warned, "To carry their plans into effect [the abolitionists] would have to wade knee deep in blood. . . . The two races are so separated, that the one now lower, will never be allowed to mount to a perfect equality, except over the prostrate bodies of the upper" (Beston 1937, 300–301).

Prior to the nullification crisis of 1832, the shadowy line between state and federal authority had not been problematic. A contemporary observer noted that the diverse character of state governments had clearly "originated from the people" by their own "choice and formulation" and that the states "had virtually managed by themselves" without federal interference. After the nullification crisis of 1832, however, southern radicals urged the defense of states' rights and began to call for disunion as the best means of protecting sectional interests. The threat of secession came to dominate the rhetoric of many southern politicians, and the concept of states' rights was raised to the level of political gospel during the decade of the 1850s. Many southern leaders espoused secession only sporadically, and usually only during an election campaign. Those who did otherwise did not achieve lasting prominence. However, among these were the southern radicals called "fire-eaters," who were conspicuously in the forefront of the clamor for secession and served as consistent and effective proponents of disunion. What they started as an intriguing political device, however, soon got out of hand as common southerners took the concept of a nation independent of the North to heart and were swept up in a reckless euphoria for secession and the establishment of the Confederacy (McCarthy 1993, 3).

Secession in some form was a widely popular movement supported by a vast majority of southern whites. Secessionist sentiment pervaded the churches, the shops, and even the schools. Prosecession radicals smashed unfriendly presses, banned books, and fought duels with Unionists. The fire-eaters turned every news article, pamphlet, sermon, and play into a propaganda piece for secession. Even minor confrontations with the Unionists, or with the abolitionists, were declared crises upon whose immediate resolution rested the very survival of the South. Warfare in Kansas, the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and the antislavery raid of John Brown at Harper's

Ferry gave credence to the tales of the fire-eaters. When there was no crisis, the radicals were fully capable of fabricating one. Southern leaders in Congress proposed the reopening of the transatlantic slave trade in 1859 without hope of the question being resolved in their favor so that the radicals might use the issue to good effect as propaganda.

Both the southern fire-eaters and the northern reformers were aided by a highly partisan and radical press. Public orations, electoral debates, and harangues were popular instruments used to drive public opinion, and they were well attended. Nighttime assemblies of placard-carrying zealots in streets lit by burning torches and oil lamps were particularly attractive to many people simply because of the spectacle they provided. Yet these forums addressed only those who could be present, producing a somewhat transient enthusiasm for the particular topic of discussion. Therefore, the nineteenth-century citizen favored the newspaper as a more individualized and enduring form of information. Newspapers gained influence steadily during the first half of the century. An incredibly large number of local publications appeared along with topical news sheets like the antigovernment *Citizen Soldier,* the antislavery *Liberator,* and the antialcohol *Temperance Recorder*. Speeches were printed in these papers in their entirety within a few days of their presentation. Political arguments, essays, letters to the editor, and discussions among dedicated readers—both genuine and planted for effect—flowed in the wake of every issue (Volo and Volo 2004, 200).

REFORM MOVEMENTS

It was socially encumbent on the well-to-do or those from the middle class to join a reform movement, and many well-educated Americans, especially young women lacking a venue to express their political will, were active in pursuing the objectives of the societies and organizations that they joined. The majority of the reform movements initiated prior to the Civil War were essentially benevolent, and they were characterized by the of activism of the "haves" for the "have-nots" rather than by a demand for reform from those who were oppressed. Philanthropic reforms in the antebellum period focused almost solely on the destitute or visibly degraded elements of society, including paupers, drunkards, orphans, widows, illiterates, Indians, slaves, prostitutes, and prisoners. Reform activities were characterized by a laudable urge to remedy visible social ills, alleviate suffering, and discourage behavior that was considered immoral. The planter aristocracy was remarkably intolerant of social reform and disdainful of activism. Southerners were particularly incensed by northern reformers working in the South, and repeatedly expressed a frustration with those that crusaded for or against what they termed the "isms" (abolitionism, alcoholism, feminism, pauperism, republicanism, etc.) (Volo and Volo 2004, 200).

The dangers of immoderate drinking, for example, were real, and alcoholism could end in disaster. Strong drink was often cited as the cause for eternal damnation and earthly licentiousness, as well as spousal abuse and rape. In fact, the temperance

"The bad husband: The fruits of Intemperance and Idleness" by Currier & Ives (1870). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

movement was very closely allied with women's rights issues such as suffrage and abandonment. This may have mirrored a rising tide of female discontent with their place in the social order. Women took up the temperance struggle by forming prayer groups and railing against saloons and their bottles, mirrors, and portraits of reclining nudes.

The temperance movement was set back for a time in the 1850s by the defection of many activists to the cause of abolition. Yet the temperance reformers increased the stakes of their game and insisted on total abstinence from alcohol in any quantity or strength and supplemented their demands with calls for its legal prohibition. This shift from moderate and sometimes symbolic goals to conclusive ones, carved into the legal fabric of the nation, was typical of many of the reform movements of the nineteenth century. Besides their well-known intolerance for abolitionists, social conservatives in the South also deplored the development of free public schools, and they worked to rid their communities of the destitute Indian population by removing them to the western wilderness. Moreover, they exhibited a remarkable toleration of prostitution—at least in private. Southern antipoverty reforms emphasized a faith in the efficacy of the kinship system (a responsibility that they took quite seriously), preferring to succor the abandoned members of society in their homes rather than to consign them to some anonymous agency. Of course, the needy were much less conspicuous and more sparsely concentrated in the largely rural areas of the South than they were in northern cities (Volo and Volo 2004, 201).

Many in the North were no more fond of reformers than those in the South, and reform activists remained a minority even among the population of the North. Much of the resistance to reform was based in a natural social inertia, but some of it was caused by the inability of the activists to articulate the scope and righteousness of their agenda to the public. Moreover, the abolitionists became increasingly acrimonious and alienating in their rhetoric, and some among them even called for the abandonment of the Constitution and the dissolution of the government to save the Republic from the corruption of slavery. Many of them disrupted religious services at proslavery churches and castigated the clergy and the antislavery moderates as conspiring with southern "Slave Power." Those that espoused such sentiments were widely viewed as interventionists, fanatics, or worse. The activists proved most controversial in their insistence on immediate and total reform, and in their unwillingness to compromise. This was particularly true of the radical abolitionists who demanded that the government supplement intellectual persuasion with legal coercion in many areas (Volo and Volo 2004, 201–2).

Religious Life

RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

The United States has been a predominantly religious country from its inception, and the antebellum period was one of great religious revival fueled largely by a Protestant crusade in the East, camp revivals in the settlements and on the frontiers, and a political backlash brought about by an immense influx of Irish Catholics into the cities of America. The religious character of the country was essentially rooted in the Protestantism of England, Scotland, and Wales, but many new sects had joined the list of traditional Christian religions popular before the Revolution. Europe was swept by great religious wars and moral awakenings during the colonial period, which resulted in waves of religious zealots and exiles crossing the Atlantic. Spanish and French Catholics, Protestant Walloons and Huguenots, Dutch Calvinists, English Puritans, Quakers, Scots-Irish Presbyterians, German Lutherans, Baptists, Anabaptists, and Moravians were all moved by much the same religious spirit. Yet religious bigotry influenced many largely well-meaning clergymen, both Catholic and Protestant, and encouraged intolerance among those who chose to do God's work (Wallace 1996, 51).

The First Great Awakening, a complex movement among a number of interrelated religious groups, swept through colonial America in the eighteenth century. Begun in the 1720s by the Reverend Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed minister from New Jersey, this movement spread into New England and reached its peak in the 1740s under men like Jonathan Edwards. In the South, it continued through the American Revolution in several distinct phases led respectively by Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. Everywhere, the First Great Awakening stressed personal religion and multiplied the number and variety of churches and congregations. There were an estimated 3,100 religious congregations in the English colonies at the close of the colonial period. While this number was almost equally divided among the several regions of New England, the Middle colonies, the Chesapeake, and the Carolinas, there was an unequal distribution among the different denominations giving each region a distinct religious character (Callahan 1963, 125–26).

The Protestantism of the framers of the Constitution from New England had been essentially related to the Puritanism of the Congregational churches, whereas those from the South were generally Church of England (Anglican). Quakers, considered dissenters since colonial times, congregated mainly in Pennsylvania, and pockets of Catholicism could still be found in Maryland. The country was also characterized by a wide variety of newcomers: Germans, Scandinavians, Swiss, Welsh, French Huguenots, and Jews. The Scots-Irish immigrants added an element of Presbyterianism to American religious life, and later the Baptist church became popular among the Welsh and Germans. The frontier digested a wide variety of these immigrants, but most of them were within the same religious compass of essential Protestantism. Both the Presbyterians and the Baptists played a major role on the frontier.

Lutherans—largely Germans and Scandinavians—were the first to introduce a new element to the religious mix. Nonetheless, their churches were essentially Protestant, and they were assimilated with little fuss into the American social fabric (Volo and Volo 2004, 20).

Yet not all of the religious sects of antebellum America were considered legitimate by society in general because many sects espoused doctrines that were obviously on the fringe of traditional Christian beliefs. Some Christian evangelical revivals, particularly those headed by powerful preachers such as the Reverend Charles G. Finney of western New York and the Reverend Lyman Beecher of Boston, provoked less-thoughtful followers of mainstream American Protestantism to take up the rhetoric of the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic. They created and published salacious rumors and anecdotes that distorted the beliefs and activities of many of these Protestant minority religions. A number of these minority religions can be considered pietist in nature because they generally abandoned a strict church structure and hierarchy. Shakers, Quakers, Moravians, Fourierists, Mennonites, Anabaptists, and other pietist sects generally emphasized inner spiritual life and a personal path to salvation and denied the need for a more formal ecclesiastical organization (Volo and Volo 2004, 20–21).

Although Quakerism had been a major component of American religious life since colonial times, it was essentially a pietist religion and many Americans viewed its adherents with suspicion. Moreover, the English-speaking Quakers, Shakers, and Fourierists were largely distinct from the Mennonites, Amish Anabaptists, and Moravians who originated in Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of central Europe. The Germans penetrated into the far northwestern portion of New Jersey and west into the region of Reading and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. They tended to separate themselves from other groups, a process aided by their lack of the English language. Joshua Gilpin, traveling through this region, noted, "I never knew before the total want of a language for in this respect we might as well have been in the middle of Germany." Isolated in this manner, the Germans achieved a far greater social solidarity than any other group on the frontier (Volo and Volo 2004, 21) (Gilpin 1922, 25).

A SECOND AWAKENING

It was the Christian revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century—generally viewed as the Second Great Awakening—that most affected the religious life of American society before the Civil War. This religious revival drew its vitality from the southern and western frontiers rather than from New England. Beginning near the Gaspar River Church in Kentucky in July 1800, the spark of faith was ignited at camp meetings in the Midwest and was proclaimed throughout the nascent frontier settlements by an army of traveling evangelists and self-ordained preachers. Some ministers, having been brought up on "rigid Calvinism" and having been taught to preach "the doctrine of particular election and reprobation" in earlier years, revolted and, having no correct books on the new theology, "plunged into the opposite extreme, namely, universal redemption." This sort of evangelism, with its strong emotional appeal, spirit of optimism, and promise of unconditional salvation to all of mankind, was particularly influential among nineteenth-century Americans (Volo and Volo 2004, 21) (Beston 1937, 299).

Peter Cartwright, a contemporary observer of the process, noted,

> Ministers of different denominations came in, and preached through the country: but Methodist preachers were the pioneer messengers of salvation in these ends of the earth.... A Methodist preacher in those days, when he felt that God had called him to preach, instead of hunting up a college or Biblical institute, hunted up a hardy pony, or a horse, and some traveling apparatus, and with his library always at hand, namely the Bible, Hymn Book, and Discipline, he started, and with a text that never wore out or grew stale, he cried, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!" In this way he went through storms of wind, hail, snow and rain; climbed hills and mountains; traversed valleys; plunged through swamps; swam swollen streams; lay out all night, or tied to a limb slept with his saddle blanket for a bed, his saddle or saddle bags for his pillow, and his old big coat or blanket, if he had any, for covering. (Beston 1937, 299–300)

During the day nothing appeared unusual in the sprawling and smoke-filled revival camps with their scattering of white tents, knots of canvas-covered wagons, and bands of scurrying children and barking dogs. The occupants followed the same slow-paced routines of cooking, cleaning, and caring for the livestock found in other camps on the immigrant trails. However, nighttime drew the faithful together and transformed them into an army of God. With campfires blazing, a thunderous din of singing, and preachers beseeching the gathering to repent so that they might be saved from the fires of hell, the crowds reached a peak of religious frenzy. A circuit riding preacher, Lorenzo Dow, described a camp meeting in his journal: "About three thousand people appeared on the ground, and the rejoicing of old saints, the shouts of the young converts, and the cries of the distressed for mercy, caused the meeting to continue all night." Many shook, jerked, and rolled on the ground until they fell away in a faint (Volo and Volo 2004, 22) (Chase 1966, 211).

Methodists and Baptists reaped a rich harvest of souls at this time. By the 1830s, Methodism had become one of the two largest religions in the country, and the Baptists, in particular, had made great inroads into the black population, both free and slave. Under the influence of an evangelical spirit, most American Protestants came to believe that the path to salvation lay in placing themselves in a position to receive God's grace if they were worthy. This belief was to have a profound effect on Civil War soldiers who strove to be worthy of God's protection by exhibiting courage and steadiness under fire.

The Second Great Awakening spread new religious sects like a wildfire. Campbellites, Shakers, Rappites, Fourierists, and other minor religions popular in the North espoused theories of associative communism and utopian socialism by making provisions for the correction of inequalities of temporal possessions among their members. Many members gave up all their wealth or placed it at the disposal of the congregation. Unitarians (the followers of which were largely devoted abolitionists), Universalists, and Disciples of Christ splintered away from established churches, while Mormons and Adventists sprang from the soil of America itself. Nonrevivalist churches, especially in the more traditional South, trailed behind (Volo and Volo 2004, 22).

CHANGES AND CONFLICT, 1821–1861
CHRONOLOGY, 1821–1861
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE
SLAVERY

Slavery

The early history of slavery in North America is poorly documented and inconclusive. It seems certain that none of the founders of the first English colonies anticipated a dependence on black slaves. While the first Negroes brought to the English colonies were formerly thought to have been exclusively slaves, recent research suggests that some of them were actually indentured servants or free craftsmen. It is equally clear that there were distinctions made between black and white laborers and servants in even the earliest English colonies; but in a society where whites were often degraded and treated as brutally as slaves, social distinctions often proved more important than racial ones (Volo and Volo 1998, 61) (Davis 1994, 5).

The distinction between free blacks, black indentured servants, and black slaves quickly blurred. Free blacks seem to have preferred to live in an urban setting and were twice as likely to live in cities as slaves, who were primarily agricultural workers. In cosmopolitan areas free blacks and slave craftsmen found opportunities for employment, exposure to black culture and religion, and the company of other freemen. However, the majority of free blacks lived on the margins of poverty and were subject to detention and questioning by the authorities without cause. They were continually encouraged to sell themselves back into slavery (Volo and Volo 1998, 62).

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, race-based slavery was firmly established in English North America. During the eighteenth century slave labor proved profitable principally on large-scale plantations that produced a cash crop, though small slaveholders benefited from the extra labor and the property value of their slaves. At the time only tobacco and sugar seemed to satisfy this requirement. Growing tobacco had saved Virginia and Maryland from extinction once the quest for gold and precious metals had been quelled by failure. Tobacco was used as cash, in lieu of cash payments, and as collateral for loans. Tobacco bonds, which encumbered the profits of future crops, were even accepted in lieu of taxes. But intensive tobacco farming was hard on the soil, stripping it of valuable nutrients that could not easily be replaced in an era before synthetic fertilizers. In the Carolina Low Country the production of rice was particularly lucrative, but rice cultivation was hard on the slaves, who suffered ghastly levels of mortality in the pest-infested humidity of the rice fields. If a large planter of tobacco or rice were fortunate enough to have three good agricultural years in a row, he could become wealthy (Volo and Volo 1998, 62–63) (Davis 1994, 4, 6, 22).

Rich southerners maintained their "planter aristocracy" through the Revolution and into the nineteenth century. Certainly there were upper and working classes among the whites, but nowhere was the equality between white men so complete as in their ability to force enslaved blacks to work and remain a subjugated people.

Of the 10,000 plantations that came to rely on slave labor in the antebellum period, fewer than 10 percent had more than 100 slaves. The institution of slavery had been in decline for some time before the Revolutionary War, particularly, among the small tobacco planters who had worn out their soil. In some areas of the upper South, slaveholders had switched to growing wheat and other crops and began to sell their surplus slaves to the expanding cotton areas of the Gulf region (Volo and Volo 1998, 63).

The importation of slaves into the United States was outlawed in 1808, but the ownership and selling of slaves within the confines of the country continued and grew (Volo and Volo 1998, 63–64).

Cotton invigorated the plantation system and breathed new life into slavery after the American Revolution. By the mid-nineteenth century cotton accounted for two-thirds of the exports of the country and created an unprecedented demand for agricultural laborers. The widespread adoption of the cotton gin, which economically removed the seeds from short-staple varieties of cotton, opened up cotton production into the Deep South in the antebellum period. A slave, who could process 100 pounds of cotton per day without the cotton gin, could process 1,000 pounds of fiber in the same time with it. Estimates show that by 1860 there were more than 3.6 million black slaves in the states that were to form the Confederacy. Profits from cotton in the Carolinas to Texas and from sugar in Louisiana provided a financial bulwark for slavery in the Deep South.

Virginia, noted for its production of tobacco rather than as a cotton producer, became a major supplier of slaves to other areas of the South. In 1860 the estimated value of all the slave property in the Old Dominion alone was more than $300 million. Virginians found that they could make more profit selling slaves than using them as laborers. In the three decades before the war, more than a quarter million slaves were "sold south" from Virginia alone. In 1860 young black men aged 19 to 24 could bring between $1,300 and $1,700 in the slave market; and young women between 16 and 20, from $1,200 to $1,500. Slaves with skills brought higher prices. Blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and furniture makers sold at a premium, as did particularly comely young women. Children, the aged, and the unskilled brought less. A healthy child four months old was considered worth $100 in North Carolina. The average price for a slave, taking all ages and sexes into account, has been estimated to have been $1,500. The largest number of slaves purchased were young men. Few children or older slaves saw regular trading. This difference helps to explain the high average of $1,500. It should be noted to place these values in perspective that a white overseer on a moderate-sized plantation could expect to receive a salary of only $200 to $500 for an entire year's work (Volo and Volo 1998, 64).

PLANTATION SLAVERY

The extent of the various physical mistreatments to which slaves were exposed and the psychological effects of being held in bondage are subjects of great interest to historians. A northern visitor to the South testified, "It is almost impossible to believe that human nature can endure such hardships and sufferings as the slaves have to go through." Although slavery was a great evil and was oppressive everywhere, the burden imposed on the individual slave varied depending on the master and the region of the country in which the slave resided. Profession and practice with regard to slavery were so complex that they were frequently radically different things, and generalizations in this area must be carefully drawn. At its core, slavery depended on violence, threatened at least, applied too frequently. The practices that served to underpin the institution of slavery in the South were becoming more harsh as the century progressed. This was especially true with respect to questions of black education, manumission, and the status of free blacks, though the physical care of slaves was improving, especially in the older seaboard states (Volo and Volo 1998, 65) (Strother 1962, 201).

There seems to have been a striking difference between the treatment of slaves in the small towns and cities of the South and that of blacks held on plantations. Both the material mistreatment of the "whip-driven" slave on the plantation and the "freedom" enjoyed by urban slaves, as well as black freemen, were exaggerated by antislavery advocates at the time, but notwithstanding such exaggeration, there was almost certainly a relative disadvantage to being a plantation slave. Yet the ability to create an African American slave community on plantations mitigated some of the harshness—or so some historians claim (Volo and Volo 1998, 65–66) (Blassingame 1973, 33).

The systemic abuse of black freemen was generally limited to the rural areas of the South and was much less common before the war than after. Southern blacks lived hard lives, yet many displayed fortitude, courage, and a sense of dignity throughout. Nonetheless, on the eve of the Civil War there were blacks in the South, themselves free, who owned slaves, used slave labor in their businesses, and condoned slavery. Black slaveholders often were those who owned family members, who otherwise would be enslaved to whites. There were also free blacks, especially shippers, tradesmen, and artisans, who owned slave workers, an arrangement often entered into in lieu of an apprenticeship agreement. In 1830, more than 2,000 black slaves were owned by free black masters in New Orleans alone (Volo and Volo 1998, 65–66).

Cabins where slaves were raised for market. The famous Hermitage, Savannah, Georgia. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The campaign to emancipate these slaves raised interesting questions about the sympathies of free blacks who owned slaves. Black masters had their rights as slaveholders recognized in law in most states. They could therefore stabilize their workforce and provide a modicum of legal protection for their loved ones. In Louisiana especially, these men were highly educated, cultured, and sophisticated in their outlook, and they were decidedly against any form of gradual emancipation without indemnification.

The available evidence about the conditions surrounding slavery comes to us from a variety of sources. Ex-slave autobiographies and narratives based on oral interviews are one major source of information. Many of these were taken down in the 1920s and 1930s by folklorists and government workers desperate to document the details of slave life before its participants faded away. These narratives were given by people who were, on the average, over 80 years old and had been children when the Civil War began. Additional sources are found in the letters, diaries, and contemporary writings of the slaveholders, and in the collections of plantation records, Freedmen's Bureau documents, and other written material dealing with the slave trade and plantation management that survived the war. More recently, historians have used archaeology, musicology, folklore, and linguistics to recover the experience of bondage from the slaves' perspective.

Slave autobiographies, in particular, have been used by historians extensively and with caution. Under close scrutiny they often turn out to be carefully crafted propaganda pieces, rooted in truth but designed by the abolitionists to appeal to all the dissimilar reform groups of the North. Still, such accounts give rare contemporary views of bondage from the slaves' point of view. The *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass An American Slave* (1845) was the most popular and today the commonly referenced work in this regard. Douglass was a slave in Maryland for more than 20 years, and his book, published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, was replete with descriptions of the physical abuses of slavery, including whippings, rape, unwarranted punishments, and cold-blooded murder, though its main theme was how through learning to read and stand up for himself the slave became a man. The work appealed to a wider audience of reformers than just those who favored emancipation. Proponents of women's rights, temperance, public education, and immigration reform all found something to stir them in Douglass's work (Volo and Volo 1998, 66).

Southern readers pointed with incredulity to many of Douglass's childhood memories of the whipping and murder of his fellow slaves, and many whites were convinced that the stories were patently false, though Douglass named names and provided details easily corroborated by other sources. Between 1845 and 1850 the book sold more than 30,000 copies and was regarded by many in the North as a true picture of slavery in Maryland. The *New York Tribune* reviewer, himself an abolitionist, praised the book upon its publication for its simplicity, truth, coherence, and warmth, and it became almost the template for the genre of such works (Volo and Volo 1998, 68).

In the 1860s there was an explosion of handwritten testimony from slaves recently freed by federal troops. New Orleans fell to federal troops early in the war, and there was an active attempt to document the system of slavery in the area around that city. While historians know more about slaves in New Orleans during the war than in any other southern city, it was hardly an archetype of southern slavery. New Orleans boasted the largest black community of any city in the country at the time, composed of numerous free black businessmen and artisans, urbanized former slaves, and recent refugees from the plantations.

Nonetheless, the data that were compiled are useful, particularly since the slaves could not be expected to leave much in the way of other written documentation (Volo and Volo 1998, 66).

The accounts of slave society written by slave owners are also used with great caution by historians even though they are plentiful and regarding the business of slavery vastly superior sources of detailed information. These sources of information about slavery reside largely in the daily reports of plantation activities and the internal records of slave trading establishments. Considering them along with published tracts on the "Management of Negroes," private letters and papers of slaveholders, and advertisements for fugitives, we can at least surmise an accurate picture of what slaves looked like and did, even if we cannot get a reliable view of how they felt or what they thought (Stampp 1980, 43–45).

SLAVE CLOTHING

It would be an error to generalize about the standards of slave attire before the war based on Civil War documents. The physical appearance of slaves in the war-torn South was widely documented by the illustrated newspapers of the day and, to a lesser extent, with photography, but little of their condition prior to the war had been so documented. The photographers of the period, notorious for staging their shots, took very few pictures of common slaves. An exception to this is the series of photos taken immediately after the war that documents the scarred condition of an elderly man's back (Volo and Volo 1998, 68).

Slaves were a valuable form of property, and, as such, their owners had a financial incentive to keep them in good health. Plantation slaves were often clothed in coarse but durable trousers, shirts, and skirts made from "Negro-cloth," usually a form of coarse linen. Shoes were purchased for the plantation workers by the barrel, and most former slaves complained of rarely having had shoes that fit well. In 1839, a visitor from the North testified as follows: "The allowance of clothing on [one] plantation, to each slave, was given out at Christmas for the year, and consisted of one pair of coarse shoes, and enough coarse cloth to make a jacket and trousers.... The slaves on this plantation, being near Wilmington, procured themselves extra clothing by working Sundays and moonlighting nights." The women received the same allowance of cloth as the men (Volo and Volo 1998, 68) (Strother 1962, 197)

Slave Workweek

Slavery called for long hours of work and trying conditions by modern standards. Most slaves worked from sunup to sundown in the fields, or until the work was finished when working indoors. During harvest or corn husking, slaves could be found working into the early hours of the morning. Slaughtering, in late fall, was a bloody and offensive task that allowed no interruption for rest. Nonetheless, the testimony of former slaves suggests that there was time to do extra work "on the side." The workweek ran from Monday to Saturday noon and respected the Sabbath. Most blacks were restricted to the plantation and lived in the village of huts or cabins provided for them. Any slave found off the plantation without a pass ran the danger of being "whipped on the spot" by the slave patrol, and if he resisted capture he could be shot. Slave housing was poor; heat in winter and ventilation in summer were generally haphazard, if not altogether absent. The plantations were therefore a strange combination of labor camp, racial community, and in some cases Christian mission (Strother 1962, 203).

Slave Food

The food provided for slaves was of poor quality by modern standards, and the diet was periodically unbalanced. Yet even the slave narratives suggest that foodstuffs were often abundant. Much of the food given to slaves was thought to be offensive or unwholesome. Whites normally did not eat chicken necks, gizzards, or pig's feet; and the small intestines of hogs, made up into chitlins, and kush, a mixture of bacon fat and cornmeal, were considered less than appealing to the delicate palates of white slave owners. Wheat flour, white bread, and beef were almost unknown to slaves. Nonetheless, ham and gravy, fried chicken, ashcake, and hoecake—all standards in modest white households—were also found in slave kitchens. To supplement their diet, slaves were allowed to grow their own vegetables and to catch fish, squirrels, raccoons, opossums, and rabbits (Volo and Volo 1998, 69–70).

Slaves were periodically issued molasses, salt pork, okra, peas, collard greens, turnips, and black-eyed peas. These foods supplemented a steady diet of cornmeal, fresh or parched corn, and potatoes or yams. Salted codfish was a staple of the slave diet in many localities. Purchased from the New England fisheries, it was identical to a familiar staple item in many European communities, especially those along the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Spain and Italy. Surprisingly, slaves seem to have received sufficient calories and nutrients from this diet to allow for the heavy labor to which they were put, though the diet led to health deficiencies (Volo and Volo 1998, 70).

Slave Entertainment

Slaves had no form of entertainment outside of that which they provided for themselves. As their work was tiring to the point of exhaustion, the very idea of leisure activities was displaced by a need for rest, if not sleep. Nonetheless, slaves found personal tasks to perform in their nonlaboring hours. Mending clothing, tending gardens, fishing and hunting, and caring for children and relatives took up much of their time. There were opportunities for enjoying music, dancing, storytelling, and simple sports such as footraces. Amusements included pitching horseshoes, gambling, cockfighting, and playing at marbles, checkers, or games of African origin. A good deal of time was spent in community activities such as church services, visits to the sick and elderly, and other comparable family activities (Volo and Volo 1998, 70).

Legal Rights for Slaves and Discipline

Unlike white employees, slaves were not free to change their condition should it become too burdensome. They could be physically chastised by their masters for many forms of disobedience, for insolence involving a white person, and for petty crimes. Incredibly, masters did not have unlimited legal power over their slaves. In law anyway, a slave accused of a felony could not be purposely mutilated, maimed, or killed as a punishment without the intervention of a court. The jurisdiction of these courts varied from place to place, but generally their procedures were set down in the Black Codes (Volo and Volo 1998, 70).

Of course, a slave defendant was not entitled to a jury trial. However, a hearing officer was required to determine the merits of the case and to act as a finder of fact. The county would then mete out punishment to slaves found to be guilty of serious crimes. As the hearing officers came from the community of free white slaveholders, questions of guilt or innocence were often moot. Nonetheless, the slave was allowed to make a defense. In such a case, the defendant needed to rely upon his own testimony or the testimony of other slaves. Slaves could not subpoena whites to testify. Both the Black Codes and custom gave great leeway to the officers of the court in determining the nature of any punishment (Volo and Volo 1998, 70–71).

As slaves were valuable property, masters looked down on any form of physical punishment that permanently devalued their slaves. Some masters intervened in behalf of their slaves even when their guilt had been firmly established. Hamstringing, various forms of dismemberment, and death, while not complete figments of the abolitionists' imaginations, were uncommon punishments for mere disobedience or petty crime. If only for economic reasons, the master wanted to maintain a chastised but physically capable slave in his employ, not a handicapped cripple. Punishments most often took the form of an informal laying on of the ever-present lash, while a hitching up to the whipping post for a formal flogging was reserved for major offenses. Masters also had the option of selling the unrepentant slave to the far South, into the interior, or to the disease-infested sugar plantations in lieu of punishment. The slaves themselves attest to such goings-on, and in very few narratives are such events absent (Volo and Volo 1998, 71).

Slave owners on large plantations rarely punished their bondsmen personally. This was left to the overseer. Overseers came and went on individual plantations, and "some were too severe on the Negroes . . . brutified by their employment, [and] little better than the Negroes they managed." These white men were aided by slave drivers, who, although black slaves themselves, could apply the lash with regularity and were used to chase down fugitives. Some blacks, like the slave drivers, were characterized as "white folks' servants," devoted to the master and his family and alienated from the general slave community. They were viewed by other slaves with disgust, as it was feared that they might curry favor with the master at the expense of other slaves by betraying them. Of course, on farms and small plantation, masters wielded the lash themselves. And in the "big house" slave masters and mistresses meted out punishments directly (Volo and Volo 1998, 71) (Sullivan 1995, 5).

Flogging was the most widespread form of discipline and punishment. Corporal punishment in many forms was highly common in nineteenth-century America, even in the North. Schoolmasters caned their disobedient or lazy students; fathers accompanied their progeny on repeated trips to the woodshed with a razor strop or belt in hand; prisoners were ruthlessly beaten with sticks and whips by their jailers; and soldiers and sailors were frequently punished by flogging, sometimes to the point of death. Notwithstanding these facts, slaves were certainly exposed to excessive and unwarranted cruelty through no fault of their own.

While on an intellectual level southerners claimed racial superiority for the white race, they nonetheless depended on blacks to tend their animals, repair their vehicles, cook their food, and care for their children. White slave owners were intimately involved with blacks almost all of their lives. In the isolation of the great plantations, it was possible that most of a white person's dealings, in human terms, were either with family members or blacks. Some slaves were able to accompany their owners on trips to the town or city, and, once there, they were sent off on their own, with a pass, to do their master's business. It is strange to consider that white slave owners, who so underestimated the value of human beings as to enslave them, were also able to entrust their bondsmen with the well-being and protection of their property and families. This fact seems to say much more about the humanity and responsibility exhibited by the slaves themselves than about their masters (Volo and Volo 1998, 71).

Race-based slavery promoted a type of equality among all white southerners regardless of their social status. The lowliest white man could find comfort in the knowledge that he was the legal superior of even the wealthiest black freeman. Yet many slave owners found it undesirable to have lower-class whites living on the fringes of plantations, where the slaves could be "impaired by contact with white labor." Although it is uncertain with how much respect these whites viewed the black freeman, it would be common for them to have to deal with free blacks as laborers, tradesmen, and artisans. The working white population in much of the South exhibited far less abhorrence of blacks than did many in the upper and middle classes in the North (Volo and Volo 1998, 72) (Stampp 1956, 150–51).

BLACK CHURCHES

Even in the absence of physical abuse or brutality, the institution of slavery did great harm to the bondsman. Southern blacks countered by drawing great strength from a number of traditional and cultural sources. In the years before the abolition of the slave trade new arrivals from Africa exhibited a heavy dependence on their own tribal religions. In Louisiana and the West Indies many African religious practices came to be fused into a widespread religion known as Voodoo, "which penetrated into every level of Black society." Slaves bought charms and amulets to control their masters, obtain money, ensure love or good health, or bring harm and even death to enemies and nonbelievers. The New Orleans *Delta* reported in 1854 that the participants "strip themselves naked and then commence a strange, wild sort of Indian dance" (Volo and Volo 1998, 73) (Blassingame 1973, 5–6).

White society deemed such activities pagan, innately evil, and inconsistent with its own dedication to Christianity. In any case, few enslaved blacks in the United States practiced voodoo. They did bring into their religious lives various African religious beliefs and practices. Many African religious practices were rooted in a communication with the natural world. By extension, many whites came to be intolerant of all forms of African culture that they did not understand. Slave owners, even benevolent ones, if they cared about controlling slaves' religious lives, tried to strip blacks of their tribal religious cultures. Slaves were expected to exhibit moral behavior reflecting the mores of the God-fearing Christians whom they served. The responsibility for Christianizing the slaves, baptizing their infants, and nurturing in them a fear of the Lord was seriously regarded by whites, at least on paper, though systematic efforts to evangelize slaves did not begin until the 1830s. Many slaves were therefore forced to attend conventional religious instruction for the good of their souls, but much evidence shows such slaves did not accept white-dictated religion wholesale and that they brought to biracial churches their own ideas regarding character and demonstration of one's faith (Volo and Volo 1998, 73).

White southerners used their religion to validate the concept of race-based slavery, but their religion made the masters neither more humane to their slaves nor more likely to emancipate them. Some of the most brutal masters were avid churchgoers. A southern woman wrote in her journal with regard to slave owning, "The purest and holiest men have owned them, and I see nothing in the scriptures which forbids it." White ministers often preached to the blacks in a manner calculated to make the slave satisfied with his lot as an expression of the will of God. It was not unusual for the white clergy to own one or two slaves as servants. Sometimes slaves were provided by the congregation as part of the living given to the minister. Some churches, especially the Methodists and Baptists of the South, gave up a previously antislavery sympathy to focus on saving souls. Since many of the white man's churches upheld slavery, many blacks became suspicious of organized religions with white origins (Douglass 1968, 67) (Sumner 1918, 38).

There were churches established exclusively for slaves by their owners, but the presiding white ministers, who were in the forefront of defending slavery from the pulpit as the natural and correct place for the black race, were generally disliked. Most free Negroes in New Orleans attended the Catholic church, where they enjoyed an almost equal standing with the white congregation. Separate black congregations grew in number among many sects because the white congregations of their denomination did not welcome black freemen. A growing army of black ministers was thereby able to found parishes among the freemen and slaves of the South. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) churches had the most prominent black ministers of the period. In New Orleans there was a congregation of the Methodist church supported by more than 600 slaves; and the black Baptist church had 500 members. White authorities feared any large meeting of blacks and broke up these religious services on a regular basis for the most trivial of reasons.

There were two very different types of religious services common to black churches. In the upper-class churches, populated by large numbers of freemen, there was a great dedication to religious form and ceremony. The services were less passionate and affected a greater intellectual appeal and attention to social problems than in the lower-class churches. The communicants of the lower-class churches were primarily composed of slaves and poor blacks who held a strong belief in the power of God in their everyday lives. They emphasized revelations, visions, dreams, and outward expressions of redemption. Worship was often accompanied by shouts, cries, dancing, and other forms of joyful noise. Nonetheless, in each form, some of the African music, folk heritage, and dance survived. With time, blacks were able to blend many of their African beliefs with the biblical teachings of Christianity. Both types of worship, although generally dividing the black community along class lines, served to uphold the structure of black life in a nation that cared little for blacks except as chattels and laborers. The church proved to be one of the more durable black institutions (Volo and Volo 1998, 74).

THE SLAVE FAMILY

Another important social institution among blacks was the family. That the slave family was an incredibly unstable institution was hardly surprising in that slaves were recognized principally as chattel property in law and masters had almost complete control over their disposition. A former slave noted, "There were on this plantation about seventy slaves, male and female: some were married, and others lived together as man and wife, without even a mock ceremony.... The slaves, however, think much of being married by a clergyman." Since marriage was considered a legal medium by which property was handed down, and the slave had no property, the law saw no reason to recognize the union of slaves as binding. Some morally scrupulous planters encouraged slave marriage as opposed to the immorality of open promiscuity (Weld 1839).

Investigators in New Orleans during the federal occupation recorded more than 500 marriages that had taken place in which the couples involved had been slaves. Of these, fewer than 100 had remained unbroken. While some unions lasted from 20 to 40 years, the average length of a slave marriage was a mere 5.6 years. Records indicate that 70 percent of these marriages ended due to death or personal choice, and only 30 percent of the slave unions were broken up by the planters. Figures were different for other regions as those places that sold slaves or sent them westward recorded higher incidences of broken marriages. Many planters professed an aversion to breaking up slave families because the practice increased unrest among the blacks, but the extravagant lifestyle of the planters, coupled with the regularity of foreclosures on mortgages and demands for the repayment of loans, caused many slaves to see the auction block at least once in their lives. Slaves could be bought or sold, rented out, gambled away, or left in a will as an inheritance to almost anyone; and the law did not provide for the continuity of the slave family as a unit (Volo and Volo 1998, 75).

Slave children generally were considered the property of the mother's master. The father and the father's master, should he be a different person, were denied any standing in regard to the offspring of slave unions. "Women were generally shown some indulgence for three or four weeks previous to childbirth . . . [and] they are generally allowed four weeks after the birth of a child, before they are compelled to go into the field, they then take the child with them." The offspring of a free man with a slave woman was thereby a slave; yet the offspring of a slave with a free woman was considered to be freeborn even if the woman was black. Even the children of a white master by a slave mother were born slaves. In the case of a dispute in this regard, with very few exceptions, whenever a slave's human rights came into conflict with a master's property rights, the courts invariably decided in favor of the master. The first activity of many refugee slaves during the war was to begin a search for their missing mates or children (Volo and Volo 1998, 75) (Strother 1962, 195).

MISCEGENATION

One of the unique features of slavery in this period was the pervasiveness of miscegenation, or interracial sexual activity. The desire of white men to have sexual contact with black females was seemingly so common in the South that no social stigma was attached to it, whereas illicit liaisons between whites, extending even to white couples who were engaged to be married, were roundly condemned. White men involved in sexual relationships with black women, slave or free, seem to have received a special dispensation from southern society. Indeed, a man who openly kept a white mistress would be turned out of society; yet, if he chose a colored one, acted discreetly by not flaunting the relationship, and produced a whole family of mixed-race children from the relationship, he was seemingly absolved from any shame (Volo and Volo 1998, 75–76).

Mixed-race sexual relations were not unknown in the North, and black-white marriages were legally valid in several northern states. Nonetheless, northerners viewed miscegenation as a form of moral degeneracy, singularly southern, and rooted in the immorality of slavery. A European traveler to America found that blacks treated those of mixed race with disdain and hate. "They think them much closer to the Whites than to the Blacks." An antebellum abolitionist author confidently reported that half the slave population of the South was mixed with white blood, and his assertion was accepted as gospel by willing readers. However, statistical analysis suggests that fewer than 10 percent of the slaves in the South were of mixed ancestry; and a portion of these had Native American blood. Only a small percentage of the children born to slaves in a given year were fathered by white men (Volo and Volo 1998, 76) (Mayer 1960, 116).

Over time there developed an absurd theory that a single drop of black blood polluted the human being. Yet some southerners suggested the equally preposterous notion that miscegenation improved the black population by breeding "whiteness" into it and would gradually eliminate the black race from America by dilution.

Abolitionists spread the probably specious story of a slave owner who offered a white man "twenty dollars for every one of his female slaves, whom he would get in the family way." The extent of miscegenation is somewhat obscured by the methods used by nineteenth-century investigators to quantify the mixed-race population of the South as mulattos, quadroons, and octoroons by the criteria of the outward appearance of the skin and the absence or presence of certain defining racial features. A large population of mixed-race persons "passing for white" may also have obscured any meaningful estimates at the time (Volo and Volo 1998, 76) (Strother 1962, 207).

Some white men, abjuring any justification for the satisfaction of their lustful desires, simply considered every slave cabin a bordello. In 1851 a Louisiana court recognized the virtual helplessness of the female slave in this situation, finding that she was "particularly exposed to the seductions of an unprincipled master." A free black of New Orleans ascribed a loss of all feelings of morality and chastity among female slaves to this helplessness. "The practice of indiscriminate sexual intercourse . . . was so universal that a chaste colored girl at the age of seventeen was almost unknown." The antislavery audiences of the North were horrified by descriptions of a planter who proposed intercourse with his female slave. If she would not comply, he could send for the overseer and have her flogged. "Seeing that her case was hopeless, her back smarting with the scourging she had received, and dreading a repetition, [she] gave herself up to be the victim of his brutal lusts." No court would have heard a case of rape brought by a black slave against a white man (Blassingame 1973, 83) (Strother 1962, 206).

Southern ladies universally frowned upon any husband who was too open in his lustfulness; and while it seems that they could do little to enforce their displeasure on the male population at large, they could become quite angry and vengeful when the husband was theirs. More than one planter, taken with the beauty of a comely black slave, was forced to sell her or otherwise remove her from the reach of his wife. Evidence suggests that many of the petty lashings and beatings visited on the slaves were brought on by the vengeance of a jealous plantation wife taken out on the concubines and mixed-race children of her husband (Volo and Volo 1998, 77–78).

The question of how common sexual affairs between slaves and masters actually were, as opposed to how often they appear as titillating tidbits of gossip in journals and letters, is undecided. Abolitionists likely exaggerated the universality of the documented cases. Many slave-holding states passed antimiscegenation measures providing severe social penalties for white men who openly bed black women and massive physical retaliation upon any black men who had sexual relations with white women. Although these measures ostensibly prohibited all interracial unions, for the white male they only made the offspring of his intercourse illegitimate, and the laws hardly applied to the reality of the master's power on the plantation (Volo and Volo 1998, 78).

The concept of white women sleeping with black men, a possible consequence of the moral hypocrisy surrounding such practices, was a proposition too explosive for the delicate egos of white males. White women were expected to respond to blacks as they would to any animate property, such as pets. The diaries and letters of young women and girls are full of references to the indelicacy of naked blacks, even adult males. Young women were expected to steel themselves into viewing the naked slave as a dehumanized object, no more indelicate than livestock in the barnyard. Documented cases of the daughters of wealthy plantation owners bearing mixed-race children are rare, and, when found, are accompanied by tales of social rebuff and revulsion. Only after the war did liaisons involving white women and black men become more common and open to public knowledge; nonetheless, such women were universally labeled "sluts" (see Blassingame 1973, chapter 1).

THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

Attacks on slavery in the early years of the republic had been based on religious ideas regarding love for one's fellow humans, ideas about the debilitating effects of slavery on economic and moral progress, and the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the incompatibility of slavery with the concept that "all men are created equal." Many Americans freed their slaves during and immediately after the Revolution—a circumstance not confined to the North. Following the Revolution a large number of southerners spoke about the abolition of slavery in abstract terms, and others were sufficiently dedicated to its ultimate eradication to provide for private manumission of their slave property. Yet early opposition to emancipation, including that of Thomas Jefferson, was based largely on the racist concept that the inherent inequality in the races would prevent their living in peace and prosperity together. Allegiance to slavery as an institution was less commonly expressed. That was to come later in the turmoil over states' rights (Volo and Volo 1998, 81).

William Lloyd Garrison. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Proponents of emancipation looked to gradualism and colonization, rather than immediate emancipation and inclusion, to relieve the supposed incongruities of the races living peacefully together. Gradual emancipation provided that children born as slaves could be freed on attaining maturity, having been given a skill or education in the interim so that they might provide for themselves. Similarly formed legislation had quietly ended slavery throughout the northern states by 1806. Private parties among antislavery proponents favored the removal of free blacks to colonies established far from the Americas. The African city of Monrovia was founded as a "freemen's colony" in 1821 in this manner. Less dramatic suggestions were also made to remove freed blacks to the Indian Territories, Florida, the Caribbean islands, and Central America (Volo and Volo 1998, 81–82).

While many northerners were against slavery, they were also remarkably prejudiced against blacks. They were averse to having them live in their communities and inclined to leave the issue of universal emancipation alone. Radical abolitionists—always a minority among antislavery advocates—were loath to accept the slow pace of gradual emancipation and were becoming increasingly militant in their frustration. This militancy was not universally shared even among antislavery proponents. Abolitionist speakers were threatened with tar and feathers in New England towns as late as 1850, and an antislavery newspaper publisher, Elijah P. Lovejoy, was murdered by a mob defending his press in the free state of Illinois in 1837. It was widely held that free blacks would come North to compete for scarce jobs in the cities, and an economic downturn in 1857 did not help to relieve this fear (Volo and Volo 1998, 81–82) (Malone 1943).

The treatment of blacks in northern states was often brutish, and they were despised and treated with contempt. In the decades after independence, towns and cities had been flooded by thousands of freed blacks, some of whom had fought in the Revolutionary army. And any plan for a general abolition of slavery had to deal with the touchy problem of free blacks living in a white-dominated, racist society. This led many sympathetic whites to fear for the ultimate welfare and safety of a black population suddenly foisted on an unfriendly America should the radicals attain their goal of universal emancipation (Adams 1973, 66–81).

Even among those who volunteered to fight for the preservation of the Union, there was little sympathy for the abolitionists. Wrote one federal soldier at the beginning of the war, "I don't blame the South an atom. They have been driven to desperation by such lunatics as Garrison and Phillips, and these men ought to be hung for it." Another federal recruit said, "I want to see those hot-headed abolitionists put in the front rank and shot first" (Billings 1887, 20).

There was a growing recognition, however, that slavery was a great moral and social evil that must be ended soon. But it was also true that slavery had become uneconomical for some smaller planters, especially in the upper South. As early as 1816, several southern states, Virginia, Georgia, Maryland, and Tennessee included, had asked that a site for colonization by freed blacks be procured, and they had jointly petitioned the federal government for financial aid to offset the monetary loss involved in emancipating their slaves. The British government had successfully indemnified its slave owners for their loss when the slave trade was ended in 1808, but a similar arrangement was not possible in antebellum America, either financially or politically (Volo and Volo 1998, 82–83).

In 1817 the American Colonization Society was formed to encourage free blacks to return to Africa. The organizational meeting was held in no less a prestigious place than the chambers of the House of Representatives. Among its founders were Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and Francis Scott Key. The society drew its initial support from all sections of the country and from both slavery and antislavery advocates. Colonization societies outnumbered abolition societies in America right up to the opening of the war. Within two decades of its founding, more than 140 branches of the American Colonization Society were formed in the southern states, with the majority of chapters in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In the North approximately 100 societies were formed, the majority established in the states of Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania. Only in Massachusetts did immediate abolition have a greater following than colonization. Of all the states, only Rhode Island and South Carolina had no colonization societies—both had been major import markets in the days of the Atlantic slave trade. Unquestionably, the intervention of northern moralists into the evolution of antislavery at this point provided a fateful check to any hope of abolition without considerable turmoil (Adams 1973, 105–7).

A minority of free blacks espoused great interest in their African homeland, yet a larger number were interested not in Africa, but in other areas outside the United States. Canada, Central America, and Haiti were all mentioned as possible sites for black emigration. Several prominent free blacks, such as poet James M. Whitfield, the Reverend Henry H. Garnet, and Dr. Martin R. Delany, called for an emphasis on black nationalism and militant black unity. Most free blacks opposed colonization outright, insisting that America was their land and that they should get their due in the land of their birth (Blassingame 1976, 18).

But the abolitionists demanded immediate, unreimbursed emancipation and integration of freed blacks into white society, not gradualism and separation. No price, including war and disunion, was too great to pay in the cause of ending slavery and racial prejudice. The rhetoric of Wendell Phillips, a leading abolitionist in Massachusetts, provided an example to the South, and all of America, of just how far the radicals were willing to go when he suggested "trampling the laws and Constitution of the country" to gain their ends. Such rhetoric was seen as a call for civil disorder, even violence, on a massive level (Douglass 1968, xvii).

The radical abolitionists berated the gradualists and colonialists as being less than completely dedicated to the cause of emancipation. In *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832), William Lloyd Garrison went so far as to suggest that the gradualists and colonialists were actually covert supporters of slavery, allowing slave owners in the upper South to "sell their slaves south," thereby recouping their considerable investment in slave property. Garrison argued that colonization would make Americans "abominably hypocritical" by allowing free blacks to remain among them only "as inferior beings, deprived of all the valuable privileges of freemen, separated by the brand of indelible ignominy, and debased to a level with the beasts" (Garrison 1832, 134).

Garrison may have been the most vehement of the radical abolitionists. Although he did not, in any real sense, lead the American antislavery movement, he was possibly the most conspicuous of the radicals. In 1845 he wrote in the highly idealized style typical of the movement: "Be faithful, be vigilant, be untiring in your efforts to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. Come what may—*cost what it may*—inscribe on the banner which you unfurl to the breeze, as your religious and political motto—'No Compromise with Slavery! No Union with Slaveholders!'" (Volo and Volo, 1998, 85) (Douglass 1968, xiv).

Although calls to violence were not characteristic of the abolition movement, the rhetoric of the outspoken radicals was couched in inflammatory and unambiguous terms aimed at ending slavery—"Law or No law, constitution or no constitution." Abolitionists vowed to work with "invincible determination" regardless of the consequences. The radicals publicly disavowed the unsettling concept of slaves shedding the blood of their oppressors, but they recognized that there was "no neutral ground in this matter, and the time is near when they will be compelled to take sides" (Garrison 1837).

In the seeming call for a slave rebellion, the goal of which was "to attack the slave power in its most vulnerable point," the South perceived a very real physical threat.

There had been three important black insurrections in the South: the Gabriel revolt in 1800, the Denmark Vesey conspiracy in 1822 (no actual revolt occurred though strong evidence exists to suggest one was planned), and the Nat Turner revolt in 1831. Only the Turner revolt had led to any deaths among whites, but these had numbered mostly women and children among the roughly 60 killed. Coupled with the knowledge of major slave revolts and mass murders in the West Indies, such doings were taken seriously by slave owners. Some abolitionists later endorsed John Brown's attempt to foment an armed slave rebellion in Virginia by attacking Harper's Ferry in 1859. Against this background the writings and speeches of the radicals proved truly heavy rhetoric (Garrison 1844) (Volo and Volo 1998, 85).

Young Kate Stone's diary reflected her fears in an encounter with slaves recently freed by federal forces in April 1863: "Looking out the window, we saw three fiendish looking, black Negroes standing around George Richards, two with their guns leveled and almost touching his breast. He was deathly pale but did not move. We thought he would be killed instantly. But after a few words from George . . . they lowered their guns and rushed into the house . . . to rob and terrorize us." In fact during the war, slaves showed remarkable restraint, preferring to run away or join the Union army to bring down slavery rather than engage in slave rebellion (Sullivan 1995, 91–92).

ABOLITIONISTS

Those who identified themselves as abolitionists generally eschewed allegiance to a particular religious group, but a good number were intimately involved in their religions, particularly the newly formed sect of Unitarianism. However, those belonging to the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Quaker denominations predominated in the movement. The Methodists and Baptists were quite split over the issue, and very few Catholics rose to prominence in the largely Protestant antislavery circles. The Quaker sect was probably the most unified in its position against slavery. Yet the crusade for the immediate social and political equality of blacks was championed with a religious fervor by many men and women (Volo and Volo 1998, 85–86).

Contrary to the common southern perceptions of abolitionists—preaching and teaching "hate as a gospel and the sacred duty of murder and insurrection"—the use of violence to attain emancipation never had a great appeal to the mass of people in the North, and the more provocative tactics and strategies of the radicals rarely had any effect outside of New England or areas settled by New Englanders as in Ohio. Antislavery, as a movement, was far too decentralized and subject to too many local variations to march in lockstep behind the radicals. So too abolition's association with other reforms, especially women's rights, led to internecine quarrels over means and ends (Dowdey 1957, 300).

Garrison, in particular, was prone to involving himself in factional disputes within the movement. His refusal to endorse a political solution to slavery based on compromise, his attacks on the religious institutions of the nation as supporters of slavery in the 1840s, and his continued characterization of the South as an aggressive enemy of all American institutions left him outside the mainstream of antislavery sentiment. He attacked the Constitution as a "guilty and bloodstained instrument," called for the secession of the New England states from the Union, disrupted religious services at "proslavery" churches, and castigated the clergy and the antislavery moderates as conspiring with southern slave power. These positions caused a split in the movement in 1840. Nonetheless, Garrison remains a central figure in the controversy that led to the Civil War simply because the South took him seriously and believed that he had a much greater following than reality justified (Garrison 1832).

ANTISLAVERY LITERATURE

The abolition of race-based slavery became a theme for novels early in the antebellum period, but it found little popularity beyond those dedicated to the antislavery movement until the 1850s. In 1836, Richard Hildreth, a Massachusetts jurist and historian, published the first of the antislavery novels called *The Slave, or, Memoirs of Archy Moore.* The work was immensely popular in New England, and it was reprinted in the decade before the Civil War under a number of titles. Although it did much to further the cause of abolition, Hildreth's work appeared too early in the development of the antislavery movement to have the effect of later works. However, when Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, the book sold 300,000 copies in America and Britain in one year. Stowe's work was one of total fiction, but it stressed the humanity of the slave and the evils of slavery, and presented a picture of moral corruption and finally total brutality as the cost of slavery. The author had no personal knowledge of slavery, but her brother, Edward Beecher, was an antislavery activist, and Stowe's purpose was moral not reportorial. The factual basis for the story was found in Theodore D. Weld's radical abolitionist tract titled *Slavery as It Is: The Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses,* which was published in 1839. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was immensely more effective in preaching the antislavery message in the form of a novel than the earlier tract had ever dreamed of being. The book was made into an equally popular play, in various versions that found audiences well into the end of the century (Volo and Volo 2004, 229–30) (Stowe 1889).

Stowe provided two divergent accounts of the origins of her own book, but it seems quite certain that the death of Uncle Tom was written first and the surrounding details of Little Eva and other characters were added at a later date. The character of Eliza Harris, who crossed the icy Ohio with her baby in her arms, seems to have been based on the experiences of an actual person, and Stowe seems to have been made familiar with the story through her brother. She wrote in the preface of the 1852 edition:

> The object of these sketches is to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us; to show their wrongs and sorrows, under a system so necessarily cruel and unjust all to defeat and do away the good effects of all that can be attempted for them, by their

best friends, under it. In doing this, the author can sincerely disclaim an invidious feeling towards those individuals who, often without any fault of their own, are involved in the trials and embarrassments of the legal relations of slavery. (Volo and Volo 2004, 230)

The South considered *Uncle Tom's Cabin* a slander and regarded it as abolitionist propaganda. A southern women, familiar with slavery and slaves, wrote that she could not read a book so filled with distortions as it was "too sickening" to think that any man would send "his little son to beat a human being tied to a tree." The same women goes on to suggest, using other literary references, that Stowe's work portrays as much fiction as Squeers beating Smike in Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby* or the gouging of the Gloucester's eyes in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. "How delightfully pharisaic a feeling it must be, to rise up superior and fancy [to] we [who] are so degraded as to defend and like to live with such degraded creatures around us . . . as Legree" (Woodward 1981, 245, 307, 381).

Nonetheless, amicably disposed northerners found the passages describing the murderous brutality of Simon Legree indicative of the typical behavior of southern slave owners. A letter to the editor of *Frederick Douglass' Paper* wrote, "What a Book! It is, in its line, a wonder of wonders. . . . My nonresistance is of the Douglass, Parker, and Phillips school. I believe, as you do, that it is not light the slaveholder wants, but fire, and he ought to have it. I do not advocate revenge, but simply, resistance to tyrants, if need be, to the death." Another writer, this time to the editor of the *National Era*, said, "It was a noble effort—it is a splendid success. The God of Freedom inspired the thought." The editor of the *New York Independent* pronounced the book, "The Greatest Book of its Kind ever issued from the American Press." Other papers, almost exclusively in the North, carried similar sentiments. In answer to her critics, Stowe produced *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1853 and, in 1856, followed with a more direct appeal to violence in *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*, which almost immediately appeared as a stage play in the New York theaters (Volo and Volo 2004, 230–31).

The significance of these stories, as with many of the attacks on the institution of slavery, lay in their ability to dramatize and emotionalize the issue. Writing and speech making on the subject of slavery, in particular—and of the southern culture, in general—was becoming increasingly stereotypical, and the stereotypes, even when presented in novels, were taking on a reality in the minds of the people.

Hinton Rowan Helper, born and educated in North Carolina, in 1855 wrote a book about California goldfield experiences in his *The Land of Gold*, which signaled his belief in the value of free labor. In the following year, he moved to New York and wrote *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*, an economic discourse in behalf of the nonslaveholding whites of the South. *The Impending Crisis* contrasted the economic condition of the slave states and the free states, and it attributed the backwardness of the South and the impoverishment of southern white labor to the competition of race-based slavery. Although he showed no consideration for the plight of blacks, whom he despised, Helper attacked the owners of a large number of slaves using the threat of a slave uprising to destroy the slave labor system from within. "Would you be instrumental in bringing upon yourselves, your wives, and our children, a fate too horrible to contemplate?" Helper's 11-step program to abolish slavery formalized a growing feeling that southern economic and social welfare was being sacrificed on the altar of continued plantation slavery.

The Impending Crisis created a greater sensation than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and it has been described as a contributing cause of the Civil War. Men were hanged for merely possessing a copy of the book in some areas of the South. The book was furiously attacked in the South, and a good deal of effort and propaganda was put into casting doubts on Helper's integrity. In the North, it was a great success. One hundred thousand copies were printed and a shortened version was distributed for the Republican campaign of 1860. An appreciative Abraham Lincoln appointed Helper as American consul in Buenos Aires in 1861, a position he kept until 1866 (Volo and Volo 2004, 231).

BLACK ANTISLAVERY ACTIVISTS

One of the many themes of the abolitionists was that the slave was "capable of high attainments as an intellectual and moral being—needing nothing but a comparatively small amount of cultivation to make him an ornament of society and a blessing to his race." Emancipation advocates declared that only the great weight of slavery had deteriorated the natural goodness and intelligence the Negro had brought from Africa. "It has a natural, an inevitable tendency to brutalize every noble faculty of man." Frederick Douglass served as a favorite symbol of the ideally regenerated freeman, and was portrayed as a victim of slavery with a "godlike nature" and a "richly endowed" intellect. Douglass was showcased as a naturally eloquent "prodigy—in soul manifestly created but a little lower than the angels" (Volo and Volo 1998, 88–89) (Douglass 1968, vi, 24).

From 1841 to 1860, Douglass was the most prominent black abolitionist, "filled by his escape to freedom with noble thoughts and thrilling reflections." Yet, among black activists there were several equally eminent success stories. These included Charles Lenox Remond, one of the first black antislavery activists; Williams Wells Brown, the first black playwright; Frances E. W. Harper, a prominent poet; Henry Bibb, a former slave and editor of a Canadian newspaper; John Mercer Langston, a free lawyer from Ohio; Martin R. Delany, a Harvard-trained physician; and the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, the first black man to speak in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Several black newspapers were printed in the antebellum period that vied for prominence in antislavery circles with Garrison's *Liberator*. The *Impartial Citizen* was printed in Syracuse, New York, beginning in 1848; the *Colored Man's Journal* was popular in the 1850s in New York City; San Francisco had the *Mirror of the Times* in the 1850s; and the *Alienated American* was published briefly in Cleveland, Ohio. One of the earliest papers was *Freedom's Journal*, established in 1827 by John B. Russwurm, the first black to receive a degree from an American college.

One of the most popular black papers of the 1850s was *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, later called *Douglass' Monthly Magazine*. Unlike the other black papers, which were locally popular and short-lived, Douglass's work was circulated through 18 states and 2 foreign countries. It had more than 4,000 subscribers and survived for more than 13 years. Not only did these papers showcase the ability of blacks to write and edit, but they also hinted at the large number of blacks among their subscribers who could read (Volo and Volo 1998, 89).

SOUTHERN NATIONALISM

Patriotism and nationalism were powerful motivations in Civil War America. A growing southern nationalism accompanied the development of the Confederate States of America. Nationalism was on the rise throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, and Confederates were quick to draw parallels between their struggle to found a southern nation with those of the Dutch Republic and the Portuguese against Spain; the Italian revolutions in Sicily and Naples led by Garibaldi; the Polish rebellion against the power of Russian imperialism; and the ongoing Piedmontese struggle against Austria. Confederate diplomats held forth these examples to the world in the hope of gaining international support and recognition for their fledgling country (Volo and Volo 1998, 49).

The North had similar nationalistic views, but they were more capitalistic and utopian than those of its southern counterpart. The northern nation was dedicated to physical liberty, freeing the slave from his bonds, separating the poor from their circumstances, and relieving the alcoholic from his dependence on liquor. By contrast the southern nation was more dedicated to an abstract liberty defined by traditional political ideology and personal freedom of action unrestricted by governmental intervention. As the two cultures diverged during the first half of the nineteenth century, their separate concepts of which social, political, and cultural characteristics should be indicative of America's ideal national identity diverged also (Volo and Volo 1998, 49–50).

Several of the competing characteristics came to be mutually exclusive and served as focal points for controversy. These included questions of slavery or abolition; economies dedicated to the growth of agriculture or industry; social elitism or social mobility; limited suffrage or democratization; personal religion or societal morality; patriarchy or matriarchy; personal responsibility or governmental action; and conservative or progressive politics. Forces representing different opinions on these questions were in almost continual conflict by midcentury.

Although the questions of slavery or abolition stood out at the time, southern nationalism was fueled not only by the endorsement of continued slavery, but also by a growing contrast between a conservative southern culture and a progressive northern industrial society increasingly in favor of popular suffrage, a changing role for women, widening democracy, and social reform.

By the 1850s the creation of southern nationalism and the establishment of a national identity separate from that of the North came to be viewed by increasing numbers of white southerners as necessary for the survival of southern culture, with or without the challenge of war. Many historians have continued to view the nationalist trappings of the Confederacy as a kind of mask for the southern defense of slavery. Nonetheless, southerners were strikingly self-conscious about the need to explain themselves and publicly define their position on this question. Slavery was an embarrassment to some southern apologists, but, at the time, slavery and national identity were truly inseparable in the minds of most southerners. When explaining why they seceded, southerners unabashedly asserted that they did so to protect slavery and its interests. The new state constitutions and Confederate constitution they wrote echoed that purpose.

Historically, the South had been neither democratic nor purely aristocratic. Instead, southern politics had reached a balance much closer to the classical Roman concept of the republic, a public order in which the power rested with an elite group of people who supposedly ruled for the good of all. When the war began, the South was a distinct political entity with a fully operational government, at least at the state and local levels. Confederate nationalism, although novel as a collective entity, had deep roots in a distinctive antebellum southern ideology. The plantation aristocracy had successfully dominated southern society for many years by applying their wealth and political influence to the wheels of government (Volo and Volo 1998, 50).

Small farmers had so worn out their land that they looked to cast their lot with the expansionists who were moving into the territories. Many middle-class southerners migrated with their manners and culture to other states: Kentucky and southern Ohio, Mississippi and southern Indiana, and Texas. Planters with modest holdings were able to maintain their gracious style of living by establishing subsidiaries to their planting operations. Sawmills, gristmills, distilleries, and even country stores were run on plantations. The sons of these planters turned to new professions such as law and medicine. Some went into the city to deal in cotton-related industries, and some turned to the military as an honorable profession in keeping with the traditions of the aristocrat. This may help to explain the large number of southern gentlemen who received their education at military academies such as West Point or Virginia Military Institute.

Southerners willingly tried all expedients to support their culture. The large landowners hoped, at the very least, to maintain their social status under such conditions. As the traditional prerogatives faded from the landed families, they were replaced by a defense of a lifestyle that was increasingly becoming a social anachronism (Volo and Volo 1998, 51).

This distinctiveness provided a rather warped view of the South, but many Americans accepted it as a valid interpretation of southern culture and acted accordingly upon it. No one would have cared how archaic the plantation system was becoming, but slavery was the one anachronism that many concerned Americans could not accept. Although the aristocratic southern way of life was practiced by a small minority of the population, the lifestyle of the planter class came under attack by the forces of democratization, industrialization, and abolition. The very intensity of the attack, endured for several decades by the planter aristocracy, helped to define a narrow set of characteristic social customs as particularly "Southern" (Faust 1988, 3–4).

With the increasing likelihood of secession, the large planters moved quickly to ensure that southern nationalism reflected their particular interests and strove to protect their cherished way of life under the new government. However, the planters clearly understood that they could not act alone effectively. Practical considerations made them more dependent than ever before on the white masses. Conservative and elitist tendencies were altered by this need to create a popular consensus. Politicians, journalists, and clergymen undertook, therefore, to enlist the support of the small slaveholders and the non–slave-owning white majority in the establishment of a new nation. They used an astonishing mix of political and religious language in an attempt to excite an ardent and enduring enthusiasm across the entire population for the Confederate government and its institutions. However, they carefully avoided presenting secession ordinances and state constitutions to the masses for ratification lest their plans fail the test of public support (Faust 1988, 15, 36).

Ordinary citizens quickly recognized that their support was needed for secession and that their physical assistance would be required on the battlefield. They sometimes sought to trade their support for reforms in taxation, governmental structure, and social and political access under the new governments that had been denied to them in former years. However, it was the political, social, and religious elite who most effectively interjected their concerns into the new southern nation, and they were successful in exporting their ideals beyond the battlefield soldier to the mass of the southern people.

"If the Confederate experience did nothing else, it gave southerners, many for the first time, a sense of corporate identity," noted an observer of the process. Even the citizens of Tennessee, who had previously disavowed the idea of immediate secession, overwhelmingly voted in favor of separation from the Union once Lincoln called for troops to suppress the rebellion. Hundreds of suggestions poured in from all levels and classes of southern society when a committee of the Confederate Congress asked for designs for a new national flag. Nine out of ten of these were from women. A southern woman's diary noted in April 1861: "Upon returning to my boardinghouse…I found the ladies making secession flags. Indeed, the ladies everywhere seem imbued with the spirit of patriotism, and never fail to exert their influence in behalf of southern independence." Women wore secession flags as part of their daily costume in the streets. Southern ladies formed gunboat societies that sponsored dances, bake sales, rummage sales, and auctions to raise money for building the infant Confederate navy to defend the harbors and waterways. Southern women were intensely aware of the need to maintain a southern tradition and culture that "had roots several decades deep," and their diaries and letters are replete with nationalistic themes (Volo and Volo 1998, 52) (Thomas 1991, 114) (Faust 1988, 8) (Miers 1958, 3) (McPherson 1997, 95).

The strongest feature of southern nationalism was to be found on the battlefield. The South was ripe for war. The Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser* reported on April 22, 1861, that hundreds of impetuous young Marylanders had left the city in wagons, carriages, and buggies or on horseback to wage war against the invaders from the North. Although volunteers dedicated themselves to the defense of their individual states, the southern army quickly showed a new unity and esprit de corps. For the first time in their lives many young men traveled away from their homes and interacted with people who were not also neighbors or relations. They accepted strangers as brethren, bonded to them by a larger identity. An analysis of the surviving letters and diaries of Confederate soldiers suggests that many expressed a patriotic allegiance to the Confederacy as a "country." Soldiers typically referred to sacrificing themselves on the "altar" of their country; yet they were equally expressive in their desire to defend their state, their home and hearth, and their families. The conflict between the love of those things familiar, personal, or close and dedication to the more abstract and intangible new nation troubled many Confederates; but the paradox brought forth by this dichotomy of motivation was not insoluble. The urge to defend one's state and family, which brought many volunteers to the battlefield in 1861, took on greater scope when the Federals launched a massive invasion of the South in 1862. Those from Tennessee and Louisiana who had fought initially to liberate their homes from the "varlet's threat" quickly extended their commitment to the southern nation as a whole, particularly when their principal cities fell to federal forces. Many Confederates came to realize that the defense of their home and hearth was best prosecuted by winning the war, even if that meant fighting on fields foreign to their domestic concerns. A southern soldier wrote of both his nationalism and his identity as a southerner: "My *country* shall be freed from the fiendish vandals who thirst for the extermination of a *people* who are actuated by motives . . . far above those that influence and characterize the enemy." Individuals may have continued to do things as Texans or Floridians, but many identified themselves as Confederates united in the defense of an independent southern nation (Volo and Volo 1998, 52–53) (Smith 1943, 304, 312).

Northern soldiers were equally vehement in their view that the Union must be preserved, and that southern nationalists were traitors. One soldier wrote:

> The Cause for which the majority of men in the army have enlisted to defend I think is sacred and should be near and dear to every true American's heart and I consider that the Union cause ought to be defended if it costs thousands of lives and millions of treasure. (Robertson 1984, 24)

Another soldier, a recent German immigrant who took the name Peter Smith, wrote that he had "grasped the weapon of death for the purpose of doing my part in defending and upholding the integrity, laws, and the preservation of my adopted country from a band of contemptible traitors who would if they can accomplish their hellish designs, destroy the best and noblest government on earth." The feelings of nationalism on both sides were at a fever pitch as the country entered civil war (Henry Schaefer to wife, March 1, 1863, letter in possession of William A. Shaffer III) (Robertson 1998, 6–7).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Adams, Alice Dana. *The Neglected Period of Anti-slavery in America.* 2nd ed. Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1973.

Adams, Sean Patrick. "Iron." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Anderson, Patricia. "Romantic Strains of the Parlor Piano." *Victorian* 3, no. 3 (1997).

Anonymous. *Marmaduke Multiply's Merry Method of Making Minor Mathematicians*. New York: Dover Publications, 1971. Reprint of 1841 edition.

Asbury, Herbert. *The French Quarter, An Informal History of New Orleans with Particular Reference to Its Colorful Iniquities*. New York: Neal Publishing, 1938.

Barnard, Henry. *Military Schools and Courses of Instruction in the Science and Art of War, in France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Sardinia, England, and the United States (1872)*. The West Point Military Library Series. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Basalla, George. *The Evolution of Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.

Beard Charles A., and Mary R. Beard. *The Rise of American Civilization*. New York: Macmillan, 1927.

Beecher, Catharine E. *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850.

Beston, Henry, ed. *American Memory*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937.

Billings, John D. *Hardtack and Coffee*. Boston, MA: G. M. Smith, 1887.

Bishop, Morris. "The Lower Depths of High Education." *American Heritage* 22, no. 1 (December 1969).

Blassingame, John W. *Black New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

———. *The Clarion Voice*. Washington, DC: National Parks Service, 1976.

Blow, Michael. "Professor Henry and His Philosophical Toys." *American Heritage* 15, no. 1 (December 1963).

Bode, Carl, ed. *American Life in the 1840s*. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

The Boston Directory for the Year Ending June 30, 1860 Embracing the City Record, a General Directory of the Citizens, and a Business Directory. Boston, MA: Adams, Sampson, and Co., 1859.

Bowman, John S., ed. *The Civil War Almanac*. New York: Bison, 1983.

Brooks, Van Wyck. *The World of Washington Irving*. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1944.

Buel, Jesse. *The Farmer's Companion; or, Essays on the Principles and Practice of American Husbandry*. Boston, MA, 1840. Reprinted in Carl Bode, ed. *American Life in the 1840s*. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

Burrowes, Thomas H. *Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: A. Boyd Hamilton, 1861.

Calkins, Carroll C., ed. *The Story of America*. Pleasantville, NY: Reader's Digest Association, 1975.

Callahan, North. *Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.

Chase, Gilbert. *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

Child, Lydia Maria. *The Mother's Book*. Boston, MA: Applewood Books, 1831.

Clinton, Catherine. *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Chainbearer*. New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Crawford, Richard. *The Civil War Songbook*. New York: Dover, 1977.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education, The Colonial Experience: 1607–1783*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Croushore, James H., ed. *A Volunteer's Adventure by Captain John W. DeForest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949.

Cunningham, John T. "Historian on the Double." *American Heritage* 19, no. 4 (June 1968).

Davis, David Brion. *Slavery in the Colonial Chesapeake*. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1994.

de Camp, L. Sprague. *Heroes of American Invention*. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1993. Originally published as *The Heroic Age of American Invention,* New York: Doubleday, 1961.

de la Pedraja, Rene. "Steam Power." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Douglas, George H. *All Aboard! The Railroad in American Life*. New York: Paragon House, 1992.

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*. Published at the Anti-slavery office, No. 25, Cornhill, 1845. Reprint: New York: Penguin, 1968.

Dowdey, Clifford. *The Great Plantation*. Charles City, VA: Berkeley Plantation Press, 1957.

East, Charles, ed. *Sarah Morgan: The Diary of a Southern Woman*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991.

Ess, Daniel R. "Agricultural Technology." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

———. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Era of Expansion, 1800–1848*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969.

Fite, Emerson David. *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War*. Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1976.

Fitzhugh, George. *Cannibals All, or Slaves without Masters*. Richmond, VA: A. Morris, 1857.

Fletcher, William A. *Rebel Private: Front and Rear*. New York: Meridan, 1997. Reproduction of 1908 edition.

Forbes, Edwin. Preface to *Civil War Etchings*. New York: Dover, 1994. Reproduction of 1876 edition.

Garrison, William Lloyd. *The Liberator,* March 31, 1832.

———. *The Liberator,* December 15, 1837.

———. *The Liberator,* May 31, 1844.

———. *Thoughts on African Colonization*. Boston, MA, 1832.

Giannitti, Karin. "Ice Houses." *The Chronicle Quarterly* (Winter 1994).

Gilpin, Joshua. "Journey to Bethlehem." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 46 (1922).

Gordon, Robert B. "Custom and Consequences: Early Nineteenth Century Origins of the Environmental and Social Costs of Mining Anthracite." In *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850,* ed. Judith A. McCaw. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Greenberg, Joshua R. "The Workshop." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Hall, Baynard Rush. *The New Purchase*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1916.

Haller, John S. *American Medicine in Transition: 1840–1910*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.

Halliman, Tim. *A Christmas Carol Christmas Book*. New York: IBM, 1984.
Haskell, E. F. *The Housekeeper's Encyclopedia*. Mendocino, CA: R. L. Shep, 1992.
Hawes, Joel. *Lectures to Young Men on the Formation of Character*. Hartford, CT, 1835.
Hoopes, Donelson F., and Nancy Wall Moure. *American Narrative Painting*. Los Angeles, CA: Praeger, 1972.
Hounshell, David A. *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800–1932*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.
Howard, John Trasker. *Our American Music: A Comprehensive History of Music from 1620 to the Present*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1965.
Hurt, R. Douglas. *American Agriculture: A Brief History*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994.
Israel, Paul. "Telegraph." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.
Jamison, David L. "Newspapers and the Press." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.
Janesville (WI) *Gazette*, March 15, 1849.
Kaser, David. *Books and Libraries in Camp and Battle: The Civil War Experience*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
Kent, Noel Jacob. *America in 1900*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharp, 2000.
Laas, Virginia Jeans, ed. *Wartime Washington: Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee*. Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
Lacour-Gayet, Robert. *Everyday Life in the United States before the Civil War*. New York: Ungar Publishing Company, 1969.
Langdon, William Chauncy. *Everyday Things in American Life, 1776–1876*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.
Larkin, Jack. "Dining Out in the 1830s." *Old Sturbridge Visitor* (Spring 1999).
———. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
Lasby, Clarence G. "Science and the Military." In *Science and Society in the United States*, ed. David D. Van Tassell and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.
Leach, Daniel. *Leach's Complete Spelling Book*. Philadelphia, PA: H. Cowperthwait & Co., 1859.
Leech, Margaret. *Reveille in Washington*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.
Leslie, Eliza. *Miss Leslie's Directions for Cookery*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 1999.
Licht, Walter. *Working for the Railroad: The Organization of Work in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.
Linklater, Andro. *Measuring America: How an Untamed Wilderness Shaped the United States and Fulfilled the Promise of Democracy*. New York: Walker and Company, 2003.
Lupiano, Vincent de Paul, and Ken W. Sayers. *It Was a Very Good Year: A Cultural History of the United States from 1776 to the Present*. Hobrook, MA: Bob Adams, 1994.
Malone, Dumas. *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1943.
Marcus, Alan I., and Howard P. Segal. *Technology in America: A Brief History*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1989.
Martine, Arthur. *Martine's Hand-Book of Etiquette and Guide to True Politeness*. New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1866.
Mayer, J. P., ed. *Alexis de Tocqueville: Journey to America*. Translated by George Lawrence. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960.
McCarthy, Carlton. *Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861–1865*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. Reproduction of 1882 edition.

McClellan, Elisabeth. *History of American Costume 1607–1870.* New York: Tudor, 1937.
McPherson, James M. *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Merrifield, Mrs. "The Use and Abuse of Colors in Dress." *Peterson's Magazine* (September 1861).
Middleton, Arthur Pierce. *A Virginia Gentlemen's Library.* Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1952.
Miers, Earl Schenck, ed. *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary, By John B. Jones, 1861–1865.* New York: Sagamore Press, 1958.
Mitchell, S. Augustus. *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography.* Philadelphia, PA: Thomas Cowperthwait & Co., 1852.
Morgan, James. "Send No Trash: Books, Libraries, and Reading during the Civil War." *Camp Chase Gazette* (July 1992).
Moskow, Shirley Blotnick. *Emma's World: An Intimate Look at the Lives Touched by the Civil War Era.* Jersey City, NJ: New Horizon Press, 1990.
Mulcahy, Richard P. "Mining and Extraction." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.
Murphy, Lamar Riley. *Enter the Physician: The Transformation of Domestic Medicine, 1760–1860.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1991.
Nevins, Allan, ed. *The Leatherstocking Saga.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1966.
New York Times, September 14, 1857.
Nye, David E. *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.
Patterson, Gerard A. *Rebels from West Point.* Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002.
Peterson's Magazine (September 1856).
Petroski, Henry. *The Evolution of Useful Things.* New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
Pursell, Carroll W., Jr. *The Machine in America: A Social History of Technology.* Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
Rice, V. M. *Code of Public Instruction.* Albany, NY, 1856.
Richards, Caroline Cowles. *Village Life in America 1852–1872.* New York: Corner House Historical Publications, 1997.
Robertson, James I. *Soldiers Blue and Gray.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.
———. *Tenting Tonight: The Soldier's Life.* Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1984.
Robinson, William. *Jack Nastyface: Memoirs of a Seaman.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1973.
Root, Waverly, and Richard de Rouchemont. *Eating in America.* New York: William Morrow, 1976.
Rosenberg, Charles E. "Science and American Social Thought." In *Science and Society in the United States,* ed. David D. Van Tassell and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.
Rothman, David J. "Our Brother's Keepers." *American Heritage* (December 1972).
Rothstein, William G. *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science.* Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.
Rowe, William Hutchinson. *The Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1948
Saffell, Cameron L. "Meatpacking." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Sanders, Charles W.A.M., *The School Reader Third Book*. New York: Sower, Barnes & Potts, 1860.
Scott, Sir Walter. *The Fair Maid of Perth*. New York: Harper, 1831.
Sewell, Richard H. *A House Divided: Sectionalism and the Civil War, 1848–1865*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
Shep, R. L. *Civil War Ladies: Fashions and Needle Arts of the Early 1860s*. Mendocino, CA: R. L. Shep, 1987.
Shryock, Richard Harrison. *Medicine and Society in America: 1660–1860*, paperback edition. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1972.
———. *Medicine in America: Historical Essays*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966.
Sinclair, Bruce. *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute, 1824–1865*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
Smith, Charles L. "Natural Resources." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.
Smith, James West. "A Confederate Soldier's Diary: Vicksburg in 1863." *Southwest Review* 28 (1943).
Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History of the Antebellum Years*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
Solbrig, Otto T., and Dorothy J. Solbrig. *So Shall You Reap: Farming and Crops in Human Affairs*. Washington, DC: Island Press, 1994.
Spar, Debra L. *Ruling the Waves: Cycles of Discovery, Chaos, and Wealth from the Compass to the Internet*. New York: Harcourt Inc., 2001.
Stampp, Kenneth M. *Imperiled Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
———. *The Peculiar Institution*. New York: Vintage, 1956.
Stanchak, John E., ed. *Leslie's Illustrated Civil War*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1992. Reproduction of 1894 edition.
Standage, Tom. *The Victorian Internet*. New York: Walker Publishing, 1998.
Stauffer, John. "Popular Culture." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.
Stewart, Katie. *Cooking and Eating*. London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd., 1975.
Stowe, C. E. *Life of Harriett Beecher Stowe: Compiled from Her Journals and Letters*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1889.
Strother, Horatio T. *The Underground Railroad in Connecticut*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1962.
Struik, Dirk J. *Yankee Science in the Making*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991.
Sullivan, Walter. *The War the Women Lived: Female Voices from the Confederate South*. Nashville, TN: J. S. Sanders, 1995.
Sumner, Dolly. *A Woman's Wartime Journal*. New York: Century, 1918.
Tanselle, George Thomas, ed. *Herman Melville: Reburn, White Jacket, Moby Dick*. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1983.
Taylor, Alan. "Fenimore Cooper's America." *History Today* 46, no. 2 (February 1996).
Thomas, Emory M. *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.
Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in 19th Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.
Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. 12th ed. 1848. Translated by George Lawrence and edited by J. P. Mayer. New York: Harper Perennial, 1969.

Tosh, John. "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home." *History Today* (December 1996).

Town, Salem. A.M., *The Fourth Reader or Exercises in Reading and Speaking*. Cooperstown, NY: H. & E. Phinney, 1849.

Truman, Bec C. *Duelling in America*. N.p., 1884.

Volo, James M., and Dorothy Denneen Volo, eds. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

———. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Wahl, Jenny Bourne. "Work: Factory Labor." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Wallace, Paul A. W. *Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk: 1696–1760*. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1996.

Walton, William. *A Civil War Courtship: The Letters of Edwin Weller from Antietam to Atlanta*. New York: Doubleday, 1980.

Weaver, Jane. "Gentlemen's Braces." *Peterson's Magazine* (May 1864).

Weiner, Charles. "Science and Higher Education." In *Science and Society in the United States*, ed. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Weld, Theodore. *American Slavery as It Is*. New York, 1839.

Wik, Reynold M. "Science and American Agriculture." In *Science and Society in the United States*, ed. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Wish, Harvey. *Society and Thought in Early America: A Social and Intellectual History of the American People through 1865*. New York: Longman's, Green and Co., 1950.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

1. GLIMPSES OF COLONIAL SOCIETY AND LIFE AT PRINCETON COLLEGE (1766)

William Paterson (1745–1806), a 1763 graduate of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), was attorney general of New Jersey during the Revolution, a framer of the U.S. Constitution, U.S. senator from New Jersey, governor of the state, and, at the time of his death, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. While studying law at Princeton, he wrote to family and friends about society there, as well as his studies. This letter describes Paterson's feelings about the curriculum he was following.

31st Decr Dear Johnny. 1766.

I AM very much obliged for your half dozen lines, as they serve to usher in an epistolary correspondence. A conversing on paper with an absent friend I esteem one of the greatest pleasures in life: be assured then, dear Johnny, that I shall take peculiar pleasure in receiving and answering your letters. The only unease [sic in the copy] I feel at present is, that I'm apprehensive our literary chit-tat will be of short duration, for you inform me, that in a few days you should move to Philadelphia, to study law. If so, it is highly probable you either will be so absorbed in the dulness [sic] of the law, or so enchanted with some Dulcinea, that poor pilgarlic will be left in the lurch. For my part I am tired heartier "of Vernon and ventris and all the damned entries." To be a complete lawyer, is to be versed in the feudal system, and to say the truth, I am not very fond of being entangled in the cobwebs of antiquity. *Sic Lex est,* is what every plodding pettifogger can say, but to dive into the spirit, requires intense application and assiduity. But of all the sages of the law, preserve me from the pedantic, rambling, helter-skelter Master Coke. Such eternal egotism and dictatorial pomp breathe through his works, that I lose all patience in reading them. He writes up strictly to the injunction of Horace, for he carries us "to Thebes, to Athens, and

Editor's Note: All spelling is as in the original.

the Lord knows where"—I doubt not but you have made great proficiency, and now are, a profound casuist in working out distinctions without a difference, in clouding truth with ambiguity, and in mouthing with surprising volubility, a muster role of law phrases, which like Sancho Panza's string of proverbs, you have always at command. The following couplet of Pope, portrays well the character of an expert lawyer. In a nice balance, truth with gold he weighs, And solid pudding against empty praise. My letter is of decent length, therefore adieu.

Wm Paterson.

Source: William Paterson, *Glimpses of Colonial Society and the Life at Princeton College, 1766–1773 by One of the Class of 1763*. Edited by W. Jay Mills. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903.

2. A NARRATIVE OF THE ADVENTURES, DANGERS, AND SUFFERINGS OF A REVOLUTIONARY WAR SOLDIER (1778)

Joseph Plumb Martin (1760–1850) enlisted in the Continental army in June 1776 and served until the end of December 1776. He returned to the army in April 1777 and continued his service until he was discharged in 1783 as a sergeant. He began writing his memoirs in 1828, and his narrative provides a vivid description of the life of an enlisted man during the American Revolution. The following passage describes Martin's experience during the battle of Monmouth (June 28, 1778) during which he took aim at a British soldier.

We overtook the enemy just as they were entering upon the meadow, which was rather bushy. When within about five rods of the retreating foe, I could distinguish everything about them. They were retreating in line, though in some disorder. I singled out a man and took my aim directly between his shoulders. (They were divested of their packs.) He was a good mark, being a broad-shouldered fellow. What became of him I know not, I took as deliberate aim of him as ever I did at any game in my life. But after all, I hope I did not kill him, although I intended to at the time.

Source: Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle: Being a Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1962, p. 130.

3. A DESCRIPTION OF PHILADELPHIA (1814)

This letter was written by the Reverend Henry Cogswell Knight (c. 1788–1835) under the pseudonym Arthur Singleton, Esq. Knight was an Episcopal minister and poet from Massachusetts. On a visit to Philadelphia, he describes to his brother one of the great cities of the United States in the early nineteenth century.

DEAR BROTHER,

THIS city, which is the great metropolis of Penn's Woodland, and which was eulogized by Him of Tarsus . . . *Philadelphia forever!* a Greek compound, you perceive, signifying brotherly-love; is as level as a Quaker's broad brim. The day after my arrival, I ascended the almost only eminence in the city, one of the two shot-towers, to spy down upon it. It appears not unlike a horizontal Brodingnagian brick-kiln; long never-ending blocks of brick, with little holes at bottom to creep in at; and little holes at top to peep out at. At this altitude, the eager currents of human beings appear diminished into a small folk, like Lilliputians; all, like the armies of the grandson of Cyrus, in a hundred years, to be no more. The city, which is six score of miles from the sea by the channel, is spread upon the isthmus between the Delaware, and the Schuylkill, half a score of miles above their confluence. These two rivers, east and west of the city, are the one grand, the other picturesque; and the elegant light broad-spanned arch thrown over the latter by our townsman Palmer, recalls agreeable associations. The Delaware waters were, last winter, so consolidated, opposite the city, that a festive ox was roasted whole upon the ice. Although this river is now floating ships to and fro from all nations, once was the time, when, if a ship arrived from Europe, the citizens used to chime Christ-church bells. As this city is, in many respects, the metropolis of the states, I confess I was disappointed in its externals. The streets running south and north were, in olden prime, called after the trees in the vicinity:—cedar, mulberry, sassafras, vine; chesnut, walnut, spruce, and pine. The streets crossing east and west are numbered; and the whole, being divided into wards and squares spreads into an immense chequer-board. There is but one crooked street in the city; and that, which is crooked, cannot be made straight. After you have walked one square, you have seen the whole. Indeed, the houses are so thick, there is no room for land. No spires, no domes, few bells, few promenades; no any thing to relieve the eye, or arrest the fancy. There is nothing like the long marble-fronted, but too finical, City-Hall; or the irregular, but beautifully verdant Battery, of New-York. Every view is quakerfied. No marvel, that Paine said, though rather irreverently, if a Quaker had been consulted at the Creation, what a drab-coloured world we should have had. Still, it is a noble city; wealthy, substantial, convenient; with extending blocks of massy private tenements; and a very few publick edifices of simple Doric grandeur, as, in particular, the marble bank. Christ-church is rather of the Gothic structure, and elegant; the bricks of this, and also of many other ancient buildings in the city, are, one red, another black glazed, in alternation. The six stately Corinthian columns, which support the roof in front of the first Presbyterian Church, look majestically. The national mint, or money-mine, is in this city; and was formerly under the supervisorship of Rittenhouse. Central in the city, is a spacious mansion-house, which was erected for the President, when Congress, in by-gone years, sat in this metropolis. The water-works, whose hydrants supply the city with water inducted for three miles in subterrean [sic] conduits, with their ponderous steam-enginery, are proofs of the resistless submission of vast mechanical power to human ingenuity. In the circular mall, which enclosed the former nucleus of these works, is a small *jet d'eau,* where the fluid is spouted upwards through the long snipe-bill of a sculptured water-fowl, which stands upon the shoulder of a water-nymph; and after rising about twenty feet into the air, spreads and falls in spray into a grassy-fringed fountain beneath. In the western part of the city, are Vauxhall-Gardens, included, with a Rotundo in the centre; and about four miles out of the city, on the border of the Schuylkill, are the beautiful botanical gardens of the Bartrams; the first ever in the country; and where once loved to stroll, and where first germinated the splendid idea of Wilson, the Ornithologist. From Market-street wharf, upon which Franklin first landed, one has a fine view of Jersey-shore opposite; and of the Mariner's Hotel, fitted from the hull of a large ship, with an ensign for a sign, and moored on the middle of the river. The Delaware is daily crossed by steamboats, with their broad dusky pennons of steam trailing behind; and by team-boats, which wheel along the water, propelled by horses on board in circular motion. About four miles above the city, on the west banks of the river, are the almost forgotten ruins of the mansion of William Penn, upon whose top was once, it is said, a leaden fish-pond. It is a curious fact in Natural History, that the environs of this city, and of Jersey, are visited, once in *seventeen* years, with locusts in Egyptian multitudes. Most places this way, even if small, are chartered with their mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council; and I trust that Boston will soon persuade its honest township into a lordly city; inasmuch as green-turtles are plenty. Soon after my arrival, a report of peace convulsed the whole city into ecstacies [sic]. Illumination! illumination! Briareus, with his hundred hands, was wanted to light the flambeaux of rejoicing. Soon, however, a counter-report palsied the spirits, and extinguished the tapers.

Source: Henry Cogswell Knight, *Letters from the South and West; By Arthur Singleton, Esq.* Boston, MA: Richardson and Lord; J.H.A. Frost, printer, 1824, pp. 5–8.

4. CRUELTY TO SLAVES ON A MISSISSIPPI PLANTATION (1819)

This letter by Henry Cogswell Knight (c. 1788–1835) from New Orleans details the brutality on a Mississippi plantation.

Natchez is a city set on a hill, and yet hid. It stands two hundred feet above the river, on a *bluff* of almost perpendicular ascent, back of a low landing place, which intervenes; thus it cannot be viewed from the river. The few mansions are open with windows, and doors, for ventilation. Near Natchez, are some Indian tumuli, not unlike many in the west. The *levee,* or *embankment,* commences, on one side, at Natchez. What flat lands are in New-England called *intervales,* the Western planters call *bottoms,* or *prairies;* and the Southern, *natural meadows,* or *savannahs.* The intervales between pine tracts and the savannahs, are called *hammocks;* and, except that they have wood, are similar to the latter. The plantations here are generally sold in form of a parallelogram; forty *arpents* (French acres) deep from front to rear. The river alluvion is the best arable soil. The western-side plantations are the most valuable; being less frost-bitten by north-winds; as the vapours from the river are warmer than the air. The plantation mansions are commonly of one story, light and airy, with surrounding piazzas, and delightfully fragrant orangeries. You can imagine nothing more grateful, than to walk among these orange groves. Not far from the mansions, may be seen immense sugar-houses; and long rows, or squares, like a fort, of slave-quarters; with a tall belfry in the midst, to summon the slaves from their repose to their tasks at day-break. It appears rather a paradox, that a planter, although he may buy slaves, yet has an abhorrence of a slave-dealer. I learnt many particulars about the living, and punishment, of slaves. The planters, although kind and hospitable to visitors, are, perhaps more from custom and policy, than inhumanity, cruel task-masters to their slaves; or boys and wenches, as they call them, however old. A sugar planter is discouraged, if he cannot pay for his plantation in five or six years; and thinks, if he gets ten years labour from a slave, he does well, although the slave then die. The slaves have three distinct tasks on every day; the before-sun task, the day-task, and the evening-task. A planter is not rich, unless he owns a hundred slaves; and, in the cotton season, may be seen, sometimes, four or five hundred at once in a field, in their loose gabardines, picking the bolls. Little children can do this work; and small boys go entirely nude, in some places. Under some masters, the slaves, unless they raise poultry themselves, which they are permitted to do, receive flesh only three times a year, and this on holidays. Their usual fare is, a peck of corn in the ear a week, which they must break in their hand-mills; and the *grit,* or refuse, of rice, like the western *screenings* of wheat; and, for relish, a salt herring. I regret to say, that the slaves will frequently exchange even this their scanty unsavoury meal for whiskey, which is sometimes distilled from the Carolina potatoe; any expedient to aid them to forget themselves. When they proceed in droves to their several tasks, a driver follows, with a huge long heavy stimulator. If a slave be slack in his labour, his feet are locked in the stocks, and his back answers it. A girl, for running out at nights, may wear, for a week, under her chin, an iron ruff, with a sharp-peaked border. My desire is not, that the Creator would have mercy on the masters, as they have mercy on their suffering slaves.

Source: Henry Cogswell Knight, *Letters from the South and West; By Arthur Singleton, Esq.* Boston, MA: Richardson and Lord; J.H.A. Frost, printer, 1824, pp. 110–12.

5. FRANCIS J. GRUND ON AMERICAN HOMES (1837)

Originally from Bohemia, Francis J. Grund (1805–1863) was educated in Vienna and taught mathematics at a military school in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, before settling in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1826. He published many essays and addresses, as well as books on his observations of American society. This excerpt from one of his books, *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations,* discusses the homes of families of different classes in the United States around 1837.

The houses of the wealthier classes resemble those of the gentry in England, and are wanting in nothing which can materially contribute to comfort. Some of the higher elegancies of life, are, indeed, confined to a few imitators of European fashions; but there is a sufficiency of all that is essential and needful. No ostentatious attempt is ever made to display either fortune or riches; but, on the contrary, every thing avoided which, being contrary to republican plainness, might offend, or unnecessarily attract the attention of the people. Furniture, dress, carriages, &c., are all of the simplest construction; and the oldest and most aristocratic families set, in this respect, the example to the more recently promoted fashionables. Whatever political reason there may exist for the prevalence of this taste; it is nevertheless a good one, and being shared by the great majority of the nation, impresses a peculiar character of simplicity on the domestic life of Americans. It is impossible for an European to live for any length of time in the United States, without being constantly reminded, in town or in the country, at home or abroad, that he is living in a republic, and that the sovereign power of that republic is solely vested in the majority; for, whatever is capable of exciting envy or jealousy by too glaring a distinction from the inferior classes is condemned by public opinion, and on that account, studiously avoided by persons of all ranks of society. But then the great prosperity of the country enables even the labouring classes to enjoy comforts much beyond the reach of superior orders in Europe; and prevents the scale from becoming too low.

On entering the house of a respectable mechanic, in any of the large cities of the United States, one cannot but be astonished at the apparent neatness and comfort of the apartments, the large airy parlours, the nice carpets and mahogany furniture, and the tolerably good library, showing the inmates' acquaintance with the standard works of English literature. These are advantages which but few individuals of the same class enjoy, by way of distinction, in Europe; but which, in America, are within the reasonable hopes and expectations of almost all the inferior classes. What powerful stimulus is not this to industry? What premium on sobriety and unexceptionable conduct? A certain degree of respectability is, in all countries, attached to property, and is, perhaps, one of the principal reasons why riches are coveted. A poor man has certainly more temptations, and requires more virtue to withstand them, than one who is in tolerable circumstances. The motives of the rich are hardly ever questioned, while the poor are but too often objects of distress and suspicion. *Pauper ubique jacet.*

The labouring classes in America are really less removed from the wealthy merchants and professional men than they are in any part of Europe; and the term "mob," with which the lower classes in England are honoured, does not apply to any portion of the American community. With greater ease and comfort in his domestic arrangements, the labouring American acquires also the necessary leisure and disposition for reading; his circle of ideas becomes enlarged, and he is rendered more capable of appreciating the advantages of the political institutions of his country. Both thought and reflection may be crushed by excessive labour, and the lofty aspirings of the mind enslaved by the cravings of the body. Liberty, without promoting the material interests of man, is a thing altogether beyond the comprehension of the multitude; and there are many who, had they attained it, would, like the Israelites of old, wish themselves back to their meat-pots. I know not whether it is quest of liberty or property which causes Europeans to emigrate to America: but I am satisfied that there is an intimate connection between the two, and a constant action of one upon the other.

Source: Francis Joseph Grund, *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1837, Vol. I, pp. 45–49.

6. FRANCIS J. GRUND ON AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS (1837)

In this excerpt from *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*, Francis J. Grund (1805–1863) tells of how newspapers were part of everyday life in America, and how they were available to everyone in the country.

As to the number of newspapers published in the United States, nothing definite can be said about it, except that it baffles all attempts at computation; there being hardly a village or a settlement of a dozen houses in any part of the country, without a printing establishment and a paper. The amount of knowledge and useful information circulated by these most powerful engines of civilization, is really enormous; and although no great depth of reasoning or proficiency of learning particularly distinguishes the fraternity of editors, common good sense is nevertheless the characteristic of an American paper; as without this most necessary commodity it would be difficult for them to make the least impression upon the public. The amount of circulation is prodigious, and greatly facilitated by the reduced postage.

Each paper, not carried out of the state in which it is published, or if carried out of the state not over one hundred miles beyond it, pays but one cent, and if over one hundred miles out of the state, never more than one and a half cent postage; and it is even contemplated to abolish the postage on newspapers altogether. Printers of newspapers may send one paper to each and every other printer of newspapers within the United States *free* of postage, under such regulations as the Postmaster-General may provide. Thus an inhabitant of Boston or New York is able to read the New Orleans papers with little more than an additional expense of four dollars fifty cents, or less than one pound sterling *per annum;* and the inhabitants of the South are at the same cheap rate furnished with information from the North.

Source: Francis Joseph Grund, *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1837, Vol. I, pp. 198–200.

7. HARRIET MARTINEAU DESCRIBES WASHINGTON, D.C., IN THE 1830s

Harriet Martineau (1802–1876) was a well-known English journalist, abolitionist, political economist, and feminist. In 1834, she paid an extended visit to the United States, and wrote about her experiences. What follows is her description of Washington, D.C., in the mid-1830s, a far cry from the well-paved streets and impressive public buildings of the city today.

Washington is no place for persons of domestic tastes. Persons who love dissipation, persons who love to watch the game of politics, and those who make a study of strong minds under strong excitements, like a season at Washington; but it is dreary to those whose pursuits and affections are domestic. I spent five weeks there, and was heartily glad when they were over. I felt the satisfaction all the time of doing something that was highly useful; of getting knowledge that was necessary to me, and could not be otherwise obtained; but the quiet delights of my Philadelphia home (though there half our time was spent in visiting) had spoiled me for such a life as every one leads at the metropolis. I have always looked back upon the five weeks at Washington as one of the most profitable, but by far the least agreeable, of my residences in the United States.

Yet we were remarkably fortunate in our domestic arrangements there. We joined a party of highly esteemed and kind friends: a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, his wife and sister-in-law, and a senator from Maine. We (the above party) had a drawing-room to ourselves and a separate table at Mrs. Peyton's boarding-house; so that we formed a quiet family group enough, if only we had had any quiet in which to enjoy the privilege.

We arrived at Washington on the 13th of January, 1835, the year of the short session of Congress which closes on the 4th of March, so that we continued to see the proceedings of Congress at its busiest and most interesting time.

The approach to the city is striking to all strangers from its oddness. I saw the dome of the Capitol from a considerable distance at the end of a straight road; but, though I was prepared by the descriptions of preceding travellers [sic], I was taken by surprise on finding myself beneath the splendid building, so sordid are the enclosures and houses on its very verge. We wound round its base, and entered Pennsylvania Avenue, the only one of the grand avenues intended to centre in the Capitol which has been built up with any completeness. Our boarding-house was admirably situated, being some little way down this avenue, a few minutes' walk only from the Capitol, and a mile in a straight line from the White House, the residences of the heads of departments and the British legation.

In Philadelphia I had found perpetual difficulty in remembering that I was in a foreign country. The pronunciation of a few words by our host and hostess, the dinner-table, and the inquiries of visiters [sic] were almost all that occurred to remind me that I was not in a brother's house. At Washington it was very different. The city itself is unlike any other that ever was seen, straggling out hither and thither, with a small house or two a quarter of a mile from any other; so that, in making calls "in the city," we had to cross ditches and stiles, and walk alternately on grass and pavements, and strike across a field to reach a street. Then the weather was so strange; sometimes so cold that the only way I could get any comfort was by stretching on the sofa drawn before the fire up to the very fender (on which days every person who went in and out of the house was sure to leave the front door wide open); then the next morning, perhaps, if we went out muffled in furs, we had to turn back and exchange our wraps for a light shawl. Then we were waited upon by a slave appointed for the exclusive service of our party during our stay. Then there were canvass-back ducks, and all manner of other ducks on the table, in greater profusion than any single article of food, except turkeys, that I ever saw. Then there was the society, singularly compounded from the largest variety of elements foreign ambassadors, the American government, members of Congress, from Clay and Webster down to Davy Crockett, Benton from Missouri, and Cuthbert, with the freshest Irish brogue, from Georgia; flippant young belles, "pious" wives dutifully attending their husbands, and groaning over the frivolities of the place; grave judges, saucy travellers [sic], pert newspaper reporters, melancholy Indian chiefs, and timid New England ladies, trembling on the verge of the vortex; all this was wholly unlike anything that is to be seen in any other city in the world; for all these are mixed up together in daily intercourse, like the higher circle of a little village, and there is nothing else. You have this or nothing; you pass your days among these people, or you spend them alone.

Source: Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838, Vol. I, pp. 143–45.

8. HARRIET MARTINEAU'S DESCRIPTION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY (1830s)

The American tour of Englishwoman Harriet Martineau (1802–1876) was not without controversy. She became an early member of the abolitionist movement, which, in the 1830s, was small and very much despised. Her intense feelings of hatred for the institution of slavery can be seen in the following passage in which she relates a story about the attempted escape of a slave.

On other parts of the frontier I heard tales which I grieve that it is not in my power to tell, so honourable are they to individuals of both races, friends of the slaves. The time may come when no one will be injured by their being made public. Meantime, I will give one which happened many years ago, and which relates to a different part of the country.

A., now an elderly man, was accustomed in his youth to go up and down the Mississippi on trading expeditions; and both in these and in subsequent wanderings of many years—to Hayti among other places—he has had opportunity to study the character of the negro race; and he is decidedly of opinion that there is in them only a superinduced [sic] inferiority to the whites. In relating his experiences. among the coloured people, he told the following story:—

When he was a young man, he was going down the Mississippi in a boat with a cargo of salt, when he stopped at a small place on the Kentucky shore called Unity, opposite to a part of Arkansas. While he was there a slavetrader came up with his company of upward of two hundred slaves, whom he was conveying to the New-Orleans market. Among these A. remarked a gigantic mulatto—handsome in countenance and proud in bearing—who was nearly naked, and fettered. He had an iron band round his waist and round each wrist, and these bands were connected by chains. The trader observed to A. that this man was the most valuable slave he had ever had on sale. I think he said that he would not take two thousand dollars for him; he added that he was obliged to chain him, as he was bent on getting away. When the trader's back was turned, the mulatto looked at A. as if wishing to talk with him.

"Why are you chained in this way?" asked A.

"Because my master is afraid of losing me, He knows that I am the most valuable slave he has, and that I mean to get away."

"Have you told him so?"

"Yes."

"And how do you mean to get away?"

"I don't know; but I mean it."

After a pause, he said in a low voice to A.,

"Could not you give me a file?"

"No," said A., decidedly. "Do you think I don't know the law? Do you think I am going to help you away, and get punished for it? No; I can't give you a file."

As A. went back to his boat he saw the slave looking wistfully after him, and his heart smote him for what he had said. He bethought himself that if he could manage to put an instrument of deliverance in the man's way without touching it, he might keep within the letter of the law, and he acted upon this notion. He looked about his boat, and found a strong three-sided file, which he put between his coat and waistcoat, so that it would be sure to drop out when the coat was unbuttoned. He sauntered back on shore, and the mulatto, who watched all his movements, came up to him, eagerly whispering,

"Have you got a file? Are you going to give me a file?"

"No," said A. "I told you that I knew better than to give you a file."

The slave's countenance fell.

"However," continued A., "I should not wonder if I can tell you where to get one. If you look about by yonder woodpile, I think, perhaps, you may find a file. No, not now. Go back to your company now, and don't look at me; and, when I am gone on board my boat, you can wander off to the woodpile."

A. unbuttoned his coat as he appeared to be picking up the scattered wood round the pile, and presently returned to his boat, whence he saw the mulatto presently walk to the woodpile, and stoop down just at the right spot. A. watched all day and late into the night, but he saw and heard nothing more.

In the morning the slavetrader came on board the boat, exclaiming angrily that A. had a slave of his concealed there. A. desired him to search the boat, which he did, looking behind every bag of salt. He was confident that A. must have helped the man away; chained as he was, he could not have got off without help. As for himself, he had rather have lost thousands of dollars than this man; but he always knew it would be so; the fellow always said he would get away.

Thus grumbling, the trader departed to make search in another direction. In an hour he returned, saying that the slave must either be drowned or have got over into Arkansas. His irons and a strong file were lying on a point of land projecting into the river about a mile off, and the marks were visible where the fugitive had taken the water. A. went, and long did he stay, questioning and meditating; and during all the years that have since elapsed, it has been his frequent daily and nightly speculation whether the mulatto escaped or perished. Sometimes, when he remembers the gigantic frame of the man, and the force of the impulse which urged him, A. hopes that it may have been possible for him to reach the opposite shore. At other times, when he thinks of the width of the Mississippi at that part, and of the tremendous force of the current, which would warrant the assertion that it is impossible for a swimmer to cross, he believes himself convinced that the fugitive has perished. Yet still the hope returns that the strong man may be living in wild freedom in some place where the sense of safety and peace may have taught him to forgive and pity his oppressors.

Source: Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel.* 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838, Vol. I, pp. 252–54.

9. CHARLES DICKENS ON THE MILL GIRLS OF LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS (1842)

The Englishman Charles Dickens (1812–1870) was one of the best-known novelists of the Victorian era. His novels and magazine and newspaper articles detailed the experiences of everyday people struggling to cope with a changing world. Dickens made two journeys to the United States and published his observations of the lives of ordinary citizens in his work titled *American Notes for General Circulation*. The following passage deals with the mill town of Lowell, Massachusetts, and the young women who were recruited from surrounding farms to work in the mills. The town and work were carefully regulated, and it became a model for the development of factory towns that came in succeeding years. Here, Dickens describes the condition of the young women working in the mill.

These girls, as I have said, were all well dressed: and that phrase necessarily includes extreme cleanliness. They had serviceable bonnets, good warm cloaks, and shawls; and were not above clogs and patterns. Moreover, there were places in the mill in which they could deposit these things without injury; and there were conveniences for washing. They were healthy in appearance, many of them remarkably so, and had the manners and deportment of young women: not of degraded brutes of burden. If I had seen in one of those mills (but I did not, though I looked for something of this kind with a sharp eye), the most lisping, mincing, affected, and ridiculous young creature that my imagination could suggest, I should have thought of the careless, moping, slatternly, degraded, dull reverse (I *have* seen that), and should have been still well pleased to look upon her.

The rooms in which they worked, were as well ordered as themselves. In the windows of some, there were green plants, which were trained to shade the glass; in all, there was as much fresh air cleanliness, and comfort, as the nature of the occupation would possibly admit of. Out of so large a number of females, many of whom were only then just verging upon womanhood, it may be reasonably supposed that some were delicate and fragile in appearance: no doubt there were. But I solemnly declare, that from all the crowd I saw in the different factories that day, I cannot recal [sic] or separate one young face that gave me a painful impression; not one young girl whom, assuming it to be matter of necessity that she should gain her daily bread by the labour of her hands, I would have removed from those works if I had had the power.

Source: Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1842, p. 46.

10. FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON THE CRUELTY OF SLAVEHOLDERS AND THE SUFFERING OF SLAVES (1845)

Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) was a very important figure in both African American and U.S. history. A former slave who escaped to New York in 1838, Douglass, who had been taught to read and write while a slave, became a tireless advocate of the abolition of slavery and racial equality. He was an orator and writer of note in the cause of abolition. His first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave,* detailed his experiences as a slave and became a best seller. This excerpt gives a detailed account of the cruelty of the slaveholder and the suffering of slaves.

I have had two masters. My first master's name was Anthony. I do not remember his first name. He was generally called Captain Anthony—a title which, I presume, he acquired by sailing a craft on the Chesapeake Bay. He was not considered a rich slave-holder. He owned two or three farms, and about thirty slaves. His farms and slaves were under the care of an overseer. The overseer's name was Plummer.

Mr. Plummer was a miserable drunkard, a profane swearer, and a savage monster. He always went armed with a cowskin and a heavy cudgel. I have known him to cut and slash the women's heads so horribly, that even master would be enraged at his cruelty, and would threaten to whip him if he did not mind himself. Master, however, was not a humane slaveholder. It required extraordinary barbarity on the part of an overseer to affect him. He was a cruel man, hardened by a long life of slaveholding. He would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the dawn of day by the most heart-rending shrieks of an own aunt of mine, whom he used to tie up to a joist, and whip upon her naked back till she was literally covered with blood. No words, no tears, no prayers, from his gory victim, seemed to move his iron heart from its bloody purpose. The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remember any thing. It was the first of a long series of such outrages, of which I was doomed to be a witness and a participant. It struck me with awful force. It was the blood-stained gate, the entrance to the hell of slavery, through which I was about to pass. It was a most terrible spectacle. I wish I could commit to paper the feelings with which I beheld it.

This occurence [sic] took place very soon after I went to live with my old master, and under the following circumstances. Aunt Hester went out one night,—where or for what I do not know,—and happened to be absent when my master desired her presence. He had ordered her not to go out evenings, and warned her that she must never let him catch her in company with a young man, who was paying attention to her belonging to Colonel Lloyd. The young man's name was Ned Roberts, generally called Lloyd's Ned. Why master was so careful of her, may be safely left to conjecture. She was a woman of noble form, and of graceful proportions, having very few equals, and fewer superiors, in personal appearance, among the colored or white women of our neighborhood.

Aunt Hester had not only disobeyed his orders in going out, but had been found in company with Lloyd's Ned; which circumstance, I found, from what he said while whipping her was the chief offence. Had he been a man of pure morals himself, he might have been thought interested in protecting the innocence of my aunt; but those who knew him will not suspect him of any such virtue. Before he commenced whipping Aunt Hester, he took her into the kitchen, and stripped her from neck to waist, leaving her neck, shoulders, and back, entirely naked. He then told her to cross her hands, calling her at the same time a d—d b—h. After crossing her hands, he tied them with a strong rope, and led her to a stool under a large hook in the joist, put in for the purpose. He made her get upon the stool, and tied her hands to the hook. She now stood fair for his infernal purpose. Her arms were stretched up at their full length, so that she stood upon the ends of her toes. He then said to her, "Now, you d—d b—h, I'll learn you how to disobey my orders!" and after rolling up his sleeves, he commenced to lay on the heavy cowskin, and soon the warm, red blood (amid heart-rending shrieks from her, and horrid oaths from him) came dripping to the floor. I was so terrified and horror-stricken at the sight, that I hid myself in a closet, and dared not venture out till long after the bloody transaction was over. I expected it would be my turn next. It was all new to me. I had never seen any thing like it before. I had always lived with my grandmother on the outskirts of the plantation, where she was put to raise the children of the younger women. I had therefore been, until now, out of the way of the bloody scenes that often occurred on the plantation.

Source: Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*. Boston, MA: Published at the Anti-slavery office, No.25, Cornhill, 1845, pp. 5–8.

11. SIR CHARLES LYELL DESCRIBES A BOSTON SCHOOL (1845)

Sir Charles Lyell (1797–1875) was a Scottish-born geologist whose book *Principles of Geology* brought him world renown. Lyell was also a friend of Charles Darwin, and became the first scientist to support *On the Origins of Species*, although he didn't support all its ideas. Lyell traveled twice to the United States, and published his experiences from both trips. In the following excerpt, Lyell discusses his visit to a Boston school, and the performance of its students as opposed to those in England on his second visit to the United States in the late 1840s.

Nov. 27, 1845

The population of Boston, exclusive of Charlestown, Roxbury, and Cambridge (which may be regarded as suburbs), is at present about 115,000, of which 8000 are Roman Catholics, chiefly of Irish extraction; but there are besides many Scotch and English emigrants in the city. In order to prove to me how much may be done to advance them in civilization in a single generation, I was taken to a school where nine-tenths of all the children were of parents who had come out from England or Ireland. It was not an examination day, and our visit was wholly unexpected. We entered a suite of three well-aired rooms, containing 550 girls. There were nine teachers in the room. The pupils were all between the ages of nine and thirteen, the greater portion of them the daughters of poor laborers, but some of them of parents in good circumstances. Each scholar was seated on a separate chair with a back to it, the chair being immovably fixed to the ground to prevent noise. There was no uniformity of costume, but evidently much attention to personal neatness, nearly all of them more dressed than would be thought in good taste in children of a corresponding class in England. They had begun their studies at nine o'clock in the morning, and are to be six hours at school, studying fifty minutes at a time, and then being allowed to ten minutes for play in a yard adjoining. I observed some of the girls very intent on their task, leaning on their elbows and in other careless attitudes, and we were told by the masters that they avoid as much as possible finding fault with them on minor points when they are studying. The only punishments are a reprimand before the class, and keeping them back after school hours. The look of intelligence in the countenances of the greater number of them was a most pleasing sight. In one of the upper classes they were reading, when we went in, a passage from Paley "On Sleep," and I was asked to select at random from the school-books some poem which the girls might read each in their turn. I chose Gray's Elegy in a Churchyard, as being none of the simplest for young persons to understand. They each read a verse distinctly, and many of them most gracefully, and explained correctly the meaning of nearly all the words and allusions on which I questioned them.

We afterward heard the girls of the arithmetic class examined in algebra, and their answers showed that much pains had been taken to make them comprehend the principles on which the methods of calculation depended. We then visited a boy's grammar school, and found there 420 Protestant and 100 Catholic boys educated together. We remarked that they had a less refined appearance and were less forward in their education than the girls whom we had just seen, of the same age, and taken from the same class in society. In explanation I was told that it is impossible to give the boys as much schooling, because they can earn money for their parents at an earlier age.

Source: Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America.* 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1849, pp. 147–48.

12. AN AMERICAN HOME (1849)

Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) was a well-known feminist novelist from Sweden. She traveled in the United States by herself in 1849 and wrote of her experiences over two years. Here she discusses the home of one of her hosts, Andrew Jackson Browning.

Newburgh, on the Hudson, October 7, 1849

He built his house himself, planted all the trees and flowers around it, giving everything, it seems to me, the stamp of a refined and earnest mind. It stands in the midst of romantic scenery and shadowy pathways, with the prettiest little bits of detail and grand views. All has been done with design, nothing by guess, nothing with formality. Here a *soul* has felt, thought, arranged. A certain darkness of tone prevails within the house; all the wood-work is brown; even the daylight is somber [sic], yet clear, or, more properly speaking, pregnant with light—a sort of imprisoned sunshine, something warm and profound, appearing to me like a reflection of the man's own brown eyes. In forms, furniture, and arrangement the finest taste prevails; everything is soft and noble, and as comfortable as it is tasteful. The only brilliant things in the rooms are the pretty flowers in lovely vases and baskets. Besides, there are books, busts, and some pictures. Above small bookcases, in the form of Gothic windows, inserted like niches in the walls of the parlor, stand busts of Linné, Franklin, Newton, and many other heroes of natural science. One sees in this dwelling a decided and thorough individuality of character, which has put its stamp on all that surrounds it, and every one ought to mold himself and his own world in a similar way. One feels here Mr. Downing's motto, *Il bello è il buono*. A real luxury obtains in food, fruits, and in many small things, but it makes no outward show; it exists, as it were, concealed in the inner richness and exquisite selection of the thing itself. I did not expect to meet this type of home in the young New World.

Source: Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer*. Edited by Adolph B. Benson. London: Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 8–9.

13. AN ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK, ADOPTED BY THE STATE WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION AT ALBANY (FEBRUARY 1854)

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) was a social activist and the leader of the women's movement in the United States. Her activities went far beyond voting rights for women and included abolition, women's custodial rights, birth control, divorce rights, and the economic rights of women. This address to the New York legislature, which was adopted by the Women's Rights Convention in Albany on February 14 and 15, 1854, gives a taste of the issues that Stanton believed needed to be addressed in the lives of women.

To the Legislature of the State of New York:

"The thinking minds of all nations call for change. There is a deep-lying struggle in the whole fabric of society; a boundless, grinding collision of the New with the Old."

The tyrant, Custom, has been summoned before the bar of Common Sense. His Majesty no longer awes the multitude—his sceptre [sic] is broken—his crown is trampled in the dust—the sentence of death is pronounced upon him. All nations, ranks and classes have, in turn, questioned and repudiated his authority; and now, that the monster is chained and caged, timid woman, on tiptoe, comes to look him in the face, and to demand of her brave sires and sons, who have struck stout blows for liberty, if, in this change of dynasty, she, too, shall find relief.

Yes, gentlemen, in republican America, in the 19th century, we, the daughters of the revolutionary heroes of '76, demand at your hands the redness of our grievances—a revision of your state constitution—a new code of laws. Permit us then, as briefly as possible, to call your attention to the legal disabilities under which we labor.

1st, Look at the position of woman as woman. It is not enough for us that by your laws we are permitted to live and breathe, to claim the necessaries of life from our legal protectors—to pay the penalty of our crimes; we demand the full recognition of all our rights as citizens of the Empire State. We are persons; native, free-born citizens; property-holders, tax-payers; yet are we denied the exercise of our right to the elective franchise. We support ourselves, and, in part, your schools, colleges, churches, your poor-houses, jails, prisons, the army, the navy, the whole machinery of government, and yet we have no voice in your councils. We have every qualification required by the constitution, necessary to the legal voter, but the one of sex. We are moral, virtuous and intelligent, and in all respects quite equal to the proud white man himself, and yet by your laws we are classed with idiots, lunatics and negroes; and though we do not feel honored by the place assigned us, yet, in fact, our legal position is lower than that of either; for the negro can be raised to the dignity of a voter if he possess himself of $250; the lunatic can vote in his moments of sanity, and the idiot, too, if he be a male one, and not more than nine-tenths a fool; but we, who have guided great movements of charity, established missions, edited journals, published works on history, economy and statistics; who have governed nations, led armies, filled the professor's chair, taught philosophy and mathematics to the *savans* of our age, discovered planets, piloted ships across the sea, are denied the most sacred rights of citizens, because, forsooth, we came not into this republic crowned with the dignity of manhood! Woman is theoretically absolved from all allegiance to the laws of the state. Sec. 1, Bill of Rights, 2 R.S., 301, says that no authority can, on any pretence whatever, be exercised over the citizens of this state but such as is or shall be derived from, and *granted by, the people of this state*.

Source: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, preparer, *Address to the Legislature of New York, Adopted by the Women's Rights Convention held at Albany, Tuesday and Wednesday, February 14 and 15, 1854*. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1854.

14. FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED DESCRIBES THE AMERICAN SOUTH (1856)

Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) was an American landscape designer and father of landscape architecture in the United States. His most famous designs include Central Park in New York City and the landscape surrounding the Capitol building in Washington, D.C. He also had a career as a journalist, and he was recruited by the *New York Daily Times* (which is now the *New York Times*) to travel through the American South to Texas to study the slave economy from 1852 to 1857. Olmsted became convinced that slavery was morally odious and also economically inefficient. In this passage, Olmsted makes observations about southerners he encounters on a steamboat ride.

THE CITIZENS.

There were about one hundred passengers on the Fashion, besides a number of poor people and negroes on the lower deck. They were, generally, cotton-planters, going to Mobile on business, or emigrants bound to Texas or Arkansas. They were usually well dressed, but were a rough, coarse style of people, drinking a great deal, and most of the time under a little alcoholic excitement. Not sociable, except when the topics of cotton, land, and negroes, were started; interested, however, in talk about theatres and the turf; very profane; often showing the handles of concealed weapons about their persons, but not quarrelsome, avoiding disputes and altercations, and respectful to one another in forms of words; very ill-informed, except on plantation business; their language very ungrammatical, idiomatic, and extravagant. Their grand characteristics—simplicity of motive, vague, shallow, and purely objective habits of thought; spontaneity and truthfulness of utterance, and bold, self-reliant movement.

With all their individual independence, I soon could perceive a very great homogeneousness of character, by which they were distinguishable from any other people with whom I had before been thrown in contact; and I began to study it with interest, as the Anglo-Saxon development of the Southwest.

I found that, more than any people I had ever seen, they were unrateable by dress, taste, forms, and expenditures. I was perplexed by finding, apparently united in the same individual, the self-possession and confidence of the well equipped gentleman, and the coarseness and low tastes of the uncivilized boor—frankness and reserve, recklessness and self restraint, extravagance, and penuriousness.

Source: Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, With Remarks on Their Economy*. New York: Dix & Edwards, 1856, pp. 559–60.

15. A STEAMBOAT RIDE ON THE MISSISSIPPI (1857)

John Benwell was an Englishman who traveled extensively throughout the United States in the 1850s and recorded his experiences with the people and places he encountered. In this excerpt, he discusses a steamboat ride along the Mississippi River, noting not only the scenery, but his fellow passengers.

The *Narraganset,* like most of the large river steamers, was constructed with three decks, and fitted up in sumptuous style. One large saloon, with a portion partitioned off for the ladies, serving as a cabin and dining apartment. There is no professed distinction of class in the passengers on board steam-boats in America. I found, however, that the higher grades, doubtless from the same causes that operate in other parts of the world, kept aloof from those beneath them.

The scene from the upper or hurricane deck (as it is called) was very attractive. Flowing, as the river Hudson does, through a fine mountainous country, the magnificent scenery on the banks strikes the observer with feelings allied to awe. The stream being broad and tortuous, beetling crags, high mountains and bluffs, and dense forests, burst suddenly and unexpectedly into view; fearful precipices abound here and there, amidst luxuriant groves and uncouth pine barrens, forming altogether a diversity that gives the whole the character of a stupendous panorama.

Before we were out of the tide, which for miles flows up the river, our vessel grounded three times, but after puffing and straining for a considerable time, she got off without damage and pursued her onward course. Most of my fellow-voyagers were disposed to be distant and taciturn, and so I enjoyed the grandeurs of the scene in solitary musings, to which the steamers, sloops under sail, and other vessels proceeding up and down the river, gave a pleasant enlivenment. The promenade deck, crowded with lady passengers and beautiful children, under a gay awning, added to the cheerfulness of the surrounding aspect, and the fineness of the weather, but for the fear of collapsing boilers, would have made the trip one of great enjoyment.

Another drawback I had nearly forgotten, and as it serves to illustrate steam-boat and indeed all other travelling [sic] inconveniences in America, I must not pass it over; I refer to the vulgarity of the men passengers, who, in default of better occupation, chew tobacco incessantly, and, to the great annoyance of those who do not practise the vandalism, eject the impregnated saliva over everything under foot. The deck of the vessel was much defaced by the noxious stains; and even in converse with ladies the unmannerly fellows expectorated without sense of decency. The ladies, however, seemed not to regard it, and one bright-eyed houri [sic] I saw looking into the face of a long sallow-visaged young man, who had the juice oozing out at each angle of his mouth with disgusting effect, so that enunciation was difficult.

Source: John Benwell, *An Englishman's Travels in America: His Observations of Manners in the Free and Slave States*. London: Ward & Lock, 1857, pp. 35–37.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DECADE—1790–1860

As the following census figures show, the population of the United States grew from almost 4 million people in 1790 to over 31 million people in 1860, with the rate of growth increasing steadily after 1820.

1790	3.9 million
1800	5.3 million
1810	7.2 million
1820	9.6 million
1830	12.8 million
1840	17.0 million
1850	23.1 million
1860	31.4 million

Source: United States Census Bureau.

APPENDIX 2: PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES—1789–1861

Listed below are the presidents of the United States who held office between 1789 and 1861, with their party affiliations and their terms of service.

George Washington	Federalist	1789–1797
John Adams	Federalist	1797–1801
Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	1801–1809
James Madison	Democratic-Republican	1809–1817
James Monroe	Democratic-Republican	1817–1825
John Quincy Adams	National Republican	1825–1829

Andrew Jackson	Democrat	1829–1837
Martin Van Buren	Democrat	1837–1841
William Henry Harrison[1]	Whig	1841
John Tyler	Whig	1841–1845
James K. Polk	Democrat	1845–1849
Zachary Taylor[2]	Whig	1849–1850
Millard Fillmore	Whig	1850–1853
Franklin Pierce	Democrat	1853–1857
James Buchanan	Democrat	1857–1861

[1] Died in office in April 1841

[2] Died in office in July 1850

Source: "Presidents of the United States." The White House.gov. Available at: www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents.

APPENDIX 3: VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES—1789–1861

Listed below are the vice presidents of the United States who held office between 1789 and 1861, with the president under whom they served, their party affiliation, and their terms of service.

John Adams	Washington	Federalist	1789–1797
Thomas Jefferson	Adams	Democratic-Republican	1797–1801
Aaron Burr	Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	1801–1805
George Clinton[1]	Jefferson/Madison	Democratic-Republican	1805–1812
Office Vacant	Madison		1812–1813
Elbridge Gerry[2]	Madison	Democratic-Republican	1813–1814
Office Vacant	Madison		1814–1817
Daniel D. Tompkins	Monroe	Democratic-Republican	1817–1825
John C. Calhoun[3]	J. Q. Adams/Jackson	Democrat	1825–1832
Office Vacant	Jackson		1832–1833
Martin Van Buren	Jackson	Democrat	1833–1837
Richard M. Johnson	Van Buren	Democrat	1837–1841
John Tyler[4]	Harrison	Whig	1841
Office Vacant	Tyler		1841–1845
George M. Dallas	Polk	Democrat	1845–1849
Millard Fillmore[5]	Taylor	Whig	1849–1850
Office Vacant	Fillmore		1850–1853

William Rufus King[6]	Pierce	Democrat	1853
Office Vacant	Pierce		1853–1857
John C. Breckinridge	Buchanan	Democrat	1857–1861

[1] Died in office April 20, 1812

[2] Died in office November 23, 1814

[3] Resigned from office December 28, 1832

[4] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of William Henry Harrison on April 4, 1841

[5] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of Zachary Taylor on July 9, 1850

[6] Died in office on April 18, 1853

Source: "Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States." About.com. Available at: http://americanhistory.about.com/library/charts/blchartpresidents.htm.

APPENDIX 4: SECRETARIES OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES—1789–1861

Listed below are the secretaries of state of the United States who held office between 1789 and 1861, with the president who appointed them, their party affiliation, and their terms of service.

John Jay	secretary under the Confederation		1784–1790
Thomas Jefferson	Washington	No party	1790–1793
Edmund Randolph	Washington	Federalist	1794–1795
Timothy Pickering	Washington/Adams	Federalist	1795–1800
John Marshall	Adams	Federalist	1880–1801
James Madison	Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	1801–1809
Robert Smith	Madison	Democratic-Republican	1809–1811
James Monroe	Madison	Democratic-Republican	1811–1817
John Quincy Adams	Monroe	Democratic-Republican	1817–1825
Henry Clay	J. Q. Adams	National-Republican	1825–1829
Martin Van Buren	Jackson	Democrat	1829–1831
Edward Livingston	Jackson	Democrat	1831–1833
Louis McLane	Jackson	Democrat	1833–1834
John Forsyth	Jackson/Van Buren	Democrat	1834–1841
Daniel Webster	Harrison/Tyler	Whig	1841–1843
Hugh S. Legaré	Tyler	Whig	1843 (interim)
Abel P. Upshur	Tyler	Whig	1843–1844
John C. Calhoun	Tyler	Democrat	1844–1845
James Buchanan	Polk	Democrat	1845–1849

John M. Clayton	Taylor	Whig	1849–1850
Daniel Webster	Fillmore	Whig	1850–1852
Edward Everett	Fillmore	Whig	1852–1853
William L. Marcy	Pierce	Democrat	1853–1857
Lewis Cass	Buchanan	Democrat	1857–1860
Jeremiah S. Black	Buchanan	Democrat	1860–1861

Source: "Secretaries of State, 1789–2005." U.S. Department of State. Available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/po/1682.htm; Mihalkanin, Edward S. *American Statesmen: Secretaries of State from John Jay to Colin Powell.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

APPENDIX 5: CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT—1789–1864

Listed below are the chief justices of the U.S. Supreme Court who served between 1789 and 1864, with the president who appointed them and their terms of service.

John Jay	Washington	1789–1795
John Rutledge	Washington	1795
William Cushing	Washington	1796
Oliver Ellsworth	Washington	1796–1800
John Marshall	John Adams	1800–1835
Roger B. Taney	Jackson	1836–1864

Source: Hall, Kermit L., ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL WORKS

Adams, James Truslow, and Charles Garrett Vannest. *The Record of America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

The Annals of America: Volume 3, 1784–1796, Organizing the New Nation. Chicago, IL: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968.

Beard, Charles A., and Mary R. Beard. *The Rise of American Civilization*. New York: Macmillan, 1927.

Beston, Henry., ed. *American Memory*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937.

Blow, Michael. "Professor Henry and His Philosophical Toys." *American Heritage* 15, no. 1 (December 1963).

Bode, Carl, ed. *American Life in the 1840s*. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

Boorstin, Daniel M. *The Americans: The National Experience*. New York: Random House, 1964.

Bowman, John S., ed. *The Civil War Almanac*. New York: Bison, 1983.

Brown, Richard D. *Modernization: The Transformation of American Life*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Bruce, Dickson D. *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979.

Calkins, Carroll C., ed. *The Story of America*. Pleasantville, NY: Reader's Digest Association, 1975.

Callahan, North. *Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.

Dangerfield, George. *The Reawakening of American Nationalism, 1815–1828*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965.

Demos, John. *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Ellet, Elizabeth F. Lumis. *Domestic History of the American Revolution*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1859.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Era of Expansion, 1800–1848*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969.

Finkelman, Paul. ed. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*. 3 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

———. *Growing Old in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Foner, Eric, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, Vol. I. Seagull Edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006, 2005.

Forbes, Edwin. Preface to *Civil War Etchings*. New York: Dover, 1994. Reproduction of 1876 edition.

George, M. Dorothy. *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1999.

Glenn, Myra C. *Campaigns against Corporal Punishment: Prison, Sailors, Women, and Children in Antebellum America*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.

Hall, Kermit L., ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Hall, Kermit L., William Wiecek, and Paul Finkleman. *American Legal History: Cases and Materials*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Halttunen, Karen. *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.

Heidler, David S. *Pulling the Temple Down: The Fire-Eaters and the Destruction of the Union*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994.

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler. *Daily Life in the Early American Republic: Creating a New Nation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Henretta, James A. *The Evolution of American Society, 1700–1815: An Interdisciplinary Analysis*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1973.

Horn, James P., and Jan Lewis. *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002.

Hunt, Gaillard. *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1914.

Janesville (WI) *Gazette*, March 15, 1849.

Johnson, Claudia Durst. *Daily Life in Colonial New England*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Kennon, Donald R. *A Republic for the Ages: The United States Capitol and the Political Culture of the Early Republic*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Kent, Noel Jacob. *America in 1900*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharp, 2000.

Koebner, Richard. *Empire*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1965.

Lacour-Gayet, Robert. *Everyday Life in the United States before the Civil War*. New York: Ungar Publishing Company, 1969.

Larabee, Benjamin W. *The Boston Tea Party*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Lupiano, Vincent de Paul, and Ken W. Sayers. *It Was a Very Good Year: A Cultural History of the United States from 1776 to the Present*. Hobrook: MA: Bob Adams, 1994.

Malone, Dumas. *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1943.

Marcus, Robert, David Bruner, and Anthony Marcus. *America Firsthand*. Vol. 1, *Readings from Settlement to Reconstruction*. 7th ed. Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007.

Mayfield, John. *The New Nation, 1800–1845*. Rev. ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1986.

McClelland, Peter D., and Richard J. Zeckenhauser. *Demographic Dimensions of the New Republic: American Interregional Migration, Vital Statistics, and Manumissions, 1800–1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

McCutcheon, Marc. *Everyday Life in the 1800s: A Guide for Writers, Students, and Historians*. Cincinnati, OH: Writer's Digest Books, 1993.
Mesick, Jane Louise. *The English Traveller in America, 1785–1835*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922.
Middleton, Richard. *Colonial America: 1585–1776*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
Mihalkanin, Edward S. *American Statesmen: Secretaries of State from John Jay to Colin Powell*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Miller, John C. *The Federalist Era, 1789–1801*. New York: Harper and Row, 1960.
Moquin, Wayne, ed. *Makers of America—Builders of a New Nation, 1801–1848*. New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1971.
Morrissey, Brendan. *Boston 1775*. London: Osprey, 1995.
Muir, Malcolm, Jr. "James Wilkinson." In *Encyclopedia of the War of 1812,* ed. David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1997.
New York Times, September 14, 1857.
Nye, Russell Blaine. *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960.
Purcell, L. Edward, and David F. Burg, eds. *The World Almanac of the American Revolution*. New York: Pharos Books, 1992.
Purvis, Thomas L. *Revolutionary America: 1763–1800*. New York: Facts on File, 1995.
Randel, William Peirce. *The American Revolution: Mirror of a People*. New York: Routledge, 1973.
Raphael, Ray. *A People's History of the American Revolution: How Common People Shaped the Fight for Independence*. New York: New Press, 1991.
Saum, Lewis O. *The Popular Mood of Pre–Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.
Schlesinger, Arthur Meier. *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution 1763–1776*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957.
Schouler, James. *Americans of 1776: Daily Life during the Revolutionary Period*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1906.
Sewell, Richard H. *A House Divided: Sectionalism and the Civil War, 1848–1865*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
Shipton, Clifford K. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*. Vol. 17. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1975.
Simkins, Francis Butler, and Charles Pierce Roland. *A History of the South*. 4th ed. New York: Knopf, 1972.
Smelser, Marshall. *The Democratic Republic, 1801–1815*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
Smith, Helen Evertson. *Colonial Days and Ways*. New York: Century, 1901.
Smith, Jeffery Alan. *Franklin and Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History of the Antebellum Years*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
Stampp, Kenneth M. *Imperiled Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
Tebbel, John. *George Washington's America*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1954.
Thomas, Emory M. *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.
Tindall, George Brown, and David E. Shi. *America: A Narrative History*. 6th ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004.

Tyler, Alice Felt. *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War*. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

Unger, Irwin. *These United States: The Questions of Our Past*. 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989.

Vickers, Anita. *The New Nation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life during the American Revolution*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

———. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

———. *Daily Life in the Age of Sail*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Volo, James M., and Dorothy Denneen Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

———. *Daily Life on the Old Colonial Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Wiebe, Robert H. *The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion*. New York: Vintage Books, 1985.

Wish, Harvey. *Society and Thought in Early America: A Social and Intellectual History of the American People through 1865*. New York: Longman's, Green and Co., 1950.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. *As Various As Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans*. New York: Harper Collins, 1993.

Wright, Louis B. *The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization, 1607–1763*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

———. *Everyday Life in the New Nation, 1787–1860*. New York: Putnam, 1972.

Young, James Sterling. *The Washington Community, 1800–1828*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1966.

AFRICAN AMERICANS

Ashworth, John. *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

———. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Berlin, Ira, and Philip D. Morgan. *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Blassingame, John. *Black New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

———. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Boles, John B. *Black Southerners 1619–1869*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983.

Boswell, James. *Boswell's Life of Johnson, Together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales*. Edited by Lawrence Fitzroy Powell. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.

Bradley, Patricia. *Slavery, Propaganda, and the American Revolution*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998.

Burns, James MacGregor. *The Vineyard of Liberty*. New York: Knopf, 1982.

Clifford, Mary Louise. *From Slavery to Freedom: Black Loyalists after the American Revolution.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999.

Davis, David Brion. *Slavery in the Colonial Chesapeake.* Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1994.

Dillon, Merton Lynn. *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619–1865.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

Dowdey, Clifford. *The Great Plantation.* Charles City, VA: Berkeley Plantation Press, 1957.

Falola, Toyin, and Amanda Warnock, eds. *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Passage.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Fehrenbacher, Don Edward. *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Fitzhugh, George. *Cannibals All, or Slaves without Masters.* Richmond, VA: A. Morris, 1857.

Fladeland, Betty. *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Foner, Philip Sheldon, and Robert J. Branham. *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787–1900.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made.* New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

Greenberg, Kenneth S. *Masters and Statesmen: The Political Culture of American Slavery.* Baltimore. MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Horton, James Oliver. *Free People of Color inside the African American Community.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.

King, Wilma. *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.

Kolchin, Peter. *American Slavery 1619–1877.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Levine, Lawrence. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Litwack, Leon. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Miller, Randall M., and John David Smith, eds. *The Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery.* Revised and enlarged ed. New York: Praeger, 1997.

Morgan, Kenneth. *Slavery and Servitude in North America, 1607–1800.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.

Murphy, Thomas. *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717–1838.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Newman, Richard, and Patrick Rael, eds. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790–1860.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Richards, Leonard L. *The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780–1860.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.

Rodriguez, Junius P., ed. *Encyclopedia of Slave Resistance and Rebellion.* 2 vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution.* New York: Vintage, 1956.

Strother, Horatio T. *The Underground Railroad in Connecticut.* Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1962.

Thomas, Velma Maia. *Lest We Forget: The Passage from Africa to Slavery and Emancipation.* New York: Crown, 1997.

Wiencek, Henry. *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.

Wilson, Carol. *Freedom at Risk: The Kidnapping of Free Blacks in America, 1780–1865*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994.

AGRICULTURE

Atack, Jeremy, and Fred Bateman. *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987.

Bidwell, Percy W., and John I. Falconer. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1925; New York: Peter Smith, 1941.

Buel, Jesse. *The Farmer's Companion; or, Essays on the Principles and Practice of American Husbandry*. Boston, MA, 1840. Reprinted in Carl Bode, ed. *American Life in the 1840s*. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

Cochrane, Willard Wesley. *The Development of American Agriculture: A Historical Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979.

Ferleger, Lou. *Agriculture and National Development: Views on the Nineteenth Century*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990.

Fussell, G. E. *Farming Technique from Prehistoric to Modern Times*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966.

Gates, Paul Wallace. *The Farmers Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1989.

Grey, Lewis C. *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1933; New York: Peter Smith, 1958.

Howard, Robert West. *Two Billion Acre Farm: An Informal History of American Agriculture*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1945.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *American Agriculture: A Brief History*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994.

Kelsey, Darwin, ed. *Farming in the New Nation: Interpreting American Agriculture*. Washington, DC: Agricultural History Society, 1972.

Kulikoff, Allan. *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992.

Opie, John. *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

Otto, John Solomon. *The Southern Frontiers, 1607–1860: The Agricultural Evolution of the Colonial and Antebellum South*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Paulsen, Gary. *Farm: A History and Celebration of the American Farmer*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977.

Power, Richard Lyle. *Planting Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and the Yankee in the Old Northwest*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1953.

Rubnow, John, and Carol Ward Knox. *The Growing of America: Two Hundred Years of U.S. Agriculture*. Fort Atkinson, WI: Johnson Hill Press, 1975.

Russell, Howard S. *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1976.

Schafer, Joseph. *The Social History of American Agriculture*. New York: Macmillan, 1936.

Schapsmeier, Edward L., and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, eds. *Encyclopedia of American Agricultural History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Schlebecker, John T. *Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets on the History of Agriculture in the United States, 1607–1967*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1969.

———. *Whereby We Thrive: A History of American Farming, 1607–1972*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1975.

Solbrig, Otto T., and Dorothy J. Solbrig. *So Shall You Reap: Farming and Crops in Human Affairs*. Washington, DC: Island Press, 1994.

ARCHITECTURE

Cummings, Abbott Lowell. *Architecture in Early New England*. Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1984.

Gillon, Edmund Vincent. *Early Illustrations and Views of American Architecture*. New York: Dover, 1971.

Glassie, Henry. *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

Hafertepe, Kenneth, and James F. O'Gorman. *American Architects and Their Books to 1848*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.

Handlin, David P. *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815–1915*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1979.

Hitchcock, Henry Russell, and Edgar Kaufmann. *The Rise of American Architecture*. New York: Praeger, 1970.

Kennedy, Roger G. *Architecture, Men, Women, and Money in America, 1600–1860*. New York: Random House, 1985.

Maynard, W. Barksdale. *Architecture in the United States, 1800–1850*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

McMurry, Sally Ann. *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Morrison, Hugh. *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period*. New York: Dover Publications, 1987.

Naylor, David, and Joan Dillon. *American Theaters: Performance Halls of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1997.

Noble, Allen G. *Wood, Brick, and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape*. Vol. 1, *Houses*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.

Sutton, Robert Kent. *Americans Interpret the Parthenon: The Progression of Greek Revival Architecture from the East Coast to Oregon, 1800–1860*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

Woods, Mary N. *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

CHILDREN

Ashby, LeRoy. *Endangered Children: Dependency, Neglect, and Abuse in American History*. New York: Twayne, 1997.

Avery, Gillian. *Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books, 1621–1922*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Bremner, Robert Hamlett, ed. *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History*. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970–1974.

Cable, Mary. *The Little Darlings: A History of Child Rearing in America*. New York: Scribner, 1975.

Calvert, Karin. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Graff, Harvey J. *Conflicting Paths: Growing Up in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Haviland, Virginia, and Margaret N. Coughlan. *Yankee Doodle's Literary Sampler of Prose, Poetry and Pictures; Being an Anthology of Diverse Works Published for the Edification and/or Entertainment of Young Readers in America before 1900*. New York: Crowell, 1974.

Hiner, N. Ray, and Joseph M. Hawes. *Growing Up in America: Children in Historical Perspective*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

Kiefer, Monica Mary. *American Children through Their Books, 1700–1835*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948.

Larkin, Jack. *Children Everywhere: Dimensions of Childhood in Rural New England*. Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1987.

Pollock, Linda A. *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Reinier, Jacqueline S. *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775–1850*. New York: Twayne, 1996.

Robinson, William. *Jack Nastyface: Memoirs of a Seaman*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1973.

Thompson, Kathleen, and Hilary Austin. *America's Children: Picturing Childhood from Early America to the Present*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2003.

Welch, d'Alté A., ed. *A Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821*. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1972.

Youcha, Geraldine. *Minding the Children: Child Care in America from Colonial Times to the Present*. New York: Scribner, 1995.

Zeilizer, Viviana A. Rotman. *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.

CITIES

Asbury, Herbert. *The French Quarter, An Informal History of New Orleans with Particular Reference to Its Colorful Iniquities*. New York: Neal Publishing, 1938.

Barth, Gunther Paul. *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Bender, Thomas. *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975.

Blumin, Stuart M. *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

———. *The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change in a Nineteenth-Century American Community*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

The Boston Directory for the Year Ending June 30, 1860 Embracing the City Record, a General Directory of the Citizens, and a Business Directory. Boston, MA: Adams, Sampson, and Co., 1859.

Fite, Emerson David. *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War*. Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1976.
Griffith, Ernest Stacey, and Charles R. Adrian. *History of American City Government: The Formation of Traditions, 1775–1870*. Washington, DC: National Municipal League and University Press of America, 1983.
Hurd, D. Hamilton. *History of Fairfield County, Connecticut*. Philadelphia, PA: J. W. Lewis, 1881.
Kramer, Simon Paul, and Frederick L. Holborn. *The City in American Life: A Historical Anthology*. New York: Putnam, 1970.
Lingeman, Richard R. *Small Town America: A Narrative History, 1620—the Present*. New York: Putnam, 1980.
McKelvey, Blake. *The City in American History*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1969.
Moehring, Eugene P. *Urban America and the Foreign Traveler, 1815–1855*. New York: Arno Press, 1974.
Mohl, Raymond A., ed. *The Making of Urban America*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1997.
Monkkonen, Eric H. *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
Monti, Daniel J. *The American City: A Social and Cultural History*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.
Pred, Allan. *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790–1840*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.
Richards, Caroline Cowles. *Village Life in America 1852–1872*. New York: Corner House Historical Publications, 1997.
Richardson, James F. *Urban Police in the United States*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1974.
Rishel, Joseph Francis. *American Cities and Towns: Historical Perspectives*. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1992.
Schultz, Stanley K. *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800–1920*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1989.
Shumsky, Neil L., ed. *Encyclopedia of Urban America: The Cities and Suburbs*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1998.
Smith, Page. *As a City upon a Hill: The Town in American History*. New York: Knopf, 1966.
Wainger, Bertrand M., Dorothy W. Furman, and Edith Brooks Oagley. *Exploring New York*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956.
Wertenbaker, Thomas Jefferson. *Father Knickerbocker Rebels: New York City during the Revolution*. New York: Scribner's, 1948.

DEATH

Coffin, Margaret. *Death in Early America: The History and Folklore of Customs and Superstitions of Early Medicine, Funerals, Burials, and Mourning*. Nashville, TN: Nelson, 1976.
Farrell, James J. *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830–1920*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1980.
Hume, Janice. *Obituaries in American Culture*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000.
Isenberg, Nancy, and Andrew Burstein. *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Jackson, Charles O., ed. *Passing: The Vision of Death in America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Stannard, David E., ed. *Death in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975.

Steiner, Michael J. *A Study of the Intellectual and Material Culture of Death in Nineteenth-Century America*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003.

EDUCATION

Anonymous. *Marmaduke Multiply's Merry Method of Making Minor Mathematicians*. New York: Dover Publications, 1971. Reprint of 1841 edition.

Barnard, Henry. *Military Schools and Courses of Instruction in the Science and Art of War, in France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Sardinia, England, and the United States (1872)*, The West Point Military Library Series. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Bishop, Morris. "The Lower Depths of High Education." *American Heritage* 22, no. 1 (December 1969).

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education, The Colonial Experience: 1607–1783*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Friedman, Jean E., Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein, and Rachel Mordecai Lazarus. *Ways of Wisdom: Moral Education in the Early National Period*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

Geiger, Roger L. *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000.

Kaestle, Carl F. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Leach, Daniel. *Leach's Complete Spelling Book*. Philadelphia, PA: H. Cowperthwait & Co., 1859.

Mitchell, S. Augustus. *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography*. Philadelphia: Thomas Cowperthwait & Co., 1852

Montgomery, Scott L. *Minds for the Making: The Role of Science in American Education, 1750–1990*. New York: Guilford Press, 1994.

Parkerson, Donald Hugh, and Jo Ann Parkerson. *The Emergence of the Common School in the U.S. Countryside*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998.

Rothblatt, Sheldon, and Bjorn Wittrock. *The European and American University since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Salvatori, Mariolina Rizzi. *Pedagogy: Disturbing History, 1819–1929*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.

Sanders, Charles W., A.M. *The School Reader Third Book*. New York: Sower, Barnes & Potts, 1860.

Soltow, Lee, and Edward Stevens. *The Rise of Literacy and the Common School in the United States: A Socioeconomic Analysis to 1870*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Stone, Lawrence. *The University in Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Town, Salem, A.M. *The Fourth Reader or Exercises in Reading and Speaking*. Cooperstown, NY: H. & E. Phinney, 1849.

Winterer, Caroline. *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780–1910*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

FAMILY

Albin, Mel, and Dominick Cavallo. *Family Life in America, 1620–2000*. St. James, NY: Revisionary Press, 1981.

Benson–von der Ohe, Elizabeth, and Valmari M. Mason. *An Annotated Bibliography of U.S. Scholarship on the History of the Family*. New York: AMS Press, 1986.

Cashin, Joan E. *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Coontz, Stephanie. *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600–1900*. New York: Verso, 1988.

Cott, Nancy F. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Davis, Peggy Cooper. *Neglected Stories: The Constitution and Family Values*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1997.

D'Emilio, John, and Estelle B. Freedman. *The History of the Family and the History of Sexuality in America*. Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1997.

Demos, John. *Past, Present, and Personal: The Family and the Life Course in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Farrell, Betty. *Family: The Making of an Idea, an Institution, and a Controversy in American Culture*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999.

Fox, Vivian C., and Martin H. Quitt. *Loving, Parenting, and Dying: The Family Cycle in England and America, Past and Present*. New York: Psychohistory Press, 1980.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Garrett, Elisabeth Donaghy. *At Home: The American Family, 1750–1870*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1990.

Godbeer, Richard. *Sexual Revolution in Early America*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Gordon, Michael. *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.

Hamilton, Phillip. *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2003.

Hareven, Tamara K. *Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700–1930*. New York: New Viewpoints, 1977.

Hareven, Tamara K., and Maris Vinovskis, eds. *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Haskell, E. F. *The Housekeeper's Encyclopedia*. Mendocino, CA: R. L. Shep, 1992.

Hawes, Joseph M., and Elizabeth I. Nybakken. *Family and Society in American History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Jabour, Anya. *Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Luchetti, Cathy. *"I Do!": Courtship, Love, and Marriage on the American Frontier; A Glimpse at America's Romantic Past through Photographs, Diaries, and Journals, 1715–1915*. New York: Crown, 1996.

Lystra, Karen. *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

McCall, Laura, and Donald Yacovone. *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

McKune, Amy. *To Love and to Cherish: The Great American Wedding*. New York: Museums at Stony Brook, 1991.

Mintz, Steven, and Susan Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life*. New York: Free Press, 1988.

Moran, Gerald F., and Maris Vinovskis. *Religion, Family, and the Life Course: Explorations in the Social History of Early America*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Muncy, Raymond Lee. *Sex and Marriage in Utopian Communities: Nineteenth-Century America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973.

O'Day, Rosemary. *The Family and Family Relationships, 1500–1900: England, France, and the United States of America*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Rothman, Ellen K. *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1835*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Scott, Donald M., and Bernard Wishy, eds. *America's Families: A Documentary History*. New York: Harper and Row, 1982.

Tufte, Virginia, and Barbara G. Myerhoff. *Changing Images of the Family*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979.

Volo, James M., and Dorothy Denneen Volo. *Family Life in 19th-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Wells, Robert V. *Revolutions in Americans' Lives: A Demographic Perspective on the History of Americans, Their Families, and Their Society*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982.

———. *Uncle Sam's Family: Issues and Perspectives in American Demographic History*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986.

Wolf, Stephanie G. *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.

FOOD

Cummings, Richard Osborne. *The American and His Food*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940.

Eden, Trudy. *Cooking in America, 1590–1840*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

———. *Cooking in America, 1840–1945*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Giannitti, Karin. "Ice Houses." *The Chronicle Quarterly* (Winter 1994).

Glasse, Hannah. *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. Alexandria, VA: Cottom and Stewart, 1805.

Leslie, Eliza. *Miss Leslie's Directions for Cookery*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 1999.

Levenstein, Harvey A. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

McIntosh, Elaine N. *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995.
McWilliams, James E. "Cuisine and National Identity in the Early Republic." *Historically Speaking* (May/June 2006).
Nissenbaum, Stephen. *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.
Root, Waverley Lewis, and Richard de Rouchemont. *Eating in America: A History*. New York: Morrow, 1976.
Schremp, Geraldine. *Celebration of American Food: Four Centuries in the Melting Pot*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1996.
Stewart, Katie. *Cooking and Eating*. London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd., 1975.

HEALTH

Blake, John B. *Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630–1822*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959.
Burbick, Joan. *Healing the Republic: The Language of Health and the Culture of Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Cayleff, Susan E. *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987.
Duffy, John. *From Humors to Medical Science: A History of Medicine*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
Estes, J. Worth, Philip Cash, and Eric H. Christianson, eds. *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620–1820*. Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980.
Fett, Sharla M. *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
Gillett, Mary C. *The Army Medical Department, 1775–1818*. Washington, DC: Center for Military History, 1990.
Grob, Gerald N. *The Deadly Truth: A History of Disease in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
———. *The Mad among Us: A History of the Care of America's Mentally Ill*. New York: Free Press, 1994.
Haller, John S. *American Medicine in Transition: 1840–1910*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.
Mohr, James C. *Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of National Policy, 1800–1900*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
Moss, Kay. *Southern Folk Medicine, 1750–1820*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.
Murphy, Lamar Riley. *Enter the Physician: The Transformation of Domestic Medicine, 1760–1860*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991.
Nissenbaum, Stephen. *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.
Norwood, William Frederick. *Medical Education in the United States before the Civil War*. New York: Arno Press, 1971.
Numbers, Ronald L., and Todd Lee Savitt. *Science and Medicine in the Old South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.

Powell, J. H. *Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793*. New York: Time, 1965.

Risse, Gunter, Ronald L. Numbers, and Judith Walzer Leavitt, eds. *Medicine without Doctors: Home Health Care in American History*. New York: Science History Publications, 1978.

Riznik, Barnes. *Medicine in New England, 1790–1840*. Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1965.

Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the Early Republic*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1971.

Rothstein, William G. *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Sax, Margaret F. *Complaints and Cures: The Search for Health in Nineteenth-Century Century America*. Hartford, CT: Trinity College, 1990.

Shryock, Richard H. *Medicine in America: Historical Essays*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966.

———. *Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860*. New York: New York University Press, 1960.

Starr, Paul. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.

Valencius, Conevery Bolton. *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Vinovskis, Maris. *Fertility in Massachusetts from the Revolution to the Civil War*. New York: Academic Press, 1981.

Whitaker, Robert. *Mad in America: Bad Science, Bad Medicine, and Enduring Mistreatment of the Mentally Ill*. Cambridge: Perseus, 2002.

Whorton, James C. *Nature Cures: The History of Alternative Medicine in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

IMMIGRANTS

Baseler, Marilyn C. *"Asylum for Mankind": America, 1607–1800*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Bayor, Ronald H. *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Bergquist, James M. *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1820–1870*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008.

Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. New York: Harper Collins, 1990.

Diner, Hasia R. *A New Promised Land: A History of Jews in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Dinnerstein, Leonard, and David M. Reimers. *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975.

Dinnerstein, Leonard, Roger L. Nichols, and David M. Reimers. *Natives and Strangers: A Multicultural History of the Americas*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Dublin, Thomas. *Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America, 1773–1986*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Erickson, Charlotte. *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1972.

———. *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Filby, P. William. *Passenger and Immigration Lists Bibliography, 1538–1900: Being a Guide to Published Lists of Arrivals in the United States and Canada*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1988.

Handlin, Oscar. *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1951.

Kenny, Kevin. *The American Irish: A History*. New York: Longman, 2000.

Lehmann, Hartmut, and Hermann Wellenreuther. *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

McCaffrey, Lawrence John. *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1997.

Rothman, David J. "Our Brother's Keepers." *American Heritage* (December 1972).

Trommler, Frank, and Elliott Shore, eds. *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.

LANGUAGE

Barnhart, David K., and Allan A. Metcalf. *America in So Many Words: Words That Have Shaped America*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

Bryson, Bill. *Made in America: An Informal History of the English Language in the United States*. New York: W. Morrow, 1994.

Cmiel, Kenneth. *Democratic Eloquence: The Fight over Popular Speech in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: W. Morrow, 1990.

Dillard, J. L. *A History of American English*. New York: Longman, 1992.

———. *Toward a Social History of American English*. New York: Mouton, 1985.

Flexner, Stuart Berg. *Listening to America: An Illustrated History of Words and Phrases from Our Lively and Splendid Past*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Flexner, Stuart Berg, and Anne H. Soukhanov. *Speaking Freely: A Guided Tour of American English from Plymouth Rock to Silicon Valley*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Friend, Joseph H. *The Development of American Lexicography, 1798–1864*. Paris: Mouton, 1967.

Gustafson, Thomas. *Representative Words: Politics, Literature, and the American Language, 1776–1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Kramer, Michael P. *Imagining Language in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Lepore, Jill. *A Is for American: Letters and Other Characters in the Newly United States*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002.

Mathews, M. M., ed. *The Beginnings of American English: Essays and Comments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

Mencken, H. L. *The American Language*. New York: Knopf, 1936.

Micklethwait, David. *Noah Webster and the American Dictionary*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2000.

Monaghan, E. Jennifer. *A Common Heritage: Noah Webster's Blue-Back Speller*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.

Read, Allen Walker, and Richard W. Bailey. *Milestones in the History of English in America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Robertson, Andrew W. *The Language of Democracy: Political Rhetoric in the United States and Britain, 1790–1900*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Sperry, Kip. *Reading Early American Handwriting*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, 1998.

LEISURE AND LITERATURE

Ade, George. *The Old-Time Saloon: Not Wet—Not Dry, Just History*. New York: R. Long and R. R. Smith, 1931.

Anderson, Patricia. "Romantic Strains of the Parlor Piano." *Victorian* 3, no. 3 (1997).

Apperson, G. L. *The Social History of Smoking*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916.

Aron, Cindy Sondik. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Batterberry, Michael, and Ariane Batterberry. *On the Town in New York from 1776 to the Present*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.

Braden, Donna R. *Leisure and Entertainment in America*. Dearborn, MI: Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, 1988.

Brooks, Van Wyck. *The World of Washington Irving*. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1944.

Brown, John Hull. *Early American Beverages*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1966.

Burnham, John C. *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

Chafetz, Henry. *Play the Devil: A History of Gambling in the United States, 1492–1955*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1960.

Chambers, Thomas A. *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002.

Chase, Gilbert. *America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

Coffin, Tristram P. *The British Traditional Ballad in North America*. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.

Cooper, James Fennimore. *The Chainbearer*. New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Crawford, Richard. *America's Musical Life: A History*. New York: Norton, 2001.

———. *The Civil War Songbook*. New York: Dover, 1977.

Cross, Gary. *A Social History of Leisure since 1600*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing, 1990.

Crunden, Robert M. *A Brief History of American Culture*. New York: Paragon House, 1994.

Cullen, Jim. *The Art of Democracy: A Concise History of Popular Culture in the United States*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1996.

Cunningham, John T. "Historian on the Double." *American Heritage* 19, no. 4 (June 1968).

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

Eisen, George, and David Kenneth Wiggins. *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Epstein, Dena J. *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

Fairholt, F. W. *Tobacco: Its History and Associations, Including an Account of the Plant and Its Manufacture, with Its Modes of Use in All Ages and Countries.* Detroit, MI: Singing Tree Press, 1968.

Fisher, Donald M. *Lacrosse: A History of the Game.* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Gately, Iain. *Tobacco: The Story of How Tobacco Seduced the World.* New York: Grove Press, 2001.

Goodman, Jordan. *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence.* New York: Routledge, 1993.

Gorn, Elliott J., and Warren Goldstein. *A Brief History of American Sports.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Hall, Baynard Rush. *The New Purchase.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1916.

Halliman, Tim. *A Christmas Carol Christmas Book.* New York: IBM, 1984.

Hampel, Robert L. *Temperance and Prohibition in Massachusetts, 1813–1852.* Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982.

Heintze, James R. *American Musical Life in Context and Practice to 1865.* New York: Garland, 1994.

Hewitt, Barnard. *Theatre U.S.A., 1665–1957.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959.

Hoopes, Donelson F., and Nancy Wall Moure. *American Narrative Painting.* Los Angeles, CA: Praeger, 1972.

Hotaling, Edward. *The Great Black Jockeys: The Lives and Times of the Men Who Dominated America's First National Sport.* Rocklin, CA: Forum, 1999.

Howard, John Trasker. *Our American Music: A Comprehensive History of Music from 1620 to the Present.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1965.

Kagle, Steven E. *Early Nineteenth-Century American Diary Literature.* Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1986.

Kroeger, Karl. *American Fuging-Tunes, 1770–1820: A Descriptive Catalog.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Larkin, Jack. "Dining Out in the 1830s." *Old Sturbridge Visitor* (Spring 1999).

Lathrop, Elise. *Early American Inns and Taverns.* New York: Tudor Publishing, 1946.

Lender, Mark E., and James Kirby Martin. *Drinking in America: A History.* New York: Free Press, 1976.

Lock, Stephen, and L. A. Reynolds. *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health.* Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1998.

Lowens, Irving. *Music and Musicians in Early America.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1964.

Martine, Arthur. *Martine's Hand-Book of Etiquette, and Guide to True Politeness.* New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1866.

McClellan, Elisabeth. *History of American Costume 1607–1870.* New York: Tudor, 1937.

McConachie, Bruce. "American Theatre in Context, from the Beginnings to 1870." In *The Cambridge History of American Theatre,* ed. Don B. Wilmeth and Christopher Bigsby. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Middleton, Arthur Pierce. *A Virginia Gentleman's Library.* Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1952.

Morgan, James. "Send No Trash: Books, Libraries, and Reading during the Civil War." *Camp Chase Gazette* (July 1992).

Nasaw, David. *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Nevins, Allan, ed. *The Leatherstocking Saga*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1966.

Pencak, William, and Matthew Dennis. *Riot and Revelry in Early America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Rader, Benjamin G. *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

Rice, Kym S. *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers*. Chicago, IL: Regnery Gateway, 1983.

Riess, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Robert, Joseph C. *The Story of Tobacco in America*. New York: Knopf, 1952.

Rorabaugh, William J. *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Scott, Sir Walter. *The Fair Maid of Perth*. New York: Harper, 1831.

Sherow, Victoria, and Laura LoTurco. *Huskings, Quiltings, and Barn Raisings: Work-Play Parties in Early America*. New York: Walker, 1992.

Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore. *Early Concert-Life in America (1731–1800)*. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1907.

Spivey, Donald. *Sport in America: New Historical Perspectives*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Stanchak, John E., ed. *Leslie's Illustrated Civil War*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1992. Reproduction of 1894 edition.

Steiner, Jesse Frederick. *Americans at Play*. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Stiles, Henry Reed. *Bundling: Its Origin, Progress, and Decline in America*. Albany, NY, 1871.

Struna, Nancy L. *People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure, and Labor in Early Anglo-America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

Tanselle, George Thomas, ed. *Herman Melville: Reburn, White Jacket, Moby Dick*. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1983.

Tawa, Nicholas E. *High-Minded and Low-Down: Music in the Lives of Americans, 1800–1861*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2000.

———. *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans: The Parlor Song in America, 1790–1860*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980.

Taylor, Alan. "Fenimore Cooper's America." *History Today* 46, no. 2 (February 1996).

Tyrell, Ian R. *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800–1860*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Wiggins, David Kenneth. *Sport in America: From Wicked Amusements to National Obsession*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Ames, Kenneth L., and Thomas J. Schlereth. *Material Culture: A Research Guide*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985.

Deetz, James J. F. *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1977.

Haines, Carol L. *"Forms to Sett On": A Social History of Concord Seating Furniture*. Concord, MA: Concord Antiquarian Museum, 1984.

Kidwell, Claudia, and Margaret B. Christman. *Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974.

Langdon, William Chauncy. *Everyday Things in American Life, 1776–1876*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.

Leech, Margaret. *Reveille in Washington*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.

Martin, Ann Smart, and J. Ritchie Garrison. *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Mayhew, Edgar de Noailles, and Minor Meyers Jr. *A Documentary History of American Interiors: From the Colonial Era to 1915*. New York: Scribners, 1980.

McClellan, Elisabeth. *History of American Costume, 1607–1870*. New York: Tudor Publishing, 1937.

Merrifield, Mrs. "The Use and Abuse of Colors in Dress." *Peterson's Magazine* (September 1861).

Phillips, Kevin. *The Cousin's War: Religion, Politics & the Triumph of Anglo-America*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.

Quimby, Ian M. G., ed. *Material Culture and the Study of American Life*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.

Rice, V. M. *Code of Public Instruction*. Albany, NY, 1856.

Schiffer, Margaret B. *Chester County, Pennsylvania Probate Inventories, 1684–1850*. Exton, PA: Schiffer, 1974.

Schlereth, Thomas J. *Cultural History and Material Culture: Everyday Life, Landscapes, Museums*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1990.

———. *Material Culture Studies in America*. Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1982.

Shep, R. L. *Civil War Ladies: Fashions and Needle Arts of the Early 1860's*. Mendocino, CA: R. L. Shep, 1987.

Stauffer, John. "Popular Culture." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

St. George, Robert Blair, ed. *Material Life in America, 1600–1860*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Truman, Bec C. *Duelling in America*. N.p., 1884.

Wacker, Peter O. *The Musconetcong Valley of New Jersey: A Historical Geography*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1968.

Weaver, Jane. "Gentlemen's Braces." *Peterson's Magazine* (May 1864).

MEMOIRS, DIARIES, LETTERS, SERMONS, SPEECHES, AND BIOGRAPHIES

Adams, John Quincy. *Diary of John Quincy Adams*. 2 vols. Edited by David Grayson Allen. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981.

Allen, Richard. *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen: To Which Is Annexed the Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Containing a Narrative of the Yellow Fever in the Year of Our Lord 1793: With an Address to the People of Color in the United States*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1960.

Arksey, Laura, Nancy Pries, and Marcia Reed, eds. *American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of Published American Diaries and Journals*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1983.

Audubon, John James. *Writings and Drawings*. Edited by Christoph Irmscher. New York: Penguin Putnam, 1999.

Beecher, Catharine E. *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850.

Beecher, Raymond, ed. *Letters from a Revolution 1775–1783*. Albany: Greene County Historical Society and New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1973.

Benwell, John. *An Englishman's Travels in America: His Observations of Manners in the Free and Slave States*. London: Ward & Lock, 1857.

Berger, Josef. *Diary of America: The Intimate Story of Our Nation, Told by 100 Diarists—Public Figures and Plain Citizens, Natives and Visitors—Over the Five Centuries from Columbus, the Pilgrims, and George Washington to Thomas Edison, Will Rogers, and Our Own Time*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957.

Billings, John D. *Hardtack and Coffee*. Boston, MA: G. M. Smith, 1887.

Bremer, Fredrika. *America of the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer*. Edited by Adolph B. Benson. London: Oxford University Press, 1924.

Burrowes, Thomas H. *Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: A. Boyd Hamilton, 1861.

Cartwright, Peter. *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright: The Backwoods Preacher*. Edited by W. P. Strickland. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1856.

Clyman, James. *Journal of a Mountain Man*. Edited by Linda M. Hasselstrom. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press, 1984.

Cobbett, William. *A Year's Residence in the United States of America: Treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the Expenses of House-Keeping and of the Usual Manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People; and, of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political and Religious. In Three Parts*. New York: Clayton and Kingsland, 1818.

Commager, Henry Steele, and Richard B. Morris. *The Spirit of Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Cox, Joseph T., ed. *The Written Wars: American War Prose through the Civil War*. North Haven, CT: Archon Books, 1996.

Crane, Elaine Forman, ed. *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker: The Life Cycle of an Eighteenth Century Woman*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1994.

Croushore, James H., ed. *A Volunteer's Adventure by Captain John W. DeForest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949.

Davies, K. G. *Documents of the American Revolution 1770–1783, Colonial Office series*. 22 vols. London: Irish University Press, 1976.

De Voto, Bernard A., ed. *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1953.

DeWolfe, Barbara. *Discoveries of America: Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America during the Revolutionary Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Dickens, Charles. *American Notes for General Circulation*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1842.

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*. Published at the Anti-slavery office, No. 25, Cornhill, 1845. Reprint: New York: Penguin, 1968.

Dow, George Francis, ed. *The Holyoke Diaries*. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1911.

Dring, Thomas. *Recollections of the Jersey Prison Ship*. New York: Arno Press, 1961.

East, Charles, ed. *Sarah Morgan: The Diary of a Southern Woman*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991.

Edwards, Jonathan. *Works of President Edwards*. Vol. 4. New York: Leavitt, Trow, 1844.

Fitzpatrick, John C., ed. *The Writings of George Washington*. 30 vols. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931–1939.

Fletcher, William A. *Rebel Private: Front and Rear*. New York: Meridan, 1997. Reproduction of 1908 edition.

Flexner, J. T. *States Dyckman: American Loyalist*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1980.

Fremantle, Elizabeth Wynne, ed. *The Wynne Diaries, 1789–1820*. London: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Frey, Sylvia R., and Marian J. Morton, eds. *New World, New Roles: A Documentary History of Women in Pre-industrial America*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

Garrison, William Lloyd. *The Liberator,* March 31, 1832.

———. *The Liberator,* December 15, 1837.

———. *The Liberator*, May 31, 1844.

———. *Thoughts on African Colonization*. Boston, MA, 1832.

Gilman, Caroline, ed. *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson during the Invasion and Possession of Charleston, S.C. by the British in the Revolutionary War*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Glass, Anthony. *Journal of an Indian Trader: Anthony Glass and the Texas Trading Frontier, 1790–1810*. Edited by Dan L. Flores. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1985.

Glass, Patrick. *The Journals of Patrick Glass: Member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Edited by Carol Lynn MacGregor. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press, 1997.

Grant, C. L., ed. *Letters, Journals, and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*. 2 vols. Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1980.

Grund, Francis Joseph. *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1837.

Guthman, William, ed. *The Correspondence of Captain Nathan and Lois Peters*. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1980.

Handlin, Oscar, ed. *This Was America: True Accounts of People and Places, Manners and Customs, as Recorded by European Travelers to the Western Shore in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Centuries*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949.

Hart, Albert Bushnell, ed. *American History Told by Contemporaries*. 5 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1897–1901.

Hawes, Joel. *Lectures to Young Men on the Formation of Character*. Hartford, CT, 1835.

Hawkins, Christopher. *The Adventures of Christopher Hawkins*. New York: Arno Press, 1968.

Herbert, Charles. *A Relic of the Revolution*. New York: Arno Press, 1968.

Hulbert, Archer Butler, ed. *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe*. Colorado Springs: Steward Commission of Colorado College, 1933.

Humez, Jean McMahon. *Mother's First-Born Daughters: Early Shaker Writings on Women and Religion*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Hunt, Gaillard. *The First Forty Years of Washington Society in the Family Letters of Margaret Bayard Smith*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965.

Jackson, Donald Dean, ed. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783–1854*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962.

Kagle, Steven E. *American Diary Literature, 1620–1799*. Boston, MA: Twayne, 1979.

Keetley, Dawn, and John Pettegrew, eds. *Public Women, Public Words: A Documentary History of American Feminism*. Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997.

Ketchum, Richard M. "New War Letters of Banastre Tarleton—Edited." In *Narratives of the Revolution in New York*. New York: Kingsport Press, 1975.

Kierner, Cynthia A., ed. *A Revolutionary America, 1750–1815: Sources and Interpretation*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2003.

———. *Southern Women in Revolution, 1776–1800: Personal and Political Narratives*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.

King, Duane H. *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Knight, Henry Cogswell. *Letters from the South and West; By Arthur Singleton, Esq*. Boston, MA: Richardson and Lord; J.H.A. Frost, printer, 1824.

Knopf, Richard C., ed. *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*. Vol. 3. Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1957.

Laas, Virginia Jeans, ed. *Wartime Washington: Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee*. Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.

Lesser, Charles H., ed. *The Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army*. Chicago: n.p., 1976.

Lewis, Jon E., ed. *The Mammoth Book of Eye-Witness History*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 1998.

———. *The Mammoth Book of War Diaries and Letters: Life on the Battlefield in the Words of the Ordinary Soldier, 1775–1991*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 1999.

Lyell, Sir Charles. *A Second Visit to the United States of North America*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1849.

Martin, Joseph Plumb. *Private Yankee Doodle: Being a Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1962.

Martineau, Harriet. *Retrospect of Western Travel*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838.

Mayer, J. P., ed. *Alexis de Tocqueville: Journey to America*. Translated by George Lawrence. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960.

McCarthy, Carlton. *Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861–1865*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. Reproduction of 1882 edition.

McElrath, Joseph R., Jr., and Allan P. Robb, eds. *The Complete Works of Anne Bradstreet*. Boston, MA: Twayne, 1981.

McNemar, Richard. *The Kentucky Revival, or, A Short History of the Late Extraordinary Out-Pouring of the Spirit of God, in the Western States of America, Agreeably to Scripture Promises, and Prophecies concerning the Latter Day: With a Brief Account of the Entrance and Progress of What the World Call Shakerism, among the Subjects of the Late Revival in Ohio and Kentucky. Presented to the True Zion-Traveller, as a Memorial of the Wilderness Journey*. Albany, NY: E. E. Hosford, 1808.

Meltzer, Milton, ed. *The American Revolution: A History in Their Own Words 1750–1800*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1987.

———, ed. *The Jewish Americans: A History in Their Own Words, 1650–1950*. New York: Crowell, 1982.

Merrill, James M., ed. *Uncommon Valor: The Exciting Story of the Army*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1964.

M'Gillivray, Duncan. *The Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray*. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1989.

Miers, Earl Schenck, ed. *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary, By John B. Jones, 1861–1865*. New York: Sagamore Press, 1958.

Miller, Kerby A., ed. *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675–1815*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Mondy, Robert William. *Pioneers and Preachers: Stories of the Old Frontier*. Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall, 1980.

Moore, Frank. *The Diary of the American Revolution, 1775–1781*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1967.

———, ed. *Documentary Account of the American Revolution*. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

Morgan, Speer, and Greg Michalson. *For Our Beloved Country: American War Diaries from the Revolution to the Persian Gulf*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994.

Morison, Samuel Eliot, ed. *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution 1764–1788 and the Formation of the Federal Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Morris, Alfred J., ed. *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times*. Lynchburg, VA: J. P. Bell, 1922.

Morris, Richard B., and James Woodress, eds. *Voices from America's Past: The Times That Tried Men's Souls, 1770–1783*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.

Moskow, Shirley Blotnick. *Emma's World: An Intimate Look at the Lives Touched by the Civil War Era*. Jersey City, NJ: New Horizon Press, 1990.

Newman, Richard, and Patrick Rael, eds. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790–1860*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Olmsted, Frederick Law. *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, With Remarks on Their Economy*. New York: Dix & Edwards, 1856.

Paterson, William. *Glimpses of Colonial Society and the Life at Princeton College, 1766–1773 by One of the Class of 1763*. Edited by W. Jay Mills. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903.

Phillips, Joyce B., and Paul Gary Phillips. *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817–1823*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Rae, Noel, ed. *Witnessing America: The Library of Congress Book of Firsthand Accounts of Life in America, 1600–1900*. New York: Stonesong Press, 1996.

Rasmussen, Wayne David, comp. *Agriculture in the United States: A Documentary History*. New York: Random House, 1975.

Rhodehamel, John H., ed. *The American Revolution: Writings from the War of Independence*. New York: Library of America, 2001.

Richardson, James D., comp. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897*. Vol. 1 of 10. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896–1899.

Ridge, Martin, and Ray Allen Billington, eds. *America's Frontier Story: A Documentary History of Westward Expansion*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969.

Riedesel, Baroness Fredericke. *Letters and Journals*. New York: Arno Press, 1968.

Ripley, C. Peter. *Witness for Freedom: African American Voices on Race, Slavery, and Emancipation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Ritchie, Carson I. A. "A New York Diary of the Revolutionary War." In *Narratives of the Revolution in New York*. New York: Kingsport Press, 1975.

Scheer, George E., ed. *Private Yankee Doodle*. New York: Eastern Acorn Press, 1962.

Smith, James West. "A Confederate Soldier's Diary: Vicksburg in 1863." *Southwest Review* 28 (1943).

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, preparer. *Address to the Legislature of New York, Adopted by the Women's Rights Convention held at Albany, Tuesday and Wednesday, February 14 and 15, 1854*. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1854.

Stowe, C. E. *Life of Harriett Beecher Stowe: Compiled from Her Journals and Letters*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1889.

Strickland, William. *Journal of a Tour in the United States of America, 1794–1795*. Edited by Reverend J. E. Strickland, with a facsimile edition of William Strickland's "Observations on the Agriculture of the United States of America." New York: New-York Historical Society, 1971.

Sumner, Dolly. *A Woman's Wartime Journal*. New York: Century, 1918.

Sweet, William Warren, ed. *The Baptists, 1783–1830: A Collection of Source Material*. New York: H. Holt, 1931.

———. *The Presbyterians, 1783–1840: A Collection of Source Materials*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936.

Symmes, Rebecca D., ed. *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert in Massachusetts and New York*. Cooperstown: New York Historical Association, 1980.

Thomas, M. Halsey, ed. *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729*. Vol. 2. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. 12th ed. 1848. Translated by George Lawrence and edited by J. P. Mayer. New York: Harper Perennial, 1969.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*. Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1906.

Tucher, Andie, ed. *Agriculture in America, 1622–1860: Printed Works in the Collections of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia*. New York: Garland, 1984.

Tucker, Louis L. "'To My Inexpressible Astonishment': Admiral Sir George Collier's Observations on the Battle of Long Island." In *Narratives of the Revolution in New York*. New York: Kingsport Press, 1975.

Wahll, Andrew J., ed. *The Braddock Road Chronicles, 1755*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1999.

Walton, William, ed. *A Civil War Courtship: The Letters of Edwin Weller from Antietam to Atlanta*. New York: Doubleday, 1980.

Weld, Theodore. *American Slavery as It Is*. New York, 1839.

Wister, Sally. *Sally Wister's Journal: A True Narrative*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1995.

Woodson, Carter G., ed. *The Mind of the Negro As Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800–1860*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1969.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.

Wright, France. *Views of Society and Manners in America*. Edited by Paul R. Baker. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963.

MEN

Clawson, Mary Ann. *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Hamilton, Thomas. *Men and Manners in America*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1833.

Kimmel, Michael S. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: Free Press, 1997.
Pugh, David G. *Sons of Liberty: The Masculine Mind in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983.
Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
Tosh, John. "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home." *History Today* (December 1996).

THE MILITARY

Ambrose, Stephen E. *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.
———. *Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point*. Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966.
Anderson, Fred W. *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
———. "Why Did Colonial New Englanders Make Bad Soldiers? Contractual Principles and Military Conduct during the Seven Years' War." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 38 (1981): 395–417.
Beach, Edward L. *The United States Navy: A 200-Year History*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1986.
Black, Jeremy. *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Cassell, 1999.
Bowman, Larry. *Captive Americans: Prisoners during the American Revolution*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976.
Callahan, North. *Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.
Caruana, Adrian. *The Light 6-pdr. Battalion Gun of 1776*. Bloomfield, ON: Museum Restoration Services, 1977.
Cimbala, Paul A. *The Civil War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008.
Clarke, William B. *Ben Franklin's Privateers*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956.
———. *George Washington's Navy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960.
Coakley, Robert W. *The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders, 1789–1878*. Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1988.
Coffman, Edward M. *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
Coggins, Jack, ed. *Boys in the Revolution: Young Americans Tell Their Part in the War for Independence*. Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1967.
Crackel, Theodore J. *Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment, 1801–1809*. New York: New York University Press, 1987.
Cress, Lawrence Delbert. *Citizens in Arms: The Army and Militia in American Society to the War of 1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.
Cumming, William P., and Hugh Rankin, eds. *The Fate of a Nation: The American Revolution through Contemporary Eyes*. London: Phaidon Press, 1975.
Dandridge, Danske. *American Prisoners of the Revolution*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, 1967.
Dudley, William S., and Michael J. Crawford, eds. *The Early Republic and the Sea: Essays on the Naval and Maritime History of the Early United States*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2001.

Dull, Jonathan. *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy 1774–1787*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Foote, Allan D. *Liberty March: The Battle of Oriskany*. Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1998.

Fowler, William M. *Jack Tars and Commodores: The American Navy, 1783–1815*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

———. *Rebels under Sail: The American Navy during the Revolution*. New York: Scribner's, 1976.

Gavin, John R. *The Minute Men, The First Fight: Myths and Realities of the American Revolution*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1996.

Gerson, Noel B. *Light Horse Harry: A Biography of Washington's Great Cavalryman*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.

———. *The Swamp Fox, Francis Marion*. New York: Doubleday, 1967.

Gibson, Marjorie H. *HMS Somerset, 1746–1778: The Life and Times of an Eighteenth-Century British Man-O-War and Her Impact on North America*. Cotuit, MA: Abbey Gate House, 1992.

Gillett, Mary C. *The Army Medical Department, 1775–1818*. Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1990.

Harrington, Peter. *Culloden 1746: The Highland Clans' Last Charge*. London: Osprey, 1991.

Hayes, John T. *Connecticut's Revolutionary Cavalry: Sheldon's Horse*. Chester, CT: Pequot Press, 1975.

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds. *Daily Lives of Civilians in Early Wartime America: From the Colonial Era to the Civil War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

———. *Encyclopedia of the War of 1812*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1997.

———. *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1996; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003.

———. *The War of 1812*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2002.

Herr, John K., and Edward S. Wallace. *The Story of the U.S. Cavalry, 1775–1942*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1984.

Hibbert, Christopher. *Redcoats and Rebels: The American Revolution through British Eyes*. New York: Avon, 1991.

Higginbotham, Don. *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763–1789*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1983.

Hirsch, Adam J. "The Collision of Military Cultures in Seventeenth-Century New England." *Journal of American History* 26 (March 1988): 1187–1212.

Kaser, David. *Books and Libraries in Camp and Battle: The Civil War Experience*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Keegan, John. *Fields of Battle: The Wars for North America*. New York: Vintage Press, 1997.

Ketchum, Richard M. *Decisive Day: The Battle for Bunker Hill*. New York: Doubleday, 1974.

Kochan, James, and David Rickman. *The United States Army, 1783–1811*. Oxford: Osprey Military, 2001.

Kwasny, Mark V. *Washington's Partisan War, 1775–1783*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1996.

Lancaster, Bruce. *The History of the American Revolution*. New York: American Heritage/Bonanza, 1971.

Leach, Douglas E. *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677–1775*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Lewis, Michael. *The History of the British Navy*. Fair Lawn, NJ: Essential Books, 1959.

Loescher, Burt Garfield. *Washington's Eyes: The Continental Light Dragoons*. Fort Collins, CO: Old Army Press, 1977.

Long, David Foster. *Gold Braid and Foreign Relations: Diplomatic Activities of U.S. Naval Officers, 1798–1883*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1988.

Martin, James Kirby, and Mark Edward Lender. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic, 1763–1789*. Arlington Heights, IL. Harlan Davidson, 1982.

Mayer, Holly A. *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community During the American Revolution*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

McCaffrey, James M. *The Army in Transformation, 1790–1860*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

McKee, Christopher. *A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession: The Creation of the U.S. Naval Officer Corps, 1794–1815*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1991.

McPherson, James M. *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Merrill, James M. *Quarter-Deck and Fo'c's'le: The Exciting Story of the Navy*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1963.

Morton, Louis. "The Origins of American Military Policy." *Military Affairs* 22 (1958): 75–82.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. "William Manning's *The Key of Libberty*." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 13 (April 1956): 202–54.

Naimeyer, Charles P. *The Revolutionary War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Padfield, Peter. *Maritime Supremacy and the Opening of the Western Mind*. New York: Overlook Press, 2002.

Palmer, Dave Richard. *1794: America, Its Army, and the Birth of the Nation*. Novato, CA: Presidio, 1994.

Patterson, Gerard A. *Rebels from West Point*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002.

Pearson, Michael. *Those Damned Rebels: The American Revolution as Seen through British Eyes*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1972.

Peckham, Howard. *The Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Preston, John Hyde. *Revolution 1776*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815–1860*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1953.

———. *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789–1895*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964.

———. *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783–1846*. New York: Macmillan, 1969.

Radabaugh, Jack. "The Militia of Colonial Massachusetts." *Military Affairs* 18 (1954): 1–18.

Resch, John Phillips. *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment, and Political Culture in the Early Republic*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Risch, Erna. *Supplying Washington's Army*. Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military Studies, 1981.

Robertson, James I. *Soldiers Blue and Gray*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.

———. *Tenting Tonight: The Soldier's Life*. Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1984.

Robotti, Frances Diane, and James Vescovi, eds. *The USS* Essex *and the Birth of the American Navy*. Holbrook, MA: Adams Media Corporation, 1999.

Robson, Eric. *The American Revolution in its Political and Military Aspects, 1763–1783*. New York: Norton, 1966.

Rossie, Jonathan Gregory. *The Politics of Command in the American Revolution*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1975.

Schama, Simon. *A History of Britain: The Wars of the British: 1603–1776*. New York: Hyperion, 2001.

Scheer, George, and Russell F. Weigley, eds. *Morristown*. Washington, DC: U.S. National Park Service, Division of Publications, 1983.

Schultz, A. N. *Illustrated Drill Manual and Regulations for the American Soldier of the Revolutionary War*. Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1982.

Shy, John W. "A New Look at Colonial Militia." *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1963): 175–85.

Silverstone, Paul H. *The Sailing Navy, 1775–1854*. Annapolis, MA: Naval Institute Press, 2001.

Skeen, Carl Edward. *Citizen Soldiers in the War of 1812*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.

Skelton, William B. *An American Profession of Arms: The Army Officer Corps, 1784–1861*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

Swiggett, Howard. *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.

Thacher, James. *Military Journal of the American Revolution, 1775–1783*. Gansevoort, NY: Corner House Publishing, 1998.

Townshend, Charles, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Tucker, Spencer. *The Jeffersonian Gunboat Navy*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993.

Valle, James E. *Rocks and Shoals: Order and Discipline in the Old Navy, 1800–1861*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1980.

van Tyne, Claude Halstead. *The Loyalists in the American Revolution*. Ganesvoort, NY: Corner House Historical Publications, 1999.

Ward, Christopher. *The War of the Revolution*. New York: Macmillan, 1952.

NATIVE AMERICANS

Benn, Carl. *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Chapman, George. *Chief William McIntosh: A Man of Two Worlds*. Atlanta, GA: Cherokee Publishing, 1988.

Crosby, Alfred W., Jr. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969.

———. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Doster, James Fletcher. *The Creek Indians and Their Florida Lands, 1740–1823*. New York: Garland, 1974.

Ethridge, Robbie Franklyn. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

Griffith, Benjamin W. *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988.

Hoxie, Frederick E., and Ronald Hoffman. *Native Americans and the Early Republic*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *Indian Agriculture in America: Prehistory to the Present*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987.

———. *The Indian Frontier, 1763–1846*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

———. *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720–1830*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996.

King, Duane H. *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Littlefield, Daniel F. *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Mahon, John K. "Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare, 1676–1794." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45, no. 2 (1958): 254–75.

Martin, Joel W. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1991.

McLoughlin, William Gerald. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

———. *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

———. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1780–1834*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

———. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Ronda, James P. *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Skaggs, David C., and Larry L. Nelson, eds. *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754–1814*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001.

Southerland, Henry DeLeon, and Jerry Elijah Brown. *The Federal Road through Georgia, the Creek Nation, and Alabama, 1806–1836*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989.

Swanton, John Reed. *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.

Vennum, Thomas. *American Indian Lacrosse: Little Brother of War*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.

Wallace, Paul A. W. *Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk: 1696–1760*. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1996.

Watt, Gavin K. *The Burning of the Valleys: Daring Raids from Canada against the New York Frontier in the Fall of 1780*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997.

Wright, J. Leitch. *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

NEWSPAPERS

Ashley, Perry J. *American Newspaper Journalists, 1690–1872*. Detroit, MI: Gale, 1985.

Brown, Walt. *John Adams and the American Press: Politics and Journalism at the Birth of the Republic*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1995.

Dicken Garcia, Hazel. *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Humphrey, Carol Sue. *The Press of the Young Republic, 1783–1833*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Jamison, David L. "Newspapers and the Press." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Lee, Alfred McClung. *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument*. New York: Macmillan, 1937.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Phillips, Kim Tousley. *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson*. New York: Garland, 1989.

Riley, Sam G. *American Magazine Journalists, 1741–1850*. Detroit, MI: Gale, 1988.

Rutland, Robert Allen. *The Newsmongers: Journalism in the Life of the Nation, 1690–1972*. New York: Dial Press, 1973.

Schudson, Michael. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books, 1978.

Tebbel, John William. *The Compact History of the American Newspaper*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1963.

REFORM

Adams, Alice Dana. *The Neglected Period of Anti-slavery in America (1808–1831)*. 2nd ed. Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1973.

Blassingame, John W. *The Clarion Voice*. Washington, DC: National Parks Service, 1976.

Burin, Eric. *Slavery and the Peculiar Institution: A History of the American Colonization Society*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005.

Degler, Carl N. *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Dillon, Merton Lynn. *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority*. De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974.

Epstein, Barbara Leslie. *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981.

Fox, Early Lee. *The American Colonization Society, 1817–1840*. New York: AMS Press, 1971.
Frick, John W. *Theatre, Culture, and Temperance Reform in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
Hampel, Robert L. *Temperance and Prohibition in Massachusetts, 1813–1852*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982.
Hinks, Peter, and John McKivigan, eds., and R. Owen Williams, asst. ed. *Encyclopedia of Antislavery and Abolition*. 2 vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Hirsch, Adam J. *The Rise of the Penitentiary: Prisons and Punishments in Early America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
Lewis, Orlando F. *The Development of American Prisons and Prison Customs, 1776–1845*. Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1967.
Lowance, Mason I. *A House Divided: The Antebellum Slavery Debates in America, 1776–1865*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.
Macy, Jesse. *The Anti-slavery Crusade: A Chronicle of the Gathering Storm*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1919.
Newman, Richard S. *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
Parsons, Elaine Frantz. *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
Stewart, James Brewer. *Holy Warriors: Abolitionists and American Slavery*. 2nd ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1997.
Strong, Douglas M. *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999.
Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

RELIGION

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972.
Andrews, Dee. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
Berens, John F. *Providence and Patriotism in Early America, 1640–1815*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978.
Bilhartz, Terry D. *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.
Bodo, John R. *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812–1848*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954.
Boylan, Anne M. *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.
Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
Bressler, Ann Lee. *The Universalist Movement in America, 1770–1880*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
Brown, Candy Guther. *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789–1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Bruce, Dickson D. *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp Meeting Religion, 1800–1845*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974.

Campbell, James T. *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Cross, Whitney R. *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965.

DeBerg, Betty A. *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

Dorrien, Gary J. *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion, 1805–1900*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

Elsbree, Oliver Wendell. *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815*. Williamsport, PA: Williamsport Printing and Binding Co., 1928; Philadelphia, PA: Porcupine Press, 1980.

Foster, Lawrence. *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991.

Fraser, James W. *Pedagogue for God's Kingdom: Lyman Beecher and the Second Great Awakening*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *Faith of Our Fathers: Religion and the New Nation*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1987.

George, Carol V. R. *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760–1840*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Gilpin, Joshua. "Journey to Bethlehem." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. 46 (1922).

Gribbin, William. *The Churches Militant: The War of 1812 and American Religion*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973.

Hamm, Thomas D. *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

Hardaway, Keith. *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals in America*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994.

Hutchison, William R. *Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.

Hutson, James H. *Religion and the Founding of the American Republic*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1998.

Jenkins, Philip. *Mystics and Messiahs: Cults and New Religions in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Johnson, Paul E. *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.

Keller, Charles Roy. *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1968.

Longenecker, Stephen L. *Piety and Tolerance: Pennsylvania German Religion, 1700–1850*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

Luchetti, Cathy. *Under God's Spell: Frontier Evangelists, 1772–1915*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989.

McLoughlin, William Gerald, comp. *The American Evangelicals, 1800–1900: An Anthology*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Miller, William Lee. *The First Liberty: Religion and the American Republic*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Payne, Daniel Alexander. *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Richey, Russell E. *Early American Methodism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Rohrer, James R. *Keepers of the Covenant: Frontier Missions and the Decline of Congregationalism, 1774–1818*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Roth, Randolph A. *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Singleton, George A. *The Romance of African Methodism: A Study of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. New York: Exposition Press, 1952.

Thomas, George M. *Revivalism and Cultural Change: Christianity, Nation Building, and the Market in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Washington, Joseph R. *Race and Religion in Early Nineteenth-Century America, 1800–1850: Constitution, Conscience, and Calvinist Compromise*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen, 1988.

Wigger, John H. *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

RURAL AND FRONTIER AMERICA

Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *The Mississippi and the Making of a Nation: From the Louisiana Purchase to Today*. Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2002.

Bartlett, Richard A. *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776–1890*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Billington, Ray Allen. *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

Carlson, Laurie M. *Seduced by the West: Jefferson's America and the Lure of the Land beyond the Mississippi*. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2003.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Fredrika J. Teute, eds. *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin. *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*. 2 vols. Stanford, CA: Academic Reprints, 1954.

Davis, James Edward. *Frontier America, 1800–1840: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Settlement Process*. Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark, 1977.

Davis, William C. *The American Frontier: Pioneers, Settlers, and Cowboys, 1800–1899*. New York: Smithmark, 1992.

DeVoto, Bernard A. *The Course of Empire*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1952.

Dick, Everett. *The Dixie Frontier: A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1964. First published New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.

Gates, Paul Wallace, Allan G. Bogue, and Margaret Beattie Bogue. *The Jeffersonian Dream: Studies in the History of American Land Policy and Development*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Goodwin, Cardinal Leonidas. *The Trans-Mississippi West, 1803–1853: A History of Its Acquisition and Settlement*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967.

Hafen, Le Roy Reuben, and Harvey Lewis Carter. *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West: Eighteen Biographical Sketches*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler. *Manifest Destiny*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Hyslop, Stephen G. *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806–1848*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Jones, Mary Ellen. *The Nineteenth-Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Maguire, James H., and Peter Wild. *A Rendezvous Reader: Tall, Tangled, and True Tales of the Mountain Men, 1805–1850*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997.

Mancall, Peter C. *American Eras: Westward Expansion, 1800–1860*. Detroit, MI: Gale, 1999.

Merk, Frederick. *History of the Westward Movement*. New York: Knopf, 1978.

Moring, John. *Early American Naturalists: Exploring the American West, 1804–1900*. New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002.

Osborn, William M. *The Wild Frontier: Atrocities during the American-Indian War from Jamestown Colony to Wounded Knee*. New York: Random House, 2000.

Otto, John Solomon. *The Southern Frontiers, 1607–1860: The Agricultural Evolution of the Colonial and Antebellum South*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Paxson, Frederic L. *History of the American Frontier, 1763–1893*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.

Ronda, James P. *Thomas Jefferson and the Changing West: From Conquest to Conservation*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

Sandoz, Mari. *The Beaver Men: Spearheads of Empire*. New York: Hastings House, 1964.

Stegner, Page. *Winning the Wild West: The Epic Saga of the American Frontier, 1800–1899*. New York: Free Press, 2002.

Terrell, John Upton. *The Six Turnings: Major Changes in the American West, 1806–1834*. Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark, 1968.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962.

Van Every, Dale. *Ark of Empire: The American Frontier, 1784–1803*. New York: Morrow, 1963.

Weber, David J. *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540–1821*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979.

Wishart, David J. *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807–1840: A Geographical Synthesis*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

Wright, J. Leitch. *Britain and the American Frontier, 1783–1815*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Adams, Sean Patrick. "Iron." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Basalla, George. *The Evolution of Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

de Camp, L. Sprague. *Heroes of American Invention*. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1993. Originally published as *The Heroic Age of American Invention*, New York: Doubleday, 1961.

de la Pedraja, Rene. "Steam Power." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Ess, Daniel R. "Agricultural Technology." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Gordon, Robert B. "Custom and Consequences: Early Nineteenth-Century Origins of the Environmental and Social Costs of Mining Anthracite." In *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850*, ed. Judith A. McGaw. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Hutchinson, William. *A Treatise on Naval Architecture*. Liverpool: T. Billinge, 1794.

Israel, Paul. "Telegraph." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Langdon, William Chauncy. *Everyday Things in American Life, 1776–1876*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.

Lasby, Clarence G. "Science and the Military." In *Science and Society in the United States*, ed. David D. Van Tassell and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Linklater, Andro. *Measuring America: How an Untamed Wilderness Shaped the United States and Fulfilled the Promise of Democracy*. New York: Walker and Company, 2003.

Marcus, Alan I., and Howard P. Segal. *Technology in America: A Brief History*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1989.

McGaw, Judith A., ed. *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Mulcahy, Richard P. "Mining and Extraction." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Nye, David E. *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.

———. *American Technological Sublime*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994.

Petroski, Henry. *The Evolution of Useful Things*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Pursell, Carroll W., Jr. *The Machine in America: A Social History of Technology*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Rider, Christine, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1700–1920*. 2 vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Rosenberg, Charles E. "Science and American Social Thought." In *Science and Society in the United States*, ed. David D. Van Tassell and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Sinclair, Bruce. *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute. 1824–1865*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Smith, Charles L. "Natural Resources." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Spar, Debra L. *Ruling the Waves: Cycles of Discovery, Chaos, and Wealth from the Compass to the Internet*. New York: Harcourt Inc., 2001.

Standage, Tom. *The Victorian Internet*. New York: Walker Publishing, 1998.

Struik, Dirk, J. *Yankee Science in the Making*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in 19th-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Van Tassell, David D., and Michael G. Hall, eds. *Science and Society in the United States*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Weiner, Charles. "Science and Higher Education." In *Science and Society in the United States*, ed. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Wik, Reynold, M. "Science and American Agriculture." In *Science and Society in the United States*, ed. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

TRAVEL

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.

Bourne, Russell. *Americans on the Move: A History of Waterways, Railways, and Highways: With Maps and Illustrations from the Library of Congress*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1995.

Cole, Harry Ellsworth, and Louise Phelps Kellogg. *Stagecoach and Tavern Tales of the Old Northwest*. Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1930.

Dorsey, Leslie, and Janice Devine. *Fare Thee Well: A Backward Look at Two Centuries of Historic American Hostelries, Fashionable Spas, and Seaside Resorts*. New York: Crown, 1964.

Douglas, George H. *All Aboard! The Railroad in American Life*. New York: Paragon House, 1992.

Dunbar, Seymour. *A History of Travel in America*. 4 vols. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1915.

Haas, Irvin. *America's Historic Inns and Taverns*. New York: Arco, 1972.

Holmes, Oliver W., and Peter T. Rohrbach. *Stagecoach East: Stagecoach Days in the East from the Colonial Period to the Civil War*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983.

Jordan, Philip D. *The National Road*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1948.

Olcott, William. *The Greenbrier Heritage*. Philadelphia, PA: Arndt, Preston, Chapin, Lamb and Keen, 1967.

Parks, Roger. *Roads and Travel in New England, 1790–1840*. Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1967.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860*. Vol. 4 of *The Economic History of the United States*. New York: Rinehart, 1951.

Williamson, Jefferson. *The American Hotel: An Anecdotal History*. New York: Knopf, 1930.

Withey, Lynne. *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915*. London: Aurum Press, 1998.

WOMEN

Abramovitz, Mimi. *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare from Colonial Times to the Present*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988.

Alexander, William. *The History of Women from the Earliest Antiquity to Present Time: Giving an Account of Almost Every Interesting Particular Concerning That Sex among All Nations, Ancient and Modern*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia, PA: J. H. Dobelbower, 1796.

Applewhite, Harriet Branson, and Darline Gay Levy. *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Barker-Benfield, G. J. *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life: Male Attitudes toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

Baym, Nina. *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790–1860*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995.

Bell, Michael W. "Apprenticeship: An Example from Rural Massachusetts." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2003).
Berkin, Carol. *First Generations: Women in Colonial America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.
Blair, Karen J. *The History of American Women's Voluntary Organizations, 1810–1960: A Guide to Sources*. Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1989.
Blumenthal, Walter Hart. *Women Camp Followers of the Revolution*. Salem, NH: Ayer, 1992.
Braken, Jeanne Munn, ed. *Women in the American Revolution*. Carlisle, MA: Discovery Enterprises, 1997.
Cherniavsky, Eva. *That Pale Mother Rising: Sentimental Discourses and the Imitation of Motherhood in Nineteenth-Century America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
Child, Lydia Marie. *The Mother's Book*. Boston, MA: Applewood Books, 1831.
Clinton, Catherine E. *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.
Conway, Jill K. *The Female Experience in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America: A Guide to the History of American Women*. New York: Garland, 1982.
Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.
Degler, Carl N. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
Delamont, Sara, and Lorna Duffin. *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.
DePauw, Linda Grant, and Conover Hunt. *Remember the Ladies: Women in America, 1750–1815*. New York: Viking Press, 1976.
Dudden, Faye E. *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.
———. *Women in the American Theatre: Actresses and Audiences, 1790–1870*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
Dudley, Dorothy. *Theatrum Majorum: The Diary of Dorothy Dudley*. New York: Arno Press, 1971.
Earle, Alice Morse. *Colonial Dames and Good Wives*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1962.
———. *Costume of Colonial Times*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894.
———. *Customs and Fashions in Old New England*. Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1969.
Elred, Janet Carey, and Peter Mortensen. *Imagining Rhetoric: Composing Women of the Early United States*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002.
Evans, Elizabeth. *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.
Faust, Drew Gilpin. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
Groneman, Carol, and Mary Beth Norton. *"To Toil the Livelong Day": America's Women at Work, 1780–1980*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.
Gunderson, Joan R. *To Be Useful in the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740–1750*. New York: Twayne, 1996.
Halem, Lynne Carol. *Divorce Reform: Changing Legal and Social Perspectives*. New York: Free Press, 1980.

Harris, Sharon M. *American Women Writers to 1800*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

———. *Redefining the Political Novel: American Women Writers, 1797–1901*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Hoffert, Sylvia D. *Private Matters: American Attitudes toward Childbearing and Infant Nurture in the Urban North, 1800–1860*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Holliday, Carl. *Women's Life in Colonial Days*. Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1968

Jensen, Joan M. *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.

Johnson, Mary. *An Alternative Agenda to Male-Dominated History: Material Culture and Women's History*. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, Center for Research on Women, 1983.

Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Kerber, Linda K. *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.

———. *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

———. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Leavitt, Judith Walzer. *Brought to Bed: Childbirth in America, 1750–1950*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Matthews, Glenna. *"Just a Housewife": The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

McMillen, Sally Gregory. *Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Infant Rearing*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

Misner, Barbara. *Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies: Catholic Women Religious in America, 1790–1850*. New York: Garland, 1988.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1850*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1980.

Ogden, Annegret S. *The Great American Housewife: From Helpmate to Wage Earner, 1776–1986*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986.

Premo, Terri L. *Winter Friends: Women Growing Old in the New Republic, 1785–1835*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990.

Rendall, Jane. *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France, and the United States, 1780–1860*. New York: Schocken Books, 1984.

Richards, Jeffrey H. *Mercy Otis Warren*. New York: Twayne, 1995.

Samuels, Shirley. *Romances of the Republic: Women, the Family, and Violence in the Literature of the Early American Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Scherr, Arthur. *I Married Me a Wife: Male Attitudes toward Women in the American Museum, 1787–1792*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999.

Schloesser, Pauline E. *The Fair Sex: White Women and Racial Patriarchy in the Early American Republic*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Scholten, Catherine M. *Childbearing in American Society, 1630–1850*. New York: New York University Press, 1985.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

Sullivan, Walter. *The War the Women Lived: Female Voices from the Confederate South*. Nashville, TN: J. S. Sanders, 1995.

Swan, Susan Burrows, *Plain and Fancy: American Women and Their Needlework, 1650–1850*. Austin, TX: Curious Works Press, 1995.

Theriot, Nancy M. *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996.

Todd, Jan. *Physical Culture and the Body Beautiful: Purposive Exercise in the Lives of American Women, 1800–1870*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. "Daughters of Liberty: Religious Women in Revolutionary New England." In *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989.

———. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1550–1750*. New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Verbrugge, Martha H. *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Boston*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Weil, Dorothy. *In Defense of Women: Susanna Rowson (1762–1824)*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.

Williams, Selma R. *Demeter's Daughters: The Women Who Founded America 1587–1787*. New York: Atheneum, 1976.

WORK AND WORKERS

Applebaum, Herbert A. *The American Work Ethic and the Changing Work Force: An Historical Perspective*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Atherton, Lewis S. *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

———. *The Southern Country Store, 1800–1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949.

Bell, Michael W. "Apprenticeship: An Example from Rural Massachusetts." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2003).

Bezís-Selfa, John. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Bullock, Thomas K., and Maurice B. Tonkin. *The Wigmaker in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1959.

Cowan, Ruth Schwartz. *A Social History of American Technology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Coxe, Tench. *A Communication from the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts*. Philadelphia, PA: Printed for the Society by Samuel Akerman, 1804.

Donkin, Richard. *Blood, Sweat, and Tears: The Evolution of Work*. New York: Texere, 2001.

Faler, Paul. *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780–1860*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.

Gilje, Paul A. *Wages of Independence: Capitalism in the Early American Republic*. Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997.

Greenberg, Joshua R. "The Workshop." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Hamilton, Milton W. *The Country Printer: New York State, 1785–1830*. Port Washington, NY: I. J. Freidman, 1964.

Hirsch, Susan E. *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800–1860.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.

Hounshell, David A. *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800–1932.* Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Jeremy, David J. *Artisans, Entrepreneurs, and Machines: Essays on the Early Anglo-American Textile Industries, 1770–1840s.* Aldershot [Hants.], UK: Ashgate, 1998.

———. *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies between Britain and America, 1790–1830s.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981.

Joyce, William L., ed. *Printing and Society in Early America.* Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1983.

Laurie, Bruce, and Eric Foner. *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.

Licht, Walter. *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century.* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

———. *Working for the Railroad: The Organization of Work in the Nineteenth Century.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Montgomery, David. *Citizen Worker: The Experience of Workers in the United States with Democracy and the Free Market during the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Prude, Jonathan. *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Puig, Francis J., and Michael Conforti. *The American Craftsman and the European Tradition, 1620–1820.* Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1989.

Rigal, Laura. *The American Manufactory: Art, Labor, and the World of Things in the Early Republic.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Rock, Howard. *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: New York University Press, 1981.

Rock, Howard B., and Paul A. Gilje. *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850.* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Rorabaugh, William J. *The Craft Apprentice in America: From Franklin to the Machine Age.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Rowe, William Hutchinson. *The Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1948.

Saffell, Cameron L. "Meatpacking." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Sellers, Charles Grier. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Silver, Rollo P. *The American Printer, 1787–1825.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Steinberg, Theodore. *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Tucker, Barbara M. *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790–1860.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984.

Wahl, Jenny Bourne. "Work: Factory Labor." In *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Paul Finkelman. Vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Wishart, David J. *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807–1840: A Geographical Synthesis*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

WEBSITE RESOURCES

"Presidents of the United States." The White House.gov. Available at: www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents
"Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States." About.com. Available at: http://americanhistory.about.com/library/charts/blchartpresidents.htm
"Secretaries of State, 1789–2005." U.S. Department of State. Available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/po/1682.htm.

This page intentionally left blank

CUMULATIVE INDEX

Boldface numbers refer to volume numbers. A key appears on all verso pages.

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861 3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900 4: 1940–Present

This page intentionally left blank

EDITORS

General Editor

Randall M. Miller
St. Joseph's University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Volume Editor

Theodore J. Zeman
St. Joseph's University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

This page intentionally left blank

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

Recent Titles in
The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

The Civil War
Paul A. Cimbala

Civilians in Wartime Europe, 1618–1900
Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey, editors

The Vietnam War
James E. Westheider

World War II
G. Kurt Piehler

Immigrant America, 1870–1920
June Granatir Alexander

Along the Mississippi
George S. Pabis

Immigrant America, 1820–1870
James M. Bergquist

Pre-Columbian Native America
Clarissa W. Confer

Post-Cold War
Stephen A. Bourque

The New Testament
James W. Ermatinger

The Hellenistic Age: From Alexander to Cleopatra
James Allan Evans

Imperial Russia
Greta Bucher

2 THE CIVIL WAR, RECONSTRUCTION, AND INDUSTRIALIZATION OF AMERICA, 1861–1900

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo
VOLUME EDITORS
Randall M. Miller
GENERAL EDITOR

The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

GP

GREENWOOD PRESS
Westport, Connecticut • London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Greenwood encyclopedia of daily life in America / Randall M. Miller, general editor.
p. cm.—(The Greenwood Press daily life through history series, ISSN 1080–4749)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
ISBN 978–0–313–33703–1 (v. 1)
ISBN 978–0–313–33704–8 (v. 2)
ISBN 978–0–313–33705–5 (v. 3)
ISBN 978–0–313–33706–2 (v. 4)
1. United States—Civilization—Encyclopedias. 2. United States—Social life and customs—Encyclopedias. 3. United States—Social conditions—Encyclopedias. I. Miller, Randall M.
E169.1.G7553 2009
973.03—dc22 2007042828

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2007042828
ISBN: 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
978–0–313–33703–1 (vol. 1)
978–0–313–33704–8 (vol. 2)
978–0–313–33705–5 (vol. 3)
978–0–313–33706–2 (vol. 4)
ISSN: 1080–4749

First published in 2009

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881
An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
www.greenwood.com

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this book complies with the
Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National
Information Standards Organization (Z39.48–1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

CONTENTS

This page intentionally left blank

TOUR GUIDE: A PREFACE FOR USERS

During the time of the American Revolution, the writer Hector St. Jean de Crevecouer asked the fundamental question that has dogged Americans thereafter: "What then is this new man, this American." Countless students of American history have searched every aspect of political, economic, social, and cultural history to discover "this American." In doing so, they have often focused on the great ideas that inspired a "free people" and defined public interest since the inception of the United States; the great events that marked American history; and the great changes wrought by democratic, industrial, communications, and other revolutions shaping American life, work, and identities. And they have been right to do so. But more recently other students of history have insisted that finding the *real* American requires looking at the details of everyday life. Therein, they argue, Americans practiced what mattered most to them and gave meaning to larger concepts of *freedom* and to the great events swirling about them. The ways Americans at home and at work ordered their daily life have become the subject of numerous community studies and biographies of the so-called common man or woman that were created by combing through all manner of personal accounts in diaries, letters, memoirs, business papers, birth and death records, census data, material culture, popular song, verse, artistic expression, and, indeed, virtually any source about or by common folk.

But making sense of so much individual study and providing a clear path through the history of Americans in their daily life has waited on a work that brings together the many and diverse ways Americans ordered their individual worlds at home and at work. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* promises such a synthesis; it also promises to find "this American" in what Americans ate, who they courted and married, how they raised their children, what they did at work, where they traveled, how they played, and virtually every aspect of social life that Americans made for themselves. As such, it brings to life "this American" on his or her own terms. It also suggests that by discovering the ordinary it becomes possible to understand that extraordinary phenomenon of the American.

Features and Uses

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America is a reference work and guide that provides up-to-date, authoritative, and readable entries on the many experiences and varieties of daily life of Americans from the dawn of the republic through the first years of the twenty-first century. In spanning the roughly 250 years from the mid-eighteenth century to the new millennium, the four volumes of *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* employ both a chronological and a topical, or thematic, approach. Doing so invites many uses for the volumes as reference guides; as touchstones for inquiries to a host of questions about the social, cultural, economic, and political history of Americans and the nation; and, taken together, as a broad view of daily life in the United States.

Users can read the articles separately or as a running narrative, depending on interest and need. The organization of the work collectively according to time period and within each volume according to time period, geography, daily activity, and group allows readers to explore a topic in depth, in comparative perspective, and over time. Also, because each section of each volume opens with a synthetic overview for purposes of historical context, the material in each section becomes more readily linked to larger patterns of American social, cultural, economic, and political developments. By structuring the volumes in this manner, it becomes possible to integrate and apply the encyclopedia within modern and flexible pedagogical frameworks in the classroom, in the library, and in home-schooling settings.

Cross-referencing within the articles and the cumulative subject index to the encyclopedia found at the back of each volume together expand the reach of individual topics across time and in different places. Thus, for example, the discussion of marital patterns and habits in the antebellum period of the nineteenth century, which includes mentions of courtship patterns, marriage rites, family formation, parenting, and even divorce, easily bridges to treatments of the same topics in other periods. Likewise, a reader wanting to compare foodways as they developed over time might move easily from representations of the early American "down-home" cooking of a largely agricultural society, through the increased portability and packaging of foods demanded by an urbanizing society during the nineteenth century, to the recent preference for such paradoxes in food choices as fresh foods, exotic foods, and fast food in the post-industrial United States.

Readers might go backward as well as forward, or even sideways, in following their interests, looking for the roots and then growth and development of habits and practices that defined and ordered the daily lives of Americans. In doing so, they might discover that each successive modern society has had its own search for the simpler life by trying to recover and reproduce parts of a supposedly more settled and serene past. They also will discover not only the changes wrought by ever more modern means of production, transportation, communication, and social and economic organization but also some striking continuities. Old ways often continue in new days. Americans have been a people on the go from the beginning of the nation and have become more so over time. As such, staying in touch with

family and friends has ever been central to Americans' sense of place and purpose in organizing their lives. Whether carrying a daguerreotype image while heading west or to war in the nineteenth century, shooting photos with a Kodak camera from the late nineteenth century well into the twentieth century, or taking pictures with a video camera, a digital camera, or even with a cell-phone in the twenty-first century, Americans sought ways to keep visual images of the people, animals, possessions, and places that mattered to them. Letter writing also has become no less important a means of communication when the words move electronically via e-mail than when they were scratched out with a quill pen on paper. The encyclopedia provides a ready way to measure and map such social and cultural patterns and developments.

In its organization and with its reference supports, the encyclopedia encourages such topical excursions across time. Thus, the encyclopedia promises ways to an integrated analysis of daily life and of the core values, interests, and identities of Americans at any one time and over time.

Sidebars (found in volumes 3 and 4, and called Snapshots), chronologies, illustrations, and excerpts from documents further enrich each volume with specific examples of daily life from primary sources. They add not only "color" but also significant content by capturing the sense of a particular people or place in song, verse, speech, letters, and image and by giving voice to the people themselves. Readers thus engage Americans in their daily life directly.

The life and use of the encyclopedia extends beyond the physical volumes themselves. Because the encyclopedia derives much of its material from the vast resources of the Greenwood Publishing Group archive of works in ongoing series, such as the *Greenwood Press Daily Life Through History* Series and the *Daily Life in the United States* Series, to name the two most prominent, and on the many encyclopedias, reference works, and scholarly monographs making up its list, and on the many document-based works in its collection, the encyclopedia includes up-to-date and reliably vetted material. It also plugs into the *Greenwood Daily Life Online* database, which ensures a continuous expansion, enhancement, and refinement of content and easy searching capabilities. In that sense, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America,* like the American people, literally exists in a constant state of renewal to live beyond its original creation.

Organization and Coverage

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America has a wide sweep in terms of time, topics, and themes related to the ordering of the daily lives of Americans. It also includes the many and diverse Americans, understanding that no one experience or people spoke or speaks for the variety of daily lives in the United States or explains even the unity of common experiences many different Americans have had and sought. That said, the encyclopedia is not a simple fact-by-fact description of every group or daily activity conducted in the United States. The encyclopedia

is consciously selective in topics and coverage, with an eye always to relating the most significant and representative examples of the daily lives of different Americans.

The coverage of particular people and topics varies due to the availability of sources by and about them. Thus, for example, such peoples as the Iroquois, Cherokee, and Lakota Sioux get more explicit notice than, say, the Shoshone, simply because they left a fuller record of their lives and were observed and written about, or painted or photographed, in their daily lives more fully than were some other Native peoples. Then, too, the daily life of immigrant peoples receives extensive coverage throughout the volumes, but the extent and depth of coverage varies due to the size of the group and, more important, due to the available source material about any particular group. Thus, for example, when combined, the several major governmental and foundation studies of eastern and southern European immigrant groups in industrial America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rich tradition of publishing ethnic newspapers, the relating of personal lives in memoirs and oral histories, and a conscious effort to recover an immigrant past by the children and grandchildren of the first generation all explain the wider focus on such groups as representative types for their day. We simply know much about such people at work and at home. Such coverage of some people more fully than others does not mean any one experience counts more than others. It is, rather, mainly a matter of the critical mass of information at hand.

The encyclopedia includes all age groups in its coverage, but, again, the documentary record is richer for people coming of age through their adult lives into retirement than it is for the very young or the very old. Then, too, more is known about the daily lives of the upper classes than the lower classes, the privileged than the underprivileged, and the free than the unfree. The encyclopedia boasts significant inclusion of the many diverse American people, irrespective of wealth, circumstance, race or ethnicity, religion, or any other marker, and, indeed, it makes special effort to embrace the fullest range and diversity of experiences of daily life from birth to death.

The four volumes, each of which was edited by a prominent specialist or specialists in the field, are arranged by time periods as follows.

- Volume 1: The War of Independence and Antebellum Expansion and Reform, 1763–1861; edited by Theodore J. Zeman
- Volume 2: *The Civil War, Reconstruction, and Industrialization of America, 1861–1900*; edited by James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo
- Volume 3: *The Emergence of Modern America, World War I, and the Great Depression, 1900–1940*; edited by Francis J. Sicius
- Volume 4: *Wartime, Postwar, and Contemporary America, 1940–Present;* edited by Jolyon P. Girard

Each volume follows a similar format in that it organizes the material into seven principal topics, which are then generally divided into the following subtopics.

Those subtopics are sometimes arranged in a different order within the volumes due to emphasis, but they remain continuous throughout the encyclopedia.

1. *Domestic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Men, Women, Children, Pets, Marriage, and so on.
2. *Economic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Work, Trade, Class and Caste, Urban and Rural Experience, and so on.
3. *Intellectual Life:* Covering such subtopics as Science, Education, Literature, Communication, Health and Medicine, and so on.
4. *Material Life:* Covering such subtopics as Food, Drink, Housing, Clothing, Transportation, Technology, and so on.
5. *Political Life:* Covering such subtopics as Government, Law, Reform, War, and so on.
6. *Recreational Life:* Covering such subtopics as Sports, Music, Games, Entertainment, Holidays and Celebrations, and so on.
7. *Religious Life:* Covering such subtopics as Religion, Spirituality, Ritual, Rites of Passage, and so on.

Users are guided through this enormous amount of material not just by running heads on every page but also by *concept compasses* that appear in the margins at the start of main topical sections. These compasses are adapted from *concept mapping*, a technique borrowed from online research methods and used in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*. The concept compasses will help orient readers in the particular volume they are using and allow them to draw connections among related topics across time periods. Following is an example of a concept compass:

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

The individual volumes also have several variations in their internal arrangements and coverage of topics that speak to the particular chronological period under review. Volume 1, for example, does not begin at a fixed date, as do the other volumes, and it covers a longer time period than any of the other volumes. Its primary

focus is on the period from the American Revolution through the Civil War, but it also looks back in time in its descriptions of many elements of daily life that continued from the preindustrial colonial period through the first rumblings of the so-called market revolution of the early nineteenth century. It does so to provide not only an understanding of the continuities in many aspects of life—from the ways people raised crops and livestock, manufactured and sold goods, organized family life, worshipped, and practiced the rituals of birth, marriage, and death, to name several—but also to mark the changes wrought by the age of revolutions that came with new understandings of political, economic, social, cultural, and even parental authority following the American Revolution. In the subsequent volumes, there is some overlap in terms of beginnings and endings for the chronological periods because social history does not have neat markers as does American political history with its election cycles. Each of the final three volumes covers roughly a half-century of time, reflecting the growing complexity of life in the modern era.

The encyclopedia covers the whole of the United States. The geography of the United States has expanded mightily over time, but the importance of geographical identity within the United States has varied at different times and more recently has declined. The first three volumes recognize the salience of regional variations in defining daily life and break the material, in varying degrees, into regions within the United States (e.g., Northeast, South, Midwest, Pacific West). But the fourth volume, covering the last half of the twentieth century—by which time a national market, telecommunications, and popular culture had done much to break down regional identities and create a national culture—discounts the importance of region in many areas of daily life. To be sure, as Volume 4 reveals, regional identities still persisted, even pridefully so, in "the South" and "the West" especially, but throughout the United States the rhythms of life moved in strikingly similar ways in a nation increasingly knit together by interstate highways, television, and, more recently, by the Internet and by a mass consumption economy and culture. Class, race, and occupation, more than regional cultures, now count more in defining daily life and social ties. Religion, too, matters much in ordering individual lives and distinguishing groups from one another in the United States, easily the most "churched" nation in the industrial world. In some cases, particular subtopics disappear from successive volumes because Americans at different times gave up particular ways of working and living or because the representative ways of working and living changed, from those of an agricultural world to those of an industrial and urban one and then to a postindustrial suburban one, for example.

Throughout the encyclopedia the most basic ways people arranged their daily life make up the principal content of the volumes. But the coverage of any topic is not constant. Take time, for example. It is useful to note that historically over time, *time* literally has been speeding up for Americans. Americans who lived by Nature's times of season and sunrise and sunset occupied a different world than people who have made time a commodity to be metered out in nanoseconds for purposes of productivity and even pleasure. The multiplicity of clocks and watches made possible by the industrial revolution, the imposition of factory time in the workplace, the dividing of the nation into time zones demanded by the railroads, the breakdown of time ordered by the moving assembly line, the collapse of time realized by

telecommunications and then the radio, and the more current compression of time by microchips in all manner of computers, cell phones, and gadgetry that seemingly now run daily life and work—all this change in understanding and managing time transformed not only the pace but also the direction of life. Each volume marks the changing of time, the ways people used their time, and the times. Thereby, the attention to matters of time becomes a topic of growing importance with each successive volume of the encyclopedia.

Finally, in terms of coverage and content, the encyclopedia combines a *macro* with the *micro* view of daily life. External factors such as wars, natural disasters (e.g., fires, floods, hurricanes and tornados, ice storms, and droughts), epidemic diseases, environmental transformation, economic and political change, and population movements profoundly affected how, where, and why people lived as they did and, indeed, even which people lived at all. The Revolutionary War and the Civil War, for example, uprooted countless people from their homes as armies tramped about, armies that also liberated enslaved people who then used the upheavals to run to freedom or to fight for it. Daily life for refugees, for the "freedpeople," for the losers of political power and economic advantage was altered to its core by war. Dealing with the loss of loved ones in the Civil War changed the ways many Americans approached the meaning and management of death—in embalming, in funerary practices, in memorializing the dead, in shifting family responsibilities in the wake of a parent's death. The total mobilization of World War II touched every American household, and the G.I. Bill that came with it opened up opportunities for education, home ownership, and medical benefits that helped make possible a middle-class life for many Americans. So, too, massive floods, such as the 1927 flooding of the Mississippi River basin, swept away people, possessions, and patterns of living across a wide swath. Government actions also influenced, even determined, people's daily life. The many New Deal programs that insured bank accounts; underwrote home mortgage loans; brought electricity to rural America; built dams for hydroelectric power and economic development; constructed roads, bridges, airports, and public buildings; encouraged the arts, music, and literature, and so much more left a physical, social, and cultural imprint that still matters in Americans' daily living. Thus, relating the *macrohistory* of larger historical events and developments to the ways such factors informed and influenced the *microhistory* of individual daily life is essential to understanding the dynamics and consequence of changes and continuities in the daily life of Americans. The panoramic perspective plots the landscape of social history, while the microscopic examination observes its many forms. All that said, the primary focus of this encyclopedia remains on what students of social and cultural history term "the infinite details" of Americans' social and material arrangements in their daily life. The title tells the tale.

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America, in the end, still makes no claim to comprehensiveness in trying to bring in all Americans and all manner of life. No reference work dare do so. Recognizing such a limitation rather than retreating from it, this encyclopedia serves not only as an introduction to the varied and complex American peoples in their daily lives but also as an invitation to bring other peoples into view, which responsibility, one hopes, the students and teachers using this encyclopedia will assume.

A Note on the Conception and Creation of the Encyclopedia

The encyclopedia is the product of many hands. It is both a collective work and, in its separate volumes, also very much an individual one. The encyclopedia was developed collectively by editors at Greenwood Press, who originally sought to provide a companion encyclopedia to the very successful six-volume *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life,* which covered the world from prehistory to the end of the twentieth century. The editors at Greenwood also sought to capitalize on the many reference works and individual volumes Greenwood Press has published on various aspects of daily life in the United States. At Greenwood, Michael Herman conceived of the idea for such an encyclopedia and drafted the broad design for it. John Wagner then stepped in and in many essential ways translated idea into product. He helped recruit volume editors, managed relations with the editors by means of correspondence and providing sample materials and other forms of guidance, read the individual volumes for content and fit regarding the collective set, and managed the details of moving manuscripts to production.

Each author/editor assumed the primary, almost complete, responsibility for his or her individual volume. Early in the planning process, several author/editors gathered by correspondence and even in person to discuss the scope of the work, to mark off the time boundaries of the individual volumes, to agree on essential topics, and more. The general editor coordinated such discussions; guided the works in progress; read the individual volumes for content, coverage, and fit with the other volumes and overall purpose and design of the encyclopedia; and in other ways moved production along. It is important to note that each author/editor has assumed principal responsibility for the content of his or her volume, from selecting, arranging, and editing the articles, to getting permission to use materials, to providing the context for the articles, to fact-checking and proofreading the volume, to ensuring the highest quality in content and presentation. The general editor thus disclaims any responsibility for the specific content of or in any volume. The individual author/editor's name on the title page of each volume places the responsibility where it deservedly should rest, with the true creators. It also is important to note that in creating each volume, the author/editor did much more than compile, collate, and arrange materials derived from other sources. Each author/editor wrote the introductions to the respective volumes, the introductions to the subsections of each volume, the transitions within each article excerpting materials from other sources, the headnotes in each volume, and some of the text in each volume. Because of the uneven, or even nonexistent, source material on daily life for the two volumes treating the twentieth century, both Francis Sicius and Jolyon Girard wrote much original material. This was so much so in Girard's case that he became more author than editor of Volume 4.

In sum, then, the creation of this encyclopedia mirrors the American experience. It was, and is, an example of the nation's guiding principle of continuous creation as a people—e pluribus unum. It also is a recognition that people make history. We hope that by discovering the American people in their day-to-day lives and the life they have sought to create and live, readers will find that elusive "new man, this American" and themselves.

—Randall M. Miller

This page intentionally left blank

CHRONOLOGY: 1860–1900

1860	November: Republican Abraham Lincoln is elected president in a four-man contest over Stephen Douglas (Democrat), John Bell (Constitutional Union), and John C. Breckinridge (Southern Democrat).
	December: South Carolina secedes from the Union.
1861	January: Kansas is admitted to the Union.
	January: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana secede from the Union.
	February: Seceded states form the Confederate States of America in Montgomery, Alabama, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi is elected president of the Confederacy.
	March: Texas secedes from the Union.
	April: Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee secede from the Union following the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor.
	July: First Battle of Bull Run, a Confederate victory, is fought in Virginia.
1861–1865	American Civil War is fought.
1862	August: Second Battle of Bull Run, another Confederate victory, is fought in Virginia.
	September: Battle of Antietam, a Union victory, is fought in Maryland.
1863	January: President Abraham Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves in territory controlled by the Confederacy; Homestead Act becomes law, allowing settlers to claim land (160 acres) after they have lived on it for five years.
	June: The unionist western portion of the seceded state of Virginia is split off from Virginia and admitted to the Union as the state of West Virginia.
	July: Battle of Gettysburg, a Union victory, is fought in Pennsylvania.
	November: President Abraham Lincoln delivers the Gettysburg Address while dedicating the Union Cemetery at the site of the July battle.

1864	September: Union General William T. Sherman captures Atlanta.
	October: Nevada is admitted to the Union.
	November: Republican President Abraham Lincoln is reelected, defeating Democrat George B. McClellan.
1865	April: Fall of Richmond, Virginia, the Confederate capital.
	April: Civil War ends with the surrender of Confederate General Robert E. Lee to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia.
	April: President Abraham Lincoln is assassinated in Washington, D.C., by John Wilkes Booth and is succeeded by Vice President Andrew Johnson.
	December: The 13th Amendment to the Constitution is ratified prohibiting slavery in the United States.
1866	Ku Klux Klan is founded in Tennessee by Confederate Army veterans.
1867	March: Nebraska is admitted to the Union.
	March: Congress passes the First and Second Reconstruction Acts.
	March: United States purchases Alaska from Russia for $7.2 million.
	July: Congress passes the Third Reconstruction Act.
	August: United States annexes Midway Island.
1868	An eight-hour workday is instituted for federal employees.
	February: President Andrew Johnson is impeached by the House of Representatives.
	March: Congress passes the Fourth Reconstruction Act.
	May: President Johnson is acquitted by one vote in trial in the Senate.
	July: The 14th Amendment to the Constitution is ratified defining citizenship.
	November: Republican Ulysses S. Grant is elected president, defeating Democrat Horatio Seymour.
1869	May: Union Pacific Railroad meets the Central Pacific at Promontory, Utah, thereby completing the first transcontinental line.
1870	February: The 15th Amendment to the Constitution is ratified giving blacks the right to vote.
1871	October: Chicago fire kills 300 and leaves 90,000 people homeless.
1872	September: Crédit Mobilier scandal, involving several members of Congress, becomes public.
	November: Republican President Ulysses S. Grant is reelected, defeating Democratic/Liberal Republican candidate Horace Greeley.
1876	February: Baseball's National League is founded.
	March: Alexander Graham Bell patents the telephone.
	June: Lt. Col. George A. Custer's regiment is wiped out by Sioux Indians under Sitting Bull at the Little Big Horn River in Montana.
	August: Colorado is admitted to the Union.
	November: A disputed presidential election is decided (in February 1877) in favor of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, who, despite receiving fewer

popular votes than Democrat Samuel J. Tilden, is awarded one more electoral vote.

1877 First telephone line is built from Boston to Somerville, Massachusetts.

President Hayes returns federal troops to their barracks in the southern states, thus ending Reconstruction.

1878 President Rutherford B. Hayes has the first telephone installed in the White House.

United States-Samoa Treaty makes Pago Pago in the South Pacific a U.S. Navy coaling station.

1879 Women lawyers are permitted to argue cases before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Thomas Edison invents the incandescent light.

1880 November: Republican James A. Garfield is elected president, defeating Democrat Winfield Scott Hancock; both candidates were Union generals during the Civil War.

1881 July: President James A. Garfield is shot by Charles Guiteau in Washington, D.C.; the president dies from complications resulting from his wounds in September and is succeeded by Vice President Chester A. Arthur.

1882 November: United States adopts standard time.

1883 January: Civil Service is established with passage by Congress of the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act.

1884 May: Congress organizes the Alaska Territory.

November: Democrat Grover Cleveland is elected president, defeating Republican James G. Blaine.

1886 May: Haymarket Square labor riot in Chicago results in the deaths of 11 people.

October: Statue of Liberty is dedicated.

1888 George Eastman's Kodak camera initiates amateur photography.

November: Despite receiving fewer popular votes than his opponent, Republican Benjamin Harrison is elected president, defeating incumbent Democratic President Grover Cleveland.

1889 November: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington are admitted to the Union.

April: Oklahoma Territory is opened to settlers.

1890 Samuel Gompers founds the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

Congress organizes the Oklahoma Territory.

National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) is founded with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president.

In reporting the results of the 1890 census, the Census Bureau announces that the frontier line has closed.

July: Congress passes the Sherman Antitrust Act, thereby prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade.

	July: Idaho and Wyoming are admitted to the Union.
	December: Last major "battle" of the Indian Wars occurs at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
1892	Strike at Carnegie Steel results in the deaths of 10 people.
	January: Ellis Island in New York Harbor becomes the chief immigration station of the United States.
	November: Reversing the outcome of the 1888 campaign, Democrat Grover Cleveland, the former president, defeats incumbent Republican President Benjamin Harrison.
1896	January: Utah is admitted to the Union.
	May: In its landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court holds that racial segregation is constitutional, thus paving the way for the passage of repressive Jim Crow laws in the South.
	November: Republican William McKinley is elected president, defeating Democrat William Jennings Bryan.
1898	February: U.S. battleship *Maine* blows up in Havana Harbor, initiating an outcry for war against Spain.
	April: United States declares war on Spain.
	July: United States annexes Hawaii.
	December: Treaty of Paris ends the Spanish-American War; Spain gives up Cuba, which becomes an independent republic, and cedes Puerto Rico, Guam, and (for $20 million) the Philippines to the United States.
1899	Following the Spanish-American War, the United States annexes Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico.
1900	United States annexes American Samoa.
	November: Republican President William McKinley is reelected, defeating his 1896 opponent, Democrat William Jennings Bryan.
1901	September: President William McKinley is assassinated by an anarchist.

1

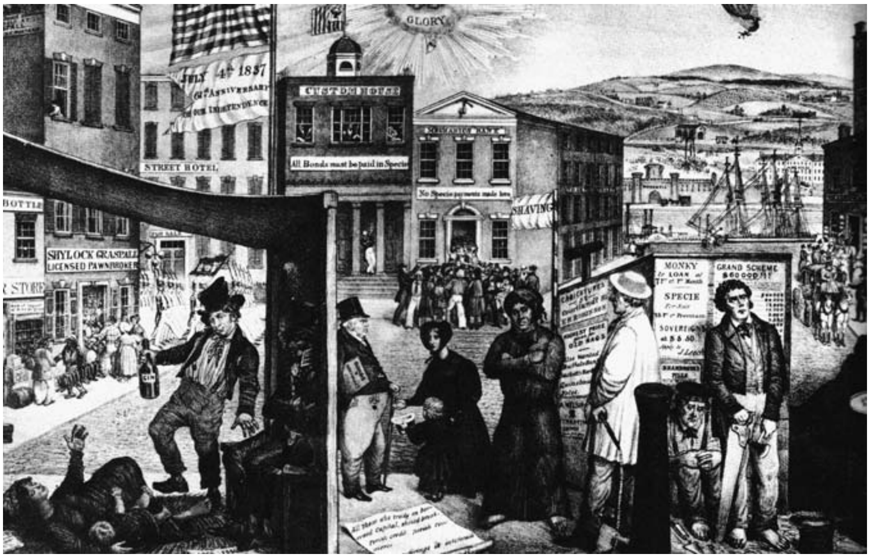
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Remembering the "Good Olde Days"
—First used in 1844 by Philip Hone,
Mayor of New York

A Century of "-isms"

The forces of industrialization, reform, expansion, religion, politics, and warfare walked hand-in-hand during the nineteenth century. Often they passed along singly, providing a glimpse at some discrete facet of American life. At other times they crashed together simultaneously like ocean waves, devastating all that had been there and leaving behind almost unrecognizable consequences. Driven by these forces the United States went through a period of national maturation during the antebellum years, came apart during the Civil War, reconstituted itself in the postwar era, and emerged as a world industrial power. The process involved changes in governance, justice, economics, finances, industry, manufacturing, communications, travel, agriculture, social structure, and family order, among others.

Contemporary observers of the latter half of the nineteenth century noted the prevalence in American speech, writing, and publications of a wide variety of "isms." Modernism seems to be the catchall term used by historians today when referring to the period, but urbanism, abolitionism, feminism (women's rights), humanitarianism, reformism, commercialism, and others filled the consciousness of the nineteenth-century public. The ideals of traditionalism, Americanism, and nativism seem to have come to loggerheads with the shifting patterns of political republicanism and social pluralism in mid-century over the prospect of increasing immigration and the expansion of slavery. With the Civil War prominent among the pivotal historical



Alcoholism, sexual deviancy, poverty, unemployment, immigration, and economic and political disputes are all lampooned in this political cartoon from the pre–Civil War period. Courtesy Library of Congress.

events of the century, abolitionism, sectionalism, racism, secessionism, and radicalism are commonly thought to have prevailed; but nationalism, militarism, and expansionism, in many fields—geographical, social, political, scientific, and economic—were equally influential in forming the character of the period.

It seems certain that different individuals and groups manipulated these "isms" for a variety of reasons, but the fact that large segments of the nineteenth-century population believed in them and chose to follow through on them suggests that the "isms" had real meaning. Dedication for or against certain reform "isms" such as those attached to slavery, voting rights, public education, alcohol consumption, or women's issues tended to polarize the population of the nation and strike metaphorical sparks; while others like territorial expansion, industrialization, the application of military power, or the adoption of technology for farming were greeted with a more general acceptance or were viewed in the light of inevitability.

Cultural and social changes were sweeping the cities of America during the nineteenth century. Over the course of the century the process of economic transformation that accompanied American industrialization proceeded at different rates in different parts of the country. Industrialization began much earlier, for example, in New England and the Mid-Atlantic regions, than in North Central and Southern regions. By 1870, close to 35 percent of the population in Massachusetts and New York lived in places with populations greater than 25,000, more than three times the national average of 11 percent. Similarly, while manufacturing accounted for only 7 percent of employment nationally, more than 20 percent of the population of Massachusetts and Rhode Island was employed in manufacturing. Industrialization and urbanization were also closely linked to high rates of immigration, although many of the foreign born could also be found in more agricultural regions.

Industry and urbanization had moved the North toward a more modern society with an unprecedented set of novel cultural values, while the South had essentially lagged behind in the traditions of the past. Historians have noted that the differences between the folk culture of the South and the modern culture of the North fueled many of the broad-based reform movements of mid-century and also may have ignited the turmoil over state sovereignty and slavery in a form of a culture war. The debate surrounding these questions, driven by an intensely partisan press, “not only aroused feelings of jealousy, honor, and regional pride, but raised fundamental questions about the future direction of the American society” (Sewell 1988, xi).

Domestic Life

Families can take on many functional and acceptable forms, and a wide diversity of kinship systems could be found in nineteenth-century America. While each family has discrete characteristics, in general they can be condensed into a handful of archetypes with real families falling into a gray region between any of the discrete sets of characteristics associated with particular types. Of all the general forms of family structure social historians normally include these four among those found in America: *nuclear families*, *extended families*, *stem-nuclear families*, and *clan-like families*.

Each of these familial structures has its own peculiar characteristics, but modeling like this, based largely on statistical data, provides only a snapshot of family living without duration. It is precisely the correlation of *individual time* (birth, childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age) with *family time* (courtship, marriage, the birth of the first and the last child, the empty nest, the death of a spouse) that can provide a more meaningful framework for the study of family. Certain concepts concerning time can also be shaped into a descriptive model known as a *temporal orientation*, which can be separated into two types: *reckoned time*, as in determining the duration of a period or a place in time as in a specific date, and *social time*, the purposeful scheduling of both optional and obligatory community activities.

In simple societies the demands of time were usually well articulated with one another, and individuals were rarely torn by mutually exclusive temporal commitments. On the other hand, reckoned time, generally unimportant to the functioning of day-to-day life in the antebellum period, quickly became the driving force of both social and economic as schedules, appointments, and timekeeping became pivotal to the functioning of American industry.

The nuclear family had been the predominant form in Europe for almost 300 years. The true *nuclear family* was composed of a married couple living with their children under the same roof and apart from all other relatives. Some researchers considered the tendency of nineteenth-century Americans to form and maintain simple patriarchal nuclear families to be overwhelming. Post-adolescent sons were clearly expected to move out of the home, while daughters generally remained until they married, on average at age 20.7 years. Only in the 1890s did the median age of women at first marriage increase to 24.4 years. In the next decade it returned to its former historical level, and the reasons for the anomaly remain a matter of conjecture (Wells 1979, 523). Moreover, solitary residence among unmarried men—single living in a distinctly separate dwelling, not boarding or lodging—was practically unknown in the nineteenth century except on the most isolated fringes of civilization as among some prospectors, mountain men, missionaries, or soldiers (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 15).

A *stem-nuclear family* occurred when a child married, moved with his bride (or vice versa) into their parents' home, and raised the next generation there creating a three-generation homestead. The absence in the nineteenth-century data of married or unmarried white children in their parents' homes over 20 years of age is pronounced, signaling perhaps the rarity of this form (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 38). The stem-nuclear form sometimes found among black families was often matriarchal and imposed upon them by the conditions of slavery or the exigencies of extreme poverty and intense racism.

An *extended family* structure, much like the nuclear one for individual parents and minor children, was a matter of living arrangement. In the nineteenth century, to the extent that nonnuclear adults were present in individual households, they were most likely to be limited to a single nonrelated farm worker or domestic servant, or a female relative such as a widowed mother or unmarried sister living under the protection of close and loving relations. Data from the period suggest that the presence of nonrelated persons vastly outnumbered those cases of nonnuclear blood relations of this sort (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 17).

Daughters who remained unmarried into their adult years were often given the social position of companion to their parents or aunts if they were widowed (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 34). Although the incidence of never married, foreign-born white women remained remarkably high (approximately 27%) throughout the second half of the century, the number of native-born white women who remained unmarried increased from 1850 (15%) to 1890 (22%), and then declined sharply until 1920 (11%) (Uhlenberg 1978, 511).

In the *clan-like family* structure, the basic unit of habitation was clearly nuclear, but the members of each clan claimed a common ancestry, usually carried a common name, and, most importantly, recognized a common identity beyond the bounds of the nuclear family that was largely unaffected by any daily living arrangement. It was the acknowledged continuity and maintenance of ancestry that defined the clan. This was usually patrilineal, but matrilineal family relationships were never abandoned. The clan-like family was extremely rare in the North and Midwest during the period under consideration, but Southern and frontier families often continued to evince this structural pattern even in the post–Civil War years.

The Southern planter aristocracy was very clan-like in its structure. Led by a privileged planter class whose elite lifestyle was maintained at the expense of the rest of society, the planter aristocracy relied on its kinship network and social status as a means to personal success. Southern culture and institutions were seen by outsiders as backward, inefficient, and harmful to the American nation as a whole. Nonetheless, the Southern elite voluntarily assumed the role of benefactor and knight errant to all other levels of their society. Like cavaliers on a quest, Southern men felt obliged to counsel and defend not only their own families, but also all females and minor children placed under their protection. This obligation was extended to their slaves in an ambiguous, but serious, way. Many Southerners were genuinely concerned for the physical and moral welfare of their slaves, but only in terms of continued racial separation and subjugation.

A Place in Society

The keeping of good company—be they friends and associates of a brother, a sister, or a spouse—was thought to be very important in the nineteenth century especially among the middle and upper class. Appropriate acquaintances were intelligent and well-bred persons, whose language was chaste and whose sentiments were both pure and edifying. Proper deportment was expected among any circle of friends, and their conduct was to be directed by the highest of moral precepts. Young women were particularly enjoined to "hold a steady moral sway" over the male associates of their brothers and husbands, "so strong as to prevent them from becoming . . . lawless rowdies" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 78).

Yet the necessity of selecting proper female associates for young women was not considered a point of so great an interest. There was an expectation among all but the lowest ranks of society that young women of good breeding, while under the protection and control of their parents, would avoid many of the promiscuous associations that threatened their more independently minded brothers. Nevertheless, both men and women needed to take great care in avoiding pernicious influences in the selection of their company, and each needed to develop a degree of elegance and manner that would be pleasing in any social circle, whether at home or abroad (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 111). Sarah Bennett editor of the *Advocate and Family Guardian*, a New York publication of the American Female Guardian Society, warned, "If yon beautiful belle of eighteen has no reverence for the Sabbath, no love for the house or worship of God, but only as connected with her own personal display; then is her loveliness perfect deformity, more loathsome than the decay of the carnal house. . . . Remember that piety is a greater beautifier than cosmetics" (Bennett 1865, 27).

A family's circle of adult friends and acquaintances reflected its place in society. This circle was much wider for men with their business and work connections than for women who were thought to spend their lives in the domestic shelter of the family, with their girlhood friends, or among the matrons of their own class in the wider community. Women were generally not permitted to freely correspond with men who were not blood relations or who had not been formally introduced to them through their parents or other close relation or friend. Many young women had little knowledge of men until after their marriage. A brother and his friends were often a young woman's only exposure to the ways of men. After marriage their social relationships with males were further limited to the friends and acquaintances of their husbands. Great importance was attached to the prudent selection of these associates, and it was important for a young wife to direct her husband's associations as well as she could.

Courtship and Marriage

The continuation of the family name and fortune through marriage was of great importance, and the rules, customs, and traditions that surrounded courtship and marriage were well established. The obvious objectives of marriage were to provide an acceptable outlet for sexual activity, to recognize the legitimate children of a union, and to assure the continuity of the family fortune through the instrument of inheritance. Since colonial times the instrument of inheritance—usually limited to the handing down of farmland—had been very important. In the nineteenth century the bestowing of the family fortune, home, business, and social standing on one's children overtook the need to pass on property or partition farmland. Moreover, in a period when family name and influence were very important to future success, clearly illegitimate children were often denied access to certain professions, schools, and possible marriage partners. It was very difficult for such persons to go through life expecting to be ashamed of something over which they had no control and could not change. Illegitimate children took great pains to hide their infirmity, and the legitimate children of some men often went to great lengths to undo those parts of their father's will favorable to their illegitimate siblings. The courts rarely upheld a will favorable to children from the wrong side of the blanket in the face of a concerted effort by their rightful relations, especially if they were the elder sons.

Marriage within one's class was the cement of the American social structure. Yet a middle- or upper-class man could not hope to prosecute a courtship successfully before he had established himself in a profession or come into his inheritance. Courtship could be protracted if the suitor's financial expectations took some period to come to fruition. This fact tended to drive up the age of eligible suitors or increase the disparity in years between a well-established husband and young wife still in her childbearing years. Nonetheless, in the North the difference in age between man and wife during the antebellum period averaged a mere two years, while Southern couples were separated by an average of six years due mainly to earlier marriages among Southern females. All young, respectable women were expected to begin seeking out a marriage partner appropriate to their social position as soon as they left adolescence. Period advice authors T. L. Haines and Levi Yaggy warned, "It is of vital interest to every young female, how careful she should be in taking to her bosom for life a companion [husband] of dissolute habits and morals. Such an act might destroy all the domestic felicity she might have hoped to enjoy" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 111).

For daughters of the planter class, romance was not to be found among the requirements for a marriage partner. This is ironic in a period and section of the country known for its romantic trappings. Romantic entanglements were greatly feared by parents because even the hint of inappropriate behavior could create a sexual scandal that would leave a daughter unmarriageable.

Wealth, rather than love, was the primary factor in arranging a marriage or choosing a husband, and maintenance of one's social position was a close second. Intermarriage between cousins, far enough removed to dispel charges of consanguinity, was common among the planter aristocracy but almost unheard of in the North. Women in the South married at a younger age—almost four years younger on average—than their Northern counterparts. This may be because many Southern parents expected their daughters to begin the formal courtship process as soon as they entered puberty. Northern parents, more open to the idea that their daughters might become working women for some time before entering a marriage, did not press them as vigorously.

The oppressive control of parents in this regard would not be tolerated by most women today, nor would the absolute domination of fathers or husbands be sustained in most modern households. Yet in actual practice middle-class American women were better treated than their European sisters in this regard. In 1876 an observer noted that "the Englishman respects his lady; the Frenchman esteems his companion; the Italian adores his mistress; [but] the American loves his wife" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 25). American women generally enjoyed higher social status, greater responsibility, and greater freedom at a younger age. By comparison to their British counterparts, young American women were thought to enjoy great liberty until they married, after which "they buried themselves in their families and appeared to live only for them." As wives they were generally faithful and thrifty and, although their social lives were often "joyless and monotonous," they exhibited few of the vices commonly associated with their Victorian Era husbands (Hunt 1914/1993, 31). As the nineteenth century proceeded, a major cultural change took place as women gradually gained a modicum of control over themselves and the property that they brought to a marriage. These generally paralleled similar developments in Britain (Nye 1960, 143).

Women who remained unmarried often lived with other relatives where they hoped to be "regarded and guarded as a daughter" (Unidentified author, "The Needs of Working Women," 1871, 53–54). They often relied on these relatives during financial emergencies. Many young women looked especially to their maternal aunts and uncles in this regard for support, guidance, and companionship. In the absence of a father or uncle, a young woman might depend on her own brother for a roof over her head. Few men could shirk their responsibilities to a female relative without a loss of reputation and community standing. This was especially true in the South where the role of benefactor was an essential characteristic of the plantation aristocracy. Nonetheless, an unmarried adult woman was often awkwardly placed in the kinship scheme of a nuclear family, and many found little consolation while living in the household of another woman. For this reason they were often found in the home of a widowed father or brother where they could still be mistress of the household. Often they took on a position as a domestic, a private teacher, or a governess with an unrelated family where their place in the household was a contractual one and their interactions those of an employee with an employer.

Only for a brief period—usually between puberty and marriage—did women have any real control over their fate. Yet this control was very limited, residing solely in their ability to choose a husband from among a set of suitors acceptable to her family. "Women," according to one contemporary observer, "were beautiful until they were twenty-five years old, when their forms changed, and by the time they were thirty their charms had disappeared" (Hunt 1914/1993, 31). A particularly attractive or well-heeled woman might have groups of suitors vying for her attentions. Such groups, calling together upon a young woman at her home, were not discouraged by her parents as the practice prevented unwanted gossip. Under such circumstances young men had little opportunity for measuring the woman's attitude toward their individual suit. Most gentlemen resorted, therefore, to a go-between in the early stages of any serious courting to gauge whether or not their more formal attentions would be rebuffed. The woman's brothers or male cousins often served in this capacity.

It was in the area of women's rights that many of the most significant changes in social mores took place during the last half of the nineteenth century. More than 90 percent of American-born white women could read. They began to move forcefully into higher education and into the day-to-day workplace especially as office and factory workers, store clerks, and teachers. They thereby came into more casual contact with men than had previously been the case. It was at this point that dating and going out became fashionable. Nonetheless, all but the most eligible men met with a series of mild rebuffs as young woman were discouraged by their parents from taking too many prospective fiancés into their social circle before selecting one from a small group of two or three as a husband.

Unmarried couples—even those who were formally engaged—might easily offend the community if their behavior was perceived to be sexual in any context. The betrothed might never have touched, and certainly should never have shared a romantic kiss. A contemporary self-help advisor warned young persons, "During the period that intervenes between forming an engagement and consummating the connection, let your deportment toward the individual to whom you have given your affections be marked by modesty and dignity, respect and kindness" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 442). Overt sexuality at any stage in a woman's life before marriage would certainly meet with social ostracism and might actually result in criminal indictment for fornication in some jurisdictions.

Upon their marriage young women passed from the domination of their fathers to the equally powerful authority of their husbands. In many Northern homes, the focus of the family increasingly came to rest on the wife and children as fathers spent most of their waking hours away from home at work or in the social company of men. Increasingly, the whole machinery of the day-to-day operation of the household, "domestic economy and rule, all authority and discipline and influence, devolve[d] upon the wife, who in her own appointed sphere [had] quite enough to do." In response to the increased importance of female domesticity, there evolved a growing formalism and rigid authoritarianism that husbands demanded of their families and households when they were present. Many contemporary observers decried the "neglect" of home that some nineteenth century men excused as "the inexorable will of business." These observers questioned what business was so important that it had the right to contravene the traditional organization of the home with the father as the head of household (Ware 1864, 38).

In many jurisdictions in the nineteenth century, husband and wife were considered one person in law, and the very existence of the woman was often incorporated and consolidated into that of their husband. Until late in the period, married women had little or no legal standing in the courts, could not sign enforceable contracts, and held no tangible assets in their own name in most states. The property brought to a marriage by the wife legally became that of her husband. Many widows disdained remarriage having in their bereavement finally found relief from the overbearing power of even the best of husbands and fathers. Nonetheless, in some states widows might lose their property rights to their adult sons, if not otherwise provided for by the will of their spouse. A widower with young children was expected to remarry for the sake of his motherless offspring if no appropriate female relation, such as an unmarried sister or aunt, was available to care for them.

Using Census Data

Researchers generally have demographic data for families during the nineteenth century, but the statistics are neither as complete nor as articulate as modern researchers would like. Although the first official census of the United States was taken in 1790, the early federal government was principally interested in sampling the growth, structure, and redistribution of the population. The census of 1890, 100 years later, reported that the unsettled areas of the country from the previous decades had been so broken into isolated bodies of settlement that a line for the frontier could no longer be traced on a map. That line had been drawn and redrawn repeatedly from the founding of Jamestown on, and it had finally disappeared into a jumble of small overlapping and ever-diminishing circles (Davidson 1951, 292).

The collection of vital data (birth, death, marriage statistics) was generally left to state and local agencies. Infant mortality and life expectancy figures were not kept by the federal government until 1850. Although some large cities had registered similar data in the previous decade, Massachusetts, in 1842, was the first state to initiate the continuous recording of births, deaths, and marriages. As late as 1865 the New York State Census was limited to obtaining "data for determining the natural increase of the population in this state among the various classes" (Bash 1979, 435).

Almost all statistics in this period reflected institutionalized racism and were kept in terms of whites, colored, and slave. For whites there are compilations of data concerning absolute birth rates, fertility, infant mortality, and life expectancy for the entire century and beyond. The same data does not begin for blacks until 1850, and much of it is averaged or otherwise questionable. Not until 1933 were the vital statistics for the entire nation recorded with any precision.

If the year 1850 is taken as a threshold date for the period under consideration, some of the limitations of the census data become obvious. In the 1850 census, all individuals were assigned to families that were defined solely by their joint occupation of a dwelling place. The nineteenth-century definition of a family dwelling was clearly broader than the current meaning of the term, literally including every structure from a teepee to a penitentiary. The term family could thereby denote a single person living in a tent or cabin, several persons living together in a more conventional home, or even several dozen unrelated persons living in a boarding house, hotel, military barracks, or hospital.

Over 10 percent of the total population counted in 1850 resided in multifamily dwellings that were counted as single units in the sample. This high frequency of group living, when compared to the eighteenth century, demonstrates the increased use of tenements, boarding houses, hotels, and other large institutional domiciles with which the government researchers were simply not ready to deal. British author Rudyard Kipling described the city tenements in Chicago, "I went out into the streets, which are long and flat and without end. . . . I looked down interminable vistas flanked with nine, ten, fifteen-storied houses, and crowded with men and women, and the show impressed me with great horror. Except in London . . . I had never seen so many white people together, and never such a collection of miserables . . . to huddle men together in fifteen layers, one atop of the other" (Kipling 1891).

The chief liability of the census techniques used in 1850 was that in sampling by dwelling the number of individual family observations was greatly reduced, and the resulting data may have become clustered for low-income groups more than for upper-income ones. Moreover, data for colored, or black families were usually more under registered than for whites. This may also be true to a lesser extent for immigrants as opposed to native-born families (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 11). Perhaps households should have been distinguished by some other characteristic such as a common source of support; a blood relationship; or even by separate cooking facilities, sleeping quarters, or entrances.

Recent historical research, however, has begun to sift through the data to present a more dynamic and precise picture of family structure. An analysis of common surnames allows researchers to discriminate among blood kin and disaggregate the statistics, thereby relieving the limitations somewhat; but these methods do not answer the questions concerning family structure that census takers do today. For instance, the disappearance of maiden names through marriage (especially where marriage records are unavailable) renders extensive kinship reconstruction almost impossible when the census is used as a sole source of data. Moreover, there were many unsettled people in nineteenth-century America. It has not yet been determined whether these constituted a propertyless, floating population of those who moved about constantly, a series of successive waves of emigrant families moving onto the frontiers, or an occupationally mobile core of persisters who generally returned to their home communities after completing a task elsewhere. Nonetheless, with these limitations in mind, some generalizations can be made about the nineteenth-century family, and secondary sources of family and population study can be tapped to provide both a qualitative and quantitative analysis (Glasco 1978, 155).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
A CENTURY OF "-ISMS"
DOMESTIC LIFE
A PLACE IN SOCIETY
COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE
USING CENSUS DATA
VITAL STATISTICS
THE FRAGILITY OF LIFE
THE COST AND STANDARD OF LIVING
FAMILY WEALTH
FARM UNREST
CURRENCY REFORM
IMMIGRATION
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MILITARISM
SUMMARY

Vital Statistics

The range of change among data in the second half of the nineteenth century is remarkable. As an example, average white life expectancy at birth in 1850 sat at a remarkably low 39 years, and white infant mortality rates for the same year sat at 217 per 1,000. The former numbers were significantly higher than those of 1900 with a life expectancy of 52 years and an infant mortality rate of 111 per 1,000. In all the decades under consideration between 1850 and 1890 the probability of women dying between the ages of 25 and 45 was higher than that of men in the same age bracket, indicating perhaps the continued influence of death due to childbirth. Data from Massachusetts in 1867 attribute fully 10 percent of female deaths to childbirth (Uhlenberg 1978, 510).

There are no reliable data for black life expectancy or infant mortality until the early twentieth century, but in 1850 black life expectancy was estimated at a mind-boggling low of 23 years. By 1900 this had improved but was recorded at a mere 42 years. The 1850 number must be viewed with suspicion because it may include a very high proportion of infant deaths estimated at an incredible 340 per 1,000. In 1900, black infant mortality stood at 170 per 1,000, one-half that estimated 50 years earlier.

White, immigrant women generally had higher fertility rates than their native-born counterparts, and second-generation immigrants usually evinced an intermediate level of fertility between that of their parents and that of the native population. This may have been due to an Americanization effect, yet many contemporary researches tended to write of "the Irish" or "the Italians" or "the Jews" as if they were homogeneous subgroups lacking variations among themselves. This was certainly not the case, and further study has found significant variations among identical ethnic groups living in different parts of the same city.

Recent research suggests that the decline in white reproduction from 1850 to 1900 may have been affected by the growing women's rights movement with women taking greater control over their reproductive lives—a luxury not afforded to black women of child-bearing years who were either enslaved or newly freed during much of the period. Some researchers have also suggested that declining birth rates may be related to land availability, increasing industrialization, the education of women, or the pressure of elderly dependents in the home (Easterlin et al. 1978, 65–73).

Most women were exposed to the rigors of almost continuous pregnancy, interrupted only by a painful and dangerous labor, and months of nursing. So frequent were these bouts with nature that many women, conceiving again before fully recovered from a previous pregnancy, gave birth to underweight or physically weakened children who were prime candidates for an early death. Even in a society where large families were the norm and were valued and wanted, at least some women must have dreaded the prospect. Childlessness, according to the data, was so low as to be implausible for most married women, and the positioning of nonnuclear adopted children or stepchildren as actual offspring of a mother may be a reflection of a bias in the sampling techniques toward nuclear families.

Total fertility and birth rates started very high in the nineteenth century and declined as the century progressed. In 1830 the average white woman living in the Northeast had 3.3 live births in her childbearing years. In 1890, this number had fallen to 2.4 live births. Foreign-born data for the same period shows significantly higher but also declining numbers, 5.7 and 3.5, respectively. These figures were followed by a lagging and uncertain decline in the infant mortality rate and total life expectancy—both of which reversed more than once between 1850 and 1890. These data combined both rural and urban samples.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
A CENTURY OF "-ISMS"
DOMESTIC LIFE
A PLACE IN SOCIETY
COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE
USING CENSUS DATA
VITAL STATISTICS
THE FRAGILITY OF LIFE
THE COST AND STANDARD OF LIVING
FAMILY WEALTH
FARM UNREST
CURRENCY REFORM
IMMIGRATION
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MILITARISM
SUMMARY

The Fragility of Life

A high rate of infant mortality and a low life expectancy in the general population may have reflected exposure to a number of infectious diseases easily spread in an urbanized environment including tuberculosis, cholera, typhoid, smallpox, and diphtheria. Nineteenth-century cities were particularly unhealthy places, and not until the 1890s did city managers begin to complete major public works sanitation projects such as piped water, sewer systems, water filtration, and trash collection. On the other hand, frontier and farm living were also dangerous. Starvation, exposure, snakebite, farming and hunting accidents, lack of medical attention, bad water, severe weather, and Indian attack added to the list of common dangers and afflictions that made life tenuous.

Great care was needed when children were about, but even the most vigilant parents sometimes failed to protect the young. Schoolteacher John Roberts sadly reported, "Yesterday one of my smallest pupils was severely hurt by falling from a teeter or plank put across the fence, on which two of them were riding seesaw fashion. I must put a stop to this sport as it is dangerous" (England 1996, 174). Accidents and common childhood diseases claimed nearly half of all children before the age of five. In Henniker, New Hampshire, seven children were scalded to death and two others died after falling into a fireplace. Toddlers aged two and three were both scalded by the falling of a kettle of boiling soap from the fireplace crane. Both children died the next day and were buried in the same coffin.

City children plummeted to their death from the windows of multistoried houses. The *New York Herald* editorialized, "We hope this notice will prove a caution to parents, who carelessly allow their children to swing themselves at a window without protection." The newspapers noted that a mother, who was "subject to fits of derangement," slit the throats of three of her children, then her own throat. "The father, on his return from labor to his house, found his family in this deplorable condition." A sample of the weekly death reports in Brooklyn was recorded in the May 15, 1850, issue of the *New York Herald* as two drowned, six dead from consumption, one from "abortion," and 32 others, including 22 children.

For women, childbirth remained the greatest danger to their lives; the second leading cause of death among women remained death from fire. Open flames and hot stovetops were everywhere. Long skirts made of flammable materials and children's clothing of cotton or linen were easy targets for accidental injury and death. More people lost their lives to fire rather than to Indian attacks on the frontier. Moreover, with buildings made largely of wood, town fires were almost inevitable. Fire destroyed dozens of buildings annually even in small towns, and a single devastating incident could destroy whole communities. Virtually the entire town of Tombstone, Arizona, burned three times in as many decades. The most famous fire of the period was the Chicago City Fire, which consumed 1,700 acres of the city in 1871. This was followed in 1872 by a huge conflagration in Boston that caused city fathers to rethink this aspect of urban and town safety. New building codes and stricter enforcement, architectural designs that included fire exits and escapes, and the development of professional firefighting forces and equipment began to lessen this danger in the final quarter of the century.

Improvements in diet, clothing, and shelter over the two decades beginning in 1870 also contributed to a declining death rate and an increased life expectancy. Ironically, much of this was due to the experience gained by doctors in the battlefield surgeries and convalescent hospitals of the Civil War where medical skills were honed and surgical risks taken that would not have been possible in peacetime. The advance of life expectancy from the turn of the century onward was remarkable. In 1890, the newborn grandchild of a Civil War veteran could expect only 46 years of life, yet most lived longer than the statistics predicted. In 1920, the newborn child's own children could expect 57 years of life; and 50 years later, in 1940, the average life expectancy of the original child's own grandchildren had risen to an amazing 65 years, while they themselves had lived two decades longer than originally predicted. These children, "Baby Boomers" born in the wake of another war (World War II) are just now at the threshold of Social Security retirement with a statistical life expectancy of 75+ years and the probability of living to twice the age of their great grandparents.

With all of these statistical and health considerations taken into account, it seems safe to conclude from the remaining data that the average white family in 1850 had between four and five children over one year of age from a common mother, while blacks families had between five and six offspring from a common mother. Data concerning the age of the mother at first marriage shows that young women were delaying marriage from a mean age of 20.7 years in the eighteenth century to a mean age of 24.4 at the end of the nineteenth century. Also, the mother's age at the birth of her last child suggests a modal shift from between 40–44 in the eighteenth century to between 35–39 during the nineteenth century. This indicator suggests that deliberate family limitation was an ongoing process that increased in scope and magnitude through the early nineteenth century (Osterud and Fulton 1979, 408–9).

The estimates of the total number of births per dwelling in a single year are extraordinary, nonetheless. For states and territories with data available—approximately half of them in 1850—between 13 percent (South Carolina) and 21 percent (Missouri) of all dwelling places experienced a birth annually. For many of the most populous states with large immigrant communities like New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, complete data in this regard are simply not available (Volo and Volo 2007, 34).

Nuclear families were also the basic social element in the frontier states of the Great Lakes region. Households in Indiana from 1820 to 1830 featured about 2.2 births per family during the decade. The median range of the number of children over one year old was between four and five per household. As the frontier moved through and beyond the state boundaries to the west in the next 10 years, the

10-year number of births fell to 1.8 per family. Pennsylvania and Ohio experienced similar rates and changes during the same phase of their development (Modell 1979, 420). A sample of family size and birth data taken in central New York in 1865 showed completed families of four to five children among rural farming households. These data were isolated for 4,300 white women who had been married only once, and omitting any plural marriages or stepchildren for either spouse. Family size and birth rate, in the New York study, were lowest in densely populated areas. In fact, population density was found to be the most important single factor in predicting the birth rate and family size for this sample population. The highest birth rates were found among the isolated but well-established families in mountainous and hilly sections of New York. With a high death rate among women of child-bearing years and a great deal of speedy remarriage by widowers, it has been estimated that white families there hovered around five children per household (Bash 1979, 438–39).

The Cost and Standard of Living

As people learned to live in a mass society, they progressively spent more for goods and services that they had previously not needed or were able to meet without monetary expenditure. The enduring effects of industrialization, urbanization, and invention can be gleaned from many working-class family budgets. Streetcar fares, gas or kerosene lighting, and the cost of heating fuel can be taken as examples of the financial stress placed on families by the modern standard of living in most urban areas.

In a rural and largely agricultural nation, daily transportation expenses were all but unnecessary as a budgetary item. People walked or rode their own animals from place to place, if they traveled any distance at all. Time was on their side, and they could afford to spend an entire day going to market in the town or visiting friends and relatives. The introduction of the factory system and the work-for-wage economy made time more dear than money, however, and a man gladly spent a few cents each day to be at work on time rather than to jeopardize his employment.

Artificial lighting had been provided by candles, grease lamps, or floating tapers since colonial times, and in many rural areas they continued to be popular because of their low cost. Most of these were produced at home from the rendering of waste animal fat into tallow or oils, or by actively gathering beeswax or bayberries. Whale oil was a significant exception to this rule because it had to be bought at the general store and burned in a peculiar double-wicked lamp. Rural and urban families generally continued to use these means of lighting until mid-century. Slowly new lighting devices made their way onto the American scene, and as with most technological advances, they appeared first in the cities. The most significant new means of lighting was the natural gas light, which by 1855 was appearing on both the main and secondary streets of even moderately sized cities and towns. Manufactured gas, acetylene, had been invented as early as 1816, but it was the natural gas pipelines placed under the streets of American cities that fed into even moderately priced homes that defined the Gaslight Era. More significant for most Americans, especially those in rural regions, was the development of kerosene lamps. These came into wide use after the development of the petroleum industry in Titusville, Pennsylvania. In 1859, Col. Edwin Drake brought in his first oil well with the specific intent of using the oily kerosene liquid as a lighting fuel. Although its adoption was initially hampered by the Civil War, the kerosene lamp became a ubiquitous device in most homes immediately thereafter. Even with the invention of the electric light in 1879 and its application to street lighting, kerosene remained the main source of artificial lighting in many farming and frontier communities into the twentieth century. In 1900 only eight percent of the homes nationwide were wired for electricity, and most of these were upper-class dwellings, which had their gas fixtures converted to electric lights. Plug-in lamps, while available, were not common before the turn of the century.

In the same vein, farmers and frontiersmen commonly took their fuel for heating and cooking from their own woodlots or from mesquite bushes, corncobs, or dried manure (so-called buffalo chips). These were provided by the application of one's own time, labor, and sweat rather than by the expenditure of cash. Despite the availability of many kinds of patented iron woodstoves, most Americans experienced cold mornings and chilly nights from November to April. The use of kerosene stoves (or heaters) in many homes became popular after the Civil War, and several kerosene-fueled devices were patented for warming irons for pressing clothes. Like the lamps and stoves that used the same volatile liquid fuel, these devices were particularly dangerous if upset while lit. Many cities banned the use of kerosene heaters in multifamily dwellings as fire hazards. For many city dwellers, firewood, charcoal, or hard coal needed to be purchased with cash from dealers who carted these items into the city centers. By the latter half of the nineteenth century hard coal had become the fuel of choice in city tenements for heating when used in fireplace gratings, cast-iron stoves, or tenement furnaces; but charcoal or firewood remained the choice for cooking purposes until they were replaced by gas. In 1870 more than 15 million tons of hard coal were mined in the United States and by the end of the period this had increased fivefold.

Family Wealth

The federal censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870 gathered information regarding income and property ownership. The 1850 census collected data only on real property, while the subsequent censuses sampled both real and personal property. The data can be disaggregated by race, residence, occupation, place of birth, and age and can be used to provide a look at the economic health of the family during the late nineteenth century. The 1870 census sampled more than 7.5 million families with an average wealth of almost $3,000, much of the total held by a small minority of very wealthy families. Sixty-nine percent of American families had property valued at more than $100. This included real property (land and houses) and personal property (cash or items of value). Given that the $100 threshold for inclusion masks some details regarding the poorest third of the population, it is still clear that wealth among the majority of families in this mid-nineteenth-century sample lacked any equality in how it was distributed.

No one should be surprised that economic inequality was greater among blacks than among whites, especially in the South where wealth was most unequally distributed across all subgroups. Researchers using random samples from the census taken in these periods, however, found "that property was nearly as unequally distributed in some parts of the Northeast, and in the Pacific and Mountain regions." Moreover, property inequality was also higher in urban rather than rural areas, it was higher in industrial rather than agricultural areas (the plantation South excepted), and it was higher among sales occupations rather than among wage earners. Differences in skilled versus unskilled pay rates—a proxy for income inequality—were greatest in areas in the earliest stages of industrialization. Wealth was more equally distributed among farmers, professionals, and clerical or office workers. What is remarkable is that by 1870, at least, there was little inequality based on ethnicity in terms of being native- or foreign-born. Inequalities also varied with age. Not surprisingly, young adults had the smallest portion of income. Older persons within every category of occupation or residence were much closer to one another than the young in terms of wealth distribution (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 4–5).

The average wealth of households headed by older, foreign-born, white males was higher than that of the general population if they were employed in manufacturing. Among these, regional and urban-rural distributions were quite similar as a whole. About 11 percent of all households were headed by native-born, rural females, made heads of households largely because they were widowed. Two-thirds of these female heads-of-household were black. With their limited economic prospects and an average age five years older than their male counterparts, it is not surprising that black women reported less property or no property more often than other group of persons.

State and regional differences in wealth were pronounced ranging from an average high of almost $5,000 per family in the Pacific region to an average low of just under $1,000 in the Mountain states. Wealth in the Northern states was two to three times greater than in the Southern states, but in the border states of Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky it was higher than in the Deep South of Georgia, Mississippi, or Alabama. Among the northern states, the New England manufacturing centers of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts had much higher levels than the more rural states of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine. In New England the value of real property (57%) accounted for a smaller portion of wealth than elsewhere (70%). Property ownership also varied across the region with the North Central states (80%) leading, and the Northeast (70%) and the Southern states (50%) lagging behind (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 8).

In terms of wealth nationwide, 27 percent of real property and 38 percent of personal property was owned by the top one percent of the population. Wealth was most concentrated among a few families in South Carolina, Louisiana, California, and the New England manufacturing states. The recently settled western states reported little wealth of any kind, and the agricultural states of New York, Pennsylvania, and the North Central region had a generally equitable distribution of wealth in terms of farm land. Real property inequity was greatest in the South, and personal property inequity greatest in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. Black families were about 30 percent less likely to report owning any property, and those that did have property valued it at little more than half that of comparable white families. There was no significant difference between native-born and foreign-born real property owners, but immigrants reported about 20 percent less personal property. Literacy and advancing age increased the likelihood of property ownership, but wealth peaked at age 55 to 60. Women, as a subgroup, were less likely to own any reportable property and had less of it than men of the same class when they did. Modest city dwellers were less likely to own property of any kind, and the odds of ownership fell with the increasing size of the city. This may have been due to a great number of renters. Those urban families with wealth, however, were generally better off if they lived in a large city rather than a small city (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 13).

There were marked differences in wealth distribution across occupational groups. General laborers and domestics, as expected, were the least likely to own property of any kind, but farmers, because of their land, were the most likely to report real property ownership. In terms of wealth, professionals and managers were among the wealthiest occupations, but farmers also placed very high along the wealth spectrum. Craftsmen and machine operators came next with salesmen and clerks being last in wealth among persons with specific occupations reported in the census data (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 28).

Farm Unrest

American farmers, as a group, have often expressed dissatisfaction with their economic lot, but in the post–Civil War years they were extraordinarily united in their discontent. The second half of the nineteenth century was one of persistent and vocal dissent with the way farmers viewed they were being treated by the rest of society. Increasing complexity in the emerging national and international marketplaces overwhelmed many farmers. Their frustration was largely fueled by declining prices, increasing costs, and lackluster profits. In 1873, and for five years thereafter, the Upper Midwest farming region was plagued by grasshoppers and several states were grievously affected.

From the 1860s to 1900, farmers formed cooperatives, interest groups, and associations to voice their complaints. They even went so far as to support significant third party candidates to defend their interests in the national political arena. Among these were the National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry founded in the 1860s; the Greenback Party significant in the 1870s; the Farmer's

Alliance of the 1880s; and the People's or Populist Party of the 1890s. A series of weather-related hardships drove the agitation in the Plains, and competition from abroad generally drove that in the Midwest. A major complaint was the treatment they received from the railroads and the high freight rates the railroads imposed. Southern farmers were more muted in their complaints largely because they were not so hard pressed by extremes of weather and could fall back on river transport to move their produce to market. The groups formed around generally monolithic racial and ethnic groups, and black, Native American, and mixed-race farmers were generally excluded.

The complaints of farmers throughout the period were well-articulated and can be easily summarized. Their foremost complaint was that farm prices were falling along with their incomes. Had this not been the case little would have been said. Farmers were practical, rather than ideological, in their discontent. They alleged that monopolistic railroads and grain elevators charged unfair prices for their services, and they perceived a lack of credit, a shortage in the money supply, and an unfair level of interest charged by banks. Falling prices during periods of deflation forced the farmers to repay debts in dollars that were worth significantly more than those they had borrowed. Yet their basic complaint concerned the undue influence over policy making and government held by railroads, financial institutions, and industrialists. It is evident that the farmers were reacting against the loss of influence traditionally held by the agriculturist in American society.

Currency Reform

In 1862, the Lincoln Administration began to issue paper currency as a wartime economic measure. Called *greenbacks*, more than $450 million (1860 dollars) in engraved paper bills were issued. Ever since the days of the Federalists, paper currency had been issued by the government, but it had always been backed by specie (gold) held in government vaults. Lincoln's greenbacks were based only on the good credit of the United States Government. During the war, the greenbacks generally fell in value when compared to gold and silver coins, but they remained legal tender and held most of their face value as long as specie circulated freely. Had the coins begun disappearing from circulation, as they did in the Confederacy, the value of the greenbacks would most certainly have fallen further.

As it was, at the end of the war, U.S. paper currency was valued at a discount large enough to attract banks and financial organization to buy them up cheap and present them to the federal government at face value. These interests demanded that the bills be treated like government bonds that were paid in gold for both the principle and the interest. The enabling legislation of 1862 had specifically prohibited this. A few soft-money politicians and greenbackers opposed the gold payments, but the hard-money Democrats were in complete accord with the idea. The argument seems frivolous to present-day Americans who are used to unsupported paper currency, valued only on the full faith and credit of the U.S. Treasury. Yet the greenback issue was actually a battle drawn between substantial economic interests, and it remained a foundational political issue throughout the remainder of the century.

Big business and banking had found the fixed gold standard most favorable for their operations and a hedge against economic downturns, but farmers and laborers bore the brunt of the financial loss caused by a gold standard in each successive depression or panic. The most recent of these in the postwar period was the Panic of 1873, but significant downturns had occurred in 1837, 1854, and 1858. After each panic the nation slowly recovered, regaining much of its prosperity and expanding under the influence of the giant gold strikes in California and the mountain West. Large silver reserves discovered in the Washoe area of the Sierra Nevadas in 1859 (known as the Comstock Lode or Nevada Bonanza) also relieved the distress somewhat.

With gold and silver flooding the market, their monetary values diminished with gold being the more stable monetary metal and silver varying as a commodity metal. For the remainder of the century, therefore, general price levels were in a deflationary downturn. Eastern financial interests were trading on the international markets in an increasingly gold-based world economy, and they wanted standardized gold money that increased in intrinsic value during periods of deflation. Farmers and other interior interests, who borrowed money, found that deflation had the effect of increasing the real value of interest paid on loans. Many populist, labor, and radical organizations favored soft monetary policies (particularly paper currency) that were inflationary on the grounds that farmers, wage earners, and small businesses could pay off their debts with cheaper, and more readily available, dollars. Creditors would then bear the burden of depreciating currency values.

In 1878, the soft money forces passed the Bland-Allison Act, which required the Treasury to redeem at least $2 million in paper (bonds and bills) each month through the use of silver bullion at one dollar per troy ounce. Most Greenbackers joined the soft money forces in backing the compromise that kept most greenbacks in circulation and helped to maintain their face value. Thereafter they were known as Free Silverites. After a long fight in Congress and the courts, specie payments in gold were resumed in 1879. In 1896 William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate, adopted the Populist opposition to the gold standard as a policy position, and he hoped to attract farmers and other soft money interests to the voting booth. Many Populist sentiments can be found in his famous Cross of Gold speech.

Immigration

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century there was a strong cultural undercurrent of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, or class. The existence of race-based slavery allowed discrimination to be broad-based, systemic, open to public scrutiny, and acceptable to a very large segment of the American population. Besides blacks, the targets of discrimination were often the recent immigrants to this country. These came in successive waves depending largely on economic conditions elsewhere in the world. Those immigrant groups that became targets of bigotry included the Irish, Germans, Chinese, Italians, and Eastern Europeans.

There were a number of factors that drove immigration to the United States. These can be categorized as *push* and *pull* factors carrying people from Europe, or Asia, to the United States. The same pull factors generally applied to all of the countries of origin. These included jobs with relatively high wages, free or inexpensive land, ease of travel in the form of steamships, ease of migration in the form of railroads, and (after the Civil War) a seeming political stability. These were all attractive incentives for families willing to settle permanently in the United States.

The push factors were generally specific to the environment of the immigrants' home nation. Most were economic in nature revolving around the growth of European population and the resultant shortage of land and jobs. A trend toward the large-scale commercialization of agriculture in Europe had pushed many peasants and renters off the land. Some emigrants left their home to avoid religious persecution. Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe, Russian Mennonites, Danish Mormons, and German Baptists all suffered some form of religious oppression in their countries of origin (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 7). Others left to avoid the horrors of constant European warfare, conscription, and political instability.

Intellectual Life

American literary independence was not achieved simultaneously with its political separation from Britain. The development of a cadre of American authors, nationalistic themes, and an independent writing style could not be realized until the instruments of culture were sufficient to produce trained writers, sensitive critics, and receptive readers. Schools and colleges, libraries, and publishing houses needed time to evolve and establish themselves. There were great controversies regarding schooling with Prussian-style pedagogical principles in ascendancy during much of the period. There were also disputes over tax-supported schools, religious schools, and curriculum development. Two of the premiere universities in America, Harvard and Yale, fell into an interminable dispute over the essentials of a college education. In the 1880s, Harvard introduced elective courses and a voluntary system of recitations approximating the European style of university education. Yale continued to represent itself as a place of general training—in moral as well as intellectual pursuits—where the professors stood *in loco parentis* providing not only the means of instruction, but also its direction and enforcement. Harvard seemed to have been aiming at the student taking as much or as little of what was being offered at his own discretion. The student was seemingly free to follow a course of study that omitted essential and fundamental branches of knowledge. The one positive of the elective system was that it increased the general interest of students and teachers alike to partake of the system. The negatives were that it seemingly required no specific studies, regimen, attendance, or rules; and it took no responsibility for the moral or intellectual improvement of the student (Hofstadter and Smith 1968, 732).

It has been observed that six of America's greatest authors were born within 16 years of one another during the first decades of the nineteenth century: Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804), Edgar Allan Poe (1809), Henry David Thoreau (1817), Herman Melville (1819), and Walt Whitman (1819). Certainly the list could be lengthened to include the authors, male and female, who produced the bulk of the printed work enjoyed by the common population of American readers; but it does indicate that America was not ready to produce its own literature until its spirit of democracy and nationalism had had time to coalesce and take root. Prior to the beginning of the antebellum period, American writers tended to imitate European styles even when they were working on nationalistic topics. "As a turning point, one might well designate the years 1819 to 1821, when Washington Irving published his *Sketchbook* of essays and stories, when William Cullen Bryant's first collection of poems appeared, and when James Fenimore Cooper, after one false start, won acclaim for *The Spy,* a novel set in the Revolutionary period" (Fehrenbacher 1969, 118–19).

Prior to 1820 more fashionable and less expensive English texts had almost closed the literary market to American authors and publishers. In that year, Sidney Smith, an eccentric clergyman, wrote in the *Edinburgh Review:* "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American Play?" (Lupiano and Sayers 1994, 60). In 1834, as our authors grew to manhood fewer than 500 American titles were published in the United States. However, by 1862, as the country and its writers grew to maturity, this number had grown to 4,000 (Fite 1976, 256). The literary pendulum in authorship and publishing had begun to swing from the theoretical, intellectual, and theological writing that had dominated the Revolutionary and Federalist periods to the more emotional, physically stirring, and mystical writing of novelists, romantics, and the socially conscientious (Volo and Volo 2004, 203–4).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the majority of native-born Americans were literate with literacy rates of 93 percent for men and 91 percent for women in the 1860s. Illiteracy was highest among destitute whites, poor blacks and recently freed slaves, and non-English speaking immigrants (who may have been literate in their own language). Reading played a prominent role in the lives of many Americans. Before the explosion of entertainment media in the second half of the twentieth century, reading materials such as books, magazines, tracts, and newspapers were the only mass media for diversion; and reading was considered a vital leisure activity. Moreover, in a largely Protestant society Bible reading was an essential religious obligation. Indeed, for the middle class, familiarity with scripture and the "right" literature became a mark of class distinction, producing a common experience, language, and values among the better sort. Reading was, nonetheless, an important activity for virtually all Americans (Shrock 2004, 151).

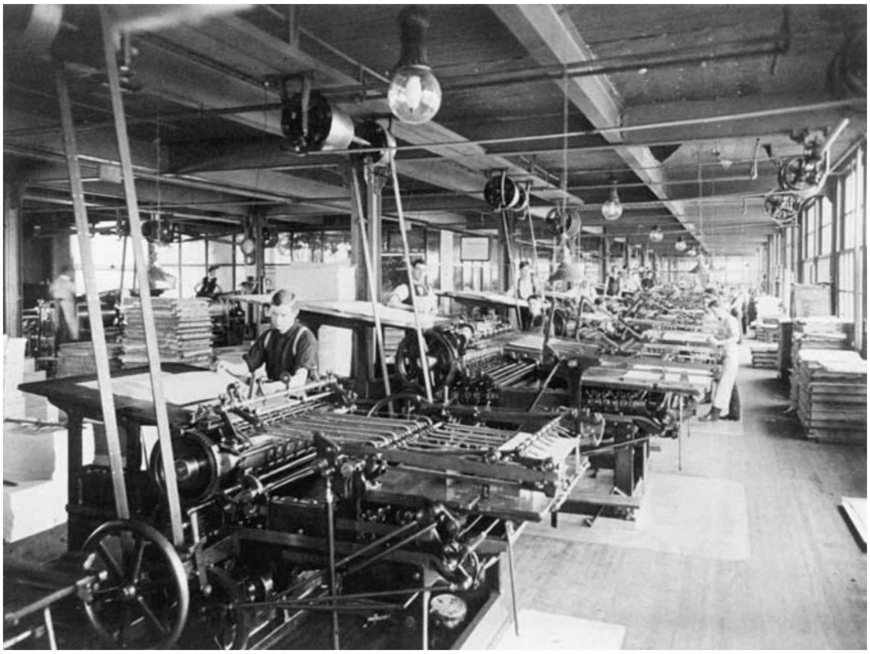
There was also a much wider selection and availability of reading materials in nineteenth century America than at any previous time in its history. This was largely due to technological advances in the printing and publishing industries and the expansion of transportation facilities that allowed printed materials to be shipped at a reasonable cost to the consumer. The annual rate of production of newly published hardcover books increased by 300 percent from 1800 to 1900. There was a corresponding increase in the growth of newspapers. Although tremendously popular at mid-century, the newspaper industry experienced a 700 percent increase in circulation from 1870 to 1900. Magazine circulation, especially that of illustrated magazines, journals, and gazettes, grew dramatically and stood at 65 million in 1900, which meant that there were up to three magazines for every four people in the American population (Shrock 2004, 151).

Henry Seidel Canby, editor of the *Saturday Review,* noted in his memoirs of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, *The Age of Confidence* (1934), "My reading memories are of absorption in a book, earless, eyeless, motionless hours, a life between covers more real than outer experience. . . . It was an extension without break or casualty of our own lives, and flowed back freely to become part of our mentality." Reading the properly chosen materials illustrated the gentility and refinement of the reader, serving as a class marker that differentiated the respectable folk from the rough. Such activities fostered self-improvement and created a common literary heritage that united the classes (Shrock 2004, 157).

Chief among the genre that played a role in life were the advice books written by authors whose authoritative position had come through academic and professional credentials rather than social and familial connections. These authors suggested histories, biographies, geographies, and works on natural science and travel literature that they considered the best path to self-improvement. However, it was the novel that was in the highest demand during the period dominating both sales and library borrowing. British authors like Charlotte Brontë, Walter Scott, William Thackeray, Dinah Mulock, George Eliot, and Anthony Trollope were highly recommended. However, American authorship, especially that of professional writers, increased tremendously in the period. Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Francis Parkman, Frank Norris, and Stephen Crane stand out as examples.

Mass literacy also made it possible for new forms of reading material to reach the public. Among these were dime novels, story papers, and other products of what came to be known as the cheap press. There is strong evidence that native- and Irish-born working-class families spent a substantial fraction of their income on newspapers, magazines, and books. Indeed, though children and young adults read story papers (comic book-length pamphlets) and dime novels, they were not the only or even primary audience of the publishers. The cheap press did very well during the Civil War with soldiers, but few admitted to reading it in their letters and diaries. After the conflict, it established a following among young, working-class men.

Western tales, detective stories, crime periodicals like the *National Police Gazette*, and other forms of sensational material also had an undeniable appeal. Indian massacres, gruesome crimes, and love entanglements filled these works. Love crimes, ghastly murders, gothic tales of terror, lynching, seductions, urban vice, and women posing as men were all topics covered with some regularity. These were often accompanied by graphic illustrations of the scene. Scantily clad women often appeared in the illustrations, but so did strong women doing things ordinarily reserved for men often in settings like saloons, hotels, and sporting events. Weekly circulations of over 100,000 copies were not unusual (Shrock 2004, 175).



The nineteenth-century printing office had changed from the small two- to three-man shop with a hand-operated press, to a multiemployee modern version of a publishing house resembling other industries that had turned to mass production and steam presses. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Although authorship by women was generally frowned upon before 1850, female writers like Mary Wollstoncraft Shelley *(Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus)* had gained a grudging acceptance in Britain that helped American women to enter the field as amateurs. Shelley's novel was made available when she was just 21 years old, but the first edition (1818) was widely accepted as the work of her husband, Percy Shelley. Many readers could not accept that a young woman could write such a shockingly repellent tale. Mary Shelley clearly acknowledged her authorship in 1821, and she is known, along with the American author Ann Radcliffe, for giving form to the Gothic horror genre. Lydia Child, a prominent self-help and advice author from this period, decried such "profligate and strongly exciting works," and she found the "necessity of fierce excitement in reading . . . a sort of intellectual in temperance producing a weakness and delirium in women and young girls." Nonetheless, the genre grew and women authors became even more successful as the century advanced (Volo and Volo 2004, 210).

The development of the juvenile literature genre illustrates the growth of a consumer ethic and a distinctively youthful culture. Although there were genteel values shared by all youthful readers, the standard Victorian way of thinking about the genders was well-entrenched, and this affected the content of the material that each was expected to read. For boys, characters with manly attributes like courage, physical power, and aggressiveness were favored. For girls, the domestic world—less rugged, more emotional, and certainly more mannerly and pious—was portrayed. Female characters were presented as polite, reserved, and respectful; males as honest, heroic, and even aggressive. Young people had a serious impact on reading material and they made their voice heard regarding the storylines and authors that they liked. Close attention was paid to these youthful readers, and while Victorian attitudes remained dominant, the desires of young readers created a distinctive space in the publishing world (Shrock 2004, 168).

Militarism

Militarism rather than diplomacy was to prove the most efficient tool for achieving the nation's manifest destiny during the nineteenth century. In 1790, the entire United States Army numbered just 80 men. During the Civil War there would be more than two million men under arms. Statesmen of that latter day seemed willing to accept the scourge of war to shape American society. Moreover, the American public from New York to New Orleans and from Charleston to Chicago generally supported these military efforts and followed their development—and the war news in particular—with rapt attention. The shifting tides of battle were often viewed like a sporting event (Millis 1956, 13).

The military system of mid-century had become so specialized that it needed to be described on a series of schematic diagrams, yet the old tradition of cavalier gallantry—drinking, carousing, and fighting—remained alive permeating the ranks of both the army and the navy. The military was seen as an acceptable professional career for many men and formal education in the concepts of warfare were not generally looked down upon as they are in some circles today. A contemporary observer expressed the absolute faith that nineteenth century Americans had in their military, "It is our army that unites the chasm between the culture of civilization in the aspect of science, art, and social refinement, and the powerful simplicity of nature" (Marcy 1993/1859, xi).

Although the American Civil War stands out as the major conflict during this period—some say the formative experience in the history of the nation—from 1785 to 1898 the country was involved in several other conflicts that helped to formulate its character. About once a decade, fathers, sons, and brothers were called forth in defense of their homes and country. They were also called upon to advance the frontiers of the nation, to underpin the emerging industrial complex by attacking strikers, to control slaves and freedmen, and to expel or exterminate the aboriginal owners of the land. The so-called Indian Wars of the second half-century stand out in this respect. Americans also fought a series of conflicts and policing actions along the Mexican-American and Canadian-American borders as well as an extended war with Spain in the Philippines and Cuba.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
A CENTURY OF "-ISMS"
DOMESTIC LIFE
A PLACE IN SOCIETY
COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE
USING CENSUS DATA
VITAL STATISTICS
THE FRAGILITY OF LIFE
THE COST AND STANDARD OF LIVING
FAMILY WEALTH
FARM UNREST
CURRENCY REFORM
IMMIGRATION
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MILITARISM
SUMMARY

Summary

The Civil War involved the entire population in a way unparalleled by any conflict since the American Revolution. An incalculable number of civilian lives were permanently disrupted in its wake. Before a single man had been killed in battle, the absence of men from the countinghouse, factory, plantation, or farm had had an immediate effect on their families as well as their communities. The military mobilization of close to four million men in as many years—the largest attempted in

American history to that time—generally affected their ability to properly support their families in ways that few had envisioned.

So common were the battlefield deaths on both sides—some 620,000 men in four years—that whole communities were in simultaneous mourning. The absence of a so-called bread winner or other male source of income most stressed middle- and lower-class families who had few financial resources or reserves. Many upper-class women had servants, hired help, or slaves on which to rely in the absence of their men, but they found their situations strained nonetheless. After watching her brothers depart for the war, Kate Stone correctly speculated that they who stayed home might find it harder than those who left (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 11).

The post–Civil War period of American history known as Reconstruction (1865–1877) did little to buttress any of the political, economic, or social objectives gained on the battlefield. For many ex-Confederates Reconstruction was relatively brief. It was long enough, however, to foster a lasting bitterness between traditional and progressive Southern whites, but not long enough to sustain the nascent black political power that was kindled at the end of the war or to engender genuine economic independence among former black slaves.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, America emerged as a world power both economically and militarily. Some historians consider the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 the end of the era of expansion. Others understand that such events also shape the future, and their inevitable consequences lend a radically different perspective to all that preceded it. The era of expansion marked by wagon trains and railways simply gave way to an equally vibrant era of exploitation. Nor does the end of expansion in mid-century explain the purchase of Alaska in 1867, the annexation of Hawaii in 1898, the diplomatic involvement in China, or the submission of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines at the end of the Spanish American War 50 years later.

According to the perceptions of a number of nineteenth century observers, "acquisitiveness," if not greed or avarice, took a hold on the minds of many men in the Industrial Age, at the end of the century, and they became focused on being more than merely comfortable in their homes and communities. They seemed in a great haste to become conspicuously wealthy. The rising middle class also aspired to an idyllic life filled with pastimes, diversions, and attempts at personal improvement without recognizing many of the underlying fundamentals of the economy or the national psyche.

The history of finance and industry in the Industrial Age is the story of a handful of businessmen who became superrich in the second half of the nineteenth century by applying innovative methods to the processes of mass industrialization. Many of the features that distinguish our present machine-based industrial economy were developed during this period. At no time since humans first learned to control fire had society been so profoundly modified by technology.

Such matters have sent historians delving into the depths of old newspaper columns, official records, letters, diaries, photographic files, and memoirs to unearth the details of constitutional pressures, agricultural and industrial production, battlefield strategies, and political evolutions. Many of these have been recorded in this volume.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Barney, William L., ed. *A Companion to 19th-Century America.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Bash, Wendell H. "Differential Fertility in Madison County New York, 1865." In *Studies in American Historical Demography,* ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Bennett, Sarah. "Words to a Woman." *Advocate and Family Guardian* 31, no. 3 (February 1, 1865).

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Cary, John H., and Julius Weinberg, eds. *The Social Fabric: American Life from the Civil War to the Present.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Davidson, Marshall B. *Life in America.* Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951.

Easterlin, Richard A., George Alter, and Gretchen A. Condran. "Farms and Farm Families in Old and New Areas: The Northern States in 1860." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America* by Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

England, J. Merton, ed. *Buckeye Schoolmaster: A Chronicle of Midwestern Rural Life 1853–1865.* Bowling Green, OH: State University Popular Press, 1996.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Era of Expansion, 1800–1848.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969.

Fite, Emerson David. *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War.* Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1976.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Glasco, Lawrence. "Migration and Adjustment in the Nineteenth-Century City: Occupation, Property, and Household Structure of Native-Born Whites, Buffalo, New York, 1855." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America* by Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Haines, T. L., and Levi W. Yaggy. *The Royal Path of Life: Or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness.* Chicago, IL: Western Publishing House, 1876.

Hareven, Tamara K., and Maris A. Vinovskis. *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Hunt, Gaillard. *As We Were, Life in America, 1814.* Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House Publishers, 1914. Reprinted in 1993.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Kipling, Rudyard. *American Notes.* 1891. URL: http://www.chicagohs.org/fire/queen/pic0521.html (accessed July 2007).

Lupiano, Vincent DePaul, and Ken W. Sayers. *It Was a Very Good Year: A Cultural History of the United States from 1776 to the Present.* Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams, 1994.

Marcy, Randolph B. *The Prairie Traveler, A Hand-book for Overland Expeditions.* Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1993. Reprint of the 1859 edition.

McIntosh, Elaine N. *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective.* Westport, CT: Greenwood/Praeger Press, 1995.

Millis, Walter. *Arms and Men, A Study of American Military History*. New York: A Mentor Book, 1956.

Modell, John. "Family and Fertility on the Indiana Frontier, 1820." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Nye, Russel B. *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830*. New York: Harper & Row, 1960.

Osterud, Nancy, and John Fulton. "Family Limitation and Age at Marriage." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Quay, Sara E. *Westward Expansion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Rosenbloom, Joshua L., and Gregory W. Stutes. *Reexamining the Distribution of Wealth in 1870*. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2005.

Sewell, Richard H. *A House Divided: Sectionalism and the Civil War, 1848–1865*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Uhlenberg, Peter R. "A Study of Cohort Life Cycles." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America* by Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Unidentified author. "The Needs of Working Women: Homes for Working-Girls." *Arthur's Lady's Home Magazine* 37, no. 1 (January 1871).

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Ware, John F. W. *Home Life: What It Is, and What It Needs*. Boston, MA: Wm. V. Spencer, 1864.

Wells, Robert V. "Demographic Change and the Life Cycle of American Families." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States, 1820s–1890*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

This page intentionally left blank

2

THE CIVIL WAR

Overview

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

In 1860 the federal capital at Washington was highly valued as a symbol by nineteenth-century Americans. Carefully laid out in a district allocated from within the boundaries of Maryland to salve the pride of the South, the nation's capital city had been under construction since the turn of the century. Americans pointed proudly to the imposing structure of the Capitol building, as well as the General Post Office, the Bureau of the Treasury, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Executive Mansion, as representative of a vigorous young nation preparing to take its place among the leading countries of the world.

Unfortunately, Washington was also symbolic of other things. The plans for the city, like the basic founding concepts of the nation itself, were as pretentious as they were visionary, and in 1860 both lay unfulfilled and disordered. Sprawling along the banks of the Potomac with the "Old City" of Alexandria, Virginia, across the water, the great buildings of the new capital remained incomplete even after the expenditure of vast sums of money and six decades of effort. The Capitol building lay unfinished with its original dome removed—a scaffolding and a towering crane representative of restructuring and rethinking. The wings of the building were stretched bare and unfinished, devoid even of steps. The imposing obelisk of the Washington Monument lay as a mere foundation. Blocks of marble, lumber, cast-iron plates, and the tools of workmen strewn about the district gave quiet testimony to the fact that the plan for the nation's first city, like the social and political plan for the American nation itself, was incomplete and open to revision (Leech 1941, 5–6).

At the head of the James River, 100 miles south of Washington and in sharp contrast to it, was Richmond, Virginia. As the third largest city in the South, Richmond had proven an elegant state capital with fine buildings and traditional architecture. Although the city was cultivated and cosmopolitan, it was also the center of Virginia's economy, with mills, railways, and trading establishments. In 1861, Richmond was the finest city in the South and one of the better places in which to live in the entire country. Within a few months of secession, though, Richmond had been made the capital of the new Confederate nation, and its tenor changed dramatically. On the eve of war the city teemed with soldiers, wagons, and government officials. Defenses in the form of artillery emplacements, trenches, and earthworks rimmed its suburbs. The South's only major foundry, the Tredegar Iron Works, turned out cannon, rails, and plates for gunboats. But in a mere four years the once stately city would be a ruin comparable to the broken hulk of Berlin at the end of World War II. Its people would be described as looking "hungry, gaunt, ghastly, and yellow." Even the young were so pale and thin that it was "pitiful to see" (Croushore 1949, 35).

The War of Southern Secession, a civil war, had come to America. It would be one of the most tragic events in the nation's history, resulting from a dispute among its citizens over just what the new country should look like. For four years the country passed through a traumatic military and social upheaval that touched the lives of its people in many ways.

At the outbreak of the war, all but the most astute observers thought that the question of national unity would be settled in a single afternoon of combat. Yet in the first great battle of the war (Bull Run, or First Manassas), the intrinsic drama of Americans locked in mortal combat diverted everyone's attention from the fact that indecisiveness had crept into warfare over the centuries. From 1861 to 1865 Yankees were bushwhacked in western Virginia and Rebels sniped at near Washington. Federal "Red Legs" and Confederate "Partisans" mauled one another across the plains of Kansas and Missouri and were held in contempt by the politicians on both sides.

Simultaneously, giant armies trudged across northern Virginia, Louisiana, and middle Tennessee in efforts to either defend or dismantle the Old South and its characteristic lifestyle. The war policies of both governments so extended into the lives of the local populations that people came to look seriously upon the result as the hard hand of war. Meanwhile, the terrible cost of war, measured in tens of thousands of lives, afflicted the North with such a palpable weariness that Abraham Lincoln despaired of winning reelection in 1864. He began to lay plans for turning the federal government over to a successor who would end the war by simply declaring it finished. The timely taking of Atlanta probably saved the election for Lincoln.

The 1863 Battle of Gettysburg, the bloodiest and largest ever fought on the North American continent, has long been a focal point of Civil War historians. Taken with the simultaneous fall of Vicksburg—the Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi—the federal victory at Gettysburg should have been one of the most decisive military actions in history. Yet the internecine struggle continued, seemingly powered by the undiminished will of the Southern people to prevail. "We shall not give up the contest," said one Confederate officer after the fall of the Southern stronghold at Port Hudson, "and I think we shall tire you out at last." From the rousing partisan raids of cavalier clad horsemen in Tennessee to the dreary siege warfare of the Petersburg trenches, the obstinate refusal of the ragged troops to be forced from a thousand battlefields left the issue of what constituted the American nation undecided for four long years (Volo and Volo 1998, xi–xiii).

In just 1,500 days of armed conflict more than 600,000 soldiers died from wounds and disease, and an incalculable number of civilian lives were lost or permanently disrupted by war. Such matters have sent historians delving in the depths of old newspaper columns, official records, letters, memoirs, diaries, and other sources to unearth the details of constitutional pressures, agricultural and industrial production, social development, and political evolution, thereby producing over the intervening decades an enormous and ever-growing body of printed work. More than 100,000 volumes have been written about the American Civil War.

No event in American history has had so much written about it, but much of the research has dealt with battles, operations, commanders, and military personalities. When a nation is at war, it is not just the soldiers whose lives are changed. The lives of the civilians who remain behind, whether they are joined to the battle by the ties of love or not, are altered just as irrevocably.

Immediately after the war, the public was swamped with war stories, journals, memoirs, and battle descriptions. Former army commanders renewed wartime arguments about tactics and strategies in print—the pen and the printing press their only weapons. Battlefield opponents, and sometimes former comrades, aired the dirty laundry of their respective commands before an awaiting public. Southern apologists, particularly, tried to rationalize their lost cause by finding unexploited opportunities, scapegoats, excuses, and martyrs. For quite some time—in fact for almost as long as the veterans of the war lived—this was the stuff of Civil War history.

However, in the 1940s and 1950s historians became mesmerized by the idea of identifying the reasons for the conflict, setting off a new wave of printing. Yet the causes proved so lost in a maze of interrelated factors and so obscured by the hidden agendas of those who wrote, or rewrote, history that there was no possibility of identifying all of them. Historians found that more than two years before the outbreak of hostilities, Americans had already identified, to their satisfaction at least, a very powerful cause for the bloody struggle that loomed between the increasingly antagonistic sections of their country. "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces," declared William H. Seward in 1858. Some modern historians still agree with this outspoken antislavery Republican, but others disagree, believing the war could have been avoided by compromise. Nonetheless, it seems certain, from the distance of generations, that some form of civil upheaval was inevitable (Donald 1961, 124).

A more meaningful debate has centered in recent years around the people who found themselves caught in undercurrents of history so strong and compelling that they were unable to avoid conflict. This discussion has sparked several interesting lines of research into the nature of American society before and during the conflict, and historians have studied constitutional theory, politics, economics, geography, and society in an attempt to understand the wartime generation. Research in these areas has been particularly helpful in producing a mass of documentary evidence concerning the lives of the people of the Civil War era (Volo and Volo 1998, 3–4).

—James M. Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Croushore, James H., ed. *A Volunteer's Adventure, by Captain John W. De Forest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949.

Donald, David H. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Boston, MA: Heath, 1961.

Leech, Margaret. *Reveille in Washington*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.

Stewart, James Brewer. *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Domestic Life

THE HARD HAND OF WAR

The visions of a nation wrenched apart by civil war and of soldiers battling on many fronts are often used to capture the emotion and turmoil of the period. While the physical debris of war was obvious, the full extent of the tragedy was somewhat obscured. The broken implements of battle, the uneven lines of shallow graves, the torn earth upturned by shot and shell rather than by the plow were all visible evidence of the tragedy that had been visited upon the nation. Yet the same imagery proved equally valid when applied to families and civilians during those troubled times.

The war placed the institution of the family under a siege equally as violent as any that occurred on the field of battle. Loved ones were wrenched apart as men and boys marched off to fight, many never to return—sometimes not even in death. It has been estimated that up to 200,000 Southerners, mostly refugees, were on the move during the war years. White refugees often took their slaves with them to keep them from the hands of the Federals. The states of the trans-Mississippi west like Texas and Arkansas seemed the safest, but riding herd on dozens of slaves through unfamiliar territory was difficult with a federal army on your heels offering immediate freedom to your bondsmen. Economic shortages, strained agricultural productivity, and social upheaval beset civilians, North and South, in various forms. Like brave soldiers themselves, many civilians managed to stand apart from the war and cope with its vagaries while trying to preserve some semblance of their social order, standard of living, and values. Thus, even though the war might rage at their very doorsteps, the civilians lived through it and in spite of it.

The vast majority of Southern and Midwestern citizens were small farmers who planned their lives around rural activities and seasonal chores such as barn raising, quilting bees, planting, haying, and harvesting. Their concept of time was based on sunrise, noon, spring, or summer, and they set their appointments or ended the workday by this standard. Free white laborers and artisans were paid at the completion of a task, and rarely by the clock or calendar. The system provided continuity in the work relationship between employer and employee, and it was not unusual for one family to be employed by another in the same capacity for several generations. Family members usually cooperated in completing chores. This togetherness was thought to foster feelings of kinship and traditional family values. Fathers and mothers worked beside their children and grandchildren in an idyllic, if not a mechanically efficient, simplicity. While many Northerners were still farmers, a growing segment of the population was becoming tied to the cities and factories. This trend would continue throughout the century. Middle-class men who had grown up in the first half of the century could remember a childhood spent living in a family working environment, either on the farm, in a cottage at the mill, or in a room behind the family shop. But as the century progressed, men's work increasingly took place in the special atmosphere of business premises such as the factory or office. Fathers commonly left the home to work for 10 to 14 hours, and their children rarely saw them during daylight hours. A father's work and workplace became foreign to his children. This tendency to go to work, rather than to work at home, led to the virtual removal of men from the home environment, leaving it the province of the female. The modern nineteenth-century home increasingly came to focus almost solely on the wife and children. The evolution to a female-dominated household may help to explain the growing formalism and rigid authoritarianism that Victorian fathers demanded when they were present.

Nonetheless, family structures were often more flexible than they are sometimes presented. Any imbalance created in the nuclear family living in an industrialized and urbanized environment may have "resulted from the breakup of the family as an economic partnership, a fragmentation caused by separation of place of work from place of residence and by the spread of a wage and money economy" (Chudacoff 1999, 204–5). The husband's added importance as a wage earner may also have prompted wives, particularly newlywed ones, to form extended ties of their own (especially with their mothers and maternal aunts) as a counterforce to men's increased power prerogatives.

—*James M. Volo*

KINSHIP TIES

The overwhelming pervasiveness of nuclear families in America did not mean that they were isolated. Kinship ties persisted outside the nuclear household, and they were of prime importance in determining a family strategy for its interactions with, and within, the institutions of the larger community. The carryover of kinship ties from the rural and agrarian settings of the eighteenth century to the urban and industrialized settings of large American communities in the nineteenth century served most families well. Kin acted as immigration agents, labor recruiters, and social supports for working-class persons moving from Europe to America, from the farm to industry, or from one industrial town to another. They offered the members of their group basic protections and economic support while on the move to the frontier or while establishing themselves in a new factory, a new business, or a new home.

Family was the most inviolable of upper-class institutions. Many of the best American families had resided in the same section of the country for hundreds of years. By the time of the Civil War, there was hardly a family of note that did not occupy at least the same social position that it had at the time of the founding of the colonies. Periodically, the family would gather, and cousins, aunts, and grandparents would trace the family tree from long before the Revolution. To maintain their high social position and authority, it was important for socially elite families to have a strong sense of obligation to their blood relatives.

In this regard, maternal uncles and aunts played an essential role of great trust. "A mother's trust that her [own] brothers and sisters would take care of the children in case of her death gave special significance to the role of the uncle and aunt." While uncles and aunts could be relied upon for monetary assistance, guidance, or support, their nieces or nephews need not be orphaned to call upon them. The extension of business and social influence to nephews was particularly evident at this time, but extenuating circumstances of many kinds could and did bring the influence of these relatives into play in terms of a tightly knit kinship network (Clinton 1982, 52–53).

Intermarriage between second and third cousins was common in the South because it perpetuated the family name, fortune, and bloodline. As women were not permitted to freely correspond with men except in the most formal of circumstances, it was possible for a susceptible young woman to trade the benevolence of a strict father for the exploitive control and abuse of a less forgiving husband. For this reason, many women favored cousin marriages where they were at least familiar with the personality of their prospective partner. However, the practice, though more common in Britain, was almost unheard of among Northern families. In a historical study of Southern and Northern families numbering 100 each, 12 percent of Southern marriages were between cousins while not a single case was found in the Northern sample. While such findings could be laid at the door of Southern clannishness, it should be remembered that many more Northern young people lived in cities and towns where they had opportunities to meet prospective mates unrelated to them by blood. Southern youth were largely isolated on widely scattered farms and plantations (Clinton 1982, 178).

With kinship came advantage and obligation. Birth into one of America's leading families was essential to making a political career almost everywhere. Social prominence, business and political influence, and the presumption of ability—whether it was present or not in an individual—were inherited from one's father or grandfather in much the same way that businesses, land, or slaves were inherited. Fathers expected their first-born male heirs to follow in their footsteps, and they were protective of their daughters providing their sons-in-law with influence, if not money. Granddaughters in similar circumstances were treated in much the same way, especially in the absence of a living father. Men were similarly solicitous of their nieces, daughters-in-law, and all their children. So pervasive was the assumption that kinship ruled that men were given positions as sheriffs, justices of the peace, militia captains, or county lieutenants by influential relatives without the slightest charge of favoritism being made by anyone in the system (Volo and Volo 2000, 157–58).

FAMILY LIFE

Household Structure

A husband and wife were considered one person in law in most states, and the very existence of the woman was often incorporated and consolidated into that of her husband. Until late in the nineteenth century, married women had little or no legal standing in the courts, could not sign enforceable contracts, and held no tangible assets in their own name in most states. The property brought to a marriage by the wife legally became that of her husband. Many widows disdained remarriage having in their bereavement finally found relief from the overbearing power of even the best of husbands and fathers. Nonetheless. in some states widows might lose their property rights to their adult sons, if not otherwise provided for by the will of their spouse. A widower with young children was expected to remarry for the sake of his motherless offspring if no appropriate female relation, such as an unmarried sister or aunt, was available to care for them.

Most nineteenth-century American households were clearly nuclear in structure and remarkably similar in size. Although this pattern varied slightly across urban, rural, and ethnic lines, the variations were minimal. Moreover, the household structure of many urban immigrants from Europe was also clearly nuclear, but they tended to show a greater extension in urban environments than in rural ones.

The family expanded and contracted at different stages of its life cycle, and the members of the household responded and reacted when the web-like strands of their individual life changes pulled at each other. As the years passed and the family life cycle lengthened, these familial ties tended to weaken or adjust. Within these variations, it is safe to say that 75 to 80 percent of households were clearly nuclear within the urban environment. A young married couple might live with their parents for a brief time until they found separate quarters but rarely would the arrangement continue beyond the birth of their first child. Once established in their own residence, these households rarely changed in composition. Among those newlyweds yet without children about one in five took in a relative or a boarder. Yet with the arrival of their first child, about half the households with relatives as lodgers expelled them. Ironically, the vast majority of such households did not expel their boarders (Glasco 1978, 178).

Native-born migrants, newly arrived in a city or frontier community, initially settled themselves as heads of nuclear households, or boarded temporarily in the homes of strangers. Research indicates that approximately 44 percent of newcomers to cities set up their own households directly upon arrival, and as few as 12 percent lived with blood relations. This leaves a sizeable group (also 44%) that needed to make other living arrangements in boarding houses, rooming houses, or commercial hotels. Many of these were single men or young women in the transitional stage between their parents' household and their own (Glasco 1978, 164–65).

Siblings in most households were treated in a hierarchical manner with all the male offspring being given a superior position over their sisters—a circumstance sometimes supported by state law. Nonetheless, sisters might exert great influence over their brothers, and a fluid and cooperative interaction between the children formed an important element of a happy household. A boisterous or selfish boy might try to dominate a weaker or more dependent girl, but "generally the latter exerted a softening, sweetening charm. The brother animated and heartened, the sister mollified, tamed, refined." Sisters were like the polished cornerstones of a temple, brothers the rough-hewn foundation stones (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 91).

It was noted that many men "passed unharmed through the temptations of youth, [owing] their escape from many dangers to the intimate companionship of affectionate and pure-minded sisters." A true gentlemen's character was formed to a great extent by the ladies with whom he associated before entering the adult world of business and society. Young men were more likely to refrain from mixing with the corrupting influences of unrefined friends and low society when they had sisters at home (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 70).

The inferior position of sisters among siblings implied an obligation that was placed upon brothers to defend their honor. This obligation was often extended to brotherless female cousins. Because young women were often thought of as "silly, senseless, thoughtless, giddy, vain, proud, frivolous, selfish, low and mean" and apt to make "an exhibition of [themselves]," a brother could intervene in the affairs of his sisters and their circle of friends with or without their permission (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 83). At times these brothers could take on a very combative stance, especially when dealing with a sister's reputation, and her outbreaks of passion and his unbridled impetuosity sometimes made their companionship uncongenial and drove them apart. Yet it was believed that the compensating power of a true friendship would ultimately draw them back together (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 78).

—James M. Volo

Vital Statistics

Some historians attribute the dominance of the nuclear family during this period to the consequences of industrialization or a trend toward female domesticity. Yet it has been established that this household structure had dominated not only in America, but in the Western world for more than 300 years.

Generally, in the decade of the 1860s the typical white, native-born women had seven or eight pregnancies during her childbearing years, and raised five or six children. Fully 95 percent of women were unmarried at age 20. This age seems to have been a temporal interface in women's lives. Almost 31 percent of all females born in 1830, 1850, 1870, respectively, failed to live to age 20. This proportion decreased for those born in the 1890s to approximately 26 percent. The majority of the survivors, where data is available, seem to have married at an average age of 20 years and given birth to their first child within one or two years. Nationally, about 10 to 12 percent of all women aged 20 to 24 were pregnant at any one time. In the 1860s, the median period of childbearing was about 10 years, and in the 1890s this had lengthened to somewhat longer than 11 years. All of these data remained remarkably stable throughout the second half of the nineteenth century (Wells 1979, 524).

White, immigrant women generally had higher fertility rates than their native-born counterparts, and second-generation immigrants usually evinced an intermediate level of fertility between that of their parents and that of the native population. It may also be assumed that birth rates everywhere were somewhat depressed by the interposition of the Civil War as they most surely were in New England between 1861 and 1865 (Bash 1979, 439).

Average white life expectancy at birth in 1850 sat at a remarkably low 39 years, and white infant mortality rates for 1850 at 217 per 1,000 were significantly worse than those of 1900. There are significant improvements seen when these data are compared to a decade later. Average white life expectancy at birth in 1860 sat at a still remarkably low 44 years, and white infant mortality rates for 1860 at 181 per 1,000. There is no reliable data for infant mortality or life expectancy for blacks until the early twentieth century, and most of the analysis of black birth rates in the previous century was focused on the question of deliberate slave breeding by white plantation owners rather than on the intentions of the black slave women who bore the children. Among slaves there were seemingly no income restraints to impinge upon a women becoming pregnant as the costs of care and maintenance of the expectant mother, and later the child, as well as health care and food for the family were generally assumed by the slave owners.

Blacks (from data beginning in 1850) sustained decreasing, but still higher, fertility and birth rates (eight or nine pregnancies and seven to eight children) than their white counterparts throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Enslaved women were generally shown some indulgence for three or four weeks previous to childbirth, and they were generally allowed four weeks after the birth of a child, before they were compelled to go into the field. Thereafter, they generally took their children with them while working. Most black slaves nursed for three years to naturally limit their fertility during the period of lactation. White women generally nursed for only two years.

—James M. Volo

Men

Throughout the nineteenth century men were the unequivocal masters of their households, but proper family men were expected to exhibit several personal qualities that would lead to a happy and well-ordered home. Among these were *competency*, *character*, *identity*, and *industry*. These traits were common benchmarks throughout the nineteenth century.

When a man took a wife, he was expected to provide for her (and their children) during the rest of his life in a manner similar to that in which he found her in her family home. Moreover, a man's economic endeavors, whether they be in the form of wages, investments, or business enterprises, had to be adequate enough to provide some ease and affluence in his old age or for his widow, if the occasion arose. Men looked for work that would provide their families with a comfortable subsistence and a maintenance of their social standing. Beyond this minimum level was an income that was often termed a certain competency of means that allowed for comfort and security if not wealth.

The 1850 census collected data only on real property, not income or wages. Detailing the actual dollar amounts considered an average competency in the decade before the war is therefore difficult. Yet it seems safe to say that in the 1850s men meant much the same by *competency* as their colonial forbearers—an income or degree of wealth sufficient to keep his family in a fashion equivalent to that of his neighbors during his life and off the public dole in the case of his demise. In August 1861, the federal government instituted an income tax law that provided additional information. The 1860 census and income tax figures (1861–1865) yield an average per capita income of $140 after base exemptions ($800 per family) and a progressive rate scale (5–10%) were taken into consideration (Randall and Donald 1961, 340). However, in this period men shared with women and children the task of producing the necessities of family life in this period, and what proportion of the family income was required of a father to prove his competency is unknown.

By *character* the nineteenth-century man meant his good reputation in terms of meeting his family, social, and business obligations. Many men's character and courage were sorely tested during the experiences of Civil War battle. A man's character, measured largely by his integrity, was thought to command the respect of all who knew him, or knew of him. While lesser men might succumb to evil appetites, men of character would triumph over difficulties and sail through perils. Circumstances like these tended to raise questions among more sober minds about the character and integrity of their fellows. The more philosophical among contemporary observers recoiled at such unfettered ambition and superficial rewards. "The men of our time seek too much for immediate results. They are too impatient for applause, honor and wealth.... They seek advancement through letters of recommendation and the influence of friends." Men of real merit and dignity, those who had a good heart and who loved virtuous action because it was right, were considered to have developed "the highest excellence" of character and integrity. Richard Henry Dana considered such a man a virtual paragon, "pure-minded, elevated, intellectual, religious, literary, accomplished in manners, just, humane, kind, polite, with a high degree of pride and reserves, yet truly modest" (Smith 1981, 783).

A cynical Timothy Titcomb, writing in 1861, believed that absolute integrity was a rarity among nineteenth-century Americans. "There are men in all communities who are believed to be honest, yet whose word is never taken as authority upon any subject." There was some "flaw or warp" in the perceptions of such men, "which prevents them from receiving truthful impressions. Everything comes to them distorted. [T]he moment their personality, or their personal interest, is involved, the fact[s] assume false proportions and false colors" (Titcomb 1861, 73–74).

All truth for Titcomb was tainted by the medium through which it passed, and that medium in the nineteenth century was self-interest, the personal vices of greed and alcoholism, and the scourges of sectionalism, slavery, and partisan politics. "It is possible for no man who owns a slave and finds profit in such ownership, to receive the truth touching the right of man to himself, and the moral wrong of slavery.... It is impossible for a people who have allowed pecuniary interest to deprave their moral sense to this extent, to perceive and receive any sound political truth, or to apprehend the spirit and temper of those who are opposed to them" (Titcomb 1861, 75).

Personal and public *identity* were an important part of nineteenth-century life. A man's identity—who he was in his own mind and the place that he occupied in the ultimate scheme of the world around him—was composed partly from his social position, partly from his religious affiliation, and partly from his chosen vocation. During the war the idea of public identity was quickly transferred to a man's position in the military infrastructure. Gentlemen were expected to serve as officers, and officers were always expected to behave as gentlemen. Men in the cavalry walked with a decided swagger; those in the artillery exuded an exacting confidence; and the infantry exhibited both the best and worst of the characteristics of a band of brothers. Each identified with his unit and was conscious of its reputation, battle honors, and his place within its corporate identify.

Finally, men were expected to possess the quality of *industry*, the mental and physical energy needed to meet the difficulties of a busy life and overcome them. This was often measured by his perseverance. Such industry gave men the impulse to accomplish every action or effort. A man possessing these qualities in the proper proportions was considered meritorious and worthy of the respect and esteem of his family and community (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 65–66).

The war adversely affected the ability of men to support their families, especially in the manpower-hungry South. Louisa Walton reported that her South Carolina had been thinned out of men by 1862, and Margaret Junkin Preston described Virginia as "a world of femininity" with a line of boys and octogenarians. In Shelby County, Alabama, 1,600 of the 1,800 male residents were in the army. Even before a single man had been killed, their absence had an effect on their families and the community at large. Many women were trying to do a man's business, managing businesses and farms, and working for wages for the first time. In some cases they seemed to have usurped their husbands' place. This situation created a gender crisis that transformed the roles of men and women during the war and may have had a destabilizing effect in its aftermath. With their means of making a living gone and their place in the community ripped asunder, Southern men were left with little more than their personal honor and unblemished character after the war. Unlike most Southern men, many Northerners avoided this confrontation, and came home with the sustaining knowledge of having fought the good fight and of having won the war.

A man was supposed to be masculine in his manner, his clothing, his interests, and his sentiments. Such traits were part of his true identity. Contemporary advisors produced a long list of personal attributes that were thought to be appropriate for the middle classes, but as the century wore on respectable persons increasingly valued those qualities that separated them further from the working classes. Among these were gender-neutral qualities such as obedience, virtue, thrift, or loyalty. However, some traits were thought to have a specific masculine or feminine quality: patience, kindness, affection, or sentimentality for women; honesty, industry, courage, and dedication to duty for men. As the business world expanded its sphere of influence, thrift, punctuality, attention to detail, cleverness, and a reserved manner became highly regarded as workplace attributes (Volo and Volo 2007, 47–53).

WOMEN

Civil War Wives

The wave of romanticism that swept the nation in the nineteenth century left its mark on more than literature and art. It raised love to an important, if not the most important, reason for selecting a mate. Certainly, some couples entered into marriage primarily for economic considerations or to please their parents, but increasingly, couples were drawn to make the commitment out of love. European visitors to the United States were struck by how different marriages were in America to those in Europe. Harriet Martineau, during her visit to the United States, observed that if there was any country on earth where the course of true love might be expected to run smoothly, it was America. It was a country where the troubles arising from conventional considerations of rank and connection were entirely absent.

American girls had greater liberty in the selection of a mate than their European counterparts. Certainly, some parents made strong attempts to influence a child's choice but advice manuals warned against it. Counseling mothers with regard to matrimonial speculations for their daughters, Lydia Marie Child bid them to leave the affections to nature and to truth, and all will end well. Young, single women were given far more latitude in their social interactions as well. European diarists were disconcerted by what they observed. While young women may have invited whom they wanted into their homes and couples were given privacy in the parlor or on the porch, there was generally someone within earshot.

The price of premarital sexual conduct among the upper classes—should it be detected—was just too great in terms of the social consequences that it engendered. Couples from the lower classes were less restricted in their romancing, and they were given greater freedom away from watchful eyes and ears.

While the chastity of the bride was always presumed, this was less likely to be the actual case outside the socially elite classes. Records often show significant numbers of early births and wedding night conceptions to couples that were married less than a year. These, of course, were mostly a convenient fiction. One Southern doctor—more frank than his colleagues—professed that, in his locale, illegitimate births among the poorer classes were as common as those born in wedlock.

Courtship and marriage were undergoing a number of changes during this time. Women were always expected to wait for the man's profession of love before she gave voice to her own. Convention prescribed that a young man first speak to the father of the young woman whom he desired to make his wife; but the reality, even among the upper classes, was that most couples had made their plans prior to the future groom's petition.

On this issue a period advice book for young women counseled that, when addressed by a gentleman on the subject of marriage, it was proper to give his proposal immediate and serious consideration. It was unnecessary to ask advice of anyone. Parents should be consulted out of filial respect, but it was she who was the one to decide. It was further advised that the young woman be sure that she was satisfied with the character of the man, and the degree of affection she had for him.

The proposal. Courtship in the 19th century was rather formal, and the steps taken in finding a spouse were not taken lightly. An engagement had the force of a legal contract between two people broken only by mutual consent only under the most pressing of circumstances. These included infidelity, adultery, dishonor, and failing economic circumstances. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Once accepted, the marriage proposal was more binding on the man than on the woman. Social—and in some cases legal—consequences were imposed upon men who repudiated an engagement, yet it was acceptable for a woman to call it off. As a law student, George Cutler ruminated about a bride-to-be in his diary, noting that she had the liberty of violating her engagement in lieu of her power of choice, because the contract is so much more important in its consequences to females than to males. Women, he noted, subject themselves to the husband's authority. They depend upon their husband for their society, their happiness, the enjoyment of their lives, more than the man does upon the wife.

As the century progressed, the general trend in weddings was toward larger and more elaborate ceremonies with greater focus on the couple than their parents. Beginning in the 1830s brides began wearing white gowns and veils made specifically for their wedding day. Prior to this women were usually married in their best dress, and many young women continued that practice for decades. Those fortunate enough to be able to afford such a specialized garment tended to wear dresses that might be considered plain by ballroom standards. Expense was more likely to be put into the fabric rather than the trim. Wedding dresses were essentially day dresses with jewel necklines and long sleeves. Headdresses and veils tended to lie flat on the head. Coronets of real or artificial flowers were arranged so that they framed the face.

A sample of high fashion to the ladies of New Orleans. Cartoon concerning Benjamin Butler's so-called "Woman Order," as military governor of New Orleans, to prevent local women from insulting U.S. soldiers, 1862. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Wedding ceremonies became more elaborate during this period particularly in cities and for those who could afford the expense. By the second quarter of the century bridal parties were expanded to include multiple bridesmaids. The typical wedding party had one or two bridesmaids and groomsmen. During the first decade of the century, weddings were commonly held on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday to accommodate the minister's busy Sabbath schedule. It had also been the custom for weddings to take place in the family parlor, but by the 1860s more couples were choosing to be married in a church that could accommodate a larger number of guests.

Elaborate wedding dinners and dancing usually followed the ceremony. These events were generally held at a hotel or at the bride's parents' house. From the 1830s on, middle-class couples sent out printed invitations to scores of guests, a custom that had been embraced by the upper class during the previous decade.

Wedding cake became the featured food item at these celebrations instead of the meats and pies served in previous times. The wedding cakes of the nineteenth century were usually rich fruitcakes similar to modern holiday cakes of the same name, and for many decades—even into the twentieth century—the topmost layer of wedding cake remained a fruitcake so that it could be saved for the couple's first anniversary. The groomsmen cut the cake, and the bridesmaids handed it around. In some places, the served pieces of cake were passed around the company in attendance three times for good luck.

Beginning in the 1840s, it became fashionable for both the man and the woman to wear engagement rings, and rings specifically designated as wedding rings began to be mentioned at about the same time. An etiquette book from 1846 counseled the bridegroom to procure a plain gold ring prior to the ceremony.

Wedding nomenclature also changed during this period. In the past, betrothals were announced in church—usually by the minister at some point during the Sabbath service. By the 1860s, however, couples began announcing their engagement themselves through letters to friends or in the local newspapers. Nonetheless, several religious groups—particularly the Roman Catholics—continued to post the traditional bans of marriage into the twentieth century. Newlywed couples no longer traveled with friends and relatives on their wedding tour, but went instead on a honeymoon. Honeymoons, thereafter, became a more private period for the couple than was previously the case. An etiquette book of the period advised that, following the ceremony, the couple should enjoy a honeymoon of repose, exempted from the claims of society. Popular honeymoon destinations included New York City, Niagara Falls, the Green Mountains of Vermont, Montmorenci Falls in Canada, and—in the Midwest—the city of Cincinnati (a new metropolis considered worthy of a visit).

Marriage was a far more crucial decision for a woman than for a man because she often had her own identity legally incorporated into that of her husband. Husbands were increasingly described as providers, and wives and minor children were identified as dependents. This dependency—whether real or imagined—had unfortunate consequences. The *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Adviser* charged wives never to forget that a wife owes all her importance to that of her husband. Even familial nomenclature changed. Instead of calling the wife "Mistress," a title used to describe the woman's responsibility over servants, apprentices, and journeymen, she was now referred to as "Mrs." with her husband's name fully appended. Her given name was not used in the address. The wife's identity was totally absorbed by the husband. Many women authors even published as "Mrs. ______" without mention of her given name. Newspaper accounts would identify a woman as "Mrs. ______, wife of ______."

The event of marriage marked an important era in the life of a young female. One advice book warned that it devolved upon her a set of cares, duties, and responsibilities to which she has hitherto been unaccustomed. Many felt that the carefree and frivolous life that middle-class and affluent young women were allowed to enjoy in the nineteenth century ill-prepared them for the serious duties of being wives and mothers. Lydia Marie Child asserted that the bride was awakened from her delightful dream in which carpets, vases, white gloves, and pearl earrings are oddly jumbled up with her lover's looks and promises by the unpleasant conviction that cares devolve upon her.

So-called coveture laws in many states deprived married women of their legal rights. Married women did not have the right to acquire any property solely in their own name during marriage. They could not make contracts, transfer property, or bring a lawsuit. Their legal persona was totally overshadowed by that of their husbands. The 1848 women's property rights acts passed in New York State were a bellwether development in this regard, and they were amended in 1860 to provide even more rights for New York women. Late in the nineteenth century, women's rights to control their property were extended even further, but they did not reach full equality until the second half of the twentieth century. Ironically, women's property rights were often more closely protected in the Southern states where the maintenance of property and wealth within the family was considered of primary importance even in the face of the death or divorce of a spouse.

A wife had three major areas of responsibility. She was expected to obey and satisfy her husband; she was charged with keeping the children physically and morally healthy; and finally, she was accountable of the maintenance of the household. In an editorial entitled, "Advice to the Bride," Sarah Josepha Hale reminded the newlywed that her duty was submission to her husband who is, by the laws of God and of man, her superior and never to give him cause to remind her of it. Continuing her counsel, she advised the married woman to let her entire enjoyment center in her home and let her home occupy the first place in her thoughts for that is the only source of happiness.

In the nineteenth century, the home was the center of both family and society; and while the husband was the head of the household, the wife was the heart of the home. She was the essence of domesticity, a font of virtue and the quintessence of nature. The *American Woman's Home* (Beecher and Beecher Stowe, 2002) declared that the family state was the aptest earthly illustration of the heavenly kingdom, with women as its chief ministers. Newspaperman Wilber Fisk wrote that women carried civilization in their hearts and men who lived in the privileges of female society became more refined. Women were considered central to good social order. A Connecticut soldier wrote of military life during the Civil War that there was no society in the camps because there was nothing but men.

This divergence of male and female obligations in a marriage was a major change from previous centuries when home and work were less distinct. Men and women in colonial times spent most of their time living and working side-by-side. It was common for the wife of a shopkeeper or tradesman to work with her spouse in the retail establishment. The wife of a weaver might wind the quills for him. A farmer's wife would help at critical times such as planting or harvest. The daily routines and tasks of a husband and a wife might have been very distinct, but they worked toward a common goal, the well-being of the family. She could cross over into her husband's world without staking claim to it. In the nineteenth century this relationship changed drastically. Only on the farm did it retain much of its traditional form. Industrialization increasingly drew husbands away from the home to work in towns and cities. The nature and manner of their work became foreign to their wives, who remained at home isolated from the immediate pressures of the business world. In fact, wives were cautioned never to be curious and pry into their husband's concerns.

This physical separation of the household and workplace helped to bring about a new concept of the family and family roles. Men went to work, and women stayed at home. The midday meal—where the entire family had taken a respite from their duties to gather together in the shop or in the fields—was replaced by an evening meal consumed in increasing formality. Even farm families adopted a more distinct gender division of labor. Jobs that farm wives would have done in prior centuries were being done by hired hands.

Free of many of the time-consuming drudgeries of home production, middle-class women began to define their roles in terms of nurturing and childrearing. The average home no longer housed a productive economic unit and subset of a larger community, which provided the physical needs of its residents. It now served as the base for the intellectual and emotional needs of the family, and became a sanctuary and refuge from the community. Such levels of privacy were particularly important to middle-class families whose level of wealth failed to insulate them from the seamier realities of urban life.

The public sphere was thought to be too harsh for a woman. It was full of temptations, violence, and distress. A woman's place was thought to be in the private sphere of the home where she could be protected from the harsh realities of the world. Women's magazines, religious tracts, advice books, and novels all described this new ideal of womanhood and the home. Referred to as the *Cult of Domesticity*, this ideology redefined a woman's duty and prescribed a set of virtues that all proper women should cultivate. Nineteenth-century women were expected to uphold values of stability, morality, and republican order by making the home a safe haven from an immoral world. Women were expected to be pure, pious, submissive, and domestic. Feminine purity was highly revered, and any mention of female sexuality became taboo.

Religion was seen as a remedy for the potentially restless feminine spirit. It would guide women to accept their role as handmaidens of the Lord, who would help to bring the world out of sin. This new role for woman was largely a response to the Second Great Awakening, a religious movement that swept the nation during the early nineteenth century. The clergy promoted women by praising their moral virtue. Soon the press took up the cry, anointing women as the moral guardians of society. The proliferation of newspapers, magazines, and books that characterized the period abound with moralistic stories and editorials that reinforced women's role as society's moral compass.

Mothers, pastors, and advice books advised acquiescence to a husband. She should try to learn her husband's feelings and view of things and endeavor to conform to them. She should make him her counselor on all occasions and her confident. An advice book proffered that the one quality on which woman's value and influence depended was the renunciation of self. Rev. Daniel C. Eddy in his 1859 work, *The Young Woman's Friend; or the Duties, Trials, Lives and Hopes of Woman*, was more specific, saying that a wife's pleasures will all bend to her husband's business. Women were counseled to give their husbands what they wanted and to make as few demands as possible upon them.

Family developed very differently for the urban working class, and the concept of cooperative family work from prior centuries persisted for them even as that of the social elites evolved. Very few families were able to achieve the middle-class ideal of the husband as sole breadwinner and provider. Older children were expected to remain at home longer and to contribute to the household income. Wives took on additional domestic burdens such as sewing, doing laundry, or taking in boarders to earn money. Increasing financial pressures took their toll. Husbands often worked hours that prohibited them from eating at the same time as their children. Mothers were sometimes forced to send the children out to play in the streets so that their fathers could rest in the cramped quarters of their apartment. Some men left home for extended periods of time working at higher-paying jobs that were far away.

While unmarried American women enjoyed a greater freedom of social interaction than their European counterparts, once they entered into marriage, they were subject to strict rules of deportment, manners, and dress. More restraint was imposed upon married women. Rarely were the matrons foremost in the community events. They attended, as observant and influencing members of society, but not as the principal actors. Married women were so totally sheltered from public life that in the previous half century they were often absent from holiday festivities such as the Fourth of July when military musters and all male parades were the hallmark of annual communal celebration. By mid-century, women could be seen on porches, balconies, or on special stands waving and cheering, but they were not included in the parade even though young unmarried women could be seen on the floats. New holidays like Thanksgiving and a more secularized Christmas that centered on the home began to become popular.

One activity outside the home open to women of the upper classes was visiting (calling). In addition to its recreational value, calling was a required social function that was strictly governed by convention. Visiting not only upheld a woman's social position, it enhanced that of her husband. Ceremonial calls were to be kept brief. Half an hour amply sufficed for a visit of ceremony. Upon exiting, the caller would leave a card, which would be placed in a cardholder kept in the front hall for that purpose. The distribution of cards allowed a woman to keep up a ceremonious acquaintance within a social circle too large for friendly visiting as that consumed far more time than could be given to the number of persons with which she had to be acquainted.

Socially conscious women kept a list of family members and business acquaintances that formed a basic calling circle. It would be expected that persons on this list would be visited at least twice a year. Failure to reciprocate would be considered a grievous slight. Brides were kept particularly busy making rounds as they introduced themselves in their new social position. Women were reminded that it was the custom for a wife to take her husband's cards with her, and to leave one or two with her own.

Another acceptable activity outside the home was philanthropy and social activism. Women, who were financially able to free themselves from household toil through the use of domestic servants, often dedicated time to organizations that helped the old, the poor, or those considered socially distressed. Even less affluent women visited invalids and tended to the sick. Prior to the Civil War, charitable endeavors were usually limited to neighbors within a community, but during the war there was a great movement to reach out to those in need.

Women collected clothing and sewed for the urban poor and western Indians. Some women ventured into urban ghettos to personally help in the missions. Others, less comfortable outside the home, raised money to hire workers who would carry out these good works. Louisa May Alcott worked in such a capacity at a Boston mission collecting clothing, teaching sewing, distributing food to immigrants, and conducting a school for black children. A group of free black women advertised in 1847 that they were giving a fair for benevolent purposes. They gave notice that all the delicacies of the season will be served up in the most palatable style including ice creams, cakes, lemonades, jellies, fruits, nuts, and such.

Some women became involved in social reform movements such as temperance, women's rights, abolition, prison reform, and child protection. Women conducted prayer meetings in front of bordellos. They marched in the streets advocating temperance, even occasionally breaking up saloons. After a young man was killed in a bar in Ohio, a large number of respectable ladies of the town, accompanied by the bereaved mother, proceeded to the saloon and with axes and other weapons knocked in the heads of barrels and casks, and demolished bottles and fixtures.

The abolition movement received tremendous financial support from money raised by women at antislavery fairs. Women made scarves, doilies, and needlework bags with antislavery messages such as, "May the points of our needles prick the slaveholders' consciences." They sold pen wipers exhorting "Wipe out the blot of slavery." Lydia Child made a cradle quilt embroidered with the words "Think of the Negro mother when her child was torn away" (Volo and Volo 2007, 222).

Involvement in reform causes permitted women to have a social standing outside of the home. These reform activities were socially acceptable because, in essence, they were an extension of a woman's nurturing role. The Beecher sisters (Catharine and Harriet) explained that woman's great mission was self-denial and self-sacrificing labors for the ignorant and weak: if not her own children, then the neglected children of her Father in heaven. They urged women to help the orphan, the sick, the homeless, and the sinful, and by motherly devotion train them to follow Christ, in educating his earthly children for true happiness in this life and for his eternal home. A period advice book for young women encouraged such involvement, saying that women would fulfill their own high and lofty mission precisely because the manifestation of such a spirit was the one thing needful for the regeneration of society. It was from her being the depository and disseminator of such a spirit, that woman's influence was principally derived. Involvement strengthened the bond of womanhood among the matrons of the community, served as an example for unwed females, and breached the isolation of the home. These activities gave women the strength to organize and to exert their influence. Ultimately, the church groups, aid societies, charitable leagues, and antislavery and temperance organizations laid the foundation for women to make the move into public life and careers in the following century (Volo and Volo 2007, 223).

Women's Response to War

When the Civil War began, Northern and Southern women had similar responses to the call to arms. They attended meetings to proclaim their allegiance (to the Union or the Confederacy), pledged to roll bandages, and made clothing and flags for the soldiers. The Northern women's efforts soon mushroomed into a national organization called the United States Sanitary Commission, which played a major role in providing food and medical supplies to the federal troops. Alfred Bloor of the Sanitary Commission credited women saying that almost all the supplies amassed by the organization were collected, assorted, and dispatched, and re-collected, re-assorted, and re-dispatched to the battlefield by women representing every level of society in the Republic.

This cover from *Harper's Weekly* from June 29, 1861, depicts one of the many roles played by women during the Civil War. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Women's groups raised money not only for soldiers but also for their orphans and widows. One method of raising money was the charity cookbook in which women compiled favorite recipes into books and published them. The first such books appeared in the Civil War. Bearing such lengthy and intriguing titles as, *The Massachusetts Woman's Temperance Union Cuisine* and *The Parish Cookery Book of the Ladies Aid Society of Saint Peter's Church.* Charity or community cookbooks continued in the postwar years as popular fundraisers to support causes that were religious, political, or local.

The Civil War placed the institution of the family under siege. Economic shortages, strained agricultural productivity, and social upheaval beset civilians in various forms. Many women managed to stand apart from the war and cope with its vagaries while trying to preserve some semblance of their social order, standard of living, and values. Thus, even though the war might rage at their very doorsteps, the women lived through it and many in spite of it (Volo and Volo 1998, 189).

Women on the homefront sewed socks, pants, and shirts for needy soldiers. At way stations and refreshment saloons, civilians distributed food and clothing to soldiers traveling toward the front lines. More than 3,000 women served as nurses in army hospitals, an otherwise traditional male occupation. Female nurses won praise from their soldier patients, despite enduring criticism from many doctors jealous of their professional territory (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 11).

The U.S. Sanitary Commission donated $15 million worth of various supplies to comfort soldiers ranging from medicine and clothing to writing paper and stamps. Kitchens staffed with dietary nurses were established by the Sanitary Commission in 1862 largely as a result of the efforts of Annie Wittenmyer. She worked very hard to see that a system was developed to feed wounded soldiers in field hospitals. Women volunteers had been scrounging milk, eggs, and vegetables for the wounded who were too ill to eat the standard pork and beans field ration. Wittenmyer's system established the means for providing appropriate meals for the men (Volo and Volo 1998, 235). Similar efforts in Southern communities were unable to match the organization and productivity of the North. Southerners were equally sympathetic to the plight of their soldiers, but the South lacked the efficient transportation and resources necessary for mounting matching endeavors (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 11). Much of the care for convalescing Confederates was given at home by their female relations. Those too badly wounded to make the journey were left to the charitable care of local women who volunteered their parlors, hallways, and barns as makeshift hospitals.

The blockade and the resulting interruptions in trade caused great hardships for many Southern women who had once been the most fashionable element of the population. Inflation was rampant. Nonetheless, by drawing upon their resourcefulness and creativity, Southern women managed to rework prewar finery and make use of natural materials. Some Southern ladies continued to dress and to dance in whatever prewar style they could manage as a means of keeping up their courage. With Yankee gunboats anchored off Baton Rouge and Union troops occupying the city, Sarah Morgan rationalized that if Southern women each took a fancy to consider themselves the most miserable of mortals, and acted accordingly, going about with their eyes streaming, groaning over their troubles, and never ceasing to mourn, the world would be an even worse place. Better days were coming, she asserted, even if most of her female friends didn't really believe it (Volo and Volo 1998, 241–42).

Receipt books and newspapers carried suggestions for dealing with the food shortages. When successful replacements were discovered, the revelation was readily disclosed to the public in print and by word of mouth. Coffee was a popular beverage, and the blockade made it very difficult to procure. Parthenia Hague wrote that one of their most difficult tasks was to find a good substitute for coffee. Coffee quickly rose to $30 per pound; from that it went to $60 and then to $70 per pound. Good workmen received $30 per day; so it took two days' hard labor to buy one pound of coffee, and scarcely any could be had at that fabulous price.

Northern and Southern women attempted to adjust as best as possible to the extended absences of husbands and fathers. The task was more difficult in the Confederacy. Southern women had to cope with the threat of slave insurrection and northern invasion, all while raising their children and running their households. After watching her brothers depart for the war, Kate Stone speculated that those who stayed home would find it harder than those who left (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 11).

Additional hardships were caused by raids of Northern troops upon individual homes. Mary S. Mallard remembered hearing the clash of arms and noise of horsemen late one afternoon. By the time she and her mother got downstairs, they saw 40 or 50 men in the pantry, flying hither and thither, ripping open the cheese and pie safe with their swords and breaking open the crockery cupboards. Fearing they might not have a chance to cook, her mother had some chickens and ducks roasted and put aside for the family. The men seized them whole, tearing them to pieces with their teeth like ravenous beasts. They clamored for whiskey, and ordered the older woman to open her locked pantry, whereby they took every particle of meal and flour they had. The men threw the sacks across their horses. The older woman remonstrated and pointed to her helpless family but their only reply was: "We'll take it!" (Volo and Volo 1998, 231).

Many Confederate women rallied enthusiastically behind the war effort, withstanding ever-present daily hardships and worry over the fate of their loved ones in uniform. Yet many other women questioned the need for continued self-sacrifice, especially as the Confederacy lurched closer and closer toward an obvious military defeat. After Union forces captured Atlanta during the fall of 1864, Gertrude Thomas asked herself if she was willing to give her husband to regain the Georgia city for the Confederacy. Her answer was a resounding, "No, No, No, a thousand times No!" Another woman felt compelled to express her displeasure directly to Confederate President Jefferson Davis after her second son entered the military. She declared her devotion to her country; acknowledged the sacrifices she had already made; and pledged to make more if necessary. But she pleaded that her eldest boy might find it harder to be left behind than those who went to fight. A North Carolina mother wrote no less passionately to her son during the last winter of the war begging him to tell them all to stop fighting and come home to live. "I want you all to come home," she pleaded (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 11–12).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

CHILDREN

Children: 1855–1865

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, children were viewed as guileless creatures with a propensity to mischief. Parents were told that with discipline, reason, and love they could produce a child of good character. They were encouraged to toilet train their children early, for if children learned control of their bodies, they would achieve discipline of mind and spirit. Parenting became a very conscious process. Self-discipline was an important characteristic at this time, and children were expected to develop an active conscience and a propensity for introspection.

Childhood was seen as a period of guardianship—free from the harsh realities of the world and increasingly devoted to training, schooling, and preparation for life. Children were protected from the adult worlds of death, profanity, and sexuality. This attitude grew out of evangelical changes that called upon parents to take the innocent souls of their children and turn them toward God. It was further enhanced by a growing spirit of romanticism, which viewed children as symbols of purity and innocence. They were seen as fonts of spontaneity, expressiveness and intuition. This idealization of childhood could be seen in John Greenleaf Whittier's nostalgic poem, "The Barefoot Boy" (1855).

The bond between siblings was idealized as well. This relationship was seen as the most innocent and longest lasting of all social relationships. With birthrates declining among the middle and upper classes, children were closer in age, and they remained home longer, thus giving sibling relationships time to develop more intensely than in the previous century. Same-sex siblings commonly slept in the same room and frequently in the same bed. Parents encouraged strong sibling bonds instilling in their children the belief that they had an obligation to look out for their brothers and sisters. Children were encouraged to play with their siblings or with their cousins.

During the first half of the century, middle-class childhood had come to be recognized as its own separate stage of life with clothing, furniture, literature, and social activities developed specifically for children. Small children were placed in specially designed high chairs that could be brought to the table so that they might comfortably dine with the rest of the family. Urban middle-class mothers began to assume the exclusive responsibility for raising their children as fathers spent a large portion of the day away from the home while at work. It was up to her to provide the proper environment during the child's early years. The family circle provided children with the nurturing and protection they required. Children were often affectionately referred to in such endearingly innocent terms as "kitten," "lamb," or "pet." Baby talk—frowned upon in former times as damaging to proper child development—not only became acceptable, it was thought to be endearing.

By comparison to former times, childhood dependency became prolonged, and children often remained in the parental home until their twenties. Childrearing became a more conscious and intensive activity. Instructional books such as Lydia Marie Child's *The Mother's Book* (1831) became popular guides for mothers who wanted to do the best job of raising her children. In 1860 the first outpatient clinic for children was established. Doctors began to specialize in the care of children. Dr. Abraham Jacobi, considered the father of pediatrics in America, was the first physician in the United States to devote his practice solely to the care of children. He performed emergency surgery on more than 2,500 children dying of a blocked windpipe, a complication of diphtheria.

Despite the indulgences some parents may have bestowed upon their progeny, children were always expected to exhibit good behavior, to display profound respect for their parents, and to respond with prompt obedience. A writer in an 1865 newspaper was even stronger with his advice that first and most important of all lessons to be taught was obedience. He opined that the success in inculcating this lesson depends upon the future character of the child and without obedience to authority no moral virtue could be secured.

From a very young age children were encouraged to participate in the popular social causes of the period. Children's books contained messages suggesting that money, which they spent for useless toys, might be given to the poor and that many a tear would be dried up for it. Children were involved in helping the poor, and during the Civil War they were encouraged to bring comfort to the soldiers. They collected books for soldiers and raised money for soldier's homes and hospitals. Girls knitted mittens, rolled bandages, and scraped away at the linen to make fluffy piles of the soft lint that was used to pack the soldiers' wounds. Children also executed fairs for good causes. They would make bookmarks, pen wipers, thimble boxes, pincushions, and other small items, which were sold at church fairs. These items were also supplemented by the sale of apples and candy. Funds raised from the sale of these items would be used for orphans or the needy.

Reform newspapers like the *Advocate and Family Guardian* carried letters from children who donated money to a children's home. Two children sent the money they were awarded by their foster parents for going without butter for 100 days. Another sent a dollar explaining that he did not wish to spend it for candy or playthings when there are so many little children who have no food to eat or clothes to wear. Some of the donations came as commodities. One pair of siblings had been given a corner of their father's garden to tend over the summer. At their mother's suggestion they sent the fruits of their harvest, dried corn, popcorn, and beans, to the Children's Home.

Parents wanted to protect their children from the temptations and contaminations of the outside world. They wanted to provide their children with a safe, pure, and nurturing environment in which to grow. Families who could afford it had a nursery for the children. The dedication of a room or rooms for children reflected the importance placed upon childhood. The nursery provided a retreat where children could be protected and where they would receive a controlled exposure to the world. It could limit and direct the stimulations a child received and might hopefully protect him or her from the accidents and disease that claimed so many children. Modest households had a single nursery room often found on the third floor of the home. Although children of the same sex often shared a bedroom in their early years, the plan book ideal was that, if possible, each child should have a separate room. Affluent households could afford both day nurseries for play and night nurseries for slumber. Furniture, painted in pastels and decorated with baby animals and characters from nursery rhymes, was produced in child-sized proportions.

Day nurseries were playrooms that also often doubled as schoolrooms for those children who were taught by the governess. In such cases, they would also contain globes, maps, and perhaps a blackboard as needed for instruction. These rooms were designed to withstand the abuse that children can sometimes inflict on furnishings. Walls were often whitewashed. Curtains were simple. There would be a table with several chairs. These might be simple pine furniture bought for the purpose or cast-off furniture from other rooms. There were shelves and cupboards for books and toys and perhaps an armchair or two. The children of more affluent families enjoyed a greater degree of privacy in the home than their farming or working-class counterparts. They spent most of their time in their nursery away from their parents but kept safe by their isolation. Poorer children, on the other hand, enjoyed more parental supervision and interaction inside the home, but they also had a great deal more autonomy outside where much of their play took place.

Once lessons were done and chores completed, children's remaining hours were free to be devoted to play and exploration of the world around them. Once seen as a youthful manifestation of innate wickedness, vigorous play was now viewed as a natural part of childhood and a vehicle to help children develop skills and to teach them usefulness and virtue. Writing about creating a happy home for children, C. C. North advised that little children cease to be troublesome when amply supplied with toys, pictures, drawing-books, slates, hobby-horses, and such for indoors; and hoops, jumping-ropes, swings, and such for outdoors. For the country, he suggested little spades, hoes, barrows, and rakes.

The availability of playthings varied widely with social class. Manufacturing increased the number of store-bought toys and board games that were available to those who could afford them. Working-class and farm children played with simple, homemade toys—usually whatever a loving father might carve from a piece of wood by a winter's fire or what a mother might fashion from her bag of material scraps. Children, too, were resourceful. Jacks might be made from corn kernels, dolls from cornhusks, a tea set from discarded pieces of crockery. Even lower-class children had some exposure to simple commercially produced toys. Dolls with papier-mâché heads or those made from fabric were affordable for even poorer children.

War Spirit at Home by Lilly Martin Spencer (1822–1902). The Newark Museum/Art Resource, NY.

The Civil War involved the entire population in a way paralleled by no other conflict since the Revolution. Photographs of war dead and almost instantaneous reports from the front by telegraph made the war years difficult for both parents and children. In imitation of the news headlines, children played at soldiers and held mock parades, drills, and skirmishes. Margaret Junkin Preston, a Virginia mother, wrote that her children's entire sets of plays were referenced to a state of war. She reported that her five-year-old, George, got sticks and hobbled about, saying that he lost a leg at the second battle of Manassas and told stories of how he cut off Yankees' heads and bayoneted them. Future president Theodore Roosevelt, who had two uncles who fought for the Confederacy, enjoyed playing "Running the Blockade" when he was seven. Lilly Martin Spencer's painting, *War Spirit at Home*, shows three children marching about while beating a pot and blowing a horn as their mother reads to them the newspaper account of the battle of Vicksburg (Lothrop 1968, 51).

Play was forbidden between Sabbath service and Sunday school almost everywhere and especially in New England. The day was particularly rigorous for children. Emily Wilson recalled that Sunday was not like any other day. Long church services with Sunday school in between were inevitable. The children did not play games nor read the same books. They did not take long walks nor use the family horse and carriage except to visit the graveyard, or occasionally to attend a prayer meeting.

Children were only allowed to read or to listen to the Bible or other religious literature on the Sabbath. All toys were put away except those that were considered of a religious or moral nature, and these were called Sabbath toys. One such plaything was a Noah's Ark. Sets varied, but they all contained a boat, Noah and his wife, an assortment of pairs of animals, and a dove. More extensive sets included Ham, Shem, Japheth, and their wives. Some had scores of animal pairs numbering as many as 100. Noah's Ark toys date back to the late seventeenth century but reached a peak during the Victorian era. Bible stories inspired other toys as well. Jacob's Ladder, made of six thin wooden rectangles connected by a cloth tape, was roughly reminiscent of a ladder. When held vertically and released, it created the illusion of tumbling blocks. The blocks were often covered with biblical scenes. The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing was a small wooden wolf hidden within a removable fleece. The Pillars of Solomon had two pillars connected with a string, which when cut, maintained the illusion that the pillars were still attached. Some doll play was permitted. Termed "church dolls," these figures could be assembled as a congregation to whom the child delivered a sermon. Some came with tiny carved coffins in which the corpse could be placed. Puzzle maps of Palestine (the Holy Land) were also considered appropriate (Volo and Volo 2007, 269).

The growing consumerism and mass production made middle-class children, in particular, the direct beneficiaries of their family's more privileged social position, and they were the first generation outside the social elite to enjoy mass-produced toys and games. Unlike children from earlier times, they were largely protected from the outside world and kept secure in a home where childhood was celebrated as a stage of life full of innocence and purity. In these homes, children's labor was not a necessity. Although they were expected to be of assistance to their family, the purpose of their household chores was to instill good habits and to teach lessons of personal responsibility. Girls were expected to sew and mend for practical purposes, but they were also expected to practice embroidery and other decorative needle arts.

For farming and working-class families, however, the situation regarding child labor was very different. The growing market economy put tremendous stress on both groups. Farmers—fathers, mothers, and children—worked together through necessity, and most boys from mining, lumbering, and seafaring communities followed their fathers into the mines, the forests, or aboard ship. They had done so for generations. What was new was that many children from manufacturing regions now entered the impersonal environment of the factory rather than an apprenticeship with a local master. The factory, unlike the shop, left the child with no skill, no trade, no place in the community—only the memory of mind numbing hours of repetitive drudgery. Yet by comparison the factory or mill paid well for youthful labor, and the value of the income of even young children (8-, 10-, or 12-year-old boys and girls) was often an essential part of a family's economic health. Children's earnings often amounted to 20 percent of the family's total income, and it was not unusual for teenage boys to earn more than their fathers.

Children who grew up on farms had always been expected to contribute to the family's productivity. A children's story about a 10-year-old farm girl had her beating up the beds and making tidy the upper rooms, scouring the knives, darning great holes in stockings, digging for parsnips, sewing, learning to milk cows, feeding chickens, and doing things that were disagreeable to an older person. Small children helped with simple, unskilled tasks, and their work increased in difficulty as they grew in size and skill. Ellen Chapman Rollins remembered that in mid-century New England, the driving of cows to pasture passed by rotation from one child to another and that both boys and girls worked among the sheaves in the field.

Girls were often employed in tasks related to the production and mending of clothing. They were taught the carding and spinning of wool at a young age and took up knitting as soon as they could hold and manipulate the needles. Children as young as four could knit stockings. By age six girls, and some boys as well, were making important contributions to the family's supply of stockings and mittens. Girls also helped to process food for either immediate consumption or preservation. Even very young children could snap the ends off beans or husk corn. Churning butter was another task that could be performed by children. The process was boring but uncomplicated.

Boys were never without work due to the endless need for firewood and water, and they were expected to give regular care to the livestock. Many of their duties were out-of-doors. Help was needed with farm chores in any season. Work continued throughout the cold weeks of winter with the gathering of logs for firewood and fencing materials. Feeding and watering the animals generally fell to the boys of the household. They were also expected to guard the livestock in the pasture. They helped with preparing the fields for planting and sewing the seeds in the furrows. At harvest they helped gather in the crops. Boys hunted and fished; and, while this may have some recreational value for them, the food these activities provided was a welcome and, sometimes, necessary addition to the table or the larder.

Maple sugaring heralded the arrival of spring, and all hands were needed to execute this great labor. Boys joined adult males as they spent several nights in the sugar camp set up in the woods among the last of the winter snows. Surely this must have been an exciting time for the boys with the teams dragging the sugar sledge from tree to tree and the maple-scented smoke of the fires filling the forests. The boys collected sap buckets and helped to process the tremendous volume of wood needed to maintain the fires under the huge sugar pots as they boiled off the syrup.

All farm children were engaged in harvesting and weeding the household or kitchen garden, gathering nuts, collecting eggs, and picking berries. Even the very young were given pails or baskets and were taken by older siblings to gather berries. Some entrepreneurial youngsters would gather wild cherries, known as choke cherries, and sell them. These were used for making cherry rum or cherry bounce.

A good size tree would yield approximately six bushels. Young boys often used spare time, particularly in winter to make birch splinter brooms, which could be sold to storekeepers. Older children would lend a hand in making hay—gathering and collecting the bundles of sweet smelling grass into stacks or driving the hay wagon from field to barn.

Employing children in laborious tasks was a necessity in a time when farm families had to compete in an increasingly industrialized economy. After her father died, Lucy Larcom's mother decided to move to the city and set up a boarding house. Lucy wrote that the change involved a great deal of work. Boarders signified a large house, with many beds. Piles of sewing accumulated and even the child had to take their part. Larcom recalled that the seams of those sheets did look to her as if they were miles long! Describing a New Hampshire farm family, Louisa May Alcott wrote that there were no servants, the little daughters were the only maids, and the stout boys helped their father, all working happily together with no wages but love, learning in the best manner the use of the heads and hands with which they were to make their own way in the world. Many rural parents believed that it was these life skills, which their children would need to maintain their own families, that were more important than reading and writing. Rural children attended school for shorter periods of time during the year and for fewer years than urban children.

The loss of male family members and farm workers to the Civil War increased the burdens already sustained by the farming families. The Confederacy was the first to initiate a mandatory draft that removed many poor white farmer workers from the soil, but exempted many of the trades and slave owners with more than 20 slaves. The federal government followed with its own draft that also exempted tradesmen and mechanics, which made conscription more likely for the unemployed immigrant populations of the cities. This left lower-class farm families at a distinct manpower disadvantage, and brought forth in many quarters accusations of "Rich man's war, Poor man's fight!" Children were forced to fill the need for labor. At age 12 Marion Drury had to assume the work and responsibilities of a man because most of the farmhands had gone into the army. Anna Shaw was only 14 when she took on her father and brothers' jobs, clearing fields and teaching school in addition to her sewing, cleaning, and tending boarders. At 15 Helen Brock was branding calves and erecting fences, and Fannie Eisele began to plow the family fields when she was only 10 years old (Volo and Volo 2007, 319).

Newspapers offered employment to many city boys. Newsboys were first employed in 1833 to hawk the penny paper dailies, whose low price made selling them through traditional adult conduits financially unfeasible. Newsboys bought papers at a small discount early in the morning and were unable to return unsold copies. Johnny Morrow's memoirs give insight to the finances of the trade. He had 56 papers for his morning's stock, for which he paid 84 cents. If sales totaled $1.12, leaving him a profit of 28 cents, 9 cents were spent for breakfast, and he had 19 cents to spare. As profits accrued only after they had covered their initial investment, successful newsboys turned into clever businessmen who assessed the weather and the events of the day prior to purchasing their day's stock. The *First Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society* in 1860 called them the "shrewdest and sharpest" of street children. The headline cries of the newspaper boys soon became an integral part of the sounds of the city.

While some of these street-wise entrepreneurs had families, many newsboys were orphans, actually or in effect, having been abandoned by their parents. Those who had no homes found shelter in the alleys and back streets, fighting for warm spots around grated vent-holes that let out the heat and steam from the underground pressrooms. Others went to live in one of a number of Newsboys' Lodging Houses that were set up in several cities to provide shelter and safety for the lads. Additionally, they offered the lads classes in reading and writing. The path to refinement was likely to have been a difficult one. The *Second Annual Report on the Children's Aid Society* (1884) reported that the newsboys were then apparently the most wild and vicious set of lads in New York City. Their money, which was easily earned, was more quickly spent in gambling, theaters, and low pleasures, for which, though children, they had a man's aptitude. The superintendent of the Newsboys' Lodging House in New York acknowledged that although its arrangements were popular with the boys, the temptations of a street life to such boys, and its excitements were so strong, that it was exceedingly difficult to get them in and induce them to stay. The boys were free to come and go in the lodging houses as long as they behaved. It was like a hotel and, as such, the boys were asked to pay a small amount for their bed and their meals (Volo and Volo 2007, 327).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Soldiers' Orphans

The death of over 600,000 men in the Civil War left many children fatherless, and the high incidence of death among young women of childbearing years made many so-called full orphans having no living parent whatsoever. Other parentless children—half orphans—had mothers (or fathers) who simply could not afford to work while paying for someone to watch over the children and still put food on the table. Many orphaned children found homes with relatives; others relied on community aid; and still others had to fend for themselves on the streets.

It is estimated that up to 2,700 children were orphaned by the Civil War in Pennsylvania alone, and Ohio had 2,300 more made orphans by the war. Orphanage records are often incomplete or missing, but there may have been 20,000 to 30,000 soldiers' orphans nationwide. The breadth of the problem can be estimated by the reaction to it, which seemingly peaked in July 1863 after the Battle of Gettysburg.

Many states dealt with the orphan crisis by erecting new institutions, or enlisting existing orphanages, asylums, and elder care institutions to look after the children of fallen soldiers. Nine northern states—Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—founded state-run soldiers' orphans homes. Other states relied on a large number of preexisting and privately funded institutions. In all, Americans built as many orphanages—both public and private—in the 1860s as the nation had founded in the two decades prior to the war. In addition many older institutions were pressed into service to meet the need. These were essentially the only recourse for orphans in the former Confederate states because Southern communities were largely destitute of money and materials for such humanitarian endeavors. The total number of soldiers' orphans in the former Confederate states can only be surmised when compared to the less than complete records found in the North. It is certain that the war created thousands of full- and half-orphans in the South who were suddenly thrust upon a society ill-equipped to care for them. Many of these orphaned and displaced children were forced to find refuge in poorhouses, reformatories, and prisons (Reef 2005, 76).

War widows with children often tried to cope with the situation faced by their fatherless brood, and the federal government began to award pensions to the widows of federal soldiers and sailors as early as July 1862. Yet the wife of a private soldier received only $8 per month without regard to the number of her children. This was the same pension given to wounded men disabled in the war, but it was simply not enough. Many single parents were forced to place some or all of their children into institutional care. In 1866, Congress increased the monthly payment by adding $2 for each child under the age of 16. This left a gap in the federal safety net for those orphans who had no parent to make or receive the claim. Two years later Congress extended the $2 monthly payment directly to children under 16. Southern widows and orphans, lacking any government intervention, relied on family or local care and generosity (Reef 2005, 65–66).

Among the orphaned children of the Northeast region were a large number of Irish, indirect causalities of the brave stands made by the poor immigrant Irish who had joined the Union army. The 63rd and 69th New York (Fighting Irish), the 9th and 28th Massachusetts, and the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry made up the so-called Irish Brigade. A Second Irish Brigade (155th, 164th, 170th, and 180th New York Infantry) was formed by war's end. Of the roughly 140,000 immigrant Irish in the Union army, one third came from eastern cities (chiefly Boston, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh), one third came from New York City alone, and the remainder served in scattered units raised in the Midwest and Western theaters of the war. Most Irish immigrants had only a skeletal kinship network to fall back upon in America and were exceedingly poor when they entered service.

One of the earliest solutions to the orphan problem was taken by the Catholic Church in New York. In 1863, the Catholic Protectory for Homeless and Wayward Children in New York City opened its doors to soldiers' orphans in response to the loss of their fathers in the crucial battles of 1862 in the Eastern theater of the war: the Peninsular Campaign (June and July), Antietam (September), and Fredericksburg (December). By the end of the year, the Catholic Protectory was caring for more than 1,000 city youngsters, many of whom lost parents at the battles of Chancellorsville (May 1863) or Gettysburg (July 1863).

May 1864 was the bloodiest month of the Civil War with more than 100,000 total casualties in the East alone. General Ulysses S. Grant was called a butcher, but he continued to fight through the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Campaigns ending up in front of Petersburg in July 1864. In response, the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphan Schools Association was established. In one of the most comprehensive soldiers' orphans responses, the state provided educational instruction for the children as well as food, clothing, furnishings, and care until age 16. There were 46 individual member sites in Pennsylvania including those sponsored and staffed by Protestant and Catholic churches. As of 1887, the number of children who had received care through the Pennsylvania system numbered more than 14,000.

In his second inaugural address (March 4, 1865), Abraham Lincoln had pledged "to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans." Less than six weeks later Lincoln was dead, felled by an assassin's bullet. Andrew Johnson, now president, took up the call, and in June 1866 Congress passed an act forming the National Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans Home in Washington, D.C. In 1869, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR)—a society of Union Civil War veterans—founded the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans Home on 100 acres of land donated by the people of Xenia, Ohio. The home had beds for only 75 children, but over 900 children were housed in the institution through 1900.

One dead Union soldier found on the Gettysburg battlefield presented a sad puzzle with regard to his children. The man's body was unidentified except for a photograph of three children that were presumed to be his. In October 1863, the *Philadelphia Enquirer* ran a story that described the children in detail in an effort to discover their identity. Newspapers at that time did not have the technical ability to reproduce photographs in print. Other newspapers reprinted the story. Philinda Humiston of Portville, New York, read the article in the *American Presbyterian* a month later, and strongly suspected that the description fit a photograph sent to her husband Amos some months before the battle. She was able to confirm that the children Frank, Alice, and Fred were in fact the children in the picture. Amos Humiston had been a sergeant in the 154th New York Volunteer Infantry. The incident led to the founding of the National Homestead at Gettysburg in October 1866 with funds coming in from businessman Jay Gould. The three Humiston children became residents there when their mother was given a position helping to run the home.

In the 1870s and 1880s, a number of Soldiers' Orphans homes closed due to the fact that the children had grown to adulthood. The Wisconsin Soldiers' Orphans Home closed in 1874, after the trustees found foster care for the children remaining there. The National Homestead at Gettysburg was closed in 1879 after several scandals involving physical abuse and mismanagement of funds. Other institutions continued to serve the orphans of U.S. servicemen killed in action in other conflicts.

—James M. Volo

SERVANTS AND SLAVES

Although the views of some contemporary writers suggest a different conclusion, many Southerners often wrote of being dishonored in the eyes of their revolutionary ancestors should they fail to defend their families or the Southern cause and lifestyle against Northern aggression. Northerners retaliated by pointing out the tendency of Southern aristocracy to build great mansions and populate them with scores of servants and black slaves. "[F]ine palaces make us despise the poor and poverty; [and] a great number of domestics flatter human pride, which uses them like slaves; valor oftentimes turns brutal and unjust; and a high pedigree makes a man take up with the virtues of his ancestors, without endeavoring to acquire any himself" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 492).

The family was an important social institution among blacks. That it was an incredibly unstable institution was due significantly to the influence of whites. A former slave noted, "There were on this plantation about seventy slaves, male and female: some were married, and others lived together as man and wife, without even a mock ceremony.... The slaves, however, think much of being married by a clergyman." Since marriage was considered a legal medium by which property was handed down, and the slave had no property, the law saw no reason to recognize the union of slaves as binding. Some morally scrupulous planters encouraged formal slave marriage but such arrangements lacked the force of law to protect them.

Investigators in New Orleans during the federal occupation recorded more than 500 marriages that had taken place while the couples involved had been slaves. Of these, fewer than 100 had remained unbroken. While some unions lasted from 20 to 40 years, the average length of a slave marriage as recorded in the Louisiana sample was a mere 5.6 years. Records indicate that 70 percent of these marriages ended due to death or personal choice, and only 30 percent of the slave unions were broken up by the planters. Many planters professed an aversion to breaking up slave families because the practice increased unrest among the blacks; but the extravagant lifestyle of the planters, coupled with the regularity of foreclosures on mortgages and demands for the repayment of loans, caused many slaves to see the auction block at least once in their lives. Slaves could be bought or sold, rented out, gambled away, or left in a will as an inheritance to almost anyone; and the law did not provide for the continuity of the slave family as a unit.

In law, slave children did not belong to their parents but generally were considered the property of the mother's master. The father and the father's master, should he be a different person, were denied any standing in regard to the offspring of slave unions. The offspring of a free man with a slave woman was thereby a slave; yet the offspring of a slave with a free woman was considered to be freeborn even if the woman were black. Even the children of a white master by a slave mother were born slaves. In the case of a dispute in this regard, with very few exceptions, whenever a slave's human rights came into conflict with a master's property rights, the courts invariably decided in favor of the master. The first activity of many refugee slaves during the war was to begin a search for their missing mates or children (Volo and Volo 1998, 74–75).

PETS

Both rural and urban residents lived in close contact with livestock as well as cats and dogs. Pigs and poultry alike roamed the streets of even the largest cities until the middle of the century. Many of these animals worked for their keep. Cats were expected to control the rodent population. Dogs served as guards for both homes and businesses and worked in other roles as well. They assisted with hunting and herding in country settings. In cities, some were used to pull small carts used by ragmen and newsboys. Dogs were even used to run treadmills that powered butter churns and grinders.

By mid-century an increasing number of animals were kept more as companions and playmates. Pets became a symbol of contented family life. They were a sign of social status and leisure for the new middle class. Pet owners became indulgent of their pets. Pets were included in family celebrations. Some pets received presents for Christmas and on other special occasions. Pet lovers were often photographed with their favorite pet. Some even had their pets photographed posthumously, a practice also done for small children. Many beloved pets were given solemn burials at home.

The newly emerging middle class played a key role in altering society's attitudes toward pets and reassessing man's relationship with animals. Kindness to animals was viewed as a building block of good character. It was closely associated with good citizenship. Advice books for parents, Sunday school books, and children's stories reinforced the importance of protecting and caring for animals. It was believed that caring for animals in childhood would lay the foundation for the responsibility, later in life, of caring for dependents in society such as children, the sick, the aged, and the poor. Cruelty to any creature was thought surely to lead to violence in the future. It became a sign of good parenting to provide their children with a pet for which to care. By the 1860s, rabbits, white mice, and guinea pigs were often given to city children. They were small, gentle, and did not require specialized care. Squirrels were also popular. Captured from the wild, they were sold in pet stores throughout the century. Many children, even city dwellers, had chickens as pets. In addition to caring for them, children could be taught the rudiments of business by selling eggs and extra chicks to neighbors and relatives. In rural locals, children were given charge of small livestock. These creatures lived on the cusp of pet and product, and many children suffered when it came time for the animal to make the transition to market or table. Lithographs depicted children and domestic animals as playmates. Children's books abounded with stories featuring pets as protagonists. Advertisements and trade cards displayed charming images of animals, many in anthropomorphic positions.

Pet interest expanded to include more than the family cat or dog. From colonial times, settlers kept native songbirds they had trapped or purchased. Keeping birds crossed lines of class, ethnicity, and race and may have been the most favored indoor pet. The perceived devoted parenting of birds made them models for the middle class and living examples for children. The canary, which had been introduced from Germany in the 1820s, became extremely popular. Soon they were being raised for sale domestically. The first pet stores, which began in Eastern cities around 1840, were called bird stores and sold both caged indigenous birds as well as canaries. Shop owners also mixed and sold seeds, medicines, tonics, and ointments for the caged birds.

Fish also became popular. Keeping a goldfish in a small globe became another favored parlor ornament in the city residence. The price of goldfish remained so high until the 1880s that people would only purchase a single fish. Aquariums were invented mid-century and native freshwater fish caught in local ponds and streams populated most. Enthusiasts used the Balanced Aquarium approach. This consisted of a tank in which the air surface of the water, aided by plants, would supply sufficient oxygen and the plants and scavengers consumed most of the waste from the catch fish. Aquarium owners fashioned underwater landscapes complete with mermaids, sea monsters, and underwater cities.

Interest in purebred dogs and selective breeding began in the 1840s. By the 1860s dogs were being shown competitively at bench shows, where dogs compete against their breed ideal. Some livestock shows included dogs during the 1860s. An international dog show was held in Washington, D.C., in 1863 as a charity event for the U.S. Sanitary Commission. P. T. Barnum also hosted some dog shows, but, unlike modern events, these shows only judged beauty among particular species. Until the American Kennel Club was founded in 1884, there were no written breed standards or registry books in the United States. The average family dog was, however, not a purebred but rather some kind of mix, although one recognizable as a specific breed.

Pets commonly shared the diets of their owners. Cooks made dog stews by combining cornmeal, rice, and potatoes along with meat and vegetable scraps. A company called Spratt's invented dry dog food in the 1860s, but acceptance of the product came slowly.

Southerners developed a profound fondness for hunting and love of their hunting dogs that had its roots in the eighteenth century. Plantation owners ran their dogs alone or with their neighboring planters. They hosted organized hunts running deer, bear, bobcats, and feral cattle as well as foxes. The hunting dogs were usually a compilation of purebreds and mixed breeds. Slaves handled the dogs and cared for the horses and people as well. With the outbreak of civil war, the pageantry that often accompanied these events declined but Southerners continued to use their dogs to hunt.

Dog ownership and the passion for hunting in the South crossed both class and racial boundaries. Dogs were key to helping slaves and poor whites put meat on the table. Most Southern states had restrictions on dog ownership by slaves but many slave owners continued to permit their slaves to run them. While wealthy planters boasted of their purebreds, most Southerners kept mongrels.

Some Southerners trained their dogs to hunt for more than game. Dogs were specifically trained to hunt runaway slaves. Some pursued game as well, but most who were trained to do this were specialists. These dogs were permitted to see blacks only when being trained to chase them. Slaves were made to run from the dogs that chased them until they climbed a tree. The dogs were then rewarded with meat. Slave hunters advertised their services in local newspapers, boasting of their dogs' success. General William Tecumseh Sherman ordered Union troops to kill the bloodhounds and other slave-hunting dogs they came across on their march through Georgia in 1864.

Civil War units sometimes adopted a troop pet. Focusing attention and affection on these animals provided release of tension and served as a reminder of home. While many such relationships developed, several pets achieved notoriety. Old Abe the War Eagle was a bald eagle carried by Company C of the 8th Wisconsin Regiment and was wounded twice during the conflict. After the war ended, Abe toured the country. Sallie Ann Jarrett was a female bull terrier that was presented to the captain of the 11th Pennsylvania volunteers while training near West Chester, Pennsylvania. She tended daily drills and guarded the bodies of wounded and dead members of the unit. Sally was killed alongside her soldiers at Hatcher's Run near Petersburg, Virginia, in 1865. A life-sized statue at Gettysburg commemorates her devotion and demonstrates the love of her regiment (Grier 2006, 221).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bash, Wendell H. "Differential Fertility in Madison County New York, 1865." In *Studies in American Historical Demography,* ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Campbell, Edward D. C., Jr., and Kym S. Rice, eds. *A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War and the Confederate Legacy.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

Chudacoff, Howard P. "Newlyweds and Family Extension." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America,* by Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Clinton, Catherine. *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Deer, Mark. *A Dog's History of America: How Our Best Friend Explored, Conquered, and Settled a Continent.* New York: North Point Press, 2004.

East, Charles, ed. *Sarah Morgan: The Civil War Diary of a Southern Woman.* New York: Touchstone, 1991.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Glasco, Lawrence. "Migration and Adjustment in the Nineteenth-Century City: Occupation, Property, and Household Structure of Native-Born Whites, Buffalo, New York, 1855." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America,* by Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Green, Harvey. *The Light of the Home.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Gwin, Minrose C., ed. *Cornelia Peake McDonald: A Woman's Civil War. A Diary with Reminiscences of the War from March 1862.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

Hague, Parthenia Antoinette. *A Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama during the Civil War.* Reprint. Bedford, TX: Applewood Books, 1995.

Haines, T. L., and Levi W. Yaggy. *The Royal Path of Life: Or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness.* Chicago, IL: Western Publishing House, 1876.

Haskell, E. F. *Civil War Cooking: The Housekeeper's Encyclopedia.* Mendocino, CA: R.L. Shep, 1992.

Larcom, Lucy. *A New England Girlhood.* Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1986.

Livermore, Mary A. *My Story of the War: A Woman's Narrative of Four Years' Personal Experience.* New York: Da Capo Press, 1995.

Lothrop, Margaret M. *The Wayside: Home of Authors.* New York: American Book Company, 1968.

Lunt, Dolly Sumner. *A Woman's Wartime Journal*. Atlanta, GA: Cherokee, 1994.
Marten, James. *The Children's Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
Massey, Mary Elizabeth. *Women in the Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.
McGuire, Judith W. *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War by a Lady of Virginia*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
Moskow, Shirley Blotnick. *Emma's World: An Intimate Look at Lives Touched by the Civil War Era*. Far Hills, NJ: New Horizon Press, 1990.
Paul, James Laughery. *Pennsylvania's Soldiers' Orphan Schools*. Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart Publisher, 1876.
Reef, Catherine. *Alone in the World: Orphans and Orphanages in America*. New York: Clarion Books, 2005.
Sanchez-Eppler, Karen. *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History*. 4 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981.
Sullivan, Walter. *The War the Women Lived: Female Voices from the Confederate South*. Nashville, TN: J.S. Sanders, 1995.
Titcomb, Timothy. *Lessons in Life, A Series of Familiar Essays*. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1861.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wells, Robert V. "Demographic Change and the Life Cycle of American Families." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.
Woodward, C. Vann, ed. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.

Economic Life

THE CIVIL WAR
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE VALUE OF A DOLLAR

To set a standard for the study of economics in the later half of the nineteenth century, it is important to evaluate the worth of a U.S. dollar. Oddly the value of a dollar was exactly the same in 1860 as it was in 1900. There had been inflation during the Civil War, and it took $1.96 to equal an 1860 dollar in purchasing power in 1865. However, the monetary history of the U.S. dollar during the rest of the century was one of deflation from this high. It is safe to assume that an 1860 U.S. dollar (USD) was equivalent to approximately $18 in 2008 U.S. currency. Oddly, the intrinsic worth of the present dollar is less stable because it is unsupported by precious metals (gold or silver) as was the 1860 dollar.

The average family income in the United States from 1860 to 1900 in modern dollars (2008) was a remarkably low $7,000, or just under $400 in 1860 money. A generally rising standard of living in the United States raised hourly wages, while the incorporation of labor-saving devices limited the average number of hours worked. Yet this kept the annual wage approximately equal through four decades. Service wages (maids, cooks, footman, for instance) tended to rise as the century wore on due to increased demand. A maid in 1860 might be hired for an annual wage of as little as $70 ($1,300 in 2008), while in 1900 she could demand and receive $240 ($4,000 in 2008), more than three times as much. Nonetheless, people generally worked for less than might be thought, and a family with an average income of $2,500 in 1860 dollars could afford to hire a cook, a housemaid, and a nurse for the children. Doctors, lawyers, and civil servants—considered the middle of the middle class—made between $1,500 and $2,500 annually depending on whether they practiced in rural or urban areas of the country, respectively. A nineteenth-century millionaire could expect almost $30,000 (equivalent to a half million dollars in 2008) income simply from his investments in three percent bonds (Schollander and Schollander 2002, 217).

When comparing international monetary values during the later half of the nineteenth century, the normal exchange rate of $5 per British pound sterling (£1) was commonly used. The difference between the two was a function of their value in gold rather than the unsupported strength of the currency as it is today. Dollars were simply smaller units of value than pounds.

—James M. Volo

WORK

King Cotton

Cotton saved the plantation system and breathed new life into slavery. By midcentury cotton accounted for two-thirds of the exports of the United States and created an unprecedented demand for agricultural laborers. In 1790, annual cotton production had amounted to only 3,000 bales, but it rose to 178,000 bales in just 20 years. This increase is generally attributed to the introduction of the cotton gin in 1793. The widespread adoption of the cotton gin, which economically removed the seeds from desirable long staple varieties of cotton, resurrected the plantations of the Deep South in the antebellum period. A slave, who could process 100 pounds of cotton per day without the cotton gin, could produce 1,000 pounds of fiber in the same time with the cotton gin. In terms of dollars, the antebellum period witnessed cotton becoming the King of domestic exports.

The Civil War disrupted cotton production. Southern strategy during the Civil War continued to emphasize a total defense of Confederate territory against Yankee aggression. Southern leaders were particularly worried about losing control of areas where Unionists might free the slaves and thereby instigate widespread slave insurrections. The country was organized into an array of impracticably large departments and districts based on state lines and geographical imperatives that were not always adapted to the prosecution of the war. They also feared the vast economic cost represented by seized cotton, destroyed manors, burned fields, and wrecked fences. This defensive outlook caused the Confederates to disperse their forces widely and to expose much of the South to destruction.

Working for a Living

In the nineteenth century every man worked for his living, but not all men worked in the same way. Almost everyone below the uppermost classes of society needed to make a living through the application of their own physical labor. Workers at this time could be divided into several categories, among them laborers, farmers, clerks, craftsmen, machine operators, shopkeepers, metalworkers, and mariners. There were also those who dealt in the extraction trades like mining, timbering, or fishing. Before the Civil War clerks and machine operators represented a numerous, but decided minority of city workers. In some urban areas unskilled laborers made up to 40 percent of all workers. Craftsmen and shopkeepers have often been considered a privileged class somewhat akin to small businessmen, but many of the persons involved in crafts or shopkeeping were actually women, not the middle-class employers of apprentices and journeymen, but petty proprietors with just enough income and business acumen to rest on the lower rung of middle-class status.

Employment opportunities were not equally available to all classes and levels of society. Young men of the upper class preparing for life in a profession—physician, engineer, or lawyer—expected to be able to maintain a standard of living and social status commensurate with their services to the community. Churchmen and teachers expected a salary that reflected their educational qualifications and a respectful place in the scheme of social hierarchy. Those born to wealth might lead an indulgent life or work as managers of the family business or plantation without regard to the willingness of their neighbors to provide them an income. They formed the highest rungs of the economic ladder because of their birth or family connection. Industrialization brought a new category of worker into the mix. This was the factory manager, or overseer, who directed the labor of others in the mills and manufactories (Volo and Volo 2007, 73–74).

The Extent of Industry

Although the nineteenth century is often thought of as a period of industrial growth, the vast majority of the nation still made its living in agriculture. New York, the most populous state in 1850 with a population of just over three million residents, had only 6.5 percent of its workers involved in manufacturing. This data suggests that the state was still remarkably rural in character, as was the entire nation. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were the most industrialized states in the Union, each with double-digit percentages of persons employed in manufacturing, but none of these even closely approached a majority. Massachusetts, with a population of 986,000, was the most industrialized state in the nation with 17.0 percent manufacturing workers. Rhode Island (15%) and Connecticut (13%) ranked second and third nationally. Of the six New England states only Vermont (2.7%) had a manufacturing base smaller than 5.0 percent in terms of employment. By way of contrast Pennsylvania and Ohio, among the top three states in population with more than 2.2 million and 2.0 million respectively, had 6.5 percent and 3.0 percent working in manufacturing in 1850. Virginia, with nearly a million residents had a mere 3.0 percent involved in industry, and fifth place Illinois, with 800,000 people, was still remarkably rural with only 1.4 percent of its population working in factories or mills. Only 10 states had greater than 5.0 percent of their population involved in manufactures in 1850. Of these only Maryland and Delaware bestrode the Mason-Dixon Line, and none of them would enter the Southern Confederacy.

For this reason it is commonly thought that the economy of the American South was deficient when compared to that of the North in many critical areas of industry including manufacturing, transportation, and communications. Certainly the North, all the states that fought the Civil War treated as a separate nation, was one of the giants of industrial production on the world stage ranking just behind Great Britain in the value of its manufacturing output. However, the Southern Confederacy, also taken as an independent nation, would have ranked fourth richest among all the economies of the world in 1860 having more wealth than many industrial countries such as France, Prussia, or Denmark. Admittedly, Southern economic strength lay largely in its agricultural production, but its manufacturing base was better developed than many other nations at the time that were considered to have entered the industrial age.

Much of the South's fortune and capital continued to be tied up in land and in slaves leaving little for other investment. With increasing wealth in the North built upon shipbuilding, whaling, shopkeeping, iron production, and textile production, there was no similar lack of uncommitted capital. The growth of the factory-owning middle class in the North during the first decades of the antebellum period was rapid and remarkable. New factories and machinery absorbed more than $50 million of Northern investment capital in the decades of the 1820s and 1830s alone. Some Northern money went to fund canals and other long-term projects. In the 1840s and 1850s, capital was diverted toward the construction of railroads, but only a small portion of Northern wealth found its way into Southern industrial development.

Oddly, reliable statistics concerning Southern industry, transportation, and manufacturing are rare and difficult to assess from the distance of more than a century. Some historians have noted that the generally accepted view of the industrial capacity of the South in the antebellum period may need revision, and some limits may need to be put to the present generalizations made by the economic historians of the past. One linchpin of this thinking is the idea that by the very act of secession, the industrial capability of the Southern states "was brought to a pinnacle of development" only to perish in the war that followed. The demands of a wartime economy and the destruction wrought upon it may have blurred a true measure of the extent of the South's prewar industrial system, while immediate postwar analyses by Northern observers may have been prejudiced against any positive findings (Wilson 2002, ix).

Southern apologists and other contemporary spokespersons pointed out the strength of the Southern economy before the war intervened. Although some of their positive comments concerning Southern industrial capacity can be classed as propaganda, much of the data they cited could not be denied. Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, later vice president and president of the United States, noted in 1860 that the copper mines of his state kept seven smelting furnaces in constant operation annually and that the number of residents engaged in manufacturing was virtually the same as that in Illinois. Moreover, Tennessee produced more woolen textiles, more corn, more wheat, and 150 times more pig iron than New Hampshire, and it was building 1,100 miles of railway annually while New Hampshire was laying down only 200 miles.

Representative Alexander Stephens of Georgia, later vice president of the Confederacy, made similar, if less accurate, statistical comparisons between his state and Ohio, then one of the most prosperous states in the Union. Stephens noted that with half the population, Georgia produced more agricultural products than Ohio (even if cotton were excluded), as well as more beef, pork, and wool. Georgia had 38 state-of-the-art cotton and woolen mills, 1,000 more miles of railroad than Ohio, and twice the annual capital investment in new manufacturing ventures. Some of Stephens' remarks were disingenuous and did not take into account the fact that much of the investment in Ohio predated that in Georgia, leaving Ohio's present annual rate of investment lower although the absolute dollar amount was higher.

Thomas J. Kettell, contemporary author, economist, and Southern apologist, made a number of interesting comparisons between the Southern states and the nations of Europe. He pointed out that the South as a whole in 1860 had approximately 9,000 miles of railway as compared to 6,000 in England and Wales, 4,000 in France, and a little over 2,000 in Prussia. There were 31 major southern canals, 2 of the 10 largest ocean harbors in the world (both serving New Orleans), and 2 major inland ports (Louisville, Kentucky, and St. Louis, Missouri). In the United States, one third of all the telegraph lines (15,000 miles of it) were in the Southern states, more than in all of continental Europe at the time.

Joseph Kennedy, superintendent of the federal census in 1860, noted the South's 52 paper mills producing 12 million pounds of paper annually, its 1,300 leather shops and tanneries, its three major iron works capable of making locomotives and steam engines, its more than 100 smaller iron furnaces, foundries, and rolling mills, and its 115 precision machine shops. Southern shoemakers produced 65,000 pairs of work boots annually, and Southern workers provided the entire nation, North and South, with most of the hides and most of the tree bark needed for tanning them into leather. Kennedy also noted the establishment in the South of 250 cotton mills, 153 woolen mills, and almost 500 carding and fullering mills. There were 45 woolen mills and 63 carding mills in Virginia alone that produced over one million yards of fabric annually, enough to make 200,000 suits of clothing. Based on findings like these, modern researchers have begun to reevaluate historic judgments about the extent of the technological inferiority of the Southern states before the war and to reshape the picture of Southern industry commonly advanced during the century thereafter (Volo and Volo 2007, 74–76).

The Work of War

The work of war is soldiering, but the vast majority of the men who served in the Civil War were neither professional soldiers nor draftees. The largest percentage were farmers before the war. The available data make no distinction between the plantation owner, the small farm owner or his children, and the paid agricultural worker. The data also ignore all those who were too young to have an occupation when they enlisted, such as teenagers and students. Many of these were listed as unskilled workers.

Skilled laborers made up the second largest group of men to serve in either army. These skilled laborers included carpenters and furniture makers, masons, machinists, wheelwrights and cartwrights, barrel makers and coopers, shoemakers and leather workers, smiths of many kinds, and other skilled tradesmen. The particular trade by which an artisan made his living rarely prepared him for military service. Exceptions to this may have been made for artisans like butchers, blacksmiths, and farriers, who were organized within the service to practice their trades for the army.

Professional and white-collar occupations made up the largest portion of those who served as Union officers, while planters made up a significant number of Confederate officers. Professional men included lawyers, physicians, clergymen, engineers, professors, and army and navy officers. The white-collar category is somewhat obscured, as it is distinguished from the professional class more by degree than by any other characteristic, and many men often crossed the line between the two. These included bankers, merchants, manufacturers, journalists, clerks, bookkeepers, and schoolteachers.

In the South a man could have an exemption from the military draft based on a war-related occupation considered more critical to the cause than his service at the front. Among those exempt from the draft were iron founders, machinists, miners, and railroad workers; ferrymen, pilots, and steamboat workers; government officials, clerks, and telegraphers; ministers, professors, teachers of the handicapped, and private teachers with more than 20 pupils. Slave owners, or slave overseers who had more than 20 slaves under their care, could be exempt—one from each plantation. There were protests over the exemptions; but the only outcome of a public outcry was an extension of the exemption to physicians, leather workers, blacksmiths, millers, munitions workers, shipyard workers, salt makers, charcoal burners, some stockmen, some printers, and one editor for each paper.

The protests over exemptions were generally not fueled by antiwar sentiment—quite the reverse. Until 1864 when the rising tide of federal victory became obvious, the war was very popular, almost disturbingly so even in the South. Those exempt were thought to be neglecting their obligation to defend their country or to do battle against slavery or federalism, depending on the side on which they served. Many men who warranted an exemption refused it. Although there were charges of rich man's war and poor man's fight, many slave owners and their sons voluntarily served in the army, very often as highly placed officers and leaders of local partisan groups. Among many examples was Wade Hampton, a leading slave owner—considered to be the richest man in the South—who served with great distinction throughout the war and was wounded several times. Both his brother and his son lost their lives in battle. On the federal side, there was Robert Gould Shaw—son and grandson of a wealthy Massachusetts family. A dedicated abolitionist, the 26-year-old Shaw served as colonel of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, a black regiment, dying with many of his men in the attack on Battery Wagner in South Carolina in 1863.

Notwithstanding their civilian occupations, each man who served on the battlefield came with a set of values that mirrored the home and community he left behind. The majority of the recruits in the first year of the war were volunteers, and they pledged themselves to serve for three months, expecting that the first major battle would decide the issue of secession (Volo and Volo 1998, 100–101).

FINANCE: COTTON BONDS

The dedication to states right by its several member governments made a wide-ranging system of centralized revenue measures difficult for the Confederacy. The governments of several Confederate states railed at any policy that came out of Richmond smelling of centralizing power. The three principal methods used to finance the Southern war effort were direct taxation, bonds and loans, and treasury notes. The Confederate government in Richmond was reluctant to rely on the first of these because it might greatly stress the loyalty of the Southern people who were paying the cost of its defense with their economic lifeblood or the actual lives of their sons and fathers. This was especially true in large areas of the South like Tennessee and Louisiana that were being overrun by Northern armies early in the war. The federal armies, and particularly its blockading navy, kept import and export duties from bringing in much revenue. A direct tax on real estate, slaves, and other luxury property was enacted, but off-setting exemptions were allowed for funds paid to the individual states in both Confederate currency and specie. Less than $18 million was realized from direct taxation.

The Confederacy imposed an excise and license tax similar to that of the North in 1863, but it included taxes on additional items important to the Southern economy like naval stores, turpentine, sugar, molasses, and salt. Southern salt works were a priority target for the invading Federals. Only five months into the war the Southern papers began to fret over a shortage of salt, which was worth its weight in gold.

The same legislation created an income tax of 1 percent on the first $1,500 over a base exemption of $1,000 to 15 percent on all incomes over $10,000. No tax was levied on land or slaves, but after reserving certain amounts for their own use, all farmers and planters were required to pay to the central government one-tenth of their wheat, corn, oats, rye, buckwheat, rice, sweet and Irish potatoes, cured hay and fodder, sugar, molasses, cotton, wool, tobacco, beans, peas, and bacon. The legislation was expanded in 1864. This tax-in-kind means of financing and supplying the troops was very unpopular in some states and was tolerated in others. North Carolina and Georgia complained bitterly that their produce and materials should be used only for their own state troops. A final tax of 25 percent was levied on all coins, bullion, and foreign moneys exchanged in the Confederate states in February 1865. This came much too late to reenergize lagging Southern revenues. Since so much of the levy was paid in kind, it is difficult to attach a dollar amount to the revenue generated by these taxes. Nonetheless, it has been estimated that the Confederacy raised about one percent of its income from these sources (Randall and Donald 1961, 258).

The South was more successful in borrowing money secured by its paper pledges known as *Cotton Bonds*. The Confederacy imported a remarkable amount of military supplies through the federal blockade. More than 400,000 rifles, 3 million pounds of lead, and 2 million pounds of saltpeter for gunpowder production, as well as food, clothing, shoes, accouterments, medicines, and paper, were brought through the blockade. To pay for these supplies, more than 500,000 bales of cotton were shipped out of the South during the war, and cotton bonds for additional bales worth millions of Confederate dollars were issued to creditors mostly located in England and France.

Alexander H. Stephens, Confederate vice president, proposed the sale of cotton as a way of financing the war. His initial plan entailed taking two million bales of cotton from the 1861 crop, paying $100 million for them in eight percent bonds issued to the growers, adding to them two million more bales purchased at the prewar market price, and shipping the whole four million bales to Europe. Here the cotton would be stored until shortages at the textile mills in England and France caused by the expected federal blockage increased the market price to a staggering $1 billion. This would net the Confederacy a neat $800 million in a single operation. The operation was hopelessly optimistic, but it might have been feasible if the four million bales and the ships to move them had been available and left unmolested by the federal navy.

The South was much more successful in carrying out its cotton financing schemes on paper. Its first loan, based on cotton bonds, was for $15 million in 1861, and it was taken up domestically by the South's own loyal citizens. The residents of New Orleans picked up two-fifths of the issue. A $100 million loan was taken later the same year, this was taken up by the planters themselves and was paid in paper currency and produce, especially raw cotton. The most famous of these loans was arranged in 1863 by a French financier named Erlanger, who sold Confederate bonds backed by cotton futures in the European financial markets for a sizeable profit. The bonds had a purchase price of $90 (CSA), and Erlanger undertook them at a $13 discount. They rose to $91.75 in May 1863 and never saw such a level again. The value of the bonds fluctuated widely following the fortunes of Confederate armies in the field. In December 1863 after the effects of Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg had set in, they bottomed at $35.50, rebounded somewhat in 1864 when Confederate forces threatened Washington, D.C., and settled thereafter at near half their issue price until spring 1865. They then quickly plummeted to single digits, and at the final surrender of Confederate forces in May 1865 were worth only $8.

—*James M. Volo*

COST OF LIVING

Wealth

Wealth had always conferred a certain level of social acceptability in American society. Antebellum planters ruled from plantations that sat like isolated city-states throughout the South claiming social privileges and sustaining an elite lifestyle at the expense of the rest of society. Few in the Southern planter class actually had aristocratic roots that would have legitimatized the role they assumed as community leaders during the colonial or postrevolutionary period. This greatly intensified the need of the social structure and the hierarchy of the South to define itself in historically acceptable terms. The planters, therefore, invented a social mythology in which the blood of their class was deemed noble or at least blue by incorrectly tracing their family origins to European royalty, past kings, or Celtic chieftains. There were enough Southern families with legitimate connections to maintain the truth of the fiction.

Rich Southerners maintained their planter aristocracy in the face of northern criticism through the Revolution and into the antebellum period. As the decades of the century worn on toward secession, George Fitzhugh found some necessity to explain the structure of Southern aristocratic life. *In Cannibals All, or Slaves without Masters* (1857), he wrote, "Pride of pedigree . . . Ancestral position . . . [and] respectable connexion [sic] . . . will, ere long, cease to be under the ban of public opinion. . . . What vile hypocrisy, what malicious envy and jealousy, to censure and vilify in others, that which every man of us is trying with might and main to attain . . . [the] desire to found a family and make aristocrats of their posterity" (Volo and Volo 2004, 9).

The planter aristocracy was sorely tested during the Civil War, and in many cases their social and financial prominence did not meet the test. Economic security, once the hallmark of the great plantation and the foundation stone of social prominence, gradually became eroded and less certain. Although wealth and social position maintained their hold on the structure of Southern society, many aristocratic families lost scions to the fates of battle, and industry displaced family ties as a new means of attaining social status. Fitzhugh had seen this coming: "Every man in America desires to be an aristocrat, for every man desires wealth, and wealth confers power and distinction, and makes its owner an unmistakable aristocrat." Nonetheless, in the 1850s "new money" acquired through trade and industrialism still required the seasoning of a generation to be considered legitimate (Volo and Volo 2004, 9).

Southern Shortages

Southern nationalism, and the traditional "Old South," died as surely in the city streets, farmyards, and banking institutions as it did on the battlefields. The price of consumer goods in the South was most directly affected by the federal blockade. From 1860 to 1863 the monthly cost of feeding a small family was reported to have gone from \$6.55 to \$68.25.

A severe food shortage led to the Bread Riots in several urban areas of the South in the latter part of March 1863. Initially a group of women in Salisbury, North

Carolina, demanded that store owners charge them no more than the fixed price the government would ordinarily pay for foodstuffs and goods. Some of the merchants obliged the ladies by lowering their prices. There were several such episodes in the South at the same time. The most significant took place in the capital city of Richmond, where Mary Jackson promoted a concerted action by the women of that city to influence the price of goods and foodstuffs.

Beginning at the Belvidere Hill Baptist Church, the women, armed with persuaders such as pistols, knives, and hatchets, and led by Mary Jackson, marched on Capitol Square in protest. Here the governor of Virginia, John Letcher, spoke to the crowd and expressed his sympathy, but he offered no concrete solution to their problem. As the crowd disgorged from the square, the gathering of women clearly became a mob and began to loot the stores and take the goods of the merchants. Seemingly no attempt was made to buy articles at any price, including prices fixed by the government. A number of merchants simply tried to close their doors, and at least one, a Mr. Knott, tried to appease the women by handing out packages of sewing needles—considered a luxury item at the time.

This episode was widely reported in the antigovernment papers and the Northern press as a bread riot. Although there is no indication that any bread was taken or asked for, some foodstuffs, including bread, meat, and rice, were distributed to the needy by the Young Men's Christian Association. "Boots are not bread, brooms are not bread, men's hats are not bread, and I have never heard of anybody's eating them," retorted a government clerk to the reports (Tice 1974, 14; Volo and Volo 1998, 58–59).

Standard of Living

Family income was the measure by which sociologists and social reformers in both Britain and the United States differentiated between the poor and the very poor. In the nineteenth century it was clear that there was a difference between the poor, who had small incomes, and those known as paupers, who were on the public dole. Acting out of concern for an understanding of the working-class unrest that gripped Europe in 1848, statisticians and sociologists began about 1850 to take data and to conduct studies of family income and expenditures to shed light on any differences. Sociologists formulated the novel idea of poverty studies in which family income was compared to family expenditure as a measure of a *standard of living*. They attempted to show that poverty was not simply a matter of low income.

To facilitate his research, B. Seebohm Rowntree developed the idea of a family *budget* composed of three factors: Food, Rent, and Household Sundries (clothing, lighting, fuel, etc.). He also calculated different minimum incomes for families of various sizes that defined a *poverty line*. This concept thereafter became the common measure by which the standard of living was measured. For a family of four (two parents and two children) the poverty line in 1850 amounted to $238 annually, and for a family of five $274.

The 1850 census suggested that the average annual income for male workers was $300. The *New York Times* reported in 1853 that an average family of four living in the city with a minimum of medical expenses required $600. When corrected for inflation this figure was 28 percent higher than the minimum needed by a rural family of five in the previous decade, which may put its accuracy in question. Yet it seems certain that city families required more than an average single income simply to survive. A clear sign of this was the fact that one-third of the manufacturing work force in the city was composed of women. The demand market for female labor set the residents of New York City apart somewhat from the experience of the rest of America (Volo and Volo 2007, 54–55).

URBAN-RURAL ECONOMY: YEOMEN FARMERS AND POOR WHITES

On the surface at least, the Southern section of the country was doing well in 1850. The Old South's importance as a comprehensive producer of agricultural products was waning in the prewar period, however, being replaced by the produce of farms in Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri. Tobacco remained an important crop in North Carolina and Kentucky, but the tobacco plantations of Virginia and Maryland were feeling the effects of depressed prices and depleted soils. Cotton was the South's principal cash crop, but the largest Southern crop was corn, which was consumed locally by man and beast. Rice was an important export item, and the rice of plantations of South Carolina and Georgia were still prosperous on the eve of the Civil War.

Southern cotton production had originated along the tidewater coast and had moved into the backcountry of South Carolina and Georgia by the end of the eighteenth century, but it quickly spread into all the states that would make up the Confederacy. The significance of cotton in the money-conscious nineteenth century resulted primarily from the fact that it was a cash crop. By mid-century more than five million bales were being produced annually, causing cotton to be termed the king of agricultural exports. The Southern cities, particularly New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston, continued to flourish because of their dedication to the export of cotton. Seventy-five percent of all cotton came from plantations, as did almost all of the rice, sugar, and tobacco. The success of the plantation economy, and of the cotton plantations in particular, was vital to the continuation of the genteel Southern lifestyle. This was an unmodernized lifestyle led by the planter elite, and it was maintained at the expense of African and poor white labor.

The vast majority of Southern citizens were farmers like their Northern counterparts. These small farmers (so-called yeomen farmers) owned no slaves, although they may have harbored a desire to do so. Absent the growing manufacturing base of the North, they farmed for a living—usually a little above the subsistence level. This allowed them to purchase few luxuries in a lifetime of hard work.

Whites in the South were anxious to maintain their status as freemen, even if it required that they be very poor freemen. They supported the plantation owners with regard to slavery for that purpose. At all levels of Southern society individual liberty, manliness, and respect for authority and position were held in such high esteem that

Small farmers, North and South, planned their lives around rural activities and seasonal chores such as barn raising, quilting bees, planting, haying, and harvesting. Family members usually cooperated in completing chores. This togetherness was thought to foster feelings of kinship and traditional family values. Father and mother worked beside their children and grandchildren in an idyllic, if not mechanically efficient, simplicity. Courtesy Currier and Ives.

one put his life and personal honor on the line to protect them.

The lower classes of the Northern cities were exceedingly poor and were composed largely of immigrants. Many of the poorest immigrants were Irish Catholics. The Irish were the first truly urban group in America, living in crowded slums rife with crime and disease, and experiencing severe religious prejudice at the hands of the Protestant majority. Help wanted advertisements often stated, "Irish need not apply." One of the ironic characteristics of the new modernism in Northern society was the simultaneous existence of antislavery sentiment and severe ethnic prejudice among upper-class Protestants. This is especially surprising in view of the prominence of social reform movements in the North.

Many established Americans in the North viewed immigration as a social problem and viewed the immigrants only in prejudicial terms. They blamed the slum-like conditions on the immigrants themselves, ignoring the bigotry of employers and the cupidity of landlords. In addition to being the victims of social prejudice, the immigrant population was also accused of selling their votes to unscrupulous politicians, of voting illegally, and of engendering crime and violence. Immigrants from Britain, most being Protestant, quickly became a part of American society, and many of the Germans separated themselves from the cities to move to the rural areas of Pennsylvania or the Midwest. They were thereby able to avoid a great deal of bias, and they formed a greater social solidarity than any other immigrant group (Volo and Volo 1998, 8–11, 37–38).

FARMING/HUSBANDRY

Cotton and Grain

At the commencement of the war, almost all of the South's capital and most of its fertile land was devoted to agriculture—much of it in cotton. Estimates show that by 1860 there were more than 3.6 million black slaves in the states that were to form the Confederacy. These represented hundreds of millions of dollars. Profits from cotton in the Carolinas and from sugar in Louisiana provided a financial bulwark for slavery in the Deep South. The profitability of cotton increased both the number and the value of slaves as plantation owners put more and more acreage under cultivation and attempted to spread the practice of slavery to new territories. The plantation system would have faded into obscurity were it not for the ability of slavery to provide the labor needed to produce these crops. Virginia, noted for its production of tobacco rather than as a cotton producer, became a major supplier of slaves to other areas of the South. In 1860 the estimated value of all the slave property in the Old Dominion alone was more than $300 million.

The North, which relied so much on manufacturing for its economic domination, might thereby have been at a disadvantage with regard to food, but the reverse was true because a great portion of the Northern population was composed of wheat and corn farmers. Preconceived notions of a rising wartime demand for food caused Northern farmers to overplant in 1860. Wheat and corn production soared. An additional boon came in the form of good weather, an event not shared by Europe, which experienced crop shortages during this period. The North was able to sell surplus wheat and flour to Europe, thus gaining additional funds that could be invested in the war.

The war actually provided an impetus to the development of farming in the North as underdeveloped land was put into production to support the war effort. The departure of men to service in the army raised the wages of agricultural laborers, and the demand for foodstuffs generated a significant involvement of small farmers in a commercial market that they had often ignored in the prewar years. The Homestead Act was quickly passed in 1862 granting free land to anyone willing to plant it. This virgin soil produced impressive yields, unlike the over-farmed Southern soil. Northern industry developed and produced machinery, which could additionally improve productivity. In 1861, McCormick's reaper was offered for sale to Northern farmers at $150 but required only a $30 down payment. The balance was to be paid in six months if the harvest was good, or longer if it was poor. At war's end farm families found themselves tied to the commercial economy more closely than ever before (Faust 1996, 11).

Although the plantation South was heavily agricultural, the North was not so heavily disadvantaged as may commonly be thought. Agriculture employed 70 percent of the North's five million workers in 1860. Using the various information sources available from the period and modern estimates, the following represents a

Produce and Grain Production, 1860 Estimates

	North	South	Border
Corn (bushels)	396	280	156
Wheat (bushels)	114	31	18
Oats (bushels)	138	20	12
Cotton (bales)	0	5	.004
Tobacco (pounds)	58	199	171
Rice (pounds)	0	187	.05

Source: Bruce Catton, ed. *American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War.* New York: Viking, 1996.

rough assessment of the produce and grain available in 1860 in the Northern, Southern, and Border states with units in millions.

Southern communities were never able to organize anything that approached the organization and productivity of the North, and the war brought about many shortages. On Southern plantations in areas controlled by the Federals the situation was temporarily acute as slaves with their new-won freedom abandoned the fields and streamed north across the Union lines. Plantation families that had lived in an atmosphere of wealth and refinement all their lives were often reduced to abject poverty because of the lack of labor.

As the war progressed and was continually fought on Southern soil, federal troops destroyed even the modest plantings in the gardens of Southern families. Cornelia Peake McDonald described a visit by the blue-coated soldiers. They "began to pull up the potatoes . . . [and] did not stop after getting enough for dinner, but continued amid roars of laughter and defiant looks at me to pull them till all were lying on the ground . . . to wither in the sun. The [potatoes] were no larger than peas, and the destruction seemed so wanton that I was provoked beyond enduring" (Gwin 1992, 58).

The blockade of Southern ports caused great hardship, and a poor system of transportation prevented the Confederacy's small resources from being effectively distributed throughout the South. Children were often recruited to solicit funds door-to-door and to collect nonperishable groceries such as jellies or crackers from merchants to be sent to soldiers at the front. In some farming communities, families set aside portions of their land to the production of easily stored crops, such as potatoes, onions, and turnips. Schools held "onion" or "potato" days to collect produce, which was later delivered to the troops.

The war ended without any cogent plan for bringing Southern agriculture back into production at prewar levels. There was no plan to deal with the seceded states and their people, nor was there any idea of what to do with millions of freed slaves. Accustomed to being told what do to, many freedmen did not know how to proceed in the uncertain times. Others misinterpreted freedom as meaning that they would be fed and sheltered without having to work as their white masters had seemingly done. Most freed people sought land and a way to work for themselves. The white yeoman farmer and the former black slave both faced ruined homes, desolate fields, no hope of income, and seemingly no way to improve the situation (Volo and Volo 2007, 187–88, 192).

Livestock

The production of large herds of cattle, horses, and mules was much more labor-intensive than tending hogs, sheep, fowl, or milk cows. Many farms combined open-range cattle raising with winter feeding in pastures or barn lots. These cattle were often branded or earmarked and left to forage on the forest margins and hillsides. To keep them near home farmers often put out salt licks near water sources. Farmers in the Appalachian foothills moved their stock to higher or lower pastures as the season dictated. Their agricultural activities were not characteristic of the Southern plantations that focused on exporting cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice. They produced livestock and poultry (geese and turkeys) for export. Poultry exports were not enumerated in the census data, and chickens were generally raised for domestic consumption and for their eggs. In 1860, the southern Appalachians exported a good deal of livestock "on the hoof" to the rest of the South. These included annually one million hogs, a half-million cattle, and more than 90,000 horses and mules. These and their byproducts like hams and slab bacon were much more profitable for small Appalachian farmers than crop cultivation (Dunaway accessed 2007, 1).

There were without doubt endless arguments about the comparative qualities of mules and oxen as draft animals for everyday farm use. In 1843 Peter H. Burnett, an oxen fancier, wrote, "The ox is a most noble animal, patient, thrifty, durable, gentle, and easily driven." Burnett, later governor of California, found oxen "greatly superior to mules." In 1849, James Stewart, a mule proponent, expressed the following sentiment on the subject, "It is a noble sight to see those small, tough, earnest, honest Spanish mules, every nerve strained to the utmost, examples of obedience, and of duty performed under trying circumstances." A period price list from 1850 shows a pair of oxen for $50, while a single mule cost $75—an extravagance when compared to their bovine counterparts, but a great deal less expensive than they were to be found 15 years later. In 1865, some mule teams cost $700 a pair (Volo and Volo 2000, 173).

Riding horses and harness mules were not really interchangeable. Large wagons required a minimum four-mule team, while lighter ones could be pulled with two horses or two mules. A very light buggy could manage with one of either. In any case both mules and horses were more fleet of foot than the slow plodding but powerful oxen.

Using the various information sources available from the period and modern estimates, the following represents a rough assessment of the livestock (poultry not included) available in the Northern, Southern, and Border states in millions of head in 1860.

Livestock Resources in 1860

	North	**South**	**Border**
Beef Cattle	5.4	7.0	1.2
Dairy Cattle	5.0	2.7	0.7
Pigs/Hogs	11.5	15.5	3.0
Sheep	14.0	5.0	2.0
Horses	3.4	1.7	0.8
Mules	0.1	0.8	0.2

Source: Bruce Catton, ed. *American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War.* New York: Viking, 1996.

When fresh meat was not available, the enlisted men were provided with a basic preserved meat ration of pork—boiled ham, salt pork, or bacon being most common. Bacon, a common foodstuff reminiscent of home cooking, proved highly acceptable to the tastes of most soldiers. Bacon was made from the sides or flanks of the hog, kept in a slab, soaked in brine, and smoked. This operation cured the meat and so retarded the growth of bacteria that bacon could be kept for long periods of time. Thick slices could be cut from a single slab for several days with no noticeable deterioration of the remainder, and several rations of bacon could be carried in a haversack, wrapped in an oilcloth, without spoiling for some time.

The North and Midwest seemingly went through a huge expansion of the meatpacking industry during the war. Under the pressure of war, the packing plants in Chicago, Cleveland, and Cincinnati were transformed forever. The South quickly realized that it would experience a wartime meat shortage, and Richmond established an extensive government pork-packing program in close proximity to the rail and river transportation of Tennessee. These plants and their associated salt works were constantly in danger of capture or destruction by federal forces.

Federal forces also relied heavily on preserved pork. Pork production for commercial use in the North in 1865 was twice that of 1860. Pork's prominence as a foodstuff, when compared to preserved beef, did not lie in any intrinsic nutritional value, although the high fat content provided an excellent source of caloric intake. It was simply easier to preserve than beef and tasted better than pickled beef, which was so poor and unpalatable that the soldiers called it "salt horse." No effort was made to comply with dietary restrictions due to individual medical or religious preferences.

In camp boiled ham was often pulled from a barrel into which it had been packed for some months in a thick covering of grease that came from the boiling. The meat came out in long, unappetizing strips, and when brought to the surface the sound of the suction was like the noise made when one pulled his feet out of mud. The grease was scraped off and saved by many soldiers to be used as an ingredient in other recipes. The meat could be fried, roasted, or eaten sliced between two pieces of soft bread or with hardtack.

Salt pork was easy to make and had been used since colonial times as a mainstay of the diet for soldiers and sailors. Salt pork was a favorite among veteran soldiers, who sometimes declined fresh beef for a good piece of salt pork, but recruits had to learn to ignore its overwhelmingly salty flavor and to appreciate its nutritional qualities. The amount of salt used in its processing was staggering, but salt pork could last, unspoiled, for a long time in a sealed barrel. However, once a barrel was opened, the meat had to be used quickly or it would spoil. One reason for the spoiling of salted meats in transit was the lack of good barrels, which sometimes opened between the staves. Southern armies suffered severely from increasing numbers of poorly made barrels as experienced coopers, white and black, were drafted to fill the ranks on the firing lines or streamed north to freedom. So great was the domestic war demand that there developed a worldwide shortage of quality American barrel staves.

From the start, the Southern cavalry was more effective than that of the North. This was largely because it was better organized and better mounted. Southern recruits brought their own horses and horse accoutrements with them. The federal army could not meet the initial demand for artillery and cavalry horses. The horses that it acquired were often as untrained as their riders. Both required long periods of familiarization with the exigencies of cavalry operations before they could take the field with any hope of matching the Southern cavalry. Robert E. Lee often expressed worry over the large number of cavalrymen who had become dismounted, and the number of horses that had become worn down through long service.

Meanwhile, the federal riders were gaining in experience and confidence supplied with horses through a system of remount stations. All federal cavalry regiments were required to hold monthly inspections of the mounts and send the reports to Washington on the mileage traveled, the treatment and shoeing of animals, and any deficiencies of forage. The demand for fit horses was greatest during the third year of the war.

—*James M. Volo*

INTERNATIONAL TRADE: THE CONFEDERATE COMMERCE RAIDERS

The damages due to the attacks of Confederate commerce raiders on the Northern merchant marine during the American Civil War have continued to serve as the keystone of the traditional explanation for the years between 1866 and 1890 being called "The Dark Ages of American Oceanic Enterprise."

On November 6, 1865, the CSS *Shenandoah* ended her journey of destruction in Great Britain having captured or destroyed 38 vessels. The *Shenandoah*, powered by sail with auxiliary steam, was the last of approximately 18 commerce raiders commissioned by the Confederate government. Of these, only eight achieved any substantial results, four of these: *Shenandoah*, *Tallahassee*, *Florida*, and *Alabama*, being credited with the lion's share of the damage. The raiders captured or destroyed a total of 239 vessels, or 105 thousand tons, causing a direct loss to Northern shipping interests of between twenty and twenty-five million dollars. Remarkably, not a single American merchant sailor was killed during these operations.

It was the purpose of the Confederacy to damage Northern trade by driving up the cost of maritime insurance without which no major shipowner could afford to operate. War risk rates were supplemental premiums set beyond the cost of ordinary marine insurance for which the fees were considerably lower. In the case of loss due to natural disaster or act of war, the insurance covered the financial damage to the owners up to, but not beyond, the value of the vessel and cargo. At the time of the War of 1812, rates ranged from 40 percent to 75 percent on runs to the Far East, and insurance at any cost for an American vessel was unavailable to Europe, the Mediterranean, and the West Indies (Albion 1968, 63, 70).

War risk rates were set by taking into consideration the route of the vessel, its type and cargo, and the ability of its navy to protect it. Used in this manner war risk rates are a significant indicator of the control of the seas in a conflict. Since the Southern naval forces in the American Civil War were never comparable to those of the

North, it may be concluded that the higher rates reflected a panic in Northern shipping circles that did more damage than the actual ravages of the raiders. This panic may have been rooted in America's own experience with commerce raiding during the American Revolution (Albion 1968, 169).

During the Civil War period, the premiums for war risks on Northern shipping ranged from 1 to 3 percent in 1861, to 10 percent in 1863 at the height of Confederate raiding activity. As early as 1863 the *New York Times* (August 4, 1863, 1:1) reported that British opinion was of the mind that "American shipping had almost become valueless in consequence of the seizures made by the Confederate cruisers." Nonetheless, insurance premiums of 10 percent or less were small when compared with historically high rates for war risk in other periods. Moreover, the highest war risk rates in the Civil War period reflected insurance only to the more distant runs in the East Indies and the Pacific. War rates on Northern vessels to Europe, the West Indies, and along the Atlantic coast remained remarkably low, ranging from as little as 0.5 percent to 3.5 percent throughout the period (G. W. Dalzell 1940, 239–40; Albion 1968, 169–70). As the war progressed strategic commercial intersections such as the English Channel, Gibraltar, Capetown, and Bahia in the South Atlantic proved to be patrolled by an ever increasing number of federal cruisers purposely detached from the blockading squadrons to these locations in an attempt to stop the raiders (West 1957, 277).

The depredations of the Confederate raiders did little to depress the domestic coasting trade, and coasters found the nearby Atlantic waters generally safe throughout the war. Although their loss was to produce the greatest panic, as few as 50 coasting vessels, exclusive of other types of craft, fell prey to the Confederates. There were calls for harbor protection and coastal convoys as fear spread from port to port. Fortunately such coastal forays were relatively rare events, and the raiders had to hit and run as word of their presence spread by telegraph to Union bases. Ironically the reports of the raiders proceeding along the coasts probably did more damage than the actual captures (Volo and Volo 2001, 287–88).

In October 1864, however, two Confederate raiders escaped from the federal forces blockading Wilmington and burned several coasting vessels, ships, and a pilot boat off the New Jersey coast, Sandy Hook, and Block Island causing a financial panic in the New York markets. Although the Confederates destroyed 20 vessels, they proved to be of little monetary value. Even so, the presence of these raiders did cause considerable local panic, and the psychological impact of the depredations on the Northern public was enormous.

Commerce destruction was considered a secondary objective of the Confederate naval effort when compared to the primary goal of drawing Union blockading vessels away from the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. In this they failed, and the 1864 exploits of the Confederate navy were considered by some contemporaries to be counterproductive. No blockading vessels were dispatched north to intercept the raiders. Instead, the very success of the raiders resulted in a tightening of the blockade, which denied the South badly needed supplies when they were needed the most (Volo and Volo 2001, 291–92).

As a single identifiable class, the whalers were the most preyed upon of U.S. flag vessels during the conflict. Almost 15 percent of the U.S. whaling fleet was destroyed or otherwise removed from operation during the war years. Yet the demise of U.S. whaling was symptomatic of deep weaknesses in the industry that included overharvesting and depressed market prices. The fleet, in fact, saw a brief increase in the whaling tonnage in 1866, but statistics indicate that the whaling underwent a sudden collapse in 1867, which is generally attributed to the introduction of cheap petroleum fuels and lubricants. These products had begun to gain a market share as early as 1859. Whale oil as a lighting fuel was driven from the marketplace by 1873 to be replaced by kerosene, and only less profitable whale byproducts retained any market. Consequently, the whaling fleet gradually shrank as vessels became worn out. The process was enhanced by the twin disasters of 1871 and 1876 in which 41 whaling vessels were crushed in the encroaching polar ice (Clark 1949, 125).

The decline of the U.S. foreign carrying trade in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, especially the profitable transatlantic trade, seems to be best understood in terms removed from a continued emphasis on the activities of the Confederate raiders and the permanence of their consequences (Simons 1983, 161).The failure to modernize the foreign carrying fleet, at a point in time when America's standing in world commerce was already under attack, serves as a more rationale mechanism for the enduring nature of the decline. As one historian has noted: "The elements contributing to the decline of the merchant marine were already apparent before the Civil War, and the results would have been the same if the conflict had not occurred" (Bauer 1989, 241; Volo and Volo 2001, 292–94).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Albion, Robert G., and Jennie B. Pope. *Sealanes in Wartime*. Portland, ME: Archon Books, 1968.

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Clark, Victor S. *History of Manufactures in the United States*. 3 vols. New York: Peter Smith Publishers, 1949.

Dalzell, G. W. *The Flight from the Flag: The Continuing Effect of the Civil War upon the American Carrying Trade*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

Dunaway, Wilma A. "Slavery and Emancipation in the Mountain South: Sources, Evidence and Methods," Virginia Tech, Online Archives. http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/faculty_archives/mountain_slavery/cival war.htm (accessed July 2007).

Faust, Drew Gilpin. "The Civil War Homefront." http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/rthg/chap6.htm

Gwin, Minrose C. *A Woman's Civil War*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

Heidler, David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds. *Daily Life of Civilians in Wartime Early America, From the Colonial Era to the Civil War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

McGuire, Judith W. *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War by a Lady of Virginia*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

Miers, Earl Schenck, ed. *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary, by John B. Jones, 1861–1865.* New York: Sagamore Press, 1958.
Pollard, Edward A. *Southern History of the War.* New York: Fairfax Press, 1990. Reprint of the 1866 edition.
Randall, J. G., and David Donald. *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1961.
Scharf, J. Thomas. *History of the Confederate States Navy.* New York: Fairfax Press, 1887.
Schollander, Wendell, and Wes Schollander. *Forgotten Elegance, The Art, Artifacts, and Peculiar History of Victorian and Edwardian Entertaining in America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
Simons, Gerald, ed. *The Blockade: Runners and Raiders.* Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1983.
Tice, Douglas O. "Bread or Blood: The Richmond Bread Riot." *Civil War Times Illustrated,* February 1974.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
———. *Daily Life in Civil War America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
———. *Daily Life in the Age of Sail.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.
———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
———. *Family Life in 19th-Century America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
West, Richard S., Jr. *Mr. Lincoln's Navy.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957.
Whitehurst, Clinton H. *The U.S. Shipbuilding Industry: Past, Present, and Future.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1986.
Wilson, Harold S. *Confederate Industry, Manufactures and Quartermasters in the Civil War.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
Wise, Stephen R. *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running during the Civil War.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.

THE CIVIL WAR
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Intellectual Life

THE EMERGENCE OF AMERICA

The British author Charles Dickens visited America in 1842, and thousands of Americans citizens turned out to greet him in New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Richmond. Dickens came to see an America he believed was the hope and promise of the world, but he found its cities filthy and unsophisticated. In his *American Notes,* written upon his return to England in 1842, he described New York as crude, violent, and lacking in the basic manners expected for the English middle class. He was greatly aghast at the conditions he found in America. He considered the tenements hideous, the prisons loathsome, and the taverns low and squalid; and he expressed a strong aversion for the American press and its politicians, calling them a "foul growth" upon America's utilitarian society. Dickens also toured the West, or what was then considered the West. He disliked

Cleveland, Ohio and reported that the Indians, who were so highly esteemed by the authors of romantic literature, were actually wretched creatures (Volo and Volo 2004, 220–21).

Notwithstanding Dickens' opinion of American society, never in history had mankind experienced such revolutionary changes in everyday life as was experienced in the nineteenth century. In 1800, horses were the fastest mode of both transportation and communications; in 1900, railroads and steamships traveled at speeds unimagined a century earlier, and communications were made all but instantaneous with the telegraph and the telephone. At the beginning of the century, farmers had worked their small fields with implements very similar to those used by their ancestors, and farm wives made the family clothing and preserved almost the entire stock of winter food in their homes. Most Americans in 1900 lived a life so fundamentally different that it would not have been recognized only a few generations earlier. These fundamental changes in everyday life shaped the growth of American intellectual life (Timmons 2005, 1).

Most American intellectuals of the prewar period were widely read in the literature of European romanticism, and they used romantic allusions in their prose and poetry. A romantic movement that emphasized feeling, imagination, and nature swept the nation in the decades before 1860. It embraced the past, drawing strongly on the styles and ways of ancient civilizations and medieval times. Romanticism could also be found in architecture, painting and decoration, and even in the institutions of government. The number of those that tried to cultivate a sense of letters, the sciences, and the arts was immense.

Literary pursuits were deemed a gentleman's avocation in the decades prior to the Civil War though by the 1840s, if not earlier, women writers produced an increasingly large output of novels, stories, verse, and advice books for the market. American gentlemen loved their books and often acquired a polished literary style, but they seldom ventured into print. To write a treatise on surveying, mining, or husbandry and share it among one's social equals was one thing, but to publish them for the common people to read often offended their sense of propriety. Their style was utilitarian and conversational, and it seemingly excluded the stiffly artificial, indirect, and abstract forms of classical Europeans for a style that more closely resembled modern American prose.

—James M. Volo

SCIENCE

The American System

One of the problems inherent in an attempt to address the development of science and technology in the nineteenth century is that—unlike the twentieth century—there was no well-established basis for connecting technology to science. The United States in this period, even more than in European countries, was a society steeped in a pronounced affection for the utilitarian. The United States was a land of mechanics. There was often a marked disconnect between theoretical concepts (generally left to Europeans) and the practical considerations faced by American inventors. Alexis de Tocqueville observed when he visited America that in democracies those who studied science were always afraid of getting lost in utopias. He even offered a reason for this peculiarity of Americans for the utilitarian and practical. Everyone in America seems to be on the move, in quest of power or of other gain—be it financial or personal. The endless chase after wealth left little time for the pursuit of the intellectual (Timmons 2005, 2).

Perhaps the most important development in the century was the emergence of an entirely new system of manufacturing, a system uniquely American that became the envy of the rest of the world. The term "American System," coined at mid-century, referred to the perception of many Americans that their country needed an industrial identity different than—and superior to—the European system that had been in place since the previous century. In fact, the term itself was first used by a British commission created to investigate the success of American inventions and technology—in particular the Colt Revolver and the McCormick Reaper—at the famous Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851. Driven almost to a patriotic frenzy by Henry Clay and other orators, promoters of this new system pointed to every conceivable segment of the manufacturing industries, from its workforce to its manufacturing methods (Timmons 2005, 4).

Celebrations marking the completion of any major technological project involved everyone from local dignitaries to the workers responsible for the labor to the citizenry affected by its implementation. In 1825, the parade marking the opening of the Erie Canal included firemen, carpenters, millwrights, merchants, militiamen, cabinetmakers, and many other workers. A similar celebration in 1828 for the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad included more than 5,000 persons, and the meeting of the transcontinental railways at Promontory, Utah, was accompanied by blaring bands, the driving of a golden spike, and a well-known and oft-reproduced photograph (Timmons 2005, 6).

SCIENCE GOES TO WAR

Science and technology took on their most gruesome aspects during the Civil War. With the exception of the cavalry, who were provided with a wide assortment of firearms including pistols and rapid-fire repeaters, both armies issued muzzle-loading rifled muskets with percussion cap ignition to the infantry. This replaced the flintlock ignition of earlier days with a fulminate of mercury ignition cap. Most commonly the muskets were American made .58 caliber Springfields or British .577 caliber Enfields. The soldiers found Enfields more accurate than Springfields. Troops would trade their weapon for an Enfield on the battlefield if the opportunity presented itself, and whole companies were sometimes rearmed in such a manner after a major engagement.

The similarity in musket calibers proved a great advantage in distributing supplies and was a godsend to the Confederacy, which could use captured federal ammunition. The ammunition for Springfields and Enfields was interchangeable for all practical purposes, but cavalry ammunition was generally made in a smaller caliber, .52 caliber being a popular size, to relieve some of the recoil experienced with lighter weapons. The most common pistol calibers were .36, .44, and .45, but almost any size bullet might be fired from the hundreds of private weapons carried to the battlefield by recruits. Thousands of metal cartridge pistols, sometimes advertised as "lifesavers," were returned to families in the North by Federals who found them useless encumbrances once they had become veterans.

With the minié ball, a conical bullet with a hollowed base developed by Captain Claude Minié, the rifled musket was capable of hitting a man-sized target at 800 yards and had plain sights that were adjustable to that range. Effectively, a target the size of a man could barely be seen at 800 yards. However, used in a volley—hundreds of muskets firing simultaneously—the musket could be deadly over open ground. Even at long ranges the soldiers were rather afraid of them. The need to ram down the charge before firing slowed the sustained rate of fire of most troops to about three aimed shots per minute.

Sharpshooting, the use of carefully aimed shots by individuals designated to pick off officers, artillerymen, or other conspicuous persons, was a peculiar characteristic of the Civil War battlefield that hearkened back to the activities of the fringe-shirted riflemen of the Revolution. Generally, no special weapon was used for this purpose, though many sharpshooters were equipped for the first time with long telescopic sights.

Breechloaders like the Sharps or Smith carbines could fire 9 rounds a minute, and the fully self-contained brass cartridge of the Spencer repeating rifle allowed for 20 rounds a minute. There was a genuine concern among military experts—lasting through World War I and diminishing only after World War II—that the soldiers would quickly expend all of their available ammunition with repeating weapons. Nonetheless, breech-loading designs and revolvers were widely issued to the cavalry and other specialty troops.

Breech-loading also made rifled artillery more effective and quicker to fire. Explosive shells that flung large metal fragments around the battlefield had been used for many decades, but a new type of shell filled with hundreds of musket balls was developed by Henry Shrapnel after the revolution as an antipersonnel weapon. Shells with large balls were used against horses and artillery. Both the torpedo (water mine) and the land mine were used during the war; and warships—both steam and sail—were fitted with rifled ordnance, revolving turrets, and iron cladding (Volo and Volo 1998, 141–42).

EDUCATION

In this period schooling had a regional flavor. In the North and Midwest, schools were community or common schools. These schools would be open to all children from the community. The South was far behind in providing any form of education for the masses. In the South's defense, its sparse white population density and large number of black slaves made common or community schools impractical. Private tutors for one or two children, or private teachers of small groups were more often found than community educational systems.

Conditions in common schools varied tremendously not only from North to South but from community to community. School revenue was directly tied to the success or failure of local commerce. In an 1861 report, numerous county superintendents in Pennsylvania reported frosts in June and early July. The resulting loss of the wheat crop caused more than ordinary pecuniary embarrassment, in addition, teaching time was shortened, and in some communities, the wages of the teachers were reduced. More than one superintendent lamented a false system of economy that reduced teachers' wages so much that some of the best teachers left the county or became engaged in other pursuits. Some districts chose to suspend school for the entire year. Nonetheless, remaining teachers were applauded for their self-denial and the manner in which they bore up during a difficult time. In the same year, where lumbering districts were favored by high water, there was increased prosperity.

School buildings were constructed in a number of ways and might be of brick, frame, log, or stone. In the 1861 state report, 58 percent of the Pennsylvania superintendents who responded used negative terms to describe their schools. It was not unusual to see claims that the schools were "less fit for the purpose of schooling, than would be many modern out houses for sheltering cattle." One schoolhouse was described as "a crumbling, dilapidated, damp, unwholesome stone building with a ceiling eight feet high, room about twenty-six by thirty feet into which one hundred and seventeen are crowded, and placed at long, old fashioned desks, with permanent seats, without backs." One superintendent reported finding "the teacher and pupils huddled together, shivering with cold, and striving to warm themselves by the little heat generated from a quantity of green wood in the stove." Additional complaints included a lack of outhouses and other appliances necessary for comfort and convenience. Concern was expressed over the fact that schoolhouses were placed far off the road and buried in the wilderness forest. Schools were often crowded. Henry Hobart, a teacher in Copper County, Michigan, reported that he had 130 scholars in a schoolroom large enough to accommodate 75 (Volo and Volo 1998, 272–73).

Hobart concluded that people were very indifferent to the education of their children. He reported that most of the schoolhouses were fitted to torture the children rather than add to the comfort and ease. Under such circumstances, he observed, many children disliked going to school because they were so uncomfortable that they could not learn (Volo and Volo 2007, 284).

Yet a number of new schools were described in more favorable terms. One report described a tasteful brick building 30 by 45 furnished with first-class iron frame furniture for 62 pupils. Other new buildings were of wood, and one was 24 by 36 with four tiers of seats for two pupils each accommodating 64 pupils. Another superintendent boasted that all the rooms were warmed by coal stoves, most of them had ceilings of proper height, windows adapted to ventilation; plenty of blackboard surface; and they were tolerably well seated. A new schoolhouse was proudly described as having an anteroom, closets, and a platform and was superior to most of the other houses in every respect.

The schools in most states were supervised by a group of designated citizens who oversaw operations. Their duties included the levying of tax, the location of schoolhouses, the purchase and sale of school property, the appointment and dismissal of teachers, and the selection of studies and textbooks. The dedication and expertise of these directors was, however, often called into question.

Rural districts were often unsuccessful in obtaining a normal school graduate and had to settle for whatever reasonably well-educated person they could find. Although both men and women taught, male teachers were preferred. As the Civil War progressed, many young men left the schoolroom to serve in the army or to fill better-paying jobs. This dearth of males opened the doors for women in education. A county superintendent of schools wrote that the employment of female teachers caused some dissatisfaction, as they were believed inadequate to the task of controlling a winter school. But superior cleanliness and arrangement of their rooms, the effect of their natural gentleness and goodness on the scholars amply compensated for their want of physical force. These qualities were appreciated even more when it was found that the generally younger women could be paid lower salaries than the male teachers. The average salary reported in 1861 for a male teacher was $24.20 per month. Women were paid $18.11.

One superintendent expressed concern that the majority of teachers were between 18 and 25, and some of the teachers were little more than children themselves. Another superintendent complained that parents would urge their sons and daughters to seek to become teachers at so early an age and in great error school directors, as a general rule, employ them. He noted that the same men engage persons of mature age and experience on the farm, in the shop or store, in the kitchen or dairy room, but they hire girls or boys of 15 or 16 to train up and educate their offspring (Volo and Volo 1998, 272–73).

School districts began to establish examinations to certify that teachers were competent to assume their duties. Most exams were a combination of written and oral questions. Some were held publicly, and attended by numbers of citizens, who had a desire to see and hear for themselves. Emma Sargent Barbour's sister, Maria, wrote about the examination process in Washington. She was to be examined, when her companion remarked that she had a good mind to try the exam herself, just for fun. She went in and passed an excellent examination and the following Monday took a position at Maria's school. Not all examinations were quite as simple as Maria implies. Many superintendents in Pennsylvania reported having to turn away applicants who had failed, while others indicated that, considering the rural nature of their district, they were lucky to find teachers at all. Many parents preferred to have their children work in the mines or learn a trade, and thus but few become qualified to teach school.

Institutes were held periodically to help teachers to improve their skills. Some met only once a year, while others were held semimonthly on alternate Saturdays. Naturally, not all teachers performed to the satisfaction of the districts. A Wayne County, Pennsylvania, superintendent wrote that two of his teachers in winter school had the reputation of having intemperate habits, and others were rough and rowdy in their manner (Volo and Volo 2007, 286–87).

About 50 percent of children outside the South attended school with some regularity. Some areas of the Midwest and New England had enrollments as high as 90 percent. Attendance in rural areas still suffered from the fact that many parents kept their children at home to help with farm labor, and it was not until such seasonal tasks were finished would they be allowed to start school. Not everyone was convinced that public education was beneficial, but public sentiment was gradually becoming more favorable to the system (Volo and Volo 2007, 297).

Most Southerners were opposed to tax-supported education. The school reformers and educational advocates of the 1840s were mostly Northerners. This contributed to a certain skepticism on the part of Southerners, who felt that the school systems were at least partially responsible for Northern attitudes in the decade preceding the war. Most Southerners preferred to send their children to private institutions. By 1860 only four Southern states and a few isolated communities had common school systems.

Popular instructional materials included *McGuffey's Eclectic Reader*, *Ray's Arithmetic*, and Webster's "blue back" *Speller*. Spelling was just becoming standardized. *Leach's Complete Spelling Book* of 1859 contained a "Collection of Words of Various Orthography," which included words of "common use, which are spelled differently by the three most eminent Lexicographers . . . Webster, Worcester and Smart." Students were graded by the reader from which they read. Many schools suffered from a lack of uniform class sets of texts and used old books, some of which, carefully preserved, had descended from grandfathers, although the adoption of uniform texts was frequently a goal.

In many schools sufficient blackboards were also wanting. Blackboards were made by taking smooth boards—painted black—and covering them with a chalk dust, which provided the erasable surface. Well-supported schools not only had blackboards but also outline maps, spelling and reading cards, charts, and globes. The average school had only one or two of these instructional materials. Paper was scarce in rural schools. Students commonly wrote on wood frame slates, although these were initially confined to those who had made advancement in arithmetic, but in time, even the smallest scholars were writing with slates.

Furniture was, at best, sparse in most classrooms. One superintendent lamented that it was useless to complain of school furniture because it seemed that people would sooner see their children have spinal or pulmonary affliction, than furnish the schoolroom with proper desks and seats. A York County, Pennsylvania, superintendent reported witnessing a great deal of uneasiness, even intense suffering, among the small children who were seated too high. In some instances, the desks were attached to the wall, the scholars with their backs to the teacher.

There were few, if any, educational standards at this time. The length of the school day and year varied as the individual community saw fit. The average length of the school term in 1860 was five months and five and one-half days. A typical school day ran from nine to four with an hour for recess and dinner at noon. The day often commenced with a Scripture reading followed by a patriotic song. Emma Sargent Barbour received a letter from her sister, Maria, describing her teaching day. She reported that she rose at seven, had breakfast at half past, practiced her little singing lesson and was ready to start for school at half past eight. She would direct the students how to behave and hear their lessons until twelve, then from twenty minutes to a half an hour, she would hear missed lessons and eat lunch, chat with the boys until one o'clock, then proceed as before until three.

Most learning was done via rote memorization and recitation. To motivate the students, less interesting material, such as geographic facts, was sung to popular tunes. Multiplication tables were often taught in verse; for example, "Twice 11 are 22. Mister can you mend my shoe?" or "9 times 12 are 108. See what I've drawn upon my slate." Hobart complained that he found very few scholars who could give a proper explanation of the various principles that are brought out in the various steps in arithmetic or in fact any study. He observed that most students went over the pages of the book and yet knew very little of what they read. Mental arithmetic was still an innovative technique in 1860, but it was all the rage in educational journals. More than one district reveled in the fact that it was taught in their schools. One boasted that mental arithmetic had been extensively introduced over the previous two years and predicted that it would soon be considered an indispensable item even in the primary schools.

In Connecticut, towns with 80 families were required to have a single school for young children that taught English grammar, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Towns with 500 families added a school for older students that offered algebra, American history, geometry, and surveying. Places with larger populations offered study of the physical sciences—sometimes referred to as natural or revealed philosophy—and Greek and Latin. The subjects taught depended on the competency of the teacher and varied greatly from school to school. In the annual report of Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, the superintendent boasted that the number of schools in which geography and grammar were not taught was steadily diminishing. There was a considerable increase in the number in which mental arithmetic was taught. Algebra was taught in 11 schools; history in 4; natural philosophy in 2; Latin in 1; composition in 5, and in several there were exercises in declamation and vocal music.

In the same report, Beaver County noted that the Bible was read in 140 of the 147 schools. The report hoped that teachers would become so deeply impressed with a sense of their duty in the moral education of their pupils that they would soon be able to report that the Bible was read in every school. In addition to the three R's, schools were expected to infuse a strong moral sense, foster polite behavior, and inspire good character. Another instructional objective, presented in a reading text, was "a desire to improve the literary taste of the learner, to impress correct moral principles, and augment his fund of knowledge." An introductory geography book contained the following extraordinary attestation in its preface: "The introduction of moral and religious sentiments into books designed for the instruction of young persons, is calculated to improve the heart, and elevate and expand the youthful mind; accordingly, whenever the subject has admitted of it, such observations have been made as tend to illustrate the excellence of Christian religion, the advantages of correct moral principles, and the superiority of enlightened institutions."

Readers contained lessons entitled "The First Falsehood," "Effects of Evil Company," "Contrast between Industry and Idleness," and "Dialogue between Mr. Punctual and Mr. Tardy." Stories, poems, and essays used in instruction drilled the message that good triumphed over evil, frugality surpassed extravagance, obedience superseded willfulness, and family always came first. This can be seen even in brief multiplication rhymes—"5 times 10 are 50. My Rose is very thrifty" or "4 times 10 are 40. Those boys are very naughty." The last was inscribed beneath a picture of two boys fighting.

Some texts published in the North during the war contained distinctly pro-Union sentiments. *Hillard's Fifth Reader,* printed in 1863, contained such readings as "Liberty and Union" and "The Religious Character of President Lincoln," as well as "Song of the Union," the poem " Barbara Frietchie," and an essay on the "Duty of American Citizens" among many similar patriotic themes. Caroline Cowles Richards noted in her 1861 diary that at school she recited "Scott and the Veteran," while others recited "To Drum Beat and Heart Beat a Soldier Marches By" and "The Virginia Mother." She observed that "everyone learns war poems now-a-days."

Rural schools were often ungraded and had no standard final examinations or report cards. Scholastic success was still given a showcase via exhibition bees and quizzes held for parents. Students demonstrated their expertise in spelling, arithmetic, geography, and history. In addition to praise, winners were given certificates and prizes such as books or prints. Gifted students could pass through the entire local system of schools by age 14 or 15, but only the most affluent could move on to college or university. A foreign visitor to New England found that most men had a basic education that stressed reading and writing, but that few exhibited the fine formal education available in Europe.

Southern teachers were even more challenged by the need for educational materials than their Northern counterparts. The South had depended on the North and Europe for texts prior to the war. Once the war began, Northern publications were held in contempt and the blockade curtailed European imports. A movement commenced in the South to produce its own texts, but shortages of materials and the destruction of printing equipment impeded implementation of the plan. What texts were published tended to be extremely propagandistic and of low quality. Marinda Branson Moore of North Carolina was probably the most audacious of Southern authors in this regard. She published *Dixie Primer for Little Folks* (1864) and *Dixie Speller* (1864), which was revised from Webster and adapted for Southern schools leaving out all Yankee phrases and allusions. Her geography addressed the issues of slavery and secession and laid blame for the war on the North.

Southerners regretted having allowed Northerners to teach their children prior to the war. Teaching was a respectable vocation, but women who taught in the South were often pitied for their obvious dire financial situation. With the outbreak of hostilities, the distaste for Northern teachers spread rapidly. Advertisements for teachers soon came to request that applicants be natives of Dixie or from Europe. Wartime dangers eventually suspended many Southern schools, and the task of educating youngsters fell to the mothers.

While common schools were well established by this time, and enrollments grew throughout the war in Northern cities, the development of high schools, slow before the war, faced even more obstacles. The lure of the military, or opportunities made available by army enlistments, siphoned off many would-be students. High schools were essentially an urban institution, founded with the intention of providing opportunity for boys who wished to become merchants or mechanics. Such an education was seen as terminal. Boston, a leader in educational matters, did not open a high school for girls until 1855. Although some Northern areas required larger cities to establish high schools, most people felt that this was a form of higher education and should not be part of the legal public school system. By 1860 there were 300 high schools in the United States, 100 of which were in Massachusetts.

College enrollments also suffered as idealistic young men rushed to join the forces of their cause. Caroline Cowles Richards listed in her diary a number of young men who talked of leaving college and going to war. She described a rally at the Canandaigua Academy in New York and detailed how the captain drilled the Academy boys in military tactics on the campus every day. She also noted that men were constantly enlisting. Southern colleges had the additional complications of the loss of funding, physical destruction from battle, and conversion to hospitals, barracks, and headquarters.

College studies were heavily classical. Students read Latin and Greek from Livy, Cicero, Homer, Plato, and others. As in primary school, recitation was the most common form of instruction. Work in the sciences, which covered physics and astronomy, with some chemistry and geology, consisted mostly of lectures along with occasional laboratory demonstrations. Mathematics explored geometry, trigonometry, and calculus and encompassed memorization of rules with some effort to apply them to problems. Rhetoric students studied composition as well as speaking. Other studies included philosophy and logic.

The year 1862 was an important one for education. The Morrill Act passed through the U. S. Congress, establishing the land grant colleges. It was also the year in which Washington, D.C., made the first provisions for so-called Negro schooling. While the effects of both of these events may have been felt more after the war, they nonetheless show an extremely positive federal attitude toward education, even amid the turmoil of war.

It has been estimated that at the outbreak of the war only five percent of slaves could read. As federal troops occupied an area and set the slaves free, many former slaves established schools to help others prepare for freedom. Often Union commanders occupying an area mandated the creation of such schools or allowed their creation by Northern missionaries. These practices led to the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, through which the federal government took a formal stance toward the education of former slaves. Northern teachers who traveled to the South during the war suffered tremendous hardships. They were deeply resented by Southerners, who commonly refused them any accommodations, and overworked by the

Northern agencies that sent them. What passed for schoolrooms were often worse than the most desolate of Northern facilities.

While the North provided for the education of some free blacks, the idea of racially integrated schools was vehemently opposed. When before the war Prudence Crandall attempted to integrate her fashionable Connecticut school for girls, the white students were quickly withdrawn by outraged parents. Crandall herself was insulted, threatened, and stoned. In the interest of the safety of her students, she was forced to acquiesce. Some common school systems established schools for minority groups such as Amerindians and free blacks. Considering the inadequate support many regular schools were given, one can imagine the facilities that would have been provided when a separate school was established for a minority group. An observer of a Colored School remarked that although the black pupils were progressing, if the same facilities be afforded to them, which are given to the children in other schools in the borough, they would soon compare favorably with them, not only in the lower levels, but also in the more advanced departments (Volo and Volo 1998, 275–80).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

LITERATURE

Literacy

Literacy was quite high in America. In the South at least 70 percent of the white male population could read, and in the North the ability to read may have run as high as 90 percent. What people read during the war was dependent on what was available. In the Northern urban centers there was an almost unlimited amount and variety of reading material, but Southern civilians had their literary choices disrupted not only by the vagaries of the war, but also by the blockade. Newspapers printed what was available. Confederate battlefield heroes and other men of prominence were given front-page treatment. The boredom of battle reports, advertisements, and political tracts was broken, for example, when the personal letters of General George A. Custer to a young woman were captured. The Richmond papers printed them and provided some spicy reading for the ladies.

Books were read, reread, and loaned among friends and acquaintances. Many women and men turned to instructive reading, spending time with books on history, geography, painting, foreign languages, surveying, and needlework. A number of books were available on etiquette, manners, propriety, the rearing of children, husbandry, and oratory. There was a renewed interest in the Bible and religious tracts, the plays of Shakespeare, and the novels of Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, and James Fenimore Cooper.

Prior to 1820, English texts, less expensive and more fashionable, had almost closed the literary market to American authors. The emergence of a new popularity of reading and writing among the middle class underpinned a new national interest in publishing and professional authorship. This circumstance was further fostered by the need to while away long hours of boredom created by the lack of normal social activities brought on by the war. Four types of reading material have been identified as popular with Civil War era readers: religious reading, purposeful (or instructive) reading, newspaper and magazine reading, and reading for escape. These categories, while somewhat arbitrary, can serve to describe the majority of the printed materials sought by nineteenth-century readers (Kaser 1984, 3).

Northern tastes in literature dominated the American publishing industry, and only a few Southern writers like Paul Hamilton Hayne and Henry Timrod could boast a national following. Much of Southern writing was dedicated to pro-South apologies or tales featuring local color that did not tempt readers from other regions. Moreover, the majority of publishing houses, type manufactories, paper mills, and book binderies in the country were located in the North.

—*James M. Volo*

The Novel

Beginning in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the novel, the most popular form of escapism, was found to have a growing acceptance and appeal among the general reading public. Middle- and upper-class women have long been recognized as the chief consumers of this literary form. Fictional characters possessed a remarkable ability to influence nineteenth-century readers. Uncle Tom, Topsy, Ivanhoe, Hawkeye, Hester Prynne, and Ebenezer Scrooge were deeply familiar characters to a society that read as much as nineteenth-century Americans did. These characters often seemed to become nearly as real and as influential to the reader as actual friends and relations.

So great was the popularity of the novel that it drew criticism. As late as 1856 the state of New York recognized the necessity of excluding from all libraries "novels, romances and other fictitious creations of the imagination," including a large proportion of the lighter literature of the day. "The propriety of a peremptory and uncompromising exclusion of those catch-penny, but revolting publications which cultivate the taste for the marvelous, the tragic, the horrible and the supernatural . . . [is without] the slightest argument." Librarians and school officials expressed an obvious disgust for works dealing with "pirates, banditti and desperadoes of every description." The novels of Camden Pelham, Augusta Jane Evans, Edward Maturin, Matthew G. Lewis, and Ann Radcliffe were all identified as having "an unhealthy influence upon the soul" that should be avoided (Volo and Volo 1998, 205).

The "Pelham novels" were the works of Camden Pelham, who wrote *The Chronicles of Crime* (1841), a series of memoirs and anecdotes about British criminals. They were illustrated by H. K. Browne, the famous illustrator of Dickens' works who went by the pseudonym "Phiz." The historical novels of Irish American author Edward Maturin were particularly steeped in the romantic. They included *Montezuma, the Last of the Aztecs* (1845), a brilliant, if overly impassioned, history; *Benjamin, the Jew of Granada* (1847), set in fifteenth-century Moslem Spain; and *Eva, or the Isles of Life and Death* (1848), a romance of twelfth-century England. One of his more fiery books was *Bianca* (1852), a story of a passionate love between a woman from Italy and a man from Ireland (Volo and Volo 1998, 205).

Many novels were written by women in this early period. Women who practiced the profession of letters seem to have been viewed with less disapprobation than those who became teachers, nurses, or lawyers. Several women were acclaimed in the Southern press for their published work. The great sensation of the Southern literary world during the war was a novel by Augusta Jane Evans, published in 1864 and entitled *Macaria, or Altars of Sacrifice.* The author dedicated this novel, about a pair of heroines sacrificing their romantic love for dedication to the cause, to the Confederate forces.

The works of the English novelist and social commentator Charles Dickens were widely read in America. In Dickens's very popular works both sections of the country found some character, situation, or condition that seemed to bolster the very different views of modern society Americans held. Many social reformers, like Dickens himself, championed the cause of the poor. Nonetheless, Dickens was generally unconcerned with the economic aspects of social reform, choosing rather to deal with an increased appreciation of the value of the human being. Ignorance, for him, was the great cause of human misery. In 1843 he gave a speech in the city of Manchester in which he pleaded for an end to the ragged schools that had been set up by well-meaning but untrained volunteer teachers to give England's poor children the rudiments of an education. Dickens proposed that the surest improvement in the nation's future was tied to a public investment in education sponsored by the government.

Dickens's stories emphasized the need to change traditional ways of thinking. But many in the South misread Dickens's message and saw the misfortune, destitution, and disease that fills his works as characteristic of all urban life. Modern urban life was the great evil haunting the romantic domains of the Southern imagination. Dickens's novels, Southerners argued, mirrored the inevitable bleak future of America if Northern concepts of social progress continued to be implemented as English ones had for decades without noticeably improving society.

Southerners despised such ambiguous social remedies as the poorhouses and the workhouses that filled Dickens's pages. The debtors' prison of *Little Dorrit* (1857) and the orphanage of *Oliver Twist* (1838) were obviously not sufficient to solve the social ills of an urban society. Southerners were left with a portrait of cities, like those of the North, veritably teeming with the exploited masses from which they chose to be separated. Apologists for the Southern way of life proclaimed that Scrooge's treatment of Bob Cratchit in *A Christmas Carol* (1858) emphasized the abuses possible in an age governed by the "work for wage" system that so lacked a sense of personal involvement and family dedication. By their own reckoning the personal responsibility many Southerners felt toward their neighbors, their workers, and even their slaves seemed noble in contrast to the socially anonymous caretaking for the unfortunates found in Dickens's works.

The most popular book of the war period was by Victor Hugo titled *Les Miserables* in 1862. This was closely followed by Alfred Lord Tennyson's 1864 narrative poem *Enoch Arden,* in which a shipwrecked sailor returns home to find that his wife, thinking him dead, has remarried. Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* novels were immensely popular. Their theme of the Scottish struggle to throw off the dominance and oppression of the English served as an analogy for the position in which the South saw itself with respect to the North. Scott's use of romantic characters, lords and ladies, knights in armor, and grand estates was particularly resonant with the Southern image of itself. So familiar was Scott's work to Southerners that in later years Mark Twain only half-jokingly blamed Scott for causing the Civil War.

Second only to Scott's in popularity were the American adventure novels of James Fenimore Cooper. Although his first novel was poorly accepted by American readers, largely because it imitated the British form, Cooper's second work, *The Spy,* published in 1822, was an outstanding success. Cooper's subsequent novels emphasized American manners and scenes as interesting and important. Still, many Americans considered novels to be "trivial, feminine, and vaguely dishonorable" because they appealed to the emotions and aroused the imagination. Nonetheless, Cooper found that there was a great demand for adventure tales derived from the Revolution, and his writing was sufficiently manly and moral to find acceptance by a wide audience (Volo and Volo 1998, 208).

Like Scott, Cooper promoted a social vision of a stable and genteel society governed by its natural aristocracy, "perpetuating property, order, and liberty" as represented by a reunited American gentry. That this view resonated with the Southern image of itself would have upset Cooper, with his very Northern attitudes. *The Pioneers* (1823), Cooper's third book, was dedicated to the proposition that the American republic, poised on the verge of "demagoguery, deceit, hypocrisy, and turmoil," could be transformed into a stable, prosperous, and just society. Although the theme of "reconciliation...on conservative terms" was almost three decades old, Cooper's novels were very popular with the soldiers, mainly because of their masculine adventure themes, and were often found among their most prized possessions. Dog-eared copies circulated through the camps and were often read aloud around the campfire to eager audiences (Volo and Volo 1998, 208).

Numerous American authors followed the success of Scott and Cooper, though not with equal fame at the time. These included James Kirk Paulding, John Pendleton Kennedy, William Gilmore Simms, and others. Nathaniel Hawthorne, convinced that most American literature ran too close to the British style, devoted himself to a uniquely symbolic and allegorical form. *The Scarlet Letter,* published in 1850, was certainly familiar to American readers, and its author was considered a literary giant. But Hawthorne's persistent dark emphasis on guilt and sorrow ran counter to the popular tastes and religious sentiment of Americans at mid-century. In 1851 and 1852, respectively, he published *The House of the Seven Gables* and *The Blithedale Romance.* This last was a study of failed utopian efforts to improve society.

Although soldiers were quick to write home about finishing *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839), *The Pickwick Papers* (1836), *The Deerslayer* (1841), *Ivanhoe* (1820), or other works of obvious quality, they also read a great deal of low-quality material. Many of these works have been identified. They include such masculine titles as *Con Cregan, Gold Friend, The Quadroon of Louisiana, Son of the Wilderness, Scar Chief the Wild*

Halfbreed, *Wild West Scenes*, and *Our Own Heroes*, but also more popular and seemingly unmanly romances such as *Lady Audley's Secret*, *The Mystery*, *Macaria*, and *Louisa Elton*. This fact helps to point out the potential influence that literature of all kinds had on the population.

Soldiers, "burdened by huge blocks of time during which they have nothing to do but wait," were suddenly possessed of an abundant amount of time to read, which "had previously been in short supply to American men." Of the five most common leisure-time camp activities—individual foraging, gambling, sleeping, talking, and reading—only reading was seen to be "a positive force" for the improvement of the troops (Kaser 1984, 18, 36).

American books, as opposed to British ones, were also in large supply for the first time during the war. In 1834 fewer than 500 titles were published in the United States. By 1862 this number had grown to almost 4,000. By coincidence the first dime novels were published in June 1860. These were inexpensive paperbound adventure stories. The first title, *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter,* by Ann Stephens, makes it abundantly clear that this was escapist literature of the lowest class. Publisher Irwin P. Beadle's dime novels and their many imitators initiated a whole era of cheap publishing just eight months prior to the war.

At the time there were also a number of distinguished American authors of an age to serve in the field and provide a firsthand professional description of the face of war. Theodore Winthrop had written a number of successful books prior to the war, and he volunteered to serve. Unfortunately, Winthrop was killed in one of the first engagements of the war at Great Bethel in June 1861.

Another young author distinguished before the outbreak of hostilities was John W. De Forest. From 1851 through 1859 De Forest wrote several books, including the *History of the Indians of Connecticut* and the novels *Witching Times*, *Oriental Acquaintance*, *European Acquaintance*, and *Seacliff*. De Forest went to war as a captain with the 12th Connecticut Volunteers. He worked simultaneously as a war correspondent, and many of his battlefield reports were printed by *Harper's Monthly*. In these De Forest shared the simple truth of life in the army and on the battlefield. In 1864 he published *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty,* a novel of the effect of occupation on the South.

The enormous hunger for reading material in the camps was supplied to some extent by social and religious agencies, which recognized the need. In part the soldiers and their comrades found their own supply of reading material, but both armies were largely at the mercy of outside sources for their books and newspapers. Much of the work involved in providing books to the troops was done by the U.S. Christian Commission, which supplied both religious and secular reading material. Almost one million Bibles were distributed to the troops, and more than 30,000 other volumes were circulated through a system of almost 300 portable libraries. Each contained from 70 to 125 volumes that were transported and stored in wooden, shelved boxes about three feet square. Many of the books were printed in smaller than standard size and included classical titles as well as history, poetry, science, philosophy, and religion. The Confederate Bible Society and the South Carolina Tract Society provided religious works for the Southern troops, but the South had no system of portable libraries (Volo and Volo 1998, 211).

Juvenile Literature

From the first landings of English settlers in America, youngsters were expected to read the Bible, do their lessons from their schoolbooks (if there were any), and read little less in the way of entertaining literature. Had they chosen to read for diversion, there was little else available in any case. Nonetheless, several publications surfaced during the century to attempt to fill the gap between dry religious tracts and scandalous romance novels. The Rev. Joel Hawes, like Lydia Child, advised the young to avoid novels, but he went even further suggesting that a young person's character could be "ruined by reading a single ill-advised volume." This, of course, was blatant hyperbole, but Hawes confessed that one book, "wisely selected and properly studied" could "do more to improve the mind, and enrich the understanding, than skimming over the surface of an entire library" (Volo and Volo 2004, 216).

As early as 1827, a weekly literary magazine was founded in Boston with the purpose of providing what was deemed appropriate reading material for children. Known as *The Youth's Companion,* the magazine remained in publication for more than a century and received contributions from many famous American and European authors including Alfred Lord Tennyson, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Louisa May Alcott, John Greenleaf Whittier, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jules Verne. In 1830, Sarah Josepha Hale published a similar work, *Poems for Our Children,* that included classics such as "Mary Had a Little Lamb." In 1853 and 1854 respectively, Nathaniel Hawthorne published his tales for children: *A Wonder Book* and *The Tanglewood Tales*.

School readers made their first appearance in the classroom during this period. The *Peerless Pioneer Readers* containing stories of interest to children, were first introduced in 1826 by William Holmes McGuffey, and the first of a long list of McGuffey's *Eclectic Readers* was published in 1836. Six readers in this series appeared between 1836 and 1857 with their sales reaching a peak during the Civil War. In 1846, Epes Sargent's *School Reader* made its appearance. Elijah Kellogg's blank verse *Spartacus to His Gladiators* appeared in Sargent's first edition and became a standard exercise in classroom declamation for young students for decades. Literally millions of copies of these readers found their way into schoolrooms and children's nurseries during the remainder of the century (Volo and Volo 2004, 216–17).

—*James M. Volo*

Periodicals

The main means of communicating with the public was the newspaper. New York publisher Frank Leslie produced amazingly moving woodcut illustrations for his *Illustrated Newspaper.* His use of graphics to interpret ongoing news events was a new concept in the American newspaper business that was quickly adopted by other news agencies.

Frank Leslie, whose true name was Henry Carter, had emigrated from Britain in 1848. There he had worked as an engraver for the *Illustrated London News*, which was the first newspaper to employ graphics. In London, Leslie learned the processes for turning pencil sketches into woodcut engravings that could be transferred to newsprint. In 1852 P. T. Barnum, the famed American showman, developed a process by which the sketch was divided into several pieces to be engraved on as many blocks by individual engravers, then carefully assembled into a single printing surface. This speeded processing. Leslie was hired by Barnum as a supervising engraver for the short-lived *Illustrated News*. Leaving Barnum, by 1854 he had set up his own organization and published the first issue of *Frank Leslie's Ladies' Gazette of Paris, London, and New York*, one of the first illustrated fashion magazines in America. This was quickly followed by the *Illustrated Newspaper* in 1855. Leslie employed more than 130 engraving and print artists as well as a substantial number of roving sketch artists.

Frank Leslie introduced a number of illustrated newspapers to American readers: the *Illustrated Zeitung*, a German-language edition aimed at the German immigrant population of the North; the *Budget of Fun*, a whimsical publication featuring cheap fiction; the *Ten Cent Monthly*; the *Lady's Illustrated Almanac*; and the *Lady's Magazine and Gazette of Fashion*. All of these bore his name: Frank Leslie's.

Within four years two independent graphic news weeklies were launched in competition with Leslie's newspaper empire: *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Illustrated News*. Fletcher Harper, the well-financed publisher from Harper and Brothers, actively tried to recruit *Leslie's* artists and engravers, and aggressively tried to exceed *Leslie's* circulation. Leslie provided poor and erratic pay for his artists, many of whom he lost to competitors. By the opening of the war the circulation of the two newspapers were within 10,000 copies of one another, with the *New York Illustrated News* a distant third.

Much of the success of illustrated newspapers and magazines was due to the artistry of just a few brave men who went into the field of battle armed only with a pencil and a sketchpad. Two of the best sketch artists of the period were the brothers William and Alfred Waud. William worked for *Leslie's* and Alfred for *Harper's*. William proved particularly adept at ingratiating himself with the social elite of South Carolina during the secession crisis. Because of the paper's uncommitted stance, wherever Waud traveled he found individuals to be cooperative and helpful. Leslie instructed him to use the utmost care in making his sketches and to avoid giving any indication of political sympathies toward one side or the other. Nonetheless, Waud left *Leslie's* in 1863 to work at *Harper's* with brother Alfred and another fine artist, Theodore Davis.

William Waud's genius and discretion were matched by an army of artists who continued to be employed by *Leslie's*, including Eugene Benson, a young artist who eagerly went to the front to record the visual images of battle; Arthur Lumley, who was hired to follow the Army of the Potomac full time; Henry Lovie, who found his fame in continually sketching George B. McClellan; C. S. Hall and F. H Schell, who recorded the war in northern Virginia; F. B. Schell, who covered the Vicksburg campaign; and Edwin Forbes, who stayed with the Army of the Potomac until 1864 and became *Leslie's* most prolific artist. This 22-year-old artist followed the federal army from 1862. Forbes was not interested in the great generals and battles of the war, but rather in the day-to-day activities and lifestyle of the soldiers. So well drawn were Forbes's sketches that readers often scanned the drawings for familiar faces.

Reporting from the battlefield was exacting and dangerous work. Many artists fell ill with the same maladies that afflicted the troops. Two of *Leslie's* artists were captured and released by Robert E. Lee, and one part-time artist, James O'Neill, was killed during combat. C.E.F. Hillen was badly wounded in the Atlanta campaign. Largely because of the danger, *Leslie's* failed to have a correspondent with Sherman on his campaign to the sea, while *Harper's* artists accompanied the general. Consequently, by 1864 *Harper's* and other Northern journals had surged ahead of *Leslie's* in circulation.

The artists often found it difficult to get their sketches from the battlefield to the engravers, and they sent many that were incomplete when they had the chance. Unfinished sketches of prominent figures in the scene with backgrounds and lines of soldiers roughed in and labeled as "trees here" or "artillery battery here" were often sent off to the engravers to be filled by hands whose eyes had never seen battle. The quality of the sketches was not always reproduced faithfully by the engravers, and in viewing these graphic scenes great care must be taken. What the artist drew was not so much reproduced as copied. In many cases this made the scene more one created by imagination than reality. The results were sometimes unfortunate with details of weapons, uniforms, and topography being incorrect. As a consequence the errors were clearly visible when compared to the photographs coming from the battlefront. Yet the technology for turning photographs directly into newspaper illustrations would not be accomplished during the war, and they too needed to be copied by the same process.

The South had been generally dependent on Northern publishers to print its books and newspapers. In the entire South there was only one newspaper type factory, no facilities for printing maps, and an entire inability to make inexpensive wood-pulp paper. In 1860 a well-illustrated magazine such as *Harper's* or *Leslie's* could not be published in the South. *The Southern Illustrated News* and other papers were often limited to a single sheet of newsprint folded once to create just four pages. These publications made an attempt to mimic *Harper's* and *Leslie's* with crude engravings but were obviously not comparable to the Northern news outlets.

Moreover, the Confederate mails were two to three times more expensive than those in the North, severely limiting circulation. Even soldiers at the front had to pay to have newspapers and mail brought to them, and by 1864 the Confederate postal system had so completely broken down that thousands of personal letters remained undelivered. The inability of the Confederacy to establish and maintain an information system based on the printed word rather than hearsay and word of mouth had no little effect on the deterioration of Southern morale. Nonetheless, patriotic Southerners bombarded their newspapers with so much unsolicited poetry on national themes that some publications began charging to print it. Newspapers like the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* were particularly successful in creating a wide public identification with the stirring events of the winter and spring of 1861 (Volo and Volo 2004, 240–46).

Poetry

A contemporary observer of the antebellum American scene noted that "we have no national school of poetry. . . . We've neither a legendary past nor a poetic present." This observation may help to explain America's fascination with stories of the Revolution like Cooper's, with tales of medieval times like Scott's, or even with whimsical anecdotes of the New York Dutch like Washington Irving's. Yet George Templeton Strong, the upper-class New York City sophisticate who wrote the comment, was clearly mistaken. The antebellum period began a golden age of American poets, which, though interrupted by war, continued throughout the nineteenth century. An anthology of American poets published in 1842 sold over 300,000 copies at $3 a copy. It has been pointed out that each great American poet was also a hyphenated something else. William Cullen Bryant was the period's newspaper editor-poet, John Greenleaf Whittier its abolitionist-poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes its doctor-poet, James Russell Lowell its gentlemen-poet, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow its professor-poet. Each was important in his own area of expertise, but Longfellow would become the great popular poet of the century (Smith 1981, 972).

William Cullen Bryant began life as a lawyer, but in 1814 he published "The Yellow Violet," which combined a praise of nature with a moral principle thereby setting the mode of American poetry for the century. One year later he wrote "Thanatopis" and "To a Waterfowl." He started his life as an aggressive Federalist, became the editor of the *New York Evening Post,* turned Democrat, and ended as an antislavery Republican. Much of Bryant's work exhibited strains of the traditional Puritan ethic: propriety in one's private life, devotion to the task at hand, a deep interest in public affairs, and a faith in the American citizen. Many of his poems engaged the concept of unmourned death, a nineteenth-century preoccupation. Both the devoted Christian and the transcendentalist could read his work with pleasure.

Of all the literary figures of the time, John Greenleaf Whittier, the son of Quaker parents, was the one most closely identified with antislavery. Even William Lloyd Garrison, premiere antislavery activist and newspaper editor, took note of him in *The Liberator.* In the late 1820s, Whittier worked feverishly for several abolitionist newspapers, finally becoming editor of the prestigious *New England Weekly Review.* His early works—*New England Legends in Prose and Verse* and *Justice and Expedience*—urged immediate emancipation for all blacks. In 1846 Whittier published *Voices of Freedom,* a book of antislavery poems. He served as a speaker and lecturer for the cause, and supported the rising Republican Party in the 1850s. His work praised nature and looked to the pleasure of common things. A contemporary, Carl Schurz, described him as "a breath of air from a world of purity and beneficence." Although many of his verses have become mere historic curiosities with the passing of slavery, his rhymes caught the manners and morals of the common people. His famous poem "Barbara Frietchie" was written during the war (Smith 1981, 977).

The works of Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell were almost indistinguishable to the casual reader. Both were Harvard graduates, but it was Lowell who became the leader of their literary circle called the Fireside or Schoolroom Poets. This group included Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, and sometimes Ralph Waldo Emerson. Lowell's work was blatantly moralistic, making him seem conservative by modern standards, but he was hardly considered so in his own time being an ardent abolitionist and temperance advocate. His poem, "The Present Crisis," was written in 1844, and it made a deep impression on Northern audiences. Four years later, Lowell published four volumes: *Poems*, *Fable for Critics*, *The Biglow Papers*, and the *Vision of Sir Launfal*. Of these, only the *Biglow Papers* was political. *Sir Launfal* with its emphasis on the value of heartfelt charity was America's contribution to the Arthurian Holy Grail legend. In 1857, Lowell became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine, and during the war he helped edit the *North American Review*.

Holmes left Boston after Harvard to study medicine in Paris, and he returned to find that the aging frigate *Constitution* was rotting in its mooring. Energized by a report that the heroic ship from the War of 1812 was to be demolished, he penned the immortal poem "Old Ironsides" that appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* in 1830. The poem helped to save the vessel from destruction and prompted its preservation. It quickly became the subject of classroom recitation everywhere. One of Holmes' most famous poems was "The Chambered Nautilus," which drew an analogy between the ever expanding shell of the creature and the need for constant spiritual growth. His work in the decades after the Civil War made his reputation as a poet extraordinary.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was a born storyteller producing romantic tales of far away and long ago much like the other successful authors of the period. He was perfectly democratic in his poetry, and his work needed little scrutiny to make its point. Longfellow held the chair of literature at Harvard. His most popular poems among those available during the period were "The Village Blacksmith," "The Song of Hiawatha," "The Wreck of the Hesperus," and "The Courtship of Miles Standish." When published in 1855, "The Song of Hiawatha" sold 50,000 copies in five months at one dollar a copy. "The Landlord's Tale: Paul Revere's Ride," appeared in Longfellow's *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1863). Written in 1860, this largely inaccurate and romanticized version of Revolutionary history became popular during the Civil War, but it ignored many of the facts of the encounter at Lexington in 1775 including the capture of Revere and the contributions of other alarm riders. The poem became the subject of classroom recitations and American history lessons into the twentieth century. For generations of Americans, Longfellow was their poet, and he lived for three-quarters of a century thereby fixing his place above all the others in the minds of most Americans.

Ironically, though little poetry of value was produced below the Mason-Dixon Line at this time, Southern life served as the inspiration for some of the most original and endearing of American lyrics. Frances Scott Key's "The Star Spangled Banner" is undoubtedly the most famous. The earliest Southern poet considered to be of any merit is William Crafts who celebrated the sporting passion of his native Charleston in "The Raciad" and later penned "Sullivan's Island." William Grayson authored several volumes of poetry, but only "The Hireling and the Slave" (1856) gained any notice because it purported to show the superior condition of the unpaid Southern slave to the paid Northern hireling.

While Southern women were frequent writers of letters and diaries, writing as a profession was not one to which the Southern woman aspired. Few periodicals of the day contained few female contributions even in the area of poetry. One notable exception was Caroline Howard Gilman. Although born in Boston, Gilman spent her adult life in Charleston where she wrote a number of stories, poems, and novels. Her 1837 *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, like other women's writing in the North, was highly sentimental. It told the story of a plantation girl as she grows into womanhood, and was noteworthy as the first Southern work on that theme. Additionally, Gilman founded a children's magazine, *Rose Bud* in 1832.

The literary product of female writers in the prewar period was largely written in private documents that were never intended to be made public In recent years several diaries and journals have been rescued from oblivion. The quality of the writing, the insight provided, and the dedication of the authors comes through to the modern readers (Volo and Volo 2004, 232–34, 250–51).

Regional Literature: The Abolition Press

No discussion of Civil War era literature is complete without mention of the abolitionist press and slave narratives. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was first released in America and Britain as a newspaper serialization like many other works of the period. When Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, the book sold 300,000 copies in America and Britain in one year. Stowe's work was one of fiction; it stressed the evils of slavery and presented a picture of the humanity of the slave and the brutality of slavery. Lincoln supposedly praised it as the "little book that caused a big war." Mrs. Stowe had little personal knowledge of slavery. The factual basis for the story was in part Theodore D. Weld's abolitionist tract entitled *Slavery as It Is: The Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*, which was published in 1839. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was immensely more effective in preaching the antislavery message in the form of a novel than the earlier tract had ever dreamed of being.

The South considered Stowe's work a slander and regarded it as abolitionist propaganda. A Southern woman, familiar with slavery and slaves, wrote that she could not read a book so filled with distortions as it was "too sickening" to think that any man would send "his little son to beat a human being tied to a tree." The same woman goes on to suggest, using other literary references, that Stowe's work portrays as much fiction as Squeers beating Smike in Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby* or the gouging of Gloucester's eyes in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. "How delightfully pharisaic a feeling it must be, to rise up superior and fancy [to] we [who] are so degraded as to defend and like to live with such degraded creatures around us . . . as Legree" (Volo and Volo 1998, 210).

Nonetheless, many Northerners found the passages describing the murderous brutality of Simon Legree indicative of the typical behavior of Southern slave owners. The significance of the story, as of many of the attacks on the institution of slavery, lay in its ability to dramatize and emotionalize the issue of slavery. Writing and speech making on the subject of slavery in particular—and of the Southern culture in general—were becoming increasingly stereotypical, and the stereotypes, even when presented in novels, were taking on a reality in the minds of the people.

The first examples of writing in the formal genres by blacks was seen in the 1820s. Some marginal works appeared as poetry, as did several slave narratives, but the slave narratives that began to be published in the 1830s had the greatest effect and popularity. While the influence of antislavery editors was clearly visible in some narratives, others were clearly the work of the avowed author. Frederick Douglass's 1845 *Narrative* has garnered the most lasting fame. Other significant works were penned by William Wells Brown—America's first black novelist—Josiah Henson, and Henry "Box" Brown. Slave narratives sold very well in the North and abroad supplying sensationalism and sentimentality to an audience who relished both.

From 1845 to 1860, Frederick Douglass was the most prominent black abolitionist. Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself* was filled with noble thoughts and thrilling reflections. Douglass was a slave in Baltimore for more than 20 years; and his book, published by the American Antislavery Society, was replete with the physical abuses of slavery including whippings, rape, unwarranted punishments, and cold-blooded murder, but its emphasis was on Douglass's self-education and liberation as a man. The work appealed to a wider audience of reformers than just those who favored emancipation. Proponents of women's rights, temperance, public education, and immigration reform all found something to stir them in Douglass's work.

Southern readers pointed with incredulity to many of Douglass's childhood memories of the whipping and murder of his fellow slaves and dismissed his work as patently false. Nevertheless, between 1845 and 1850 the book sold more than 30,000 copies, and was regarded by many in the North as a true picture of slavery in Maryland. The reviewer of the *New York Tribune,* himself an abolitionist, praised the book upon its publication for its simplicity, truth, coherence, and warmth.

Emancipation advocates declared that only the great weight of slavery had deteriorated the natural goodness and intelligence that the Negro had brought from Africa. "It has a natural, an inevitable tendency to brutalize every noble faculty of man." Frederick Douglass served as a favorite symbol of the ideally regenerated freeman, and was portrayed as a victim of slavery with a "godlike nature" and "richly endowed" intellect. Douglass was showcased as a naturally eloquent "prodigy—in soul manifestly created but a little lower than the angels" (Douglass 1845, vi). He was a favorite speaker on the antislavery lecture circuit, and hundreds of people flocked to his addresses.

However, Douglass was not satisfied with the limits of such audiences. He reached out to the black community of the North to support their brethren in bondage. One of the more effective means that he used in the 1850s was *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* later called *Douglass' Monthly Magazine*. Unlike the other black papers that were locally popular and short lived, Douglass's work was circulated through 18 states and 2 foreign countries. It had more than 4,000 subscribers and survived for more than 13 years.

Once the war commenced, Douglass argued not only for ending slavery but also for having blacks accepted in white society as equals in law and rights. He agitated constantly for the establishment of black regiments of federal soldiers feeling (optimistically in light of future events) that those who fought to save the Union would find an equal place in it after the war. At first he and other advocates met with stubborn resistance, but finally Union needs led to creating all-black infantry units from among slaves and free-black volunteers. Two of Douglass's sons volunteered for this duty and served with distinction. Ultimately, black troops were placed in combat roles where their performance proved laudable and, at times, heroic.

Born in Kentucky, William Wells Brown was taken by his owner to Missouri in 1816 where he remained a slave under three successive masters. On the first day of 1834 Brown slipped away from a river steamer that was docked at Cincinnati, and, fearing discovery every step of the way, made his way to Cleveland and freedom. Brown thereafter worked in the print shop of Elijah Lovejoy, who was to become the first abolitionist martyr, and eventually turned to the study of medicine. His intellectual development, and literary and oratorical skills, however, made him a stellar candidate for the antislavery lecture circuit. Here he distinguished himself, and was later equally eloquent for temperance movement.

In 1847, the *Narrative of William Wells Brown, Fugitive Slave, Written by Himself* was published. His book was one of the most widely circulated and acclaimed of all the many slave narratives that appeared in this period. This work was followed by *The Anti-Slavery Harp: A Collection of Songs for Antislavery Meetings* (1848). Brown's play *The Escape: Or, A Leap for Freedom* (1858) is acknowledged as the first by a black American writer. His most noteworthy literary effort may well be *Clotel* (1853), the first complete novel published by a black American. There are four editions, and several spellings, of *Clotel*. It was first published while Brown was living in London where he sought safety from the fugitive slave laws. While each of the four versions differs in details, they essentially tell the same melodramatic tale of a beautiful female slave. Even though it contains a scathing rebuke of Southern racial attitudes, the novel endorses integration rather than separatism. Brown was a diverse writer who also produced a collection of letters from his European travels and four notable works on black history. Ultimately, Brown returned to America and was able to practice as a physician. He spent most of the last quarter century of his life practicing medicine in Boston (Volo and Volo 2004, 249–50).

COMMUNICATIONS

Telegraphy

A fundamental revolution in communications was begun in 1844 when Samuel F. B. Morse sent the first telegraph message from Baltimore to Washington. The development of long-distance telegraphy was more important to the history of communications in the nineteenth century than that of the telephone because into the middle of the next century few people in rural areas had telephones in their towns much less their homes. Moreover, many of the advances in science that allowed telegraphy to develop were also crucial to telephony almost a half-century later.

The essential technological advance that allowed Morse to create electric telegraphy was the ability to draw out copper wire at an economical price developed by the British metallurgical industry a decade earlier. Up to that point, electric communication over long distances was simply not feasible, even if the technological challenges of telegraphy had been surmounted earlier. Morse's ability to send a message by electric current over wires many miles apart was done over a decade of research and was built upon the development of the wet cell battery by Italian Alessandro Volta in 1800 and upon the electromagnetic studies of the American scientist Joseph Henry at Princeton in 1836.

Volta had used the natural characteristic of two different metals and an acid to build a voltaic cell or battery. By the time of the Civil War a practical battery made from two different compounds of lead and sulfuric acid was available. A group of these batteries hooked in series allowed the U.S. Military Telegraph, a branch of the federal army, to send a message over 10 miles of wire without repetition from a single wagon fitted with telegraphic equipment.

Joseph Henry—working part time—had increased the size and power of the battery and had invented the first electromagnet, the first electric motor, and the first electromagnetic telegraph—sending a faint signal through a mile-long wire maze arrayed around his laboratory. While neither his motor nor his telegraph were more than laboratory toys, Henry had also devised a system of relays by which a current, made faint by traveling through a long length of wire, might be increased and exactly repeated. This was a pivotal discovery shared by Henry during his meetings with Morse in 1835 and utilized by Morse to make long-distance transmission possible. Henry also suggested in 1843 that Morse's wire could be insulated by stringing it high above the ground from glass knobs fixed to wooden poles. In the same year Morse ran an underwater wire, insulated in a natural material similar to rubber known as gutta-percha, 13 miles from Martha's Vineyard to Nantucket.

The telegraph key used to send the sets of dots and dashes was designed by a partner of Morse named Alfred Vail. It was a simple strip of spring steel that could be pressed against a metal contact to send letters and numerals via a predetermined code. Later models of the transmitting key and the signal receiver were developed about a pivoting lever action that allowed the gap to be more easily adjusted for rapid transmission. Also significant was Morse's consultations with another partner, Leonard Gale, a professor at New York University, regarding electrochemistry. Armed with the discoveries of Volta, Henry, Vail, and Gale, and his own innovations, Morse produced a telegraph that was an immediate success. The 1844 patent application for the telegraph also included an automatic method for recording the dots and dashes on paper. This and the code itself were the only parts of the invention solely attributable to Morse.

Within 10 years of the first telegraphic message, more than 23,000 miles of telegraph wire crisscrossed the country. Newspapers quickly began using the wires to collect news, and the Associated Press and other news agencies set up their own wire services. By 1848 even small communities were reading dispatches from the Mexican War. However, there was no traffic control system for the various independent telegraph companies or even for individual operators within the same company. Several operators might obliterate any meaning among the hundreds of dots and dashes by trying to use the same line at the same time. In 1856, Hiram Sibley founded Western Union, which eventually bought up all the patents for competing telegraphy systems and combined the best features of each into one dependable system.

In 1858, after two attempts, Cyrus W. Field was able to lay a continuous transatlantic telegraphic cable from Newfoundland to Ireland. It worked for some time, and the public reacted with jubilation. However, mishandling of the insulation during the cable's deployment caused the underwater line to fail. Nonetheless, the cause of fault was known and could be addressed, but not before the war intervened.

On the eve of the Civil War telegraph wires connected most Eastern cities, a transcontinental telegraph connected New York to California, and a transatlantic telegraphic cable—although presently silent—stretched from Canada to Europe. The telegraph profoundly affected Americans. It helped develop the American West, made railroad travel safer, allowed businesses to communicate more efficiently, and spread political speeches and ideas across the country in a single day. Yet not everyone was pleased with these advances. When informed of the success of the transatlantic telegraphic cable, Sam Dodd, a lawyer in Franklin, Pennsylvania, stated bitterly, "Life's already too harried. It won't be worth living unless we stop making inventions to annihilate time and space. Why do we have to tie continents together with electric bands?" (Dolson 1959, 59).

Morse was plagued by lawsuits regarding his telegraphic patents. This was a common circumstance among inventors during the period as they sought to claim sole credit for complex inventions. Although Henry consistently backed Morse and frequently appeared in his defense in court, Morse became embittered toward him. This may have been due to the scientific community's recognition of Henry as the first builder of an electromagnetic telegraph. This generally ended the controversy, and Henry went forward to help found the National Academy of Sciences and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. During the Civil War, Joseph Henry served as a science advisor to President Lincoln (Volo and Volo 2004, 52).

Military Signals

Communications were particularly important to the management of a battle when separate parts of the army were spread across miles of war zone. At the outbreak of hostilities both armies lacked a military telegraph system. The Confederate army utilized the existing civilian telegraphic system of the South to issue orders between regional commanders and to communicate with the government in Richmond, and

Abraham Lincoln was known to spend long hours contemplating the war reports in the Western Union office in Washington. However, telegraphy also brought the horrors of battle and long lists of casualties from the front lines of the war almost instantaneously to the parlors of America.

While the Confederacy continued to rely almost solely on flags and civilian telegraph lines for battlefield communications, the Federals established a military telegraph to supplement the older system. The Signal Corps advocated the use of flying telegraphic teams organized around light electric battery wagons that would move with the army, erect telegraph lines, and gain tactical control on the battlefield with the use of dial-type message encoding equipment. The rival U.S. Military Telegraph Service obtained its equipment and personnel from the existing civilian companies and relied on the more common Morse type telegraphic equipment.

The use of flag bearers and drummers remained essential for the maintenance of alignment and the transmission of orders on the company and regimental level; but across greater distances a more effective method of managing the army was needed. During the 1850s the U.S. Army had adopted a wig wag flag system for field communications. This flag system remained the principal means of passing orders and intelligence for the Federals and Confederates throughout the war.

—James M. Volo

HEALTH AND MEDICINE: BATTLEFIELD DOCTORING AND NURSING

When the Civil War began the medical services of the armed forces were almost nonexistent. The federal government began the war with fewer than 130 surgeons and assistant surgeons scattered among its many forts and military posts. Medical officers and their assistants were commonly assigned to individual regiments, and musicians served as stretcher-bearers and orderlies. The ships of the navy each had a surgeon, but the smaller vessels often had only medical orderlies assigned to their complement.

Some of the medical personnel working for the federal government were dismissed for suspected disloyalty in 1860, and many of them served with the Confederate forces. The federal army in January 1861 counted only 98 surgeons and the Confederates a mere 24. With time the lack of physicians corrected itself somewhat as medical men volunteered or contracted for service. A total of 17,000 doctors served on the battlefields and in the hospitals of the Civil War from 1861 through 1865. Only 4,000 of these served the South. At the Battle of Gettysburg, the Army of the Potomac had 650 doctors attached to it to serve over 90,000 men. The 14,000 Union wounded had a mere 105 doctors to care for them once the bulk of the Northern Army—and 85 percent of its doctors—moved on. The Army of Northern Virginia had a less determinate, but certainly smaller, number of physicians to deal with the seriously wounded left behind in its retreat (Patterson 1997, 45). It was not unusual after a battle to find a mingling of medical personnel—friend and foe, blue and gray—busily tending the wounded men of both sides "engaged in the common work of helping the suffering" (Patterson 1997, 86).

When compared to what is known today, medicine was mired in an intellectual wasteland in the nineteenth century. A form of vaccination against smallpox (known as variolation) had been pioneered by Edward Jenner in the eighteenth century and used by the army of the American Revolution, but the true causes of epidemic disease, general infections, and gangrene (putrefaction) were largely unknown. These were the great killers of the Civil War, and the last was particularly deadly among the wounded.

Germ theory had been proposed in France by Louis Pasteur as early as 1856, but it was generally ridiculed by the medical and scientific establishment as unproven and speculative. With sober sincerity, many doctors assigned the cause of infection and epidemic disease to bad odors and miasmic mists. It would take additional research by men like Pasteur and British surgeon Joseph Lister for these theories to be accepted. At the time of America's Civil War, battlefield surgeons often worked under appalling conditions, wore previously bloodstained garments while operating, and failed to wash their hands or instruments between procedures. They often amputated limbs that appeared susceptible to putrefaction even before the infection had appeared as a prophylactic procedure. Postoperative patients often rested in beds with dirty linens that were not changed between occupants, or they were deposited in the fields surrounding the aid stations along with the rows of dead and piles of severed limbs.

Private Rice C. Bull, 123rd New York Volunteers, recorded his experience on the battlefield after being wounded in action. "When I reached the stream the banks were already lined with many dead and wounded. Some had been carried there, others had dragged themselves to the place to die. Many were needlessly bleeding to death [for lack of a personal first-aid kit or tourniquet]. Many died who would have lived if only the simplest treatment had been in the hands of the men themselves. My mind was clear…I knew I could not get to the rear without help, so made no further attempt. Fortunately my canteen had been filled; my thirst had become great and I had some water to wash the blood from my face. During this time the battle on our front continued with unlessening fury.…Looking back I saw a scattered line of the enemy coming toward us on the double quick.…They had to cross around or over the wounded and were cautioned by their officers to be careful not to disturb them more than was necessary. They passed over us carefully, without any unkind actions or words. With us for a time all was quiet. There was nothing to disturb us but the occasional cries and groans of the wounded; not a word of complaint was heard.…Nearly all knew we were not only wounded but were now prisoners.…The enemy's surgeons went among our wounded looking for those that required amputation.…The arms and legs were thrown on the ground, only a few feet from the wounded who lay nearby. As each amputation was completed the wounded man was carried to an old house and laid on the floor. They said they could do nothing at that time for those others less critically wounded.…The condition of most of these was deplorable" (Bauer 1977, 58–60).

There were a large number of so-called contract surgeons serving with the federal army. These doctors had been recommended by the Sanitary Commission and

The surgeon of the Army of the Potomac and other medical personnel treating wounded soldiers, 1862. Courtesy Library of Congress.

served in military facilities during the emergency. These private physicians were a "spoiled lot with little tolerance for personal discomfort and a distaste for sustained labor in the field." The regular army doctors quickly tired of the complaints, and found that private physicians were of little benefit. For their part, the private physicians tended to look down upon the military doctors as second-class practitioners incapable of sustaining themselves in general practice (Patterson 1997, 99). Nonetheless, most of the physicians who volunteered or enlisted in the army (or navy) during the war had little or no surgical expertise. In the antebellum period, surgery was often dangerous or ineffective. Few practicing physicians attempted surgical procedures except for the most minor ailments. Medical colleges offered two-year programs leading to a medical degree, but there were few, if any, organizations overseeing the medical practice. The American Medical Association—the first of its kind to monitor its members—would not be founded for a decade.

A number of surgical manuals were produced through the auspices of the federal government as a temporary solution to this lack of surgical knowledge. Among these were three by Dr. Frank H. Hamilton, professor of military surgery at Bellevue Hospital Medical Center (New York): *A Practical Treatise on Fractures and Dislocations* (1860); *Practical Treatise on Military Surgery* (1861); and *Amputations in Gunshot Fractures of the Femur* (1863). In addition Dr. Samuel D. Gross (Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia) wrote *A Manual of Military Surgery* (1861); Dr. Joseph Javier Woodward wrote the *Hospital Steward's Manual* (1862) adopted by the army for its hospitals; and Dr. Stephen Smith authored *Gray's Anatomy, Descriptive and Surgical* (1862). Many other works were available, but all these titles were available in the Surgeon General's Office throughout the war.

The period from 1830 to 1870 was the heyday of American-made surgical instrumentation. Before this period, and after 1900, most of the highest quality medical instruments available were made in Europe and imported into the United States. During the Civil War, a committee of doctors on the staff of the U.S. Army Hospital Department (including Hamilton and Smith) were assigned the responsibility of selecting the instruments to be placed in federal surgical sets. It was distressing but practical that the field case contained a larger assortment of bullet probes, forceps, and bone saws than the other sets. Confederate surgeons generally used those instruments they had acquired in private prewar practice or those taken or captured from the federal forces.

Prior to the Civil War the U.S. Army had not provided ambulances for the wounded and sick. In 1859 experimental carts were tested on the Western plains and a less than satisfactory two-wheel version was adopted. Not until 1863 did the federal army organize and outfit a formal ambulance corps for the Army of the Potomac. Under General Order No. 85 only four-wheel, two-horse wagons would be used as ambulances. Each ambulance had five men assigned as stretcher-bearers and drivers. Three ambulances were permanently allocated to each infantry regiment, two to each cavalry regiment, and one to each artillery battery. Moreover, two army wagons were designated to carry only medical supplies for each corps, and two more were placed at the division level. Several canvass stretchers with four short legs were provided to each ambulance. This organization was sorely needed, but it fell far short of the real need, as three ambulances and a dozen stretchers were hardly adequate to support a regiment of 1,000 men of whom 100 might become casualties in the first hour of battle.

The use of inhalation anesthesia (either sulfuric ether or chloroform) had been added to the repertoire of military and civilian medicine in 1846 and 1847, respectively. Its introduction had coincided with the advent of the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848, and ether at least had been used under combat conditions in limited cases to relieve the torture of extended surgery. By 1849, ether (compound spirits of sulfuric ether or spirits of nitric ether) was officially issued to U.S. Army medical staff. Chloroform came later, but it was the anesthesia of choice on the Civil War battlefield for surgeons on both sides—Federal and Confederate. Liquid morphine (16 grains per fluid ounce), opium pills (powder of ipecac, or camphor, and opium in five gram pills), and laudanum (tincture of opium in ethyl alcohol) were all supplied in the Civil War surgeon's pannier in moderate amounts—the liquids in 4 to 24 ounce bottles, and the pills in boxes from 20 dozen to 60 dozen.

The overwhelmingly successful application of chloroform during the Crimean War (1854) by French and British military doctors helped to establish it as part of the surgical protocol, and the authors of military surgical manuals written in the 1860s generally endorsed the use of some form of anesthesia. Nonetheless, not all medical professionals agreed. Samuel Gross believed that anesthesia should be withheld from wounded men too bewildered by shock because they felt very little pain in any case. A number of physicians, who had learned their trade in the preanesthesia era, moralized on the duty and privilege accorded to suffering warriors, and they characterized the painful cries of the wounded as music to the ear. Infrequently, a patient died immediately after the administration of anesthesia, and these occurrences were often well publicized in the press. Consequently, a number of patients, including wounded soldiers, refused the use of anesthesia, choosing instead to endure surgery while awake or under the inebriating effects of rum, whiskey, or other liquors (Echols 2007, 5).

Once off the battlefield, the plight of the wounded was complicated by limited medical knowledge, malnutrition, and disease. While American military hospitals were better than those in Europe, they were nonetheless inadequate. Civilian corpsmen, hired by the army at $20.50 per month to staff army hospitals, often proved unreliable. A nursing service, directed by Dorothea Dix and staffed by women, had been established to care for the wounded and sick in the numerous soldiers' rests and regimental hospitals; but the recruitment of nurses was hobbled by the strict moral requirements Dix placed on potential candidates. Women were required to be of high moral character, no less than 30 years of age, plain looking, and unadorned. There was no requirement that they be efficient or capable.

In March 1863, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton established a Corps of Invalids from among the walking wounded and convalescent soldiers of the army to serve as nurses and medical aides. More than 60,000 men ultimately served in the invalid corps. These were scattered randomly among the regiments of the army and wore pale blue coats so that they would not become targets for the enemy. Although only 42 members of the corps were killed in action, more than 1,600 died of the diseases to which they were exposed in the sick wards. The invalid corps concept received little support from the army hierarchy, and General Grant opposed all plans for retaining it as a part of the postwar army.

Thousands of Catholic nuns served as nurses in the military hospitals of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and other cities. Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Mercy, and Sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul were all conspicuous in their unique religious habits. The nuns volunteered to serve without pay even though they were often abused by anti-Catholic hospital personnel and patients. Their patience, skill, and persistence won over a good number of bigots. “My mind was filled with prejudice,” wrote one soldier. “I did not believe that anything good could come from the Sisters. But now I see my mistake all too clearly” (Volo and Volo 1998, 168).

Catholic sisters were “conspicuously neutral” in their attitude toward the war. Confederate hospitals in Richmond, Charleston, Nashville, and New Orleans were also staffed with at least some Catholic nuns. The sisters consistently failed to leave their work when the vagaries of war changed the nature of the occupying force from South to North, and in Vicksburg they suffered the siege, the ensuing bombardment, and the near starvation with the beleaguered of the city. The sisters proved to be expert medical and surgical nurses, as they had experienced service in asylums and civilian hospitals during their long novitiates. A Southern woman noted that the work of the sisters made “all the difference in the world” in the Confederate hospitals of Richmond (Volo and Volo 1998, 168).

A number of civilian organizations helped to fill the need for additional medical care. The Women’s American Association for Relief was closely associated with a number of eminent doctors in New York and furnished medical supplies to the army. Beyond this the U.S. Sanitary Commission made provisions for the relief of the sick, provided ambulances, and cared for the wounded and the dead. Commission representatives oversaw the diet and personal cleanliness of the soldiers in camp, provided housing for white refugee families, and raised money to expand their work. A single Sanitary Commission fundraiser in New York City raised over $1 million. A woman wrote, “The amount realized will no doubt do much toward relieving the poor wounded and suffering soldiers than all the surgeons do. No one can know how much good is done by the Sanitary Commission who is not in the Army” (Volo and Volo 1998, 169).

The South mounted a less formal assault on the medical chaos that plagued the Confederate forces. Fewer than 30 surgeons and surgeon’s assistants from the old army chose to serve with the Confederacy, and wounded or sick men were often left to the tender care of their mates or the local populace. The military hospitals of the South were overwhelmed by the task before them, and wounded men were often shipped home to recuperate under the care of their families. Those who were capable, but still considered invalids, were formed into local militias and railroad guards, rather than hospital orderlies, by the manpower-hungry state governments.

Southern ambulances and stretchers were provided by subscription. A newly painted Confederate ambulance, apparently donated by a well-meaning supporter from Fairfax, was among the early acquisitions of federal pickets in northern Virginia. "This capture was an object of much curiosity around the federal camp near Alexandria. Soldiers stood off and stared at it in awe . . . an omen of what might lie in store for them, this wagon designed for toting the wounded or the dead" (Volo and Volo 1998, 169).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Albin, Maurice S. "The Use of Anesthetics during the Civil War, 1861–1865." *Pharmacy in History* 42, nos. 3–4 (2000): 99–114.

Bauer, K. Jack, ed. *Soldiering: The Civil War Diary of Rice C. Bull.* Novato, CA: Presidio, 1977.

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Casper, Scott E, Joan Chaison, and Jeffery D. Groves, eds. *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Dolson, Hildegarde. *The Great Oildorado, The Gaudy and Turbulent Years of the First Oil Rush: Pennsylvania, 1859–1880.* New York: Random House, 1959.

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself.* 1845. Reprint, New York: Penguin, 1968.

Echols, Michael. "American Civil War Surgical Antiques: The Private Collection of Dr. Michael Echols." http://www.braceface.com/medical/index.html (accessed October 2007).

Freemon, Frank R. *Gangrene and Glory: Medical Care during the American Civil War.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education, A Documentary History.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Johnson, Clifton. *Old-Time Schools and School-books.* New York: Dover Publications, 1963.

Kaser, David. *Books and Libraries in Camp and Battle: The Civil War Experience.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Kelley, R. Gordon, ed. *Children's Periodicals of the United States.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Mason, Philip P., ed. *Copper County Journal: The Diary of Schoolmaster Henry Hobart, 1863–1864.* Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

Mondale, Sarah, and Sarah B. Patton, eds. *School: The Story of American Public Education.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines.* 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930–1968.

Patterson, Gerard A. *Debris of Battle, The Wounded of Gettysburg*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997.
Rutkow, Ira M. *Bleeding Blue and Gray: Civil War Surgery and the Evolution of American Medicine*. New York: Random House, 2005.
Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History of the Antebellum Years*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981.
Taylor, Alan. "Fenimore Cooper's America." *History Today* 46, no. 2 (February 1996): 21–27.
Tebbel, John, and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
———. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Material Life

HOME, SWEET HOME

The nineteenth century was one of tremendous evolution in the material life of the family. The century opened much like the previous one, where the home was a self-contained unit and the homemaker was responsible for virtually all the needs of her family. A wife's domain consisted of her home and the yards surrounding it. The specifics varied—as did a family's economic situation and, to some extent, whether the location was rural or urban. It was the woman's responsibility to manage and direct the economic productivity of her household. This included caring for the children and overseeing the servants. Certainly the scope and nature of the duties of a plantation mistress or the lady of a town mansion differed from those of the frontier woman or a poor farmer's wife, but no matter what her social status, the comfort of a family was directly linked to a woman's skill in the ways of homemaking.

As the century progressed, however, the effects of industrialization brought dramatic changes to the ways of home management. One of the first domains of the housewife to experience change was food production. Prior to industrialization, farm families bartered some portion of their excess food production with tradesmen and others in exchange for services, finished goods, luxury items, and cash. As the nineteenth century unfolded, however, it became increasingly common for a woman to purchase food commodities rather than make them herself, and a cash economy came to dominance in many places. Husbands left the home to earn money that would allow families to purchase what they would have produced themselves. Urban living and industrialization removed people from their food sources transforming many of the former food producers into food consumers.

The nineteenth century path to significant material success lay not in the workshop or on the farm, but in the emerging industries and enterprises of consumer capitalism. Nineteenth-century men looked less to the quality of a man's labor as an indicator of his respectability and more to the nonreligious implications of his financial success. Between 1820 and 1840 wealth made a remarkable statistical redistribution to the top of the social ladder largely due to the crushing effects of overwhelming numbers of poor rural immigrants pouring into the country at the same time that its commercial economy was undergoing a phenomenal rate of expansion.

In some men the drive toward wealth could become excessive or even destructive. The sharing of a man's income, in the form of money or wages, among his children or with his spouse quickly formed a more significant source of men's authority than in former times. Acquisitiveness—in the form of material possessions, fine clothing, a more than modest house, and servants—came to dominate the desires and goals of many American families.

FOOD AND DRINK

Food Technology

The Civil War brought developments that for many would alter the patterns of eating from home cooking to professional cooking, and from country cooking to city cooking. The seeds of these changes had already been sown as the war approached, but the dynamics of the conflict acted to speed their growth during the remainder of the century. The war may have retarded the growth of conveniences for civilians, but when it came to providing food for the armies, war drove the implementation of technological advances. Specifically, three major agents of change were at work: improvement in refrigeration, increased speed of transportation, and industrialization of food processing. These served to vastly increase the variety of foods available to Americans (Volo and Volo 1998, 225).

STORAGE

Food storage in the mid-nineteenth century was a problem for everyone, no matter what their economic status. In addition to recipes for preparing food and suggestions on maintaining the household, receipt books like *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* customarily contained suggestions on topics such as how to restore the flavor of rancid butter. (Miss Beecher advised using chloride of lime.)

Heat is a great villain when it comes to spoiling food. In the absence of practical mechanical systems for making things cold—which did not arrive until the 1870s—the easiest way to keep food from spoiling during warm weather was to use ice. Freshwater ice was cut from frozen ponds in large blocks and kept in structures called icehouses, which were constructed partially below ground. The temperature a few feet below ground rarely rises above 45° Fahrenheit. The ice was then covered in sawdust to help insulate it. Ice would be gathered when it was thickest, generally late January. Shielded from the heat, ice could theoretically last forever, but practically it could be expected to last through October if conditions were favorable. By the Civil War, the icehouse had become an indispensable component of the farm. Meat, poultry, and perishable fruit could be kept in good condition much longer in the cool temperatures of icehouses or iceboxes.

The icebox also gave individual city homes a means of keeping food fresh. In 1850 *Godey's Lady's Book* called the icebox a "necessity of life." First patented by Thomas Moore in 1803, it consisted of one wooden box inside another, insulated by charcoal or ashes, with a tin container at the top of the interior box for the ice. In 1825, Frederick Tudor and Nathaniel Wyeth solved the problem of preserving ice for long periods and made ice a commercial interest. Just prior to the war, Boston families could obtain 15 pounds of ice a day from an iceman for two dollars a month. Ice was harvested from New England ponds and shipped to the South or even to the West Indies. New Orleans increased its demand for ice 70-fold between the 1820s and the beginning of the Civil War. Once the war commenced, the South could no longer depend on this improved source of food preservation (Volo and Volo 1998, 225–26).

MODERN ADVANCEMENT

By mid-century the railroads had become the prime cause of the increasing diversity of food for the American table. Perishables such as milk, oysters, and lobsters were transported by rail to large cities in insulated ice cars or packed in barrels of ice. The speed of the railroads not only augmented the diet, it served to improve the quality of the food. Beef was more tender, more tasty, and less expensive, because the cattle no longer were driven to market on the hoof, and hence they developed less muscle. The cattle were fed on grain shipped via the railroad, thus improving the flavor of the meat. Finally, meat cost less because less weight was lost between pasture and market. A similar situation arose with pork. Before the railroads were built, long legs were a desirable breeding factor in pigs, as the hog was expected to walk to market. With the advent of rail shipping, breeders began to focus on tastier meats and fatter hogs.

The railroads continued to supply the North and Northern troops with fresh meat during the war. Chicago opened its first stockyard in 1865, and its rail connections facilitated the shipment of fresh meat to the entire country. By 1870 meat on the table had taken on many of the characteristics of a epicurean fad or culinary craze even among the middle classes.

The processing and preservation of food had always been a domestic activity until vacuum-packed, hermetically sealed jars were invented by a Frenchman named

Nicholas Appert early in the nineteenth century. In 1825 the first American patent for tin cans was filed. By 1849 a machine was developed that limited the amount of hand labor needed to produce tin cans, further stimulating commercial food processing. The first salmon cannery in the United States was opened in Washington, California in 1864. Salmon and lobster were the first foods to be commercially canned, rapidly followed by corn, tomatoes, peas, and additional varieties of fish. By 1860, five million cans a year were being produced.

In 1863, the fledgling Great Atlantic Tea Company—destined to become the A&P grocery store chain (Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company)—began to sell a line of canned groceries to supplement its tea business. Two famous brand names emerged from the war—Borden and Van Camp. Gail Borden's first efforts at canned foods met with little success, but his canned condensed milk was extremely popular. In 1856, Borden patented a method for making condensed milk by heating it in a partial vacuum. This not only removed much of the water so the milk could be stored in a smaller volume, but it also protected the milk from germs in the air. Borden opened a condensed milk plant and cannery in Wassaic, New York, in 1861. His condensed milk was used by Union troops and its popularity spread. Gilbert Van Camp's pork and beans quickly became a best seller, and he was given an army contract to supply the Union troops.

Federal soldiers returning from the war had become so accustomed to canned foods that many insisted that canned foods be served at home so that they could continue to eat out-of-season products with consistent quality. Americans living in isolated western territories particularly welcomed the profusion of canned foods; prices ranged from $1.00 to $2.25 per can by the mid-1860s. A line from the song, "My Darling Clementine" describes Clementine's footwear as "herring boxes without topses," referring to the oval-shaped fish tins plentiful in mining towns.

Despite these movements toward modern food packaging, the single most important controlling factor of the Civil War era diet remained availability. Those who could afford to pay had wider choices, but even these were limited. For most people, the majority of fresh food choices continued to be governed by region and season (Volo and Volo 1998, 226–28).

FOOD ATTITUDES

Issues of vitamins, salt, fiber, and fat content were virtually nonexistent for most people during the 1860s. *Peterson's Magazine* contained advice from a Dr. Radcliffe who recommended that the mouth be kept shut, and the eyes should be kept open. He explained by that he meant that corpulent persons should eat little food, and that the quantity of sleep should be diminished. Most meals at this time contained meat, which was likely to be high in fat content, and bread in one form or another. Frances Trollope, a visitor to the United States in the 1830s, remarked on the extraordinary amount of bacon eaten in American homes noting that ham and beef steaks appeared on tables morning, noon, and night. Equally astonishing to her was the way eggs and oysters, ham and applesauce, beefsteak and stewed peaches, salt fish and onion were eaten together.

In the early part of the nineteenth century there emerged a number of movements that advocated lifestyle changes such as regular exercise, daily bathing, and proper nutrition. In 1829 in pursuit of the healthful diet, Rev. Sylvester Graham invented a cracker made of unsifted and coarsely ground wheat flour. Graham was an avid vegetarian, who promoted the use of his so-called graham flour for its high fiber content. Dr. James Caleb Jackson created the first breakfast cereal, which he called Granula, and patented it in 1865. Jackson baked thin sheets of dough formed of graham flour, broke them up, and baked the pieces a second time. The resulting cereal was far from convenient. It had to be soaked overnight in milk before it was even possible to chew the dense, bran-heavy nuggets. It was a financial failure embraced only by radical health advocates (Volo and Volo 1998, 228).

DINING HABITS

Middle-class women served as the arbiters of good manners and taste in the dinning room, as well as elsewhere in he household. As the nation shifted from an agrarian to a cosmopolitan urban economy and culture, women's importance as domestic producers in the family economy declined. No longer required to spin and weave, to make butter and cheese, many American women moved into a new sphere, one charged with the maintenance of the moral character of the family. Their new worth as homemakers and domestic engineers, was expressed in terms of their ability to create household environments that would inculcate their children and households with the Protestant values of thriftiness, industry, and sobriety.

Dinner had a tremendous cultural power, shaping not only individuals but also the nation at large. Within the realm of the dining room, middle-class women aspired to nurture gentility, to counter the deleterious effects of the outside world, and to educate family members in the arts of gracious living, self-restraint, and refined behavior. The rules of etiquette played a key role in this process. Eliza Leslie, in her book, *The Ladies Guide to True Politeness and Perfect Manners*, offered advice on a variety of social activities including conversation, manners, dress, introductions, and shopping. She discussed situations at the table, either at home, in company, or at hotels.

Efforts to enforce new standards of gentility and self-restraint at the table extended beyond polite consumption of food into the realm of conversation. Leslie instructed diners to avoid discussions of sickness, sores, surgical operations, dreadful accidents, shocking cruelties, or horrible punishments. Writing in 1864 and sensitive to the issues of the day, she added political and sectarian controversies to her list of topics to shun (Williams 2006, 155–57).

In the midst of such turmoil, ordinary routines helped preserve some measure of normalcy, at least for those on the home front. Every day, families reinforced their ties by breaking bread together, sharing their triumphs and difficulties, and partaking of the basic rituals of family life. These rituals divided their days into predictable segments, at home and at work. Breakfast began the day, with various members departing for scattered destinations, some carrying lunch or dinner pails to school or work, some eating their midday meal out, and some engaging in morning marketing or social calls before returning for luncheon. Family dinner in the middle of the day, once the norm for most American families, was quickly becoming a thing of the past, especially, for those families living in towns and cities. End-of-the-day meals were defined by class. Working-class Americans, especially those of Northern European origin, came home to tea, a meal of tea with milk and sugar plus cold meat, bread or whatever other leftovers or simple dishes might be available. A more hearty working-class meal, called supper, could have included soup, stew, or any of a wide variety of made dishes. For the middle class, dinner had shifted from its traditional midday place to evening. Geography also factored into the mealtime and meal type. Rural families continued to follow eighteenth-century meal schedules long after urbanites had shifted to a more modern system (Williams 2006, 161–62).

COMMON FOODS

Pork was the most common kind of meat, particularly in the Southern diet. Pigs were relatively easy to maintain. They required little space and tolerated a wide variety of foodstuffs, including leavings from food preparation. Pigs did not have to be put to pasture and consumed less feed than cattle to add the same amount of weight. Pork could be easily preserved in a number of ways, including pickling, salting, and smoking, without becoming offensive in taste or texture.

Chicken was important in the South, too. Chickens required little space and turned available reserves of corn and meal into meat; but chicken meat was both difficult to preserve and prone to spoil. Like other domesticated fowl, chickens were generally eaten fresh. They had the additional appeal of being egg producers while they lived.

Lamb, or mutton, was not a popular meat in America. Sheep were kept almost exclusively for their wool, and their value as wool producers far outweighed any worth they had as food. Certainly mutton would be eaten in place of other meats in times of scarcity if it was available, but it was not easily preserved. Moreover, the meat of mature sheep had a strong taste that had to be masked by careful preparation.

Supplements to the diet were often regional. In rural areas, hunters would supplement the family larder by bringing home such victuals as geese, rabbits, squirrels, wild turkeys, partridges, pheasants, deer, and reed birds. Contrary to popular belief, Southerners had no particular predisposition for the taste of opossums, snakes, or woodchucks in their diet. Fish and other forms of marine seafood including clams, oysters, mussels, and eels were eaten in shore communities. Freshwater fish included bass, sturgeon, pickerel, perch, pike, whitefish, and catfish. Fish could be salted or smoked, but much of it was eaten fresh. Oysters were extremely popular. They were eaten fresh but were also pickled, smoked, and canned.

Eggs were another good source of protein. Miss (Catharine) Beecher advised homemakers to preserve eggs by packing them in fine salt, small end down, or by packing them small end down and then pouring a mixture of four quarts of cold water, four quarts of unslacked lime, two ounces of salt, and two ounces of cream of tartar on them. Hard-boiled eggs were sometimes pickled in vinegar.

Vegetables were eaten fresh in season. Only in the very Deep South were they available during the winter. Small amounts of vegetables could be grown in hot frames, which utilized the heat of manure to keep temperatures warm enough to produce year round as far north as Virginia. Vegetables such as beets, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, onions, parsnips, potatoes, radishes, rutabagas, sweet potatoes, turnips, and winter squash were stored in root cellars where the climate allowed. In other areas they were packed in straw and stored in barrels. The straw acted as a barrier to prevent the spread of spoilage to the entire barrel. Carrots were often buried in sawdust boxes. Other vegetables such as corn, beans, and peas were dried and used in cooking. Green corn was preserved by turning back the husk, leaving only the last, very thin layer, and then hanging it in the sun or in a warm room to dry. When it was needed for cooking, it was parboiled and cut from the cob. Sweet corn was parboiled, cut from the cob, dried in the sun, and stored in a bag that was kept in a cool, dry place. Sweet corn was also dried in the husk and then buried in salt. String beans, squash, pumpkin, and, in the South, okra were strung on thread and hung up to dry. String beans were strung whole, while other produce was sliced thinly and dried in strips.

Vegetables could also be preserved by making them into catsups and relishes. Mushroom and tomato catsups were popular. Catsup was the general name given to sauces made from vegetables and fruits. Cabbage was made into sauerkraut. In 1858 John Mason patented the Mason jar with which we are familiar today. These threaded glass jars had zinc lids with threaded ring sealers. They were a welcome improvement for both city and rural homemakers, although many still relied on older methods of sealing jars such as pouring a seal made from molten wax, or tying on leather tops with string (Volo and Volo 1998, 228–29).

FOOD PRICES

Food was still accepted in certain areas of the country as payment in kind. An account book from a doctor in Butler, Illinois, showed that accounts for medical service during the war were paid by a variety of items other than cash. The doctor kept specific records of the amount and price of each item and providing some insight into prices outside of the South. Accounts were settled by "4 3/4 lbs. of pork—.20; 16 bushels of corn—8.00; 7 1/2 lbs. meat—10 cts. per—.75; one bushel of apples—.40; 10 lbs. of beef 4 1/2 cts.—.45; 13 lbs. of honey 15 cts. per lb.—1.95; 50 lbs. flour 4 cts. lb.—2.00; 1/2 bushel potatoes—.75; 350 pickles—2.10" (Volo and Volo 1998, 229–30).

The Effect of War

At the commencement of the war, virtually all of the South's most fertile land was devoted to agriculture. As the war progressed and was continually fought on Southern soil, Southern crops were destroyed. Cornelia Peake McDonald described a visit by federal troops. She reported that they pulled up the potatoes and did not stop after getting enough for dinner, but continued, amid roars of laughter and defiant looks, at her to pull them till all were lying on the ground to wither in the sun. The destruction of the spuds, which were no larger than peas, seemed so wanton that she was provoked beyond enduring.

The war actually provided an impetus to the development of farming in the North. Wheat and corn production soared to meet wartime demand. Pork preservation for commercial use in 1865 was twice that of 1860. An additional boon came in the form of good weather, an event not shared by Europe, which experienced crop shortages during this period. The North was able to sell surplus wheat and flour to Europe, thus earning additional funds that could be invested in the war and contesting with "King Cotton" for diplomatic advantage (Volo and Volo 1998, 230).

Shortages

The war brought about many shortages in the South. A poor system of transportation prevented the Confederacy's small resources from being effectively distributed throughout the South. Furthermore, the blockade of Southern ports caused great hardship. Blockade-runners took tremendous risks and expected tremendous profits. To make the risk worthwhile, they tended to carry luxury items for those who could afford to pay, rather than the staples of daily life for everyone. Prices soared in proportion. In November 1862 Judith McGuire wrote that coffee was $4 per pound, and good tea from $18 to $20; butter ranged from $1.50 to $2 per pound; lard 50 cents; corn $15 per barrel; and wheat $4.50 per bushel. In an April 1863 message to Southerners, President Jefferson Davis urged people to give priority to food crops over cotton and tobacco and to plant corn, peas, and beans. Additional hardships were caused by raids of Northern troops upon individual homes.

In the absence of refrigeration, nineteenth-century homemakers utilized a great variety of practical devices to preserve or store their food. Many had so-called root cellars dug into the ground or basements where temperatures remained relatively cool. One of the many safes used by housewives was the cheese safe pictured here. The doors were lined with fine screens to keep out flies and other vermin while allowing air flow so the cheese wheels could dry. Safes were also used to hold cooked meats and pies. Courtesy James Volo.

Receipt books and newspapers carried suggestions for dealing with the food shortages. When successful replacements were discovered, the revelation was readily disclosed to the public in print and by word of mouth. A handwritten receipt book contained a recipe for rice bread, which McGuire dubbed "Southern Bread," as a way of dealing with the unavailability of flour. It began with one gill of rice boiled very soft. When it was cold, 3/4 lbs. of wheat, one teacup of yeast, one teacup of milk were mixed in and salt was added to taste. After three hours, it was kneaded in enough flour to render the outside hard enough for the oven and baked.

Coffee was a popular beverage, and the blockade of the South made it very difficult to procure. There are reports of Southern soldiers trading with their Northern counterparts for coffee across the lines during times of truce. Parthenia Hague wrote that one of the most difficult tasks was to find a good substitute for coffee. She reported that coffee rose to $30 per pound and from that it went to $60 and then to $70 per pound. Good workmen received $30 per day, so it took two days' hard labor to buy one pound of coffee and scarcely any could be had at that fabulous price.

The best substitute for coffee was said by some to be okra seeds. This was unfortunate because okra became increasingly difficult to acquire as the war progressed and agricultural output diminished. Other alternatives included yams and carrots, either of which would be peeled, sliced, dried, parched, and ground. Acorns, wheat berries, corn, peanuts, sugar cane seed, chicory, beets, dandelion root, cotton seed, and English peas were also used in various conditions of having been browned, parched, burned, and ground. By 1862 Confederate troops had even embraced peanuts as a coffee substitute. The *Confederate Receipt Book,* which was published in 1863 and is believed to be the only cookbook published in the South during the war, contained a recipe for a substitute for coffee that used roasted ripe acorns with a little bacon fat, which was touted as a splendid cup of coffee.

Tea was also a scarce item, but there have always been many satisfactory herbal substitutes for this mainstay. Tea can be made from a wide variety of leaves, roots, and berries. Some favorites included sassafras root, raspberry, huckleberry, and blackberry. Hague wrote in her memoirs of the war that they had several substitutes for tea. Prominent among these substitutes were raspberry leaves. During the blockade, many people planted and cultivated raspberry vines all around their gardens as much for tea as the berries for jams or pies. The leaves were considered the best substitutes for tea. The leaves of the holly tree, when dried in the shade, also made a palatable tea.

Butter was also difficult to obtain because it was largely imported from the North. Many Southern dairy cows had been slaughtered for their meat by invading and local armies and even by some civilians. Judith McGuire wrote in March 1863 that butter was $3.50 per pound in market and other things in proportion. She was resolved to the situation noting that there must be scarcity, particularly of such things as butter, because the cattle had gone to feed the army. Sunflower seed oil was often used as a replacement for butter.

A related casualty in this regard was the want of milk and cream. Judith McGuire wrote milk was so very scarce and high that they only had it once for many months. The *Confederate Receipt Book* gave this solution for the undersupply of cream: "Beat the white of an egg to a froth, put to it a very small lump of butter, and mix well, then turn the coffee to it gradually, so that it may not curdle. If perfectly done it will be an excellent substitute for cream. For tea omit the butter, using only the egg."

Flour, too, was scarce. Prices continued to escalate throughout the war. It was reported that in Richmond a barrel of flour sold for $250 during the closing months of the war. Sarah Morgan wrote in 1862, if anyone had told her she could have lived off corn bread, a few months ago, she would have been incredulous but she had come to the point where she returned an inward grace for the blessing, at every mouthful. She resigned herself to the fact that she would not have a piece of wheat bread until the war was over. Parthenia Hague recalled that bolted meal, when obtainable, made a good substitute for flour, though millers said it injured their bolting cloth to sift the corn meal through it. She reported that nearly every household that sent its grist to be ground would order a portion of the meal to be bolted for use as flour. Such bolted meal when it was sifted through a thin muslin cloth mixed up with scalding water became more viscid and adhesive, and was as easily molded into pie crust with the aid of the rolling pin as the pure flour. She was pleased with the nice muffins and waffles that could be made of bolted meal, and also of a very nice cake made with homemade brown sugar.

Perhaps the distress over the lack of flour is somehow tied to the American housewife's extreme pride in her bread making. Miss Beecher devoted an entire chapter to bread making. She counseled: "A woman should be ashamed to have poor bread, far more so, than to speak bad grammar, or to have a dress out of fashion. . . . When it is very frequently the case that a housekeeper has poor bread, she may set herself down as a slack baker and negligent housekeeper." Commercially produced bread was one area in which modern convenience was strongly resisted until the early years of the following century.

Households that did not produce corn, which could be ground into meal, were often at the mercy of the war economy. Judith McGuire lamented that meal had been bought up by speculators and was selling at $16 per bushel. She prayed that what she called "those hard-hearted creatures" could be made to suffer. Mary A. H. Gray's diary records the lengths to which people would go to obtain, or in this case reclaim, corn. She reported that they spent the day in picking out grains of corn from cracks and crevices in bureau drawers, and other improvised troughs for federal horses, as well as gathering up what was on the ground. In all they gathered about a half bushel.

Salt became a highly prized commodity. Dolly Sumner Lunt Burge describes disguising a barrel of salt, which had cost her $200, as a leaching tub to conceal it from marauders. In 1862, Union forces destroyed a large saltworks on Chesapeake Bay, causing difficulty for individuals and salt pork producers alike.

Burge wrote: "The obtaining of salt became extremely difficult when the war had cut off our supply. This was true especially in regions remote from the sea-coast and border States, such as the interior of Alabama and Georgia. Here again we were obliged to have recourse to whatever expedient ingenuity suggested. All the brine left in troughs and barrels, where pork had been salted down, were carefully dipped up, boiled down, and converted into salt again. In some cases the salty soil under old smokehouses was dug up and placed in hoppers, which resembled backwoods ash-hoppers, made for leaching ashes in the process of soap-manufacture. Water was then poured upon the soil, the brine of which percolated through the hopper was boiled down to the proper point, poured into vessels, and set in the sun, which by evaporation completed the rude process. Though never of immaculate whiteness, the salt that resulted from these methods served well enough for all our purposes, and we accepted it without complaining."

Resourceful people living near the shore could obtain salt by evaporating ocean water. Sometimes coltsfoot, a wild plant that gave a salt-like flavor to foods, was used in cooking. But lack of salt posed problems other than taste preference. Salt was used extensively as a meat preservative. Parching fish and meat Indian style was only a stopgap expedient. Meat could also be cured in a brine using a lesser amount of salt than other methods. Even the availability of meat to preserve was a problem. Once Vicksburg fell in 1863, Union forces had control of the Mississippi, virtually cutting off the supply of western beef to the Confederacy.

Soda, or baking soda, used as a leavening agent, was also a victim of the blockade. Parthenia Hague wrote that it was discovered that the ashes of corncobs possessed the alkaline property essential for raising dough. She noted that it was best to select all the red cobs as they were thought to contain more carbonate of soda than the white cobs.

Sugar, too, was difficult to acquire. Even though the South possessed its own sugar plantations, most were in federally occupied Louisiana for most of the war. Honey, molasses, and sorghum were used in its stead. Parthenia Hague told the story of a woman who even used a surplus of watermelon to make sugar and syrup. The deficit of sugar also inhibited the making of jellies, jams, and preserves. Red corncobs were again found to be useful. The cobs were boiled, and the juice was thickened into syrup. The *Confederate Receipt Book* gave this recipe for cider jelly: "Boil cider to the consistency of syrup, and let it cool, and you have a nice jelly." When apples to make vinegar were in too short supply, Southerners turned to molasses, honey, beets, figs, persimmons, and sorghum. The *Confederate Receipt Book* even had a recipe for "Apple Pie Without Apples" that was made with one small bowl of crackers, soaked until no hard parts remain, one teaspoon of tartaric acid, some butter, a little nutmeg and sweetening to taste.

Apparently not all Southerners were subject to deprivations. Mary Boykin Chesnut recorded the menu of a luncheon to ladies given by Mrs. Jefferson Davis in January 1864. It included gumbo, ducks and olives, supreme de volaille, chickens in jelly, oysters, lettuce salad, chocolate jelly cake, and claret soup champagne.

The U.S. Sanitary Commission was a Northern civilian organization that coordinated widespread war relief. Funds were raised through "Sanitary Fairs," which sold homemade pies and jellies and held raffles for quilts and other homemade crafts, and from direct solicitation. Children were recruited to solicit funds door-to-door and to collect nonperishable groceries such as jellies or crackers from merchants to be sent to soldiers at the front. In some farming communities, families set aside portions of their land for the production of easily stored crops, such as potatoes, which were delivered to the Sanitary Commission. Schools held "onion" or "potato" days to collect produce.

Dietary kitchens staffed with dietary nurses were established by the Sanitary Commission in 1862 as a result of the efforts of Annie Wittenmyer. She worked very hard to see that a system was developed to feed wounded soldiers. Women volunteers had been scrounging milk, eggs, and vegetables for wounded soldiers in field hospitals who were too ill to eat the standard pork-and-beans field ration. Wittenmyer's system established the means for providing appropriate meals for the men.

Similar efforts in Southern communities were unable to match the organization and productivity of the North. Southerners were equally sympathetic to the plight of their soldiers, but the South lacked the efficient transportation and resources necessary for mounting such endeavors (Volo and Volo 1998, 230–35).

Feeding the Troops

Hundreds of officers and men were engaged in the day-to-day duty of providing food for the troops. The overall responsibility fell to the Subsistence Department in Washington, headed by a commissary general who contracted for the various types of rations with private manufacturers or packers. The foodstuffs were then apportioned to the respective army commissaries, and by them, in turn, to the corps, brigade, and regimental commissaries. They were then distributed to the troops. Washington continued, from the beginning of the war until its end, to let contracts to private suppliers for all of its rations in this manner.

The government rations distributed to the troops varied slightly with the season and the availability of local supply. Nonetheless, a complete list of all the possibilities is short. These included hardtack, coffee, sugar, soft bread, flour, rice, cornmeal, dried peas, dried beans, desiccated vegetables or dried fruits, fresh or dried potatoes (called chips), salt pork, bacon or ham, pickled beef (called salt horse), fresh meat, and occasionally onions, molasses, salt, pepper, and vinegar.

With only a rudimentary understanding of balanced nutrition, it is a wonder that any soldier survived the war on such a diet. However, the standard ration provided a daily average of over 3,000 calories, heavy in carbohydrates and fats, but providing few vitamins or complete proteins.

The vitamin deficiencies and the lack of protein could have been devastating. An unrelieved diet of cornmeal and salt pork, while sufficient in calories, would ultimately produce such diseases as scurvy and pellagra. Fresh meats will provide protein but cannot afford sufficient protein to make up the deficit alone. Both beans and cornmeal are high protein sources but are individually incomplete in amino acids; yet, in combination they are complementary and provide all the essentials needed to sustain health. Rice and peas are another complementary pair with similar characteristics. In offering these pairs among a small variety of foodstuffs, the government unwittingly supplied a nearly complete diet to its soldiers, yet the unresolved question of a lack of essential vitamins had serious health consequences that cost many lives.

The lack of variety in the soldiers' diet resulted from the need to keep the rations from spoiling while they were being shipped and stored for use. In the absence of refrigeration, meats, if not freshly slaughtered, had to be salted or pickled; and breads, vegetables, and fruits, if not for immediate consumption, had to be dried. Salting and drying retarded the growth of bacteria, as did pickling, smoking, and sugar curing. With the exception of meals aboard naval vessels, there is an amazing absence from the records of cheese being issued as a regular part of the ration.

There were two standard rations in the federal army. One was the *camp ration*, and the other was the *campaign* or *marching ration*. The *camp ration* tended to be more diverse, and for one soldier in the federal army consisted of meat (1 1/4 lbs. of salted or fresh beef, or 3/4 lb. of pork or bacon); and bread (1 lb., 6 oz. of soft bread or flour, or 1 lb. of hardtack, or 1 1/4 lbs. of cornmeal). He also received approximately 1 1/2 ounces of dried vegetables, rice, dried potatoes, peas, or beans. Fresh potatoes were to be had, but fresh vegetables were rare and allotted in only very small quantities. Salt and pepper were allowed in minuscule quantities. About 1/2 ounce of vinegar was provided for each man daily to help prevent scurvy. About the same amount of molasses was allowed when available. The *marching ration* consisted of 1 lb., or 8 crackers, of hard bread; 3/4 lb. of salt pork, or 1 1/4 lbs. of fresh meat; sugar, coffee, and salt. The beans, rice, and so on, were not issued to the soldier when on the march, as he could not carry them.

When fresh meat was not available the enlisted men were provided with a basic preserved meat ration of pork—boiled ham, salt pork, or bacon being most common. The South quickly realized that it would experience a meat shortage, and Richmond established an extensive government pork-packing program in close proximity to the rail and river transportation of Tennessee. These plants and their associated salt works were constantly in danger of capture or destruction by federal forces.

Federal forces also relied heavily on preserved pork. Pork's prominence as a foodstuff, when compared to preserved beef, did not lie in any intrinsic nutritional value, although the high fat content provided an excellent source of caloric intake. It was simply easier to preserve than beef and tasted better than pickled beef, which was so poor and unpalatable that the soldiers called it salt horse. No effort was made to comply with dietary restrictions due to individual medical or religious preferences.

In camp boiled ham was often pulled from a barrel into which it had been packed for some months in a thick covering of grease that came from the boiling. The meat came out in long, unappetizing strips, and when brought to the surface the sound of the suction was like the noise made when one pulled his feet out of Virginia mud. The grease was scraped off and saved by many soldiers to be used as an ingredient in other recipes. The meat could be fried, roasted, or eaten sliced between two pieces of soft bread or with hardtack.

Salt pork was easy to make and had been used since colonial times as a mainstay of the diet for soldiers and sailors. Salt pork was a favorite among veteran soldiers, who sometimes declined fresh beef for a good piece of salt pork, but recruits had to learn to ignore its overwhelmingly salty flavor and to appreciate its nutritional qualities. The amount of salt used in its processing was staggering, but salt pork could last, unspoiled, for a long time in a sealed barrel. However, once a barrel was opened, the meat had to be used quickly or it would spoil.

HARDTACK

The staple ration of the federal army was a square cracker, 3 1/8 by 2 7/8 inches, with small holes in its top, known as hardtack. Referred to as both army bread and biscuit, it was a very dry, incredibly hard product without leavening, and bore little resemblance to either. The army was not being purposely cruel to its soldiers by giving them hardtack to eat. Hardtack was not a new product. It was used as ship's bread for centuries. The dryness and hardness were functional characteristics. It was dry when packaged to keep the cracker from spoiling, and hard so it could be carried in the soldier's haversack without crumbling. Southern soldiers relied on cornbread, but they ate hardtack when it was captured from the enemy.

COFFEE

The importance of coffee to the Civil War soldier cannot be underestimated. Their diaries and letters are full of reverent references to the hot brown liquid. Coffee was included in the official federal ration, as was sugar to sweeten it. Condensed milk of two brands, Lewis's and Borden's, and a dry powder called the Essence of Coffee were available through the sutlers.

Federal soldiers rarely had trouble getting their regular daily ration of 1 1/2 ounces of coffee beans. Confederate soldiers showed an equally intense liking for coffee, but due to the effectiveness of the blockade, they often had to do without coffee or find a coffee bean substitute. Soldiers resorted to the same substitute materials available to civilians to make coffee or to stretch a limited supply. The quality of this substitute coffee was questionable, and Confederates would take great risks to trade scarce Southern tobacco for good Union coffee by trading with the enemy pickets across the lines.

The Army of the Potomac used 80 tons of coffee and sugar every week. Nonetheless, federal soldiers were very concerned lest they somehow be deprived of even the smallest part of this coffee and sugar allowance, and steps were taken to ensure that favoritism in apportioning the ration was thwarted. The appropriate amount having been issued on a company level, the orderly sergeant would place a gum blanket on the ground and make as many piles of coffee beans and sugar as there were men to receive the ration. Great care was taken to ensure that the piles were uniform. To prevent any charge of unfairness, the sergeant would turn his back, and an assistant would point to a pile randomly. The sergeant would call out the company roll by name, and the named man would retrieve his allowance. The veteran soon learned to place both the sugar and the coffee together in a cloth bag and scoop out the two together without ceremony, but some men preferred to keep them separate and use each in proportion to their taste.

Coffee was furnished to the soldier as green beans from the sack. Roasting was done in a camp kettle, which often meant the beans were burned rather than roasted. To grind the beans the soldier seized his musket by the barrel and used the butt as a tamper. The ground coffee more properly should have been called cracked coffee, as many of the grains were halved, more quartered, and the rest of a very coarse texture.

The army recognized the stimulant value of coffee, and each soldier was issued a tin dipper in which to boil his portion. This was a large metal cup holding between a pint and a quart of liquid. The ground coffee was placed directly into the water without a filter of any sort. Such utensils soon disappeared, to be replaced by a tin can with an improvised wire handle. Astonished recruits were amazed to see veteran soldiers holding this improvisation on the end of a stick, boiling their coffee at the campfire in happy security. For those who recoiled at resorting to cast-off tin cans, sutlers offered an improved device for boiling coffee with a hinged lid and a stout wire handle by which it might be hung over the fire. The price of such an article could strain the financial resources of a single soldier, but several men might pool their money to purchase one and take turns carrying it.

The Civil War soldier would not be denied his coffee. If an early morning march was intended, and fires were permitted, the march was preceded by a pot of coffee. If a halt was ordered in mid-afternoon, coffee was made. Coffee-making equipment was generally carried strapped to the outside of the kit where it was easily accessible. The movement of an army could be heard from far off by the resultant rattling of countless coffee boilers and tin cups. So significant was this noise that special orders were frequently issued prior to stealthy movements of the army to place these items inside the haversack or otherwise muffle them. At the end of each day's march, as soon as the army began to bivouac, small groups of men would invariably make the preparation of coffee their first task. A supper of hardtack and coffee followed, and then each man would roll up in his blankets for the night.

In camp, company cooks were issued large coffeepots holding several gallons. Coffee was available at meals and between meals; and men going on guard and coming off guard drank it at all hours of the night. The U.S. Christian Commission made the rounds of the camps with coffee wagons made from old artillery limbers nicknamed by the troops "the Christian Light Artillery." The coffee wagon was provided with compartments for ingredients and three large coffee boilers that could produce 90 gallons of coffee every hour. Whatever grumbling there may have been about the quality of the other rations, the opinion concerning the coffee was one of unqualified approval.

COOKWARE

Initially the government in Richmond ignored the need for the wide-scale provision of camp equipment, and little beyond firearms, bayonets, and canteens was issued to Confederate troops. On the other hand, the federal authorities encumbered their troops with several standard items of camp equipment, including kettles, mess pans, and coffeepots. A set of metal crutches with a sturdy crossbar served to hang the pots over the fire. The kettles were made of tinned sheet iron in sizes that allowed them to be nested within each other for ease of transportation. Large iron mess pans were used to serve the food. The company mess kettles were provided to make coffee, soups, and stews, but in typical soldierly fashion, they proved excellent for washing clothes. The mess pans were made to fry pork and bacon, yet they also served as washbasins. Such double duty was less than polite society would have tolerated, but for the soldiers any other course was considered impractical.

Each company was initially issued a mule upon which the company cookware was to be carried on the march. Camp cooking equipment was cumbersome and took up much of the limited space assigned to each company in the regimental baggage train. As the mules required careful attention, they quickly disappeared from the line of march; and the company cooking gear, whether through design or by accident, frequently deteriorated or was purposely abandoned. The concept of company cooking quickly disappeared under all but the most favorable of circumstances.

In this manner both Johnny Reb and Billy Yank found themselves in surprisingly similar situations. Each soldier was obliged to use only the limited array of cookware that he could carry. A coffee boiler of some sort was considered a necessity, and any utensil that could serve as a frying pan became indispensable. Small groups of men would pool their money to purchase a coffee boiler or a real frying pan from the sutler, and each would take turns carrying it on the march. The person so designated often was entitled to the utensil's first use when camp was made. If one of the owners was wounded, killed, or otherwise removed from the companionship of his fellow investors, his share could be sold to an outsider.

As with the soldiers of most wars, Civil War soldiers quickly adopted any serviceable device that proved light to carry and easy to replace. A particularly common cookware solution was to unsolder the seam between the two halves of an extra canteen acquired from the battlefield. Each half served as a tolerable lightweight frying pan or plate and could be carried strapped over the canteen. The sure sign of a veteran was the simplicity of his cooking utensils, and many wide-eyed raw recruits—weighed down with government-issued pots, pans, and knapsacks—marveled at the war-weary, blanket-wrapped soldiers sitting by a fire calmly heating their coffee in a discarded tin can with a wire bail handle (Volo and Volo 1998, 116–31).

HOUSING

There was no single characteristic American house style during the Civil War period, but the elegant plantation homes built in the South, with their central entrances, balconies, columns, and formal ballrooms, came closest to representing a discrete architectural style for the antebellum period. The focus on Southern architectural characteristics somewhat distorts the character of home building in the period. Actually the majority of homes built from 1820 to 1860 were Greek Revival, Classical Revival, and Federalist style structures or some adaptation thereof. Many more Americans lived in Georgian-style houses that reflected building in the earlier Federalist period than those who lived in plantation mansions. Moreover, surviving examples of stately Northern mansions and palatial Southern plantation houses reflect only the power, idealism, and tastes of the wealthiest Americans. Unlike the homes of the wealthy, most of the functional and sturdy structures belonging to average Americans no longer exist in an unmodified form, having undergone numerous renovations in the twentieth century. Their original contours and characteristics were seldom recorded except by accident in a photograph, painting, or sketch.

Although home ownership served as an ideal during the period, many families, especially in the cities, had to settle for apartments, boarding houses, and tenements.

Even among individual home owners, there was a wide diversity of residences including mansions, villas, multi-story houses, cottages, cabins, and so-called shanties. The Irish immigrants were noted by observers at the time for building shanties—structures that were virtual shacks.

The majority of homes built during the period were simple frame farmhouses. Many were characteristic of the half-house, a two-story center hall colonial floor plan with one wing eliminated. This left a diminished center hall including the staircase to the second floor, two first-floor rooms (usually a parlor and dining room), and two second-story bedchambers above them. The kitchen was often a shed lean-to either separate from, or attached, at the back of the building. An outhouse served everyone's needs in the family. In the largely rural areas of a young America, a husband and wife might sit down, pencil and paper in hand, with thoughts focused on corn fields or pumpkin patches rather than on cornices or pilasters. These amateur architects tended to design plans for a practical house, a functional barn, a predator-proof chicken coop, or a well-drained pig pen. Fenced farm fields and properly planted orchards were far more important to the common farm family than symmetrical facades or grand staircases. Many of these plans were piecemeal and disordered, and few such original drawings survived.

Yet in an odd custom among rural societies in nineteenth-century America, some of the best plans were rescued from obscurity. Prizes were sometimes offered to amateur planners for successful farmhouse designs by a number of agricultural improvement societies. Many of the most functional plans were submitted and displayed at county fairs or published in farm journals. Ordinary periodicals often carried house plans, and few illustrated magazines failed to carry a floor or building plan of the month. Evidence gleaned from sources like these has allowed historians to construct a good picture of the average farm home.

In addition a number of architectural pattern books were published during the period that contained a variety of house plans of different sizes and prices. Among these was *Rural Residences* first published in 1837 by Alexander Jackson Davis. This particular architectural pattern book was thought to have introduced the Gothic Revival style to North America. In a similar manner *Victorian Cottage Residences* and *The Architecture of Country Homes* were published by Andrew Jackson Downing in 1842 and 1850, respectively. Both books emphasized the Carpenter Gothic style. Digests and catalogs of some of the most popular and original designs available were gathered from a variety of sources and were published by George E. Woodward throughout the second half of the century. These included plans and details drawn to a working scale with a full set of specifications and estimates of their cost (Volo and Volo 2004, 115–17).

CLOTHING

Women's Fashion Fundamentals

Nineteenth-century fashion was revolutionized and democratized by several innovations. The first practical sewing machine, using dual threads and an under-thread shuttle, was developed by Elias Howe in 1845 and patented in the following year. The sewing machine was advertised as being 10 times faster than the human hand and hailed by many as a great labor-saving device. The widespread acceptance of the sewing machine allowed the fashion industry to expand quickly. Sewing machines had been available for decades but sales skyrocketed after the 1860s, which certainly was a major factor in the explosion of the sewing pattern industry. The sewing machine led the way in revolutionizing American clothing. All kinds of new undergarments were developed, and clothing details became increasingly complex. Hemmers, binders, tuckers, rufflers, puffers, braiders, and other machine attachments were invented to satisfy the desire for new styles.

The popularity of the sewing machine was a major factor in the explosion of the pattern industry, creating a thriving market by the 1860s. The patterns, which were printed in graduated sizes and included explicit sewing instructions by Ebenezer Butterick and James McCall, provided women with the ability to recreate complicated, fashionable styles. Together, the sewing machine and the paper pattern industry made fashionable dress accessible to households of only modest means (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 65–66).

Overall, one of the greatest influences on American women's fashion during the nineteenth century was *Godey's Lady's Book,* a magazine founded by Louis B. Godey in July 1830. In addition to serials, essays, poems, and craft projects, it featured engraved fashion plates. Each month the magazine depicted morning dresses, walking dresses, seaside costumes, riding habits, dinner dresses, and ball gowns. Such wardrobe depth was seldom needed for the vast majority of the magazine's readers, whose clothes could generally be divided into public or social and domestic or work, with a few seasonal additions for summer and winter. As time passed, *Godey's* began to show fashions better suited to the lifestyle of the American woman. By the 1860s *Godey's* had become a fashion institution, setting the standard for fashion savvy. A woman living in the blockaded South bemoaned the fact that in her secluded settlement women wore the same style the whole four years of the war, because not a fashion plate or ladies magazine was seen during that entire period. Other magazines such as *Peterson's, Arthur's, Graham's, Leslie's,* and *Harper's* began to follow suit or grew in popularity.

Whether a woman could afford the extravagances touted by the fashion plates of the day or not, the look she was hoping to attain was the same. Women of the Civil War period wanted to create the appearance of a narrow waist. Virtually all lines of garments emphasized the smallness of the waist by creating the illusion of width at the shoulders and hips. This was further accentuated by foundation garments that altered the body's physical appearance.

The dress bodices during this period can be classified by three basic styles. There was the "O" bodice, the "V" bodice and the "Y" bodice. Regardless of style, bodices ended at the natural waistline. The bodice portion of the dress fastened at the center front by hooks and eyes, while the skirt portion had a side-front closure. This created an awkward opening that extended vertically from the neck, then horizontally along the waist, and then vertically again down a few inches along the left front skirt seam. The armscye, or armhole, was almost always diagonal or horizontal to give the shoulders a sloping and wider appearance. Sleeves were very full, particularly at the elbow, again imparting the illusion of the slender waist. Often sleeves had sleeve caps. These were ornamental pieces of fabric that covered the top few inches of the sleeve, supporting the image of the wide, sloping shoulder. Short cap sleeves that revealed a woman's arm could only be found on ball gowns.

The necklines of day dresses usually came to the base of the neck. Collars were basted inside to protect the garment from wear and soiling. They could easily be removed for frequent launderings from which the entire garment could be saved. Sometimes these collars had matching sets of cuffs that were similarly attached and served the same purpose.

Many of the fabrics and dyes used at this time did not hold up to frequent laundering. Garments were often taken apart and re-sewn when cleaned. The *Housekeeper's Encyclopedia* (Haskell, 1992) provided nine pages of instructions for washing various fabrics, which included rice-water, bran, ox-gall, salt, elixir of vitriol, and egg yolk. Most women's dresses were never totally laundered but rather spot cleaned as needed.

Skirts were long but seldom touched the ground. An exception was the elliptical skirt popular during the late-war period. These skirts were shorter in the front but lengthened in the back to a point where some actually dragged on the ground. Hem tapes were common on skirts. The tapes or trims were wrapped around the finished hem and could be removed for cleaning or replacement. Skirts were very full and were either fully gathered or pleated at the waistline. No effort was made to make the stomach area appear flatter because, once again, the fuller an area away from the waist seemed, the narrower the waist appeared.

Fabrics used for dresses and skirts included silk, linen, wool, and cotton. These were available in an almost infinite variety of weights and weaves, some of which are no longer available today. By far cotton and linen were the most common choices for everyday wear. Silk was expensive. If the average woman owned a silk dress, it would be saved for very special occasions. Linen, because of its extreme durability and ability to be produced at home, was considered frontier or laborer clothing. This was particularly true in the South, where it was in common use among the slave population. Wool continued to have its place because of its warmth and especially because of its fire-retardant qualities. Cotton, a status symbol earlier in the century, had become readily available and affordable for even modest households by the 1830s, thanks to the tremendous development of the textile industry after the invention of the cotton gin. From time to time, there were movements in the North among abolitionist women to avoid the use of cotton due to their belief that it was produced largely as a result of slave activity, but this tended to be confined to relatively small groups.

The blockade and the resulting interruptions in trade caused great hardships for Southern woman who had once been the most fashionable element of the population. One Southern woman described every household as a miniature factory in itself, with its cotton, cards, spinning-wheels, warping-frames, and looms. Some Southern ladies continued to dress and to dance in whatever prewar style they could manage as a means of keeping up their courage. Drawing upon their resourcefulness and creativity, Southern women managed to rework prewar finery and to use natural materials. Prices soared. By 1864 one Southern woman recorded prices that would give a purchaser pause today including $110 for ladies' Morocco boots; $22 per yard for linen; $5 apiece for spools of cotton, and $5 for a paper of pins. Women needing funds to keep their households together often reworked old finery to create collars, undersleeves, neckties, and other items that brought handsome prices in the inflated Confederate currency.

The color palette available at this time was basically that which could be achieved by natural dyes. While Southern women tended to wear lighter hues, popular colors included browns, soft blues, greens, lavenders, and grays. Yellows and deep berry-toned reds were also in use. Black was a common color for trim and detailing. Even though chemical dyes had been introduced by the end of the 1850s, these colors were mostly found in decorative fabrics for the home. Although some showy young women in the North did wear them, proper ladies did not.

By the 1860s white wedding dresses had come into fashion. However, many women still followed older traditions and were married in their best dress. Those fortunate enough to be able to afford such a specialized garment tended to choose dresses that might be considered plain by ballroom standards. Expense was more likely to be put into the fabric rather than trim. Generally, weddings were held during the day. Wedding dresses were therefore day dresses with jewel necklines and long sleeves. In keeping with the look of the day, headdresses and veils tended to lie flat on the head to avoid adding height. Coronets of real or artificial flowers were arranged so that they framed the face and added width.

Quite possibly, undergarments reached the highest level of complexity in fashion history during this period. Undergarments served to protect the outer garment from body soiling, molded the body to create the ideal look, and served to distribute the weight of the extremely full skirts. Like the previously discussed collars and cuffs, undergarments were constructed of serviceable fabrics that could be laundered. They were usually white.

The garment worn closest to the skin was the chemise—a knee-length, loose-fitting shift. A number of garments were worn with the chemise. Drawers, known as pantalettes, were worn beneath the chemise. They were constructed of two independent legs attached to a waistband and extended to just below the knee. Sometimes they were decorated with tucks, fancy stitching, or eyelet.

The corset was worn on top of the chemise. The purpose of this garment was to make the waist look small compared to other parts of the body and to shape the upper portion of the body upward and outward from the waist to the bust. Corsets were lightly boned and usually had steel clasps at the front and lacing up the back to allow for adjustment. Some had laces in the front with a busk inserted for rigidity. Light corsets were introduced to girls around age 12 and certainly by the age of puberty. Over the corset was worn a corset cover or camisole.

The next layer of undergarment is perhaps the single garment most associated with women's clothing during the Civil War, the crinoline or hoop. Crinolines were worn beneath petticoats to make the skirt appear more full. They also helped in the practical task of distributing the weight of the skirt, which could become quite oppressive depending on the type and amount of fabric used. Generally, crinolines for day dresses were somewhat smaller than those for evening wear. Atop the crinoline were placed one or more petticoats for added fullness and to soften the ridges that could be created by the hoops. Skirts tended to be so much greater in circumference than the crinolines that they tended to drape over this support in folds.

Even a small sampling of period photographs would indicate that few women actually wore hoops with the extreme proportions depicted in fashion plates of the day. Normally, the diameter of the hoop was approximately 50 to 70 percent of the wearer's height. Women engaged in vigorous work would decline to wear them. Hoops did wear out, posing a great problem for women in the blockaded South. The hoop was often made of a long, thin strip of whalebone, called baleen, turned back on itself in a circle. Baleen was also used to make buggy whips, and since it was generally acquired from New England, it was largely unavailable during the war.

When it came to outerwear, women had a wide variety of options, including capes, cloaks, shawls, jackets, and coats. Capes varied in length from just below the hip to just above the ankle. Consistent with the fashion ideal of sloping shoulders, they fit the top portion of the torso closely. Some capes had arm slits for ease of movement. Cloaks were extremely full to accommodate the full sleeves and skirts. Jackets and coats naturally followed dress lines, making them many times wider at the hem than at the shoulder.

Shawls were very popular. They were oversized and extended well down the back of the skirt. Commonly, two-yard squares were folded into a triangle. Double square shawls could be 64 inches by 128 inches or more. Some shawls were knitted or crocheted. Others were made from wool or lace. Many were decorated with fringe, ruffles, or lace. Paisley shawls were particularly popular.

The bonnet style specific to the 1860s was the spoon bonnet, so named because the brim curved high over the forehead, causing the wearer's face to look as though it was cradled in a large spoon. Bonnets were one item of apparel women could constantly update by reworking the trim or decorations to meet the current vogue. Favored decorative features included ribbon, lace, and clusters of silk flowers or berries. These were used on the outside of the bonnet as well as inside the brim to frame the face. Huge ribbons several inches wide were tied in large bows beneath the chin. The outsides of bonnets were covered in silk or, more commonly, polished cotton, which was then pleated, ruched, piped, or quilted. A gathered flounce or skirt was often found attached to the base of the bonnet at the nape of the neck. For summer wear, bonnets were often made of straw.

For country wear, there was the flat-crowned, wide-brimmed picture hat made from felt or straw. This often had a lace edging that hung down, almost like a veil. These hats were decorated with materials similar to those used on bonnets, but less elaborately. As the decade progressed, the brim shrank and curved slightly over the eyes, the lace was removed, and the crown became more rounded. Hats continued to shrink as the decade progressed. A popular style was the so-called pork pie, which resembled a turban in shape with very little space between the brim and the crown. Another type of walking hat had a round crown and a small, rolling brim often decorated by a drooping ostrich feather.

When serious protection from the sun was needed, the slatted bonnet came to the rescue. These work garments were made of cotton or linen and bore neither decorations nor trim. They had long back pieces that extended over the shoulders, and the front could be folded back or fully extended to shade the entire face. During the first federal occupation of Winchester, Virginia, it was reported that the Master Provost opposed the wearing of sunbonnets by women on the street, claiming that the so-called secession bonnets were worn for their cheapness and for their defense against staring soldiers and that they were intended as an insult by intimating that the women did not care how they dressed while the Northern troops were there.

Indoors, women frequently wore morning caps. These were dainty caps made of muslin, lace tulle, and ribbon. They would never be worn outdoors. Crocheted nets were also worn, but they were generally not considered suitable for dress occasions. Some conservative older women wore more substantial caps, often with lappets, which fully covered the head and were reminiscent of the caps worn during the previous century.

Aprons were an important item in a nineteenth-century wardrobe. Household aprons were extremely large, enveloping almost the entire skirt from front to back and extending down to within a few inches of the hem. Often they had rectangular tops, known as pinners because they were held in place by pins rather than a neck strap as was the norm in the twentieth century. Aprons would often be made from fabrics with small plaids or checks to help hide stains. While they could be solid, they were seldom white. Aprons were made from linen, flannel, wool, or cotton. Wool was greatly preferred for safety around fires. It does not burn as quickly as linen, and its odor when burning gives fair warning. Burns were the second leading cause of death for women at this time, surpassed only by death during childbirth. Smaller aprons would be worn for mealtimes unless servants served the meals. Separate aprons were kept for particularly dirty household chores.

As with other fashion items, hairstyles wanted to emphasize a broad upper body. To that end, the center part is almost universal in period photographs. This allows for a wide, bare forehead, making the face appear broad while adding no height on top. To continue this illusion, the fullest part of the hairstyle was at or below the ears. Some teens wore their hair cut blunt just below the earlobes. Most women, however, had long hair that they wore rolled, braided, or otherwise confined and pulled toward the back of the head. If the hair was not confined, it was generally fixed in long finger curls and pulled to the side of the face. The variety of curls and hair rolls was as rich as the ingenuity of the women who styled them. As the war drew to a close, hairstyles were beginning to change to include tendrils and greater height. Ladies' magazines of the period offered many suggestions for elaborate hair dressing for evening wear and suggested incorporating such items as flower blossoms, pins, combs, chains, feathers, and false curls.

Men's Fashion Fundamentals

Like women's clothing, men's clothing in practical application tended to fall into formal and informal, summer and winter. New clothes would be considered best dress until they became worn, and they would then be relegated to work status.

A shirt, vest, and trousers would be the very least in which a man would allow himself to be seen. A man appearing with anything less was considered to be in a state of undress. Even laborers and farmers would not allow themselves to go with less. It was the basest menial or workman who would not be so attired, such as the blacksmith, who would wear a heavy leather apron, which covered him above the waist.

Dress shirts were made of white cotton. Longer than the modern shirt, they were pullovers that buttoned from the mid-chest to the neck. Small vertical tucks commonly decorated either side of the buttons, but this became less favored as the 1860s progressed. Shirts had neck bands and detachable collars. For formal day wear, the collar was upright with a gap between the points, which just touched the jaw, allowing for freer movement of the head and neck than had been the style earlier in the century. For informal occasions, men wore either a shallow single collar with sloping points meeting at the center and forming a small inverted "V" opening, or a shallow double collar similar to the modern collar. Work shirts were made in a variety of colors and checks and could be made from cotton or linen.

Cravats, which more closely resemble the earlier neck stock than the modern tie, were worn around the neck. The term necktie was just coming into use. The cravat might have been tied in a flat, broad bow with the ends extending across the top of the waistcoat or secured with a pin. Basically, however, it was a band of fabric passed around the neck and tied in either a bow or a knot with hanging ends. Silk was the fabric of choice, and it was one area where a man might be able to display his good taste even if his purse prohibited further extravagances. The decade began with a preference for light-colored cravats, occasionally decorated with embroidery or other fancy work. As the war progressed, however, darker colors became more prominent. Striped, plaid, and dotted cravats were also worn, but with less regularity. Even laborers would simulate the look, although they may only have been able to knot a cotton kerchief around their neck.

Vests or waistcoats could be made of the same fabric as the suit, or they could be of much finer, dressier fabrics such as silk taffetas, embossed silks, or brocades. Patterns ranged from tone-on-tone to stripes, checks, and paisleys. Watch pockets became common. Suits were either loose-fitting, almost baggy, or very formal with knee-length frock coats. The fuller suit seems to have been favored by the average man, perhaps because it was more comfortable or needed less skilled tailoring. The formal suit appears to have been the look to which men of power aspired. Work trousers had buttoned, full fall fronts, while dress trousers had French flys, which concealed the buttons.

Wool was the fabric of choice for these items, with linen being popular during the summer, especially in the South. Farmers seemed to favor tweeds and more sturdy woolens. Generally, solids dominated, with browns and grays most common. Black was the choice of professionals, who also preferred fine woolen broadcloth, serge, and twill. These fabrics often had a certain amount of silk woven in to give them a finer finish and lighter weight.

Hat styles varied. The stovepipe hat favored by Abraham Lincoln also came in a shorter version. Many Southern gentlemen favored what has come to be called the plantation hat. This is a low-crowned, stylish hat with a substantial, but not overstated, brim. Another hat commonly found had a round crown with a medium brim. Flat-topped straw hats were in summer. Rural men often wore wide-brimmed, high-crowned hats, which offered less in fashion but more in protection from the elements.

When it came to lounging in the privacy of one's home, gentlemen had several specialized items of attire. Lounging or smoking caps were elaborate items made of rich fabrics and adorned with embroidery, beadwork, or braid. They generally came in three basic styles: the round pillbox style, the fitted six-panel cap, and the teardrop-shaped Scotch style. The first two styles ended with a tassel on top. The last was finished with a narrow ribbon at the back of the cap at the point. Ladies' magazines also carried patterns for making and decorating these caps. In addition to slippers, which greatly resembled the woman's slipper for relaxed footwear at home, a man might have preferred the dressing, or lounging, boot.

Men wore their hair parted to the side. Facial hair was very stylish. Men sported beards of all styles, lengths, and degrees. Mustaches were equally in favor. Period photographs show a tremendous variety of styles. The names of most of these have become meaningless to modern observers. The term sideburns, however, can be traced to General Ambrose Burnside, who sported distinctively bushy whiskers. The size and style of sideburns and beards varied greatly between individuals and over time.

Children's Fashion Fundamentals

Children's clothing rivaled women's fashions both in complexity and ornateness. Some middle- and upper-class children were dressed in layers of clothing often constructed of impractical fabrics. Gauze, silk, wool, and taffeta were common fabric suggestions for children's dress in ladies' magazines. Print fabrics tended to be small geometric or abstract designs. These designs allowed for the economical use of material since it was easier to match such prints, and there was less waste. Braid or ribbon were popular trims even for children.

In rural areas, children's clothing was considerably more practical, much the same as their parents'. Muslin and cotton were the fabrics of choice for country and poorer folk. To allow for growth, it was common for seams at the shoulders and under the arms to be folded in an inch each, so that they could be let out as the child grew. Sometimes a waistband was added as the child grew to lengthen skirts and trousers. Several tucks, of an inch or so, were often made near the hems of skirts and trousers. These created an attractive detail and could later be let down to accommodate growth.

Little girls were dressed very much as were their mothers. *Godey's Lady's Book* even contained an illustration for a corset for a little girl that laced down the back only. This was not encouraged by everyone, however, as the "Editor's Table" in *Peterson's* questioned the physical effects on organs and bones not fully formed.

The main difference between a woman's attire and a girl's attire was that girls' skirts were considerably shorter, ending about mid-calf. Pantalettes hung just below the edge of the dress. These would be plain for everyday wear and would be adorned with lace or eyelet for dressier occasions. These pantalettes differed from women's in that the crotches were sewn and they buttoned at the sides. Like her mother, a little girl wore a chemise as the basic undergarment. By age seven a girl would have begun to wear a hoop, although it would likely have only one hoop ring at this time. Once again, like an adult woman, she would wear under and over petticoats.

Fancy aprons were popular. They tied around the waist and covered almost the entire skirt portion of a dress. The top covered only part of the dress front and crossed over both shoulders on top. They were commonly decorated with flounces, bows, and other decorative details. Pinafores, which covered almost the entire dress, were more practical and much more common across all economic lines. They were constructed in such fabrics as muslin, calico, or linen. The pinafore fit closely to the chest and hung down loosely to the hem. Another layered style for young girls was the white dress covered by another jumper-like dress.

Boys wore a series of different types of outfits, each befitting a certain age group. Very young boys often had shirts that buttoned to the waistband of their pants and provided a neater look. From ages one to four, boys wore a nankeen suit. This was a dress-like costume worn over white underdrawers not unlike a girl's pantalettes, although likely to be less fancy. The top portion of the suit was a blousy sack, often with a large sash or a cord tied around the waist.

Between the ages of four and seven, there was the French blouse. Essentially, it was a loose, dress-like tunic secured at the waist by a belt and large buckle or sash. This would have been worn over loose knee pants, although it was also worn over a skirt by very young boys. Boys may also have been attired in a loose jacket and waistcoat, once again with loose knee pants. Boys may also have been clad in a suit-like outfit with a slightly cut-away jacket, gently rounded in front, and very loose trousers that extended to about mid-calf.

From 7 to 12 a boy may have worn what would be thought of as a suit-like outfit comprised of loose, ankle-length trousers and waist-length sack coat with a ribbon tie fashioned into a bow. The pants might have box plaits. Suspenders could be introduced at this point. Some boys in certain areas did not wear long pants until 14 or 15 years of age.

It is no wonder that older boys who were as yet considered too young for trousers welcomed the Knickerbocker suit. These suits consisted of a button-faced jacket fastened merely with a hook and eye at the top; a ten-button waistcoat with small slits at the sides to allow for ease of movement and better fit; and knickerbockers, loose-fitting pants that came tight against the leg just below the knee.

As older teens, boys dressed much as adult men did. They wore pants, vests, and jackets. Jacket types included sack, frock, and a short, military style. Boys' undergarments included an undershirt and drawers that reached down to the knee. When boys graduated into longer pants, they wore longer, ankle-length drawers that fit the leg more closely.

Girls wore their hair in a short, ear-length blunt cut that was pushed behind the ears. Some wore their hair in long finger curls. The latter style seems to have been more popular among girls of higher economic status. Occasionally ribbons were used to keep the long hair out of the face. Girls of about eight or nine began to wear their hair in hair nets. Sarah Morgan, aged 19, wrote in her diary that she had gathered her hair in a net because it fell and swept down half way between her knees and ankles in one stream. Like their mothers', girls' hair was center parted. Boys parted their hair to the side. The sides and back were usually short. Because fashions for young children were not strongly differentiated by sex, when looking at photographs, the part is often the only clue to the sex of the child.

Infants wore long gowns that were often twice the length of the child. This was done to keep the child warm. Long gowns could not be cast off as loose blankets could. The gowns were generally white to withstand the frequent washings infant clothing required and were made of a soft material, entirely free from starch. For the first few weeks after birth, infants wore long, narrow strips of fabric known as belly bands. These were several yards long and were designed to protect the navel. In addition to diapers, or napkins, as they were called, infants wore a shirt, a pinner that contained their lower limbs, a skirt or skirts, and a dress. Babies also wore caps, for which women's magazines frequently carried patterns.

Slave Clothing

The clothing of slaves varied with the economic status of the slaveholder and with the tasks the slave was required to do. Slaves who worked in the household, often well dressed in suits, dresses, or traditional colonial outfits, were seen by visitors to the home, and therefore their appearance would have been a reflection on the slaveholder. Slaves who worked in the fields needed serviceable clothing that would survive the rigors of the work being done. Any benefit that the slave gained in the way of clothing was an accidental advantage of the owner's desire to run an efficient plantation and a model household.

A daughter of a Mississippi plantation owner who held 150 slaves described the semiannual process of getting clothes ready for the slaves as "no light work." When the time would come to have everything cut out, a room would be cleared out and the great bolts of white woolen jeans, Osnabergs, with bolt after bolt of red flannel for the little ones, would be rolled in and the women with great shears would commence their work. There were several sets of patterns with individual ones for the very tall and the very fat, but there was not much attention paid to the fit.

Male slaves were furnished with only two or three suits a year. Women were supplied with a calico or linsey dress, head handkerchiefs, and gingham aprons for Christmas. The fabric was sturdy and became as soft as flannel as it was washed. The slaves often dyed the white suits tan or gray with willow bark or sweet gum.

The quality and quantity of clothing for slaves during the war varied greatly, and generally both suffered as the war continued. These garments often represented white folks' hand-me-downs, remnants, and discards. Slaves, especially those in urban areas, could often be seen in slightly unfashionable, but serviceable, suits of clothing and dresses of cotton and wool. As whites felt the pinch of the blockade, hand-me-downs and discards took on a new value in their eyes and were rarely passed on to slaves. In this manner the slaves were made to bear the worst effects of the shortages.

Plantation slaves were often clothed in coarse but durable Negro cloth, which was produced from linen in the mills of New England, or in coarse woolen broadcloth. Prior to the opening of hostilities, plantation owners commonly purchased cloth by the yard and allowed the slaves to fashion the clothing on the plantation. This cloth took the form of trousers and shirts for the men and boys, while slave women wore woolen dresses with cotton aprons. The wool helped to prevent the skirts from catching fire and was favored by women, both black and white, who worked near open hearths. Both sexes used straw hats and handkerchiefs in a variety of ways, but generally they were tied to form head coverings or neck cloths.

Shoes were a difficult item to provide for the slave at a reasonable cost, and most ex-slaves complained of rarely having owned shoes that fit well. One diarist described the shoes as about as pliable as wood. It took many greasings before the wearer could comfortably bend their feet. Unless they owned a slave that was trained in shoemaking from raw leather, plantation owners resorted to buying shoes in bulk. There existed an entire trade in New England dedicated to the manufacture of cheap shoes for slaves. These shoes rarely gave long use without the services of a cobbler. Wooden clogs, a type of sandal with a large wooden sole, often served in place of shoes. Slaves generally preferred to go barefoot in the fields, as did their white farmer counterparts, because shoes do not hold up well in plowed fields. Contemporary illustrations from *Harper's* and *Leslie's* almost always show slaves to be shod. Slaves who were forced to go barefoot in winter greased their feet with tallow to protect the skin, but this circumstance seems to have been rare except in the Deep South. Slaves rarely went unshod in town or in the Northern border states as such a thing would have been impractical for the slaves and embarrassing for their owners.

Mourning Clothes

Mourning dress was one of the first areas where mass-produced clothing gained acceptance. The need for the proper attire to conform to the rigid rules regarding dress often came unexpectedly. There were many people who felt that it was unlucky to keep black crepe in the home between deaths. Surviving items from previous losses were often discarded when no longer required. Providing mourning attire and accessories became a worthwhile commercial endeavor. Some retailers, such as J. S. Chase and Company of Boston, dealt exclusively in mourning goods. There was a great demand for black crepe for veils, collars, cuffs, skirt trim, and armbands. Other needed items included black hatpins, straight pins, and buttons. Millinery and jewelry that met the expectations of society were equally in demand. Mourning caps were such a common item, with virtually no design differences for age or demand for customization, that milliners commonly made them when they had nothing else to do. Those in mourning also required stationery and calling cards bordered in black. Many companies made fortunes on mourning clothing and related ancillary materials.

Widows were expected to remain in mourning for two and a half years. This time was divided into three segments. During heavy mourning the widow wore only black, with collars and cuffs of folded untrimmed black crepe. No other trim was used. She might wear a simple bonnet but never a hat. Her face would be covered entirely in a long, heavy black crepe veil whenever she left home. Silk fabrics used for dresses, bonnets, or capes had to have matte finishes. Not even ribbons were allowed to have a gloss. Kid gloves were not permitted. Gloves had to be made from cotton or silk, or crocheted or knit from thread. Handkerchiefs were made of the sheerest white linen with a broad, deep border. Jewelry was restricted to black jet—usually unpolished—and even that would not be worn during the initial months. Dark furs were permitted in cold weather. Throughout the entire mourning period a widow's hair had to be worn simply.

This period was followed by full mourning, which still required the wearing of black, but permitted black lace collars and cuffs. Veils were permitted to be shortened and could be made of net or tulle. Lighter veils were also allowed. Handkerchiefs needed only to have a narrow black band border. Polished jet jewelry was allowed as well as some gold or glass beads.

Half mourning was the final stage. During this period, print and solid-colored dresses of gray or lavender were permitted. Some women, of course, chose to remain in mourning for longer periods, even the rest of their lives. For a woman who wanted to remarry in a period of less than two and a half years, an accommodation was made. She was permitted to be married in a conservative gray dress. However, she was expected to complete the period of mourning following the new union out of respect for the first husband. If a woman married a widower, she was expected to dress in half mourning for the remainder of her husband's mourning period.

Not so surprisingly, men were not as restricted as women. Their period of mourning lasted as little as three months to a year. Fashion required them to wear a plain white shirt with black clothes, shoes, gloves, and hat. This differed little from what the properly dressed businessman would wear in any case. Some men followed this with a period of gray. The only distinguishing additions would be a black crepe band on their hat or black-bordered cuffs. Widowers were encouraged to remarry following a respectable period, particularly if they had young children. Mourning attire was suspended for the wedding day but reestablished immediately thereafter.

Children were not sheltered from death and mourning. In *The Mother's Book* (1831), Lydia Child advises mothers not to allow their children to be frightened by death. She encourages them to share the beautiful imagery of returning to heaven to be with the angels with even very young children. Older children wore black and crepe upon the death of a parent for six months, followed by three months each of full and half mourning with lessening degrees of black. Children in mourning under the age of 12 wore white in the summer and gray in the winter. Suits were trimmed with black buttons, belts, and ribbons. Even infant robes were trimmed in black. Often, out of practicality, children's regular clothing was dyed for mourning rather than purchased new.

A woman mourning the death of her father, mother, or child wore black for a period of one year. For grandparents, siblings, or someone having left the mourner an inheritance, the proper period was six months. The obligation for an aunt, uncle, niece, or nephew extended for only three months, and white trim was allowed throughout this time.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

TECHNOLOGY: STEAM

The steam engine was the prime mover of greatest importance to the nineteenth century. Yet the technologies needed for steam driven mills, steam propulsion for vessels, and steam engines for railroad locomotives developed separately. Simple steam systems were advanced enough to be applied to small boats and factory machinery. The giant stationary steam engines with their thick leather drive belts was a common sight in most mills. In America, especially after the Civil War, the leather was often provided through the use of buffalo skins taken from the herds that roamed the Great Plains. Powerful steam locomotives and ocean-going steamships were not developed until improved steam boiler and multiple expansion engine technologies were adopted. Thereafter, the railroads flourished even though American steam shipping failed to keep pace with British ocean navigation.

Steam engine technology often outpaced thermodynamic theory in the early part of the century. Steam technology for water propulsion was generally regarded as superior to that used for locomotion because engines carried aboard vessels could be made larger than those used on early locomotives. Nonetheless, steam power in any form was wasteful of fuel when compared to the free use of wind power on the oceans, and even river steamers were seen to regularly stop along the river banks to take on loads of firewood stacked by local landowners expressly for this purpose. Woodcutter's huts—sometimes manned by a slave or youngster—could be seen along the banks of most rivers. The humble woodcutter played an essential role in the steamboat industry, and the landowner could realize a tidy annual sum by contracting with the operators of the lines. Similar arrangements were often made along the railroad right-of-way. Before the end of the Civil War Southern locomotives relied entirely on wood as fuel, while many Northern lines had switched to coal.

The publication of William Rankine's *The Steam Engine and Other Prime Movers* in Great Britain in 1848 was a major step forward for the application of steam technology to transportation. Rankine was the professor of steam engineering at the University of Glascow in Scotland, one of the first schools to establish such a formal program. His book soon became the standard text for steam-engineering students and practitioners across the world. Engineers using Rankine's principles were able to make steam locomotives and steamboats much more efficient and powerful by utilizing double- and triple-expansion engine designs that made use of the pressure of the steam several times before exhausting it to the atmosphere.

Nonetheless, it was the development of superior boilers that most affected the technology. Prior to 1825, steam boilers were made in a box shape by riveting iron and steel plates together along their edges. This design proved particularly prone to fatal boiler explosions and other structural failures because the pressures built up at the corners and edges of the boiler rather than on the face of the plates. Consequently, most applications of steam for propulsion were limited to low-pressure engine types. The earliest boilers were based on the English designs of Bolton and Watt and had gauge pressures between 10 and 12 pounds per square inch, but with time, a high-pressure boiler, invented by Oliver Evans of Philadelphia, with 30 to 40 pounds of pressure became the standard.

Boiler explosions on steamboats averaged about 10 per year, killing more than 200 persons annually in the United States. Alarmed by the persistence of the problem, the federal government stepped in with the establishment of several safety regulations embodied in the Steamboat Act of 1852. Thereafter, with the widespread adoption of the cylindrical fire-tube boiler design, which made high-pressure steam (up to 150 pounds per square inch) safer and more efficient, the incidence of boiler explosions decreased to an average of only four per year with a national death toll of less than 50 (Volo and Volo 2004, 322–23).

Table of Steam Engines Operating in the United States 1825 to 1838

	Stationary		**Steamboat**		**Locomotive**	
Year	**Number**	**Aver. HP**	**Number**	**Aver. HP**	**Number**	**Aver. HP**
1825	23	27	13	50	0	0
1829	88	29	36	58	0	0
1834	407	16	120	52	42	16
1838	578	17	332	63	219	21

Source: Louis C. Hunter. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780–1930.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979, 230.

TRANSPORTATION

The Horsecars

The average physical size of American cities increased from less than a one-mile radius to that of four or five miles during the nineteenth century. The development of public horse-drawn trams, known as *horsecars*, made daily commuting from such a distance possible, but most Northern men were willing to make the half-hour walk from their homes to their place of work to save the fare. Southerners did not share this characteristic of Northern males choosing instead to ride astride their horse for even short distances.

Before the widespread development of steam railways in the Northern states, horse-drawn omnibuses crossed through many major cities. In 1826 a horse drawn railroad paralleled the Main Line from Philadelphia to Columbia on the Susquehanna River. In 1828, Quincy, Massachusetts, had the first horse-drawn line of the Old Colony System, and Rochester, New York, established a two-mile-long line that ran to Lake Ontario from the Erie Canal in 1831. New York City opened a horse-drawn service in 1832 from Prince Street to 14th Street, and it was still adding to the extent of track with a line in East Harlem in 1853. Two of the more extensive systems, the Metropolitan Horse Railroad in Boston (1856) and the Baltimore City Railroad (1859) served their cities with well-appointed, horse-drawn cars and miles of interconnecting track right through the Civil War. Travel on the horse-drawn railroad was often accompanied by a thundering noise caused by the combination of iron wheels on iron rails and street stones that was almost deafening.

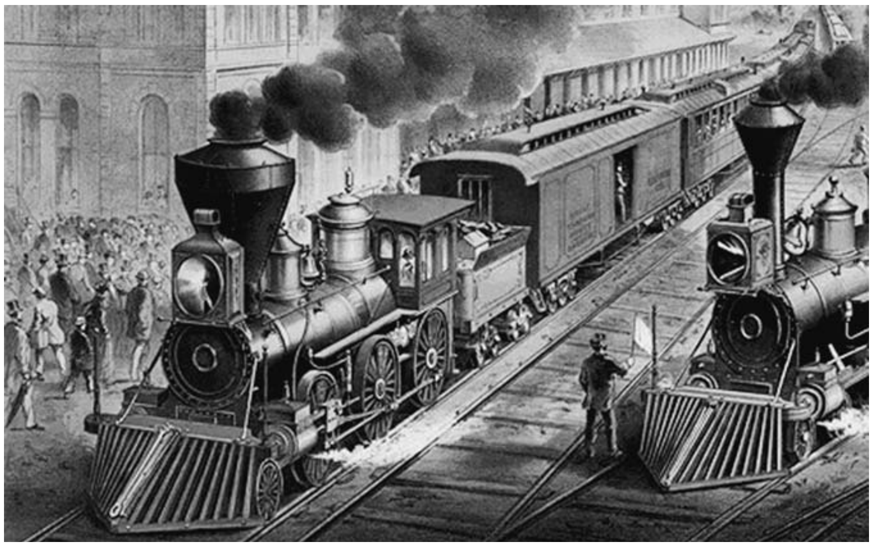
—*James M. Volo*

Railroads

The abominable condition of Southern roads during the rainy season and in the winter added to the importance of its railways. Although the South controlled only one-third the railway mileage of the North before the Civil War, the Southern railways were strategically located within the theater of operations and were used with great tactical skill by Confederate commanders. Virginia was crossed by several important railways that could be used with great effect to move supplies and manpower throughout the Eastern theater. At First Bull Run, Confederate reinforcements were brought to the field by rail in time to turn the tide of battle and rout the Federals.

Much of the Northern rail mileage was used for the distribution of manufactures in the Northeast. The most prominent railways—the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central—were outside the war zone. Those in New England were almost entirely shut off from army transport. However, the north-south lines—the Illinois Central and the Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati—prospered on army business.

The Baltimore and Ohio, with a right-of-way in the war zone, was strategically important as a line of communications between Washington and Ohio. In May 1861, General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson was able to steal 300 railroad cars and 56 locomotives from the B & O in a single operation attesting to the vast size of the railroad operation. Much of this rolling stock was horse-drawn down the Shenandoah Valley Pike from Winchester to Strasburg to be used on the Southern railways. At a later date, when loss of the line to federal forces seemed imminent, Jackson was given the task of destroying the 400 mile railway. He burned the bridges, derailed the freight cars, and burned more than 40 engines. The Federals learned to repair the damage quickly, but raids along the B & O were a constant source of trouble to federal commanders.



The second half of the nineteenth century was noted for the development of railroads. Transportation of passengers, produce, and freight was greatly enhanced by the expansion of railway mileage and the development of more powerful locomotives. A distinct American type of engine with a so-called balloon smokestack was developed that weighed an average 20 tons and could travel safely at 25 miles per hour with a load of 120 tons. In its day this was considered high-speed when compared to other forms of transportation. Courtesy Currier and Ives.

The railways of the Western theater, which had been built in the 1850s, far in advance of any immediate need, proved very important to the war effort. The line between Louisville, Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee, provided a vital link for the invading

Federals. Yet no further strategic railways were built, and no thought was given to the development of the principles of military operations and maintenance of railways during the war years. In no direction could cars run long distances without changes and delays. Freight, as well as passengers and their luggage, often had to detrain and cross town from one line to another either by wagon or on foot. The construction of five short connections between competing lines, for a total of 140 miles, would have provided the Federals with an uninterrupted railway from Washington to the entire North.

An obstacle to rail transport in all parts of the country was the different gauges, or track widths, used on different lines. In New York and New England a gauge of 4 feet 8 1/2 inches was used. In Ohio, and to the west and south of Philadelphia, the gauge was 4 feet 10 inches. Some rails were placed as much as 6 feet apart in special cases. Many ingenious expedients were used to overcome this problem. These included third rails, wide wheels that would accommodate both narrow and wide track, and adjustable train axles. The longest single gauge track of the war belonged to the Atlantic and Great Western line, which connected New York with St. Louis more than 1,000 miles away.

There was an attempt by the Confederate government in Richmond to adopt a standard gauge of five feet throughout the Southern nation, but a national dedication to the ideal of states' rights generally got in the way of any standardization. The length of Southern railway mileage, the tonnage of rolling stock and engines, and the number of interconnecting systems were severely limited throughout the war. Nonetheless, there were more than 1,000 miles of strategically important track in Tennessee alone with connections passing to the southeast. The heart of this rail network lay in Corinth, Mississippi. The line connecting Cairo, Illinois, with Corinth drove directly south and continued on to New Orleans, creating a network that pumped vital supplies from the Gulf north to Tennessee and east to Virginia. The Confederates were therefore theoretically able to use their railways to bring troops from the Deep South into Virginia or the Western theater. In 1862 more than 2,500 men and their equipment were brought to Nashville from Louisiana in just two weeks—a remarkable feat given the dilapidated state of the railways and the fact that the troops had to wait for available cars or march between unconnected lines.

A major limitation on the use of Southern railways for military purposes remained a lack of maintenance. In April 1863, Robert E. Lee wrote to the War Office that unless the railroads were repaired, to permit speedier transportation of supplies, he could not maintain his position in the field. Yet damaged cars and worn-out engines increasingly became the victims of the South's limited industrial technology. A damaged locomotive boiler might take more than a thousand man-hours to repair if the boilerplate were found to do the job. Tracks and especially wooden ties were simply unable to withstand the wear and tear of wartime demand. The wooden ties were rotted, the machinery was almost exhausted, the rails were worn out, and the speed and capacity of the trains were greatly reduced. An engine could be required to lug a supply train weighing up to 120 tons (Volo and Volo 1998, 155–58).

Roads

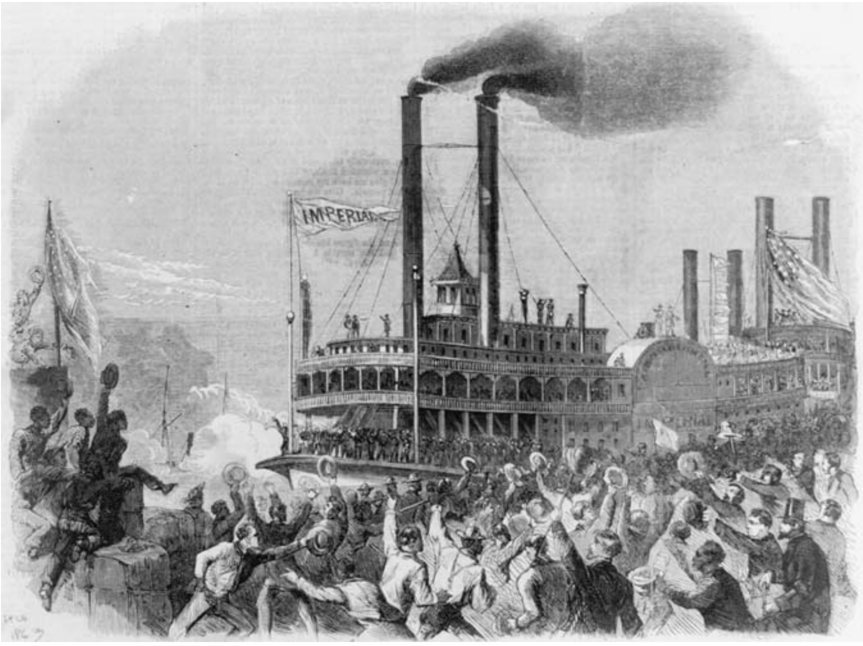
If railroads were the arteries of the nation, then the roads were its veins. A long march on dirt roads was almost inevitable for the soldiers of both armies in the Civil War. The very poor condition of Southern roads and turnpikes was one of the few circumstances for which the federal army did not provide in its initial offensive planning. The Confederates understood the defensive qualities of many of the roads in northern Virginia, which were very narrow—mere ditches—surrounded by dense forests of second growth pine or virgin oak that would snarl the movement of an invading army with its wagons and artillery. With high humidity and abundant vegetation, the rain-soaked road surfaces of Virginia remained wet and were churned into a sticky morass that was barely passable by thousands of feet and hundreds of wagon wheels.

Northern commanders greatly anticipated the improvement of the roads when the mud froze as it did in the North during November and December, providing a supportive surface on which to march troops, haul supplies, or move artillery. However, increased daytime temperatures prevented the freezing of the roadways until much later in the season than Northerners expected. federal operations in the early winter of 1863 therefore encountered an unforeseen obstacle. The armies spent considerable time and effort building corduroy roads by laying bundles of saplings and small tree trunks across the muddiest parts of the road surface. Although uneven and bumpy, they allowed the wheeled vehicles to pass without sinking into the mud. Corduroy was very hard on the foot soldier and almost impossible for the cavalry, who often opted to ride across the open fields. Plank roads, as the name suggests, were municipal roads built with several layers of wooden planking covered with dirt. The Orange Plank Road and the Orange Turnpike, connecting Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville with the valley of western Virginia, were two of the good roads that proved critical to the strategy of the opposing forces.

The Columbia Pike south out of Nashville was a well-maintained road of macadam—a type of compressed broken stone. The Valley Pike, the main road that ran down the center of the Shenandoah Valley, was also of macadam and proved a veritable highway for the South. Flanked by the North Branch of the Shenandoah River and the western part of the Manassas Gap Railroad, the advantages of such a surface to the movement of military forces were obvious. The Valley Pike played a prominent role in Jackson's Valley campaign of 1862; and in subsequent years it figured prominently in the operations of Confederate General Jubal Early no less than it did in the operations of Federal Generals Franz Sigel, David Hunter, and Philip Sheridan. The battles at Cross Keys, Port Republic, New Market, Front Royal, Cedar Creek, and Kernstown were overshadowed only by the more than a dozen seesaw occupations of the city of Winchester, which straddled the pike (Volo and Volo 1998, 158–60).

Steamboats

In 1807, Robert Fulton was the first to operate a steamboat as a commercial success on the Hudson River. *The Clermont* went from New York to Albany (150 miles)



The opening of the Mississippi marked by the arrival of the steamer *Imperial* at New Orleans from St. Louis, 1863. Courtesy Library of Congress.

in about 32 hours. The superiority of steam-powered vessels over flatboats, keelboats, and rafts on the nation's rivers and lakes quickly demonstrated itself, especially on the upriver leg on any journey. The number of steamboats on America's rivers and in its ports rapidly increased. Moreover, there were significant developments in the use of steam on the Great Lakes, in the Lake Champlain-Lake George corridor, and on the Finger Lakes in central New York State. It was on the lakes that American steamers proved the feasibility of operating steam vessels with metal hulls in the swell of open waters, but it was not until the post–Civil War years that meaningful advances were made in transoceanic propulsion.

Although it would have been possible to build a continuous canal-lake-river system of powered water transportation, the cost of such a project would have been prohibitive. Oddly, steam-powered canal boats were technologically possible—and several were tried on canals in Connecticut—but the churning water wreaked havoc on the banks of most canals that had not been steeled with a protective coating of stone. The Great Lakes route, when combined with the Erie Canal and Ohio Canal, caused marine traffic to grow steadily, nonetheless. Steamboats transported agricultural produce and livestock, and all types of industrial supplies, manufactured goods, and metallic ores. In the Northeast, coal—used to heat the tenements of cities and process the iron and steel of numerous mills—was one of the most common cargoes of waterborne commerce.

Steamboat capacity on the Mississippi River system alone grew to more than 120,000 tons by 1850, greater than the entire steam-powered tonnage of the British Royal Navy at the time. In that year, the 25-day trip on the Mississippi of 1816 had dwindled to only four and a half days. Multi-decked, multi-purpose steamers had become common, and those that carried passengers grew larger and more luxurious with the passing years. Riverboats were just as romantic to the passengers that rode them and the onlookers on the banks as they are to us today. The 1850s proved to be the golden age of river steamers, with their cabins splendidly appointed with carved woodwork and gold-leafed furniture, crystal chandeliers, carpeting, and mirrors. Some steamboats were fitted with a steam calliope, on which popular tunes were played when approaching a city.

Steamboats joined the river cities of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Memphis, Natchez, Lexington, and Louisville and the farmlands of the central part of the country to the markets of the world through the gateway ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Galveston. Steamboat lines sprang up to fill the gaps between Eastern railroads and the incomplete Western rail lines. Westward expansion along the growing system of canals and the successful navigation of the Western rivers by steamboats, made a number of inland ports equally important. St. Louis, in particular, served as a central hub for river traffic. Located on the Mississippi River near the junction of the Ohio and the Missouri, St. Louis benefited from its connections with both the states of the Midwest and the Western territories of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains. In 1857, with many of the rail lines connected, the connecting steamboat lines began to fail economically (Volo and Volo 2004, 321–25).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Hague, Parthenia Antoinette. *A Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama during the Civil War*. Reprint. Bedford, TX: Applewood Books, 1995.

Haskell, E. F. *Civil War Cooking: The Housekeeper's Encyclopedia*. Mendocino, CA: R. L. Shep, 1992.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780–1930*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Lord, Francis A. "The United States Military Railroad Service: Vehicle to Victory." *Civil War Times Illustrated*, October 1964.

McIntosh, Elaine N. *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective*. Westport, CT: Greenwood/Praeger Press, 1995.

Mitchell, Patricia B. *Cooking for the Cause*. Chatham, VA: Sims-Mitchell House, 1988.

Root, Waverly, and Richard de Rouchemont. *Eating in America*. New York: William Morrow, 1976.

Rowland, K. T. *Steam at Sea: The History of Steam Navigation*. New York: Praeger Publishing, 1970.

Spaulding, Lily May, and John Spaulding, eds. *Civil War Recipes: Recipes from the Pages of Godey's Lady's Book*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.

Swartwelder, A. C. "This Invaluable Beverage: The Recollections of Dr. A. C. Swartwelder." *Civil War Times Illustrated*, October 1975, 10–11.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Trager, James. *The Food Chronology*. New York: Henry Holt, 1995.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

———. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States, 1820s–1890*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Woodward, George E. *Victorian City and Country Houses: Plans and Designs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1996.

———. *Woodward's Architecture and Rural Art*. New York: Privately printed, 1868.

———. *Woodward's National Architect*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Zanger, Mark H. *The American History Cookbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

THE CIVIL WAR
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Political Life

A SIGNAL FOR SECESSION

In the election of 1856, the northern and southern wings of the Democratic Party split over the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. With the Democrats' former political hegemony in pieces, the newly formed Republicans ran an attractive candidate (their first) for president. This was the explorer, soldier, and abolitionist senator from California, John C. Frémont. He lost to James Buchanan, a pro-southern unionist Democrat from Pennsylvania because of the inclusion of a weak Nativist candidate in the person of former president Millard Fillmore. Any mandate that Buchanan may have enjoyed after his minority win was marred by intraparty wrangling and an uncooperative cabinet. He was the last president to serve before the outbreak of Civil War.

During the Senate campaign debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, Abraham Lincoln had expressed both support for black colonization and a belief in an inherent social inequality among the races, but he also insisted on the moral wrong of slavery and the equality of blacks to the right to be free to earn their own living. In 1860, the Republican Party ran Abraham Lincoln for president. Unlike the unsuccessful Liberty Party, which had a single issue—immediate abolition—with which to attract voters, the Republicans inserted other important economic and sectional issues into their rhetoric along with a strong moral agitation against slavery. This attracted a wider range of potential supporters than simple antislavery sentiments. Nonetheless, the Republican Party was so closely associated with abolition that Lincoln's minority election in the popular vote (under 40%) in a four-way race caused the almost immediate secession of several Southern states.

The election of Lincoln was the signal for secession, and the South lost no time in forming a national government of its own in early 1861. The new Confederate Constitution was closer to the U.S. Constitution than it was to a revolutionary document. With the exception of a few omissions and changes in phraseology, and with the important explicit endorsement of slavery in its structure and purpose the two documents were similar. The purpose of disunion was to establish a government that would preserve Southern culture and society as it was. The act of secession was the end product of a conservative political uprising, and the Confederate Constitution has been described as "a theoretical time capsule that embodies the distinctive principles of Republican government." These principles tended to focus on the anti-Federalist view of the government that had been obscured by the development and implementation of Federalist political theory since 1789. Confederate President Jefferson Davis wrote, "We have changed our constituent parts, but not the system of our government." This statement exemplifies the true nature of the Confederacy as the Southerners saw it. The new government was to be a continuation of those ideals fostered in the first American Revolution and that Southerners thought had been continually altered by a "fanatical and immoral" North (Volo and Volo 1998, 54–55).

However, as champions of a new conservative revolution and defenders of the Southern nation, the Confederates gave up much of what they held dear. The South embraced a centralized wartime government fully as determined to control the reins of government as that in Washington. The concept of states' rights was sacrificed—not without the determined resistance of some state governments—for the defense of the country as a whole. Southern cities swelled in size, urbanization increased, factories and manufacturing took on a new importance, and men and women went to work much like the wage earners of the North. Ultimately even slavery changed as the Confederate Congress provided for the enlistment of black soldiers in the last months of the war and dallied with bartering black emancipation for foreign recognition by Britain in the name of its own independence.

The Southern planter aristocracy was sorely tested during the Civil War, and in many cases their social and financial prominence did not meet the test. Although wealth and social position maintained their hold on the structure of Southern society, service in the military created new avenues to prominence. Many aristocratic families lost scions to the fates of battle, while many of the masters of plantations proved unfortunate choices as military leaders.

The infant Confederate government brought prominence and power to many of those who had been outside the upper classes of society before the war. Alexander Stephens, who was from a poor Georgia family, nonetheless became the vice president of the new country. Judah Benjamin, of Jewish ancestry, rose to be one of the most capable members of the Confederate cabinet and a respected and loyal friend of President Jefferson Davis. The greatest hero in the South during the war was an orphan and an impoverished college professor who raised himself to the rank of lieutenant general—Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson.

It is an often overlooked fact that the importation of slaves into the United States was outlawed in 1808, and the U.S. Navy attempted to curtail the ocean transportation of slaves from Africa. Yet the ownership and selling of slaves within the confines of the country continued, and slavery spread westward.

In early 1861, federal forces coming upon the first trickle of escaped slaves returned them to Confederate lines in obedience to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, but General Benjamin F. Butler, a swashbuckling pro-war Democrat from Massachusetts, sidestepped the law by declaring the blacks "contraband of war" and open to seizure. Lincoln reluctantly approved the ruling, and blacks thereafter abandoned the plantations in the hundreds or thousands whenever federal forces were nearby. At first it seemed that the slaves had traded one master for another, but Congress passed a series of laws that further refined their status in 1861 and 1862. The term "freedman" was adopted in official correspondence after the publication of the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863, but to the soldiers in the field escaped slaves remained known as "contrabands." After 1863, black men were also free to enter the armed service of the United States. The First South Carolina Volunteers was the first (organized in 1862) Northern regiment composed entirely of escaped slaves and black refugees.

A growing Southern nationalism accompanied the development of the Confederate States of America. Nationalism was on the rise throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, and Confederates were quick to draw parallels between their struggle to found a Southern nation with those of the Dutch Republic and the Portuguese against Spain; the Italian revolutions in Sicily and Naples led by Garibaldi; the Polish rebellion against the power of Russian imperialism; and the ongoing Piedmontese struggle against Austria. Confederate diplomats held forth these examples to the world in the hope of gaining international support and recognition for their fledgling country.

The North had similar nationalistic views, but they were more capitalistic and utopian than those of its Southern counterpart. The Northern nation was dedicated to physical liberty, freeing the slave from his bonds, separating the poor from their circumstances, and relieving the alcoholic from his dependence on liquor. By contrast the Southern nation was more dedicated to an abstract liberty defined by traditional political ideology and personal freedom of action unrestricted by governmental intervention and the belief that black slavery ensured white liberty. As the two cultures diverged during the first half of the nineteenth century, their separate concepts of which social, political, and cultural characteristics should be indicative of America's ideal national identity diverged also.

—James M. Volo

GOVERNMENT

The Wartime Federal Government

Abraham Lincoln probably would not have won the presidency in 1860 had the election not become a four-way race. The Democratic Party split between two candidates: pro-slavery John C. Breckinridge, a former vice president of the United States; and Stephen A. Douglas, a moderate, but also a vigorous advocate of expansion. The fourth candidate, on the ticket of the new Constitutional Union Party, composed of former Whigs and nativists, was John Bell of Tennessee. Tariffs, homesteads, railroads, immigrants, and political corruption all figured in the campaign, but slavery and the fear of disunion remained the pivotal questions. When it became obvious to the candidates based on the results of gubernatorial elections in Pennsylvania and Indiana that Lincoln was going to win, Breckinridge proclaimed dedication to immediate disunion but Douglas, to his credit, disavowed any ideas of contesting the election, saying, "If Lincoln is elected, he must be inaugurated" (Sewell 1988, 76).

Lincoln won the election with just under 40 percent of the popular vote and 59 percent of the electoral votes. He carried 18 states; yet, with the exception of coastal California, not one of them was below the Mason-Dixon Line. This result reinforced his position as a sectional leader rather than a national one. Significantly, Douglas, who beat both Breckinridge and Bell with 30 percent of the popular vote, represented the views of at least some of the electorate in all parts of the country but he received a mere four percent of the electoral votes. Breckinridge, with 18 percent of the popular vote, carried every state that would come to be in the Confederacy except Mississippi and Virginia. The former vice president also carried the border states of Maryland and Delaware. Bell captured the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia and received 13 percent of the popular vote. Notwithstanding this result, 70 percent of the voters had shown support for at least a moderate stand against slavery, but they almost all resided in the North.

A group of moderate Virginia residents declared that "the election of a sectional president even with odious and dangerous sentiment" would not of itself be sufficient cause for secession. Yet they saw the election result as an alarming indication of the ripening schemes of abolitionists to plunder and outrage the Southern way of life with their growing fanaticism. The abolitionists exacerbated the seriousness of the situation by taunting Virginia as a "Plunderer of Cradles—she who has grown fat by selling her own children in the slave shambles: Virginia! Butcher—Pirate—Kidnapper—Slavocrat—the murderer of John Brown and his gallant band—at last, will meet her just doom" (Jordan 1995, 16). Secessionists warned that Virginia could soon expect an invasion of armed abolitionists and would become, as it subsequently did, the primary theater of the military campaign to eradicate slavery.

The Lincoln administration was immediately faced with the greatest threat ever to face the United States, and he had no time to finesse a highly articulated response to secession. Moreover, many of Lincoln's cabinet members were much better educated than he, and no doubt some, or maybe all, felt that they could do a better job as president. However, it is a tribute to Lincoln's management style that he was able to keep the cabinet moving in the right direction, despite the efforts of some of its members to derail his policies.

—James M. Volo

The Wartime Confederate Government

Jefferson Davis expected to be offered the post of secretary of war in the new Confederate government because he had held the post in the administration of Franklin Pierce. He was somewhat disappointed at being chosen president of the Confederacy. According to his own account, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881), Davis had found his term as secretary of war the most satisfying and happy time of his political career. Nonetheless, Davis was wholeheartedly devoted to the Confederacy rather than to Mississippi—something that could not be said with confidence of all central government officials in the South, many of whom put the welfare of their home state before that of the Confederacy. Davis embraced the theory of centralized control, and thereby sacrificed some of the jealously guarded individual sovereignty of seceded states.

The Davis administration was the only national government the Confederacy would ever have, and it mirrored that of the federal government in most of its aspects with the exception of the term of its president, which was set at six years, rather than four. Davis, therefore, did not have to deal with a reelection campaign in the mist of a changing series of wartime successes and failures as did Lincoln. Nonetheless, the Confederate cabinet was in constant turmoil even during the earliest and most successful years of the war for the South.

The details surrounding the Davis administration have attracted a good deal of second thinking concerning his abilities as a political leader and the government's ideological roots. The Confederate government lasted somewhat less than the six years its constitution had envisioned for the presidency making scholarly arguments concerning the lack of a two-party system, a single-term presidency, and the effects of state's rights on a centralized system of governance somewhat superfluous.

—*James M. Volo*

Third Parties

In the decade before the Civil War, third parties became an important part of national politics for the first time. Federalists and anti-Federalists (aka Jeffersonian Republicans, Democratic-Republicans) had faced off during the early years of the Republic, and the Whigs had emerged in the 1830s as the leading second party opposing the Democrats, when the Federalists had collapsed after the War of 1812. It seemed for the first seven decades that two and only two parties could compete for national recognition at a time. Many of the older issues that had driven the two-party system had been resolved by 1848. The tariff, the National Bank, and the regulation of internal commerce rank high among these. At mid-century, both the Whigs and Democrats were searching for new issues that would mobilize the voters behind the old party structure. This attempt to underscore the meaning of the old parties was to have far-reaching consequences as political and social agendas began driving forward proposals that required strong federal action. One unforeseen consequence of trying to bolster the old parties was that, ironically, it eventually led to the virtual dissolution of both.

A political realignment of the old two-party system composed of Whigs and Democrats can be seen in the reaction to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. A product of the optimism of the Northern Democrats and Stephen Douglas, the Kansas-Nebraska Act seemingly sabotaged the political compromises over slavery that had characterized the previous decades of American politics. The measure was popular among Northern Democrats, and the Southern Democrats gave it support, but its passage ultimately caused a split in the party. Moderates in the North felt betrayed. Outraged by the act, Northern voters began to speak of the existence of a slave power conspiracy. In response, moderates in the South began to harden their position and seriously consider disunion.

While the Northern Democrats were hurt by the response to the act, the Whigs were devastated by it. The Southern wing of the Whig Party, sympathetic to compromise on the slavery issue, bolted, thereafter aligning themselves with the Southern Democrats; and the Whig Party, already weak after years of deterioration, was left in disarray and all but destroyed. A serious misreading of the temper of the voters had taken place, and they were left simmering in anger at the old parties. Significantly, this political upheaval came at a time when the old party system was already suffering from weakening voter support and poor party discipline. Yet in the wake of the disaster that followed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, interest in politics and political discussions increased, and several new parties moved in to fill the void.

Among these, two major new parties stood out, the Nativists and the Republicans. The Nativist (or American) Party rose very rapidly in popularity but failed in carrying its agenda to the national scene. The Republicans, after a strong showing in

1856, managed to win the White House in 1860, a victory that brought secession and then civil war.

The 1856 election proved to be the death knell of the old two-party system of Democrats and Whigs. In the presidential race the Republicans championed the slogan "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont and Victory." John C. Frémont may have been made a national hero for his role in mapping and exploring the West, but he was an unacceptable presidential candidate in the South. Governor John Wise warned that if Frémont won the 1856 election, Virginia would secede. Consequently, the Democrats, fearing to incur the wrath of the Northern voter by nominating Stephen A. Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, decided to run James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. Buchanan won the election against Frémont due to the entry into the race of a weak candidate from the American Party, a coalition of Nativists and Know-Nothings. This third party candidate was former president Millard Fillmore. Buchanan received only a minority of the popular votes for president, yet he handily won the electoral college.

The Republican Party benefited from the collapse of the Nativists; developing more slowly, it avoided a similar meteoric rise and fall. Even early Republicans were astute politicians. The party agenda called for no further extension of slavery into the territories—the common interest that bought together the former Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats, Free Soilers, Nativists, and others into the party. The positions also taken on abolition, education, internal improvements, and free labor were all carefully crafted to foster a positive public impression of the party (Volo and Volo 1998, 16–18).

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

Crime and Criminals

Crime took on new definitions in the nineteenth century as the nature and style of crimes changed with massive immigration, the emergence of a mass urban society, and the ready availability of firearms. In addition, corporations and government entities used injunctions to halt the power of labor unions, and this strategy was upheld in 1895 by the Supreme Court. The Comstock Law represented Victorian efforts to criminalize the growing sex industry by attacking pornographic and obscene materials (including birth control information) sent through the mail. Many states built modern penitentiaries and cities further professionalized their police forces. In 1880, census data indicates the United States had 13,700 police officers serving in varying capacities. The white elite criminalized many behaviors in an attempt to suppress vice, to contain the militancy of organized labor, and to control immigrant populations and newly freed African Americans (Shrock 2004, 11).

Youth and Street Gangs

The seeming lawlessness of the nineteenth century often stemmed from violence and criminal behavior of young men. Ironically, even as middle-class thinkers were reconstructing upper-class children into innocents, who should be allowed to play and display their creativity, they increasingly came to fear the violence and crime of working-class youth, who seemed to have no controls placed on them. Shocking crimes were common on the streets of most cities, and the newspapers fed on the media frenzy surrounding any youthful killer, printing sometimes wild speculations concerning how a boy could commit malicious acts of violence. A *New York Times* editorial (July 26, 1874) clearly illustrated American's fascination and fear of a boy "who kills other boys and girls for no other reason than the love of inflicting torture and death, and a curiosity to see how they will act while he cuts their throats and stabs them" (Shrock 2004, 37).

Shocking crimes were part of the perceived overall lawlessness in the great cities of the United States, which was brazenly exhibited by street-corner gangs. Reformer Jacob Riis reported on the prevalence and misdeeds of these gangs in *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). "Every corner has its gangs," claims Riis, and they were made up of "the American-born sons of English, Irish, and German parents." The Alley Gang, Rag Gang, Wyho Gang, Rock Gang, Dead Rabbits, Paradise Park Gang, Stable Gang, Short Tail Gang, Gophers, Dutch Mob, Battle Row Gang, Gas House Gang, and many others populated the street corners of New York's neighborhoods and other cities had their counterparts. Gang members sported distinctive hats, shirts, and pants (Shrock 2004, 37).

Urban neighborhoods were sometimes referred to by descriptive sobriquets such as Hell's Kitchen, the Back Bay, China Town, or Germantown among many others. Some of these names continue in use today. One of the worst and most crime ridden ethnic neighborhoods was Five Points in New York City, named for the conjunction of streets at its center. Philip Hone, mayor of the city, noted that gangs of young men were often seen stalking the streets in the Bowery, on Canal Street, and near the infamous Five Points. In one case several houses and a church were destroyed, and it took 3,000 militia to quell the disturbances (Volo and Volo 2007, 15).

Juvenile crime, in particular, increased at a frightful rate, and even the interposition of the Children's Aid Society and similar philanthropic organizations failed to stem its growth. The perpetuation of such social ills was ascribed at the time to a lack of public will in implementing the appropriate cures, which the reformers thought they had clearly identified. Yet the dire predictions were borne out by the subsequent decades of urban poverty even in the face of best efforts by governmental and private agencies. A number of distinctive American characters appeared on the stage at this time including the tough-fisted, tenement-dwelling Bowery B'hoy. However, there was little for the average law-abiding citizen to like about the gangs or their members, and some critics found the character vulgar, coarse, and in bad taste (Volo and Volo 2007, 12).

The gangs of young ruffians thrived on bravado, impressing their peers with stunning escapades and surviving on robbery and petty theft. Members commonly abused the use of alcohol as well as drugs like morphine, the opiate laudanum, and cocaine—all of which were legally available at the time. The Hudson Dusters were notorious for their cocaine use, and they were feared for their violence when under the influence of the drug. Riis reported that in New York City over one-eighth of those arrested were under the age of 20. The casual violence of these gangs was well known and frightening. Within 30 minutes of a visit to the infamous Montgomery Guards, Riis found two gang members in police custody accused of robbing a peddler and of trying to cut off his head for the fun of it (Shrock 2004, 37).

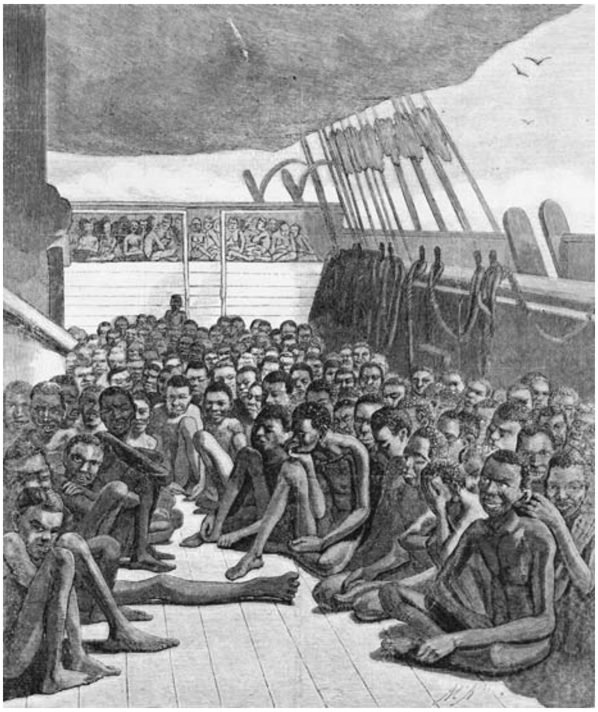
—*James M. Volo*

INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade

The role of the U.S. Navy during our nation's first tottering steps toward the abolition of race-based slavery is often overlooked. Slavery within the United States was not totally abolished when Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. That would have to wait for a constitutional amendment. Nonetheless, President Thomas Jefferson had made the international trade and transportation of slaves illegal a half-century earlier in 1808 by signing the U.S. Slave Trade Act.

From the start, the act proved unenforceable largely because of Jefferson's opposition to an advanced program of naval shipbuilding. The lack of ships denied the U.S. government any power to halt the slave trade where it was weakest—in the Middle Passage at sea. At the same time, rising cotton production in the South was expanding the demand for slave labor, and slave ships continued to take blacks from West Africa and the Caribbean and secretly bring them in to American ports for black-market sale and trade. Perhaps as many as 50,000 slaves came in that way. Estimates show that by 1860 there were more than 3.6 million black slaves in the states that were to form the Confederacy, and almost all were American born.



Slaves huddled on the deck of a slave ship. Courtesy Library of Congress.

The efforts of the U.S. Navy to suppress the international slave trade through cooperation with the British Royal Navy were initially hindered due to the antagonism left over from the Revolution, and all efforts were suspended during the War of 1812. Under several treaties between 1817 and 1830, the Spanish and Portuguese also made the slave trade illegal. The plantation South despised the agreements, but the U.S. Navy was, nonetheless, required to help enforce them. It was common for abolitionist forces in America to complain that the navy was not taking the law seriously. They pointed out that while the British Royal Navy went out of its way to actively patrol the West coast of Africa and the Caribbean for slavers, the Americans only seemed to enforce the restrictions when it was convenient. Nonetheless, Sir George Collier, commander of the British antislavery squadron, reported that the American navy on all occasions acted with the greatest zeal and the most perfect unanimity with His Majesty's forces with respect to stopping the slavers.

In May 1820, Congress passed a new bill, which allowed severe punishment for violation of the Slave Trade Act. Slaving at sea was thereafter considered an act of piracy and any American caught could be punished with death. The navy was empowered to seize slave ships wherever they were found. President James Monroe allocated $100,000 to enforce the act immediately sending a flotilla of warships to the African coast. This was the first occasion on which the United States acted against slavery as an international partner with Britain.

In 1843, a permanent African Squadron under Matthew C. Perry was sent to patrol all known slave harbors, but he was called away to serve with the Gulf Squadron during the Mexican War in 1846. The African Squadron continued but remained undermanned until the Civil War.

—*James M. Volo*

The Trent Affair

In March 1861, the Confederate secretary of state dispatched several diplomats to Europe. Among these were William L. Yancey, Pierre Rost, and A. Dudley Mann. Each carried letters from the Confederate government promising advantageous treatment with regard to Southern cotton. The price was recognition of the Confederate States of America. These men were received cordially but coolly in Britain and France. In May, Queen Victoria extended so-called belligerent rights to Confederate vessels and neutral shipping carrying military supplies and raw materials to the South. The federal government was furious at this development, but nothing else seemed likely to happen on the diplomatic front.

In November 1861, James M. Mason and John Slidell sailed from Havana, Cuba on the British ship *Trent*. The next day, while in international waters, the United States warship *San Jacinto* overtook the *Trent*, and a boarding party removed Mason and Slidell. Charles Wilkes, the federal captain, brought the two men under arrest to Boston. The British were incensed and threatened war. U.S. Ambassador Charles Francis Adams did all he could to calm the situation suggesting strongly that Wilkes had acted without orders, and promising the Mason and Slidell would be released. By the time the two Southern diplomats reached London and Paris, respectively, the furor had died. Neither man was greatly effective in their diplomatic role.

—*James M. Volo*

The Southern Quest for Recognition

The Southern war effort was supplemented by the efforts of Confederate agents in Europe, such as Mason and Slidell. Although foreign recognition escaped them, several Confederate agents were successful in other ways. James D. Bullock was responsible for building and arming a number of Confederate vessels in Britain. Bullock has been characterized as "worth far more to the Confederacy than most of its best-known generals" (Stern 1962, 34). Edwin De Leon, former U.S. Consul to Egypt, resigned his federal post and sailed to Europe to oversee Southern propaganda efforts in Britain and France. He was quite critical of the efforts of his colleagues, however. His candid visit with the British Prime Minister Palmerston in July 1862 convinced De Leon that recognition by Britain was a virtual impossibility as long as the South supported slavery. He left his interview with Napoleon III of France, however, with greater expectations suggesting that the Confederates promise to initiate gradual emancipation of slaves and to give France a monopoly on Southern cotton production in return for diplomatic recognition. But Union victories and effective diplomacy countered such measures. No nation recognized the Confederacy's independence.

DISCRIMINATION: NATIVISM

Nativism appeared intermittently throughout the century and under the guises of several All American movements that targeted immigrants, the best known being the Know-Nothing Party. The Nativist movement was truly reactionary and discriminatory in its nature. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Nativist propaganda was widely promulgated throughout the nation, and even those who disagreed with Nativist positions were well aware of them. Immigrants of all types were the targets of the Nativists. Between 1820 and 1860 the three major sources of origin of immigrants in the order of their numerical importance were Ireland, Germany, and Great Britain. These three countries supplied 85 percent of all immigrants to the United States in the antebellum period (Volo and Volo 2007, 13).

By mid-century more than half of the residents of New York and Boston were foreign born. In Philadelphia 30 percent of the population were immigrants, and major concentrations of Irish and Germans could be found in all three cities. San Francisco, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee also had large groups of foreign-born residents. Moreover, several Southern cities including Charleston, Mobile, Richmond, Memphis, and New Orleans supported a large proportion of free white immigrants mostly Irish and Germans, as laborers or skilled help (Volo and Volo 1998, 63).

Germans settled in Eastern cities outside New England. Others tended to separate themselves from traditional America by moving away from the cities into more rural agricultural areas in Pennsylvania and the upper Midwest. Immigrants from Britain continued to come to the United States in large numbers, but they were easily assimilated into the English-speaking, Protestant background of America, They were also the most likely to return to their home countries utilizing inexpensive steamships that encouraged frequent crossings (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 7).

Many of the immigrants to America were highly sectarian in their religious beliefs. Irish immigrants, in particular, introduced an ever increasing Roman Catholic presence into a largely Protestant urban population that was ill-disposed to accept them. Nativists were solidly Protestant and radically anti-Catholic in their rhetoric. For support they tapped into the growing fear and resentment that paralleled the rapid changes taking place in American society. Irish Catholics had an unfortunate history of poor relations with their Protestant cousins in Great Britain that followed them to the New World. They were considered the greatest threat to American unity before the war. Nativist rhetoric portrayed Catholics, and especially the Catholic immigrants, as crime-ridden and intemperate, a drag on the economy, and a danger to the fabric of society that might rise up on orders from the Pope to overthrow American culture (Volo and Volo 2007, 13).

The Irish were the first truly urban group in America. Poverty forced many into crowded slums rife with crime, drunkenness, and disease. They came in large numbers, generally during the Irish Potato Famine of 1845–1849. They were also the only immigrant group in which females outnumbered males. With men leaving the rural regions of Ireland to find work in the cities, Irish women had less of an opportunity to marry, which encouraged them to emigrate as well (Volo and Volo 2007, 13).

The Irish in America often considered themselves exiles, forced by poverty, famine, and British policy, to flee to Ireland. Poverty kept them in the United States. Their rate of return was so low that those who stayed behind in Ireland often held American wakes for those who were departing and for whom they never expected to return. This is borne out by the census statistics. The number of first generation Irish-Americans overtook the number of first-generation British-Americans in the 1870s even though twice as many Britons than Irish had arrived in America by that decade (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 8).

Many established Americans saw these developments only in prejudicial terms and blamed the slum-like conditions in which the Irish lived on the Irish themselves, ignoring the anti-Irish bigotry of employers and landlords. In addition to being the victims of social prejudice, the Irish were also accused of voting illegally, of selling their votes to unscrupulous politicians, and of engendering crime and immorality. Advertisements for help were often followed by signs stating "Irish Need Not Apply."

Among the Nativist texts circulating through the bookstores and publishing houses of America were a number of anti-Catholic works including escaped nun publications. The ostensible theme of this genre was the immorality of the Catholic Church and its institutions. While in the guise of being uplifting and informative, these stories actually served as a sort of pornographic literature. The most successful of the escaped nun stories was Maria Monk's *Awful Discourses of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* that was first published in 1834. Herein Maria detailed her stay in the Ursuline convent and charged that she saw holy sisters killed for failing to surrender their bodies to the lusts of the priests. Having been ravished in this manner herself, she claimed to be pregnant. Maria also detailed the hiding places of the bodies of the babies born to the inmates of the convent and killed to keep the awful secret of Catholic lust and degeneration. The book, conveniently interspersed with the intimate details of this sexual activity, claimed that the Roman Church actively promoted the "prostitution of female virtue and liberty under the garb of holy religion" (Wish 1950, 319).

Of course, Maria Monk's tale was as false as the author herself. She was almost immediately unmasked as a prostitute of long standing who had never seen the inside of a convent. Unscrupulous publicists and radical crusaders continued to use the work with reckless abandon, however. A mob of about 50 workmen, incensed in part by the book, took it upon themselves to burn the Mount Benedict Ursuline Convent-School in Charlestown near Boston in 1834. Irish Catholic homes were burned, and a number of Irish men were attacked in the streets. In 1844 a similar incident took place in Philadelphia where two Catholic churches and 30 homes were burned. Protestant crusaders clashed with Irish Catholic bands, leaving more than a dozen dead and scores injured. *Awful Discourses*, more popular than most slave narratives and antislavery tracts of the period, sold more than 300,000 copies before the Civil War, a volume of sales rivaled at the time only by Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Stories of the Maria Monk genre were trotted out again by anti-Catholic forces in 1928 when Alfred E. Smith, a Catholic, ran for president of the United States, but they were too blatantly obvious to impact a more sophisticated electorate in 1960 when John F. Kennedy, also a Catholic, ran for office (Wish 1950, 319).

As late as 1869, a Protestant minister lashed out against the Catholics from his own pulpit, "Only by fusing all foreign elements into our common nationality and making our entire population in spirit and intent Americans, shall we preserve our unity and concord as a nation" (Sutherland 2000, 234). The Catholic archbishop of New York, John Hughes, took an unquestionably militant stand in defense of his church. He rallied the largely Irish Catholic population of the city in defense of Catholic institutions, and surrounded churches, convents, and schools with armed guards after his house was attacked by anti-Catholic, anti-Irish rioters. Hughes also fought to have anti-Catholic books banned from the public schools. Hughes also undertook a series of lectures in which he predicted the inevitable victory of Catholicism over the Protestant heresy.

Unable to remove Protestantism from the public schools, Hughes set up his own system of Catholic education, as did bishops elsewhere. Sectarian control over education in Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts in operation since colonial times had gradually declined. However, the development of free public schools under state control caused a continuing controversy over questions of state aid for religious programs that were a common feature of nineteenth-century education.

In October 1841, Hughes made an inflammatory speech supporting the alteration of school funding to inhibit the commingling of religious and public monies, and attempting, according the New York's Mayor Phillip Hone, "to mix up religion with politics—an unpalatable dish." Hone was in New York in 1841 when Governor William Seward authorized the use of state money "for the establishment of separate schools for the children of foreigners, and their instruction by teachers of their own faith and language." The public outcry that followed this pro-Catholic decision was as immediate as it was massive. Seward was faced with the partisan charge of trying to curry favor with the Irish Catholics, and it was alleged that he was in a conspiracy with Hughes. The final result of the New York controversy was the elimination of all Bibles and Bible reading from the tax-supported schools. Hone observed, "Bishop Hughes…deserves a cardinal's hat at least for what he has done in placing Irish Catholics upon the necks of native New Yorkers" (Nevins 1927, 570).

Ironically, this very early separation of church and state crusade, led by a priest, clearly sharpened the dispute and helped to swell the ranks of the Nativists in the political campaigns of the 1840s and 1850s, which used anti-Catholicism and the evils of Popery as foundation stones of their all-American rhetoric.

Nativists tapped into these widely held feelings appealing for a wide-ranging all-Americanism in their political platform, and they pointed to the acceptance of Catholics by the Northern wing of the Democratic Party as proof that the old political system would fail to support traditional American values. By tapping into a growing sense of resentment of politics as usual, out of touch with the pulse of the people and dedicated only to entrenched interests, the Nativists found an agenda designed to ensure the defeat of the old parties.

The Nativists were deeply immersed in the evangelical movement, and they were strongly supported by some of the finest established families of the North. Politically, they made some gains at the state level, especially in Massachusetts, only to have the party collapse after a few years because it came apart over the slavery question and failed to reform governments when it did win elections locally. Nativists were particularly embarrassed by their inability to bring about the passage of more stringent immigration laws. They did poorly with Southerners, who were more accepting of immigrants and more tolerant of Catholicism than many in the North. More generally, the Nativists failed because of their lack of political experience, their association with several prominent old party Whigs, and their violent anti-Catholic rhetoric, which bothered many politically active Protestants (Volo and Volo 2000, 200–201).

—James M. Volo

REFORM: FROM SLAVERY TO CONTRABAND

Reforming the system of slavery into one that recognized freedmen as equals was no simple task. No one knew what to do with the flood of escaped or newly freed blacks that came streaming into the federal lines at the beginning of the war. Such a volume of displaced persons, especially women and children, had not been anticipated. In spring 1861 the first of this wave of escaped slaves to appear were those that came to Fortress Monroe, an old federal installation near Norfolk, on the southeastern tip of Virginia. They had been working on nearby Confederate fortifications, and took advantage of the proximity of Union lines to flee. By July 1861, at least 900 slaves had gained their freedom at Fortress Monroe, but while they had been given food and shelter, they had also been put to work on the federal entrenchments.

Over the next four years, tens of thousands of African Americans changed their status from slaves to contrabands by fleeing to Union army posts and occupied territory. Many of these were house servants and skilled craftsmen from local plantations who thought they had the most to gain through freedom and the best chance to integrate into the black community in the North. Most escaped to northern and southeastern Virginia, the Sea Islands off South Carolina, parts of Tennessee, and other places taken over by Union forces early in the war. Thousands fled south. At least 50,000 crowded into enclaves along the Mississippi River, from Cairo, Illinois, all the way south to New Orleans, Louisiana, one of the first cities to have fallen to federal forces (April 1862).

Some of the temporary contraband camps grew into functioning villages, with schools, churches, and shops. Freedman's Village, built along the Potomac River on the site of Robert E. Lee's property in Arlington, Virginia (and now occupied by Arlington National Cemetery), was created to relieve the severe crowding among 10,000 or so black refugees living in the District of Columbia. The government built whitewashed duplexes for the refugees in the village, employed them in workshops and on government farms, and provided a school, chapel, and hospital. Another model contraband camp grew near Corinth, Mississippi, where slaves from northern Mississippi and Alabama and southern Tennessee began arriving after the federal victory at nearby Shiloh (April 1862). The contrabands built themselves log cabins along the streets laid out and numbered by the army engineers. The little town was even divided into wards. Like Freedman's Village, the camp at Corinth soon had a school, hospital, stores, an administrative office, and a church. Within a few months, some of the African American men had been organized into a kind of militia, relieving white troops of the necessity of guarding the camp. A number of American Missionary Association workers came to Corinth to teach and to preach, and by the summer of 1863 there were nearly 400 pupils attending school. The Union Christian Church of Corinth, as the missionaries called their little chapel, regularly attracted hundreds of worshipers to services that sometimes featured the preaching of four black ministers recently escaped from slavery. More than 300 children attended Sunday School classes. Families were also encouraged to grow their own food in individual gardens; a little cotton field and a large field of vegetables for the hospital were also maintained. The Corinth camp, by the summer of 1863, had become a fully functioning little town.

However, most contrabands did not experience such well-organized and improving conditions. In some places, freed slaves had to live in old packing crates, tobacco barns, sod huts, and, if they were lucky, abandoned houses. Single rooms sometimes housed six families. The supplies that were supposed to be distributed to the contrabands were sometimes sold on the black market by army officers or other officials, and the medical care in the camps (usually provided by army surgeons) was unreliable. Many camps offered material deprivations to the escaped slaves rivaling if not exceeding those of the plantations from which they had escaped.

A Northern woman working at a hospital for freedmen in the middle of a muddy field near Washington began her description by writing, "If I were to describe this hospital it would not be believed." In this place "are gathered all the colored people who have been made free by the progress of our Army." The overburdened hospital cared for "all cripples, diseased, aged, wounded, inform, from whatsoever cause." Their patients included black army teamsters beaten nearly to death by white soldiers and desperate mothers carrying dying children into camp. Up to 50 sick, injured, or simply exhausted men, women, and children arrived each day. At least one baby was born daily, but nurses "have no baby clothes except as we wrap them up in an old piece of muslin. . . . This hospital consists of all the lame, halt, and blind escaped from slavery" (Heidler and Heidler 2007, 174).

Conditions in some makeshift camps were even worse. An agent for the Cincinnati Contraband Relief Commission revealed the horror of some contrabands' lives when he described a temporary shelter near Davis Bend, Mississippi. In an open cattle shed lived 35 "poor wretched helpless Negroes." The band consisted of a nearly blind man, 5 women, and 29 children all under the age of 12 years.

Not surprisingly, the death rates in the teeming camps soared, especially among the children. Out of the 4,000 black refugees living in Helena, Arkansas, in 1863–1864, about 1,100 died. In Memphis, 1,200 out of 4,000 contrabands died in only three months, while the camp at Natchez suffered a nearly 50 percent mortality rate in 1863. To make matters worse, Confederate guerrillas frequently attacked defenseless contraband settlements, sometimes kidnapping and selling men, women, and children—each of whom brought as much as $100 in federal money on the slave market.

The blacks living in government camps—men, women, and children—rarely received food and shelter free of charge. Contraband of all ages had to work in return for the security, rations, and housing the army provided. By the age of 10 or 12, as they had as slaves, freed children took their places in the fields alongside older African Americans.

Yet many of these newly freed children—not to mention adult contrabands—also had access to schools. After living their entire lives in a society that actually made it illegal for them to learn to read or write, the contrabands eagerly crowded into schools of all sizes and in all conditions almost as soon as they reached federal lines. An escaped slave opened one of the first schools for black students in Norfolk in the fall of 1861; two years later there were 21 teachers in 11 schools with 3,000 day and night students of all ages. Scores of individuals, missionary associations, and even the army sponsored or staffed schools throughout the occupied South; over 1,400 men and women were teaching in 975 schools for blacks in the year after the war ended. These schools ranged in size from a few girls being taught by a lone teacher (sometimes the young daughters of Union army officers) to the 1,422 in public schools run by the military in New Orleans and more than 14,000 in schools operated in rural parishes in southern Louisiana.

A number of the teachers in contraband schools were African American—some escaped slaves themselves. In fact, the American Missionary Association's first school in Norfolk opened under the leadership of Mary Smith Peake, the free daughter of a white man and a mulatto woman. The school would later become Hampton Institute, alma mater of Booker T. Washington and other notable black leaders. Some teachers, such as "Uncle" Cyrus White, who taught school in Beaufort for several months in 1863; William D. Harris, a plasterer, and his assistant, Amos Wilson, who taught at Grosport, North Carolina were former slaves. But most black teachers came from the North in the employ of the American Missionary Association (AMA). Edmonia Highgate of Syracuse, New York, had lectured and raised money for the AMA before the war and had taught in the Binghamton public schools; she became a teacher and a principal in Norfolk before the war. Her colleague, Sara G. Stanley, came from Cleveland via Oberlin College. A teacher at the AMA school at Camp Baker in Washington, Stanley was a former slave, but she had been an educator and writer in Brooklyn for 20 years before joining the AMA. Northern publications produced flash cards and textbooks for contraband schools. The American

Tract Society even published a monthly magazine, *The Freedman*, to be distributed to black soldiers and to be used in contraband schools (Heidler and Heidler 2007, 173–75).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Broder, Sherri. *Tramps, Unfit Mothers, and Neglected Children: Negotiating the Family in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
Cook, Fred J. "The Slave Ship Rebellion." *American Heritage*, Feb. 1957, 60–64, 104–15.
Davis, William C., ed., *Secret History of Confederate Diplomacy: Edwin De Leon, Late Confidential Agent of the Confederate Department of State in Europe*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.
Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds. *Daily Life of Civilians in Wartime Early America, From the Colonial Era to the Civil War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Jones, Howard. *Mutiny on the Amistad*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
Nevins, Allan, ed. *The Diary of Philip Home, 1828–1851*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1927.
Perkins, Robert. "Diplomacy and Intrigue, Confederate Relations with the Republic of Mexico, 1861–1862." http://members.tripod.com/~azrebel/page11.html (accessed August 2007).
Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Stern, Philip Van Doren. *The Confederate Navy: A Pictorial History*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962.
Stewart, James Brewer. *Holy Warriors, The Abolitionists and American Slavery*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.
Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
———. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wish, Harvey. *Society and Thought in Early America, A Social and Intellectual History of the American People through 1865*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950.

Recreational Life

DIVERSIONS IN THE CAMPS

The daily regime of life in the camps allowed little in the way of free time for the soldiers. Drill, fatigue duty, cutting trees and brush, collecting firewood, digging entrenchments, foraging, and service in the outposts consumed most of the soldiers' day when he was not marching or fighting. Just keeping warm and supplied with dry cloths required a great deal of time. After a hard day most soldiers were happy to cook and eat a meal, down a cup of hot coffee, and roll up in their blankets to catch some much-needed sleep.

Nonetheless, individuals and groups did find some time for entertainment. Writing letters and journals, reading, whittling, and drawing were common activities. Simple musical instruments—notably the banjo and harmonica—were played in camp, and singing was a great pastime. Games such as checkers, chess, and dice were popular, as were a number of card games. Common civilian board games were often crudely reproduced on a piece of canvas or the inside of the ubiquitous gum blanket (raincoat), and played with stones, bones, or corncobs as game pieces. Gambling was strictly forbidden by the Article of War, but the prohibition was almost impossible to enforce. Nonetheless, in many instances, soldiers feared being found dead on the battlefield with gambling implements like cards or dice in their possession because they might disappoint their parents or loved ones.

—James M. Volo

SPORTS AND GAMES

Games have always been popular in America, and in the nineteenth century, indoor board games were just coming into their own. Many games dated from the eighteenth century, and they served as inspiration for a host of nineteenth-century imitators. American board makers copied other games as well, especially those that were newly popular in Britain. Americans were a sporting people seemingly in love with the out-of-doors lifestyle in the nineteenth century, but they were also individualistic, gravitating toward solitary activities like hunting and fishing. Both soldiers and civilians attempted to entertain themselves during the Civil War years through the use of sports, games, reading, the playing of music, and attendance at lectures, the theater, or the opera.

This grouping illustrates an American family of the "better sort" with its playthings, including balls, hoops, teeter-totters, and a cricket bat. It is hard to imagine children recreating themselves in the clothing they are wearing. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Upper-class families throughout the nation frequently tried to absent themselves from the cities during the fever seasons that came with the intolerably hot and humid weather of summer. In the antebellum years, upper-class families throughout the nation frequently took long vacations in the mountains or at the seashore. Much of this activity was curtailed during the war, and American families soon resorted to a variety of optical toys, board games, and crafts that could be practiced in their drawing rooms and parlors. Many of these were closely associated with the war effort as with the making of flags, the rolling of bandages, or the writing of war poems. Outside the home civilians attended lectures given by politicians, abolitionists, reformers, preachers, or war heroes. The war created great difficulties with regard to recreation—more in the South than in the North.

Team sports did not gain popularity until the 1840s. English-style cricket was played in America. There were, for instance, organized clubs and cricket pitches in Staten Island, New York, but the breadth of the sport's popularity is open to question. Nonetheless, period illustrations sometimes show cricket bats among children's toys, but these may have been based on British rather than American concepts of sport. There was a rudimentary form of football popular among the college set that was remarkably similar to English rugby and adapted to any terrain or number of players. These early football games were "splendidly unorganized and offered a fine spectacle of players scrimmaging in stovepipe hats" (Bishop 1969, 58).

Although the first recorded intercollegiate athletic contest was a boat race held between the rowing clubs of Harvard and Yale in 1852 on Lake Winnipesaukee in New Hampshire, the first truly organized team sport in America was probably baseball, which may trace its origins in America back to 1825.

Baseball

In 1825 a local newspaper editor, Thurlow Weed, organized a baseball team in Rochester, New York, at Mumford's Meadow. Nonetheless, Abner Doubleday is generally credited with beginning the sport at Cooperstown, New York in 1839. However, Doubleday was in attendance at West Point Military Academy in 1839 making it highly unlikely that he would have time to organize the sport (Andrews 2002, 23). By the 1840s baseball had evolved into a recognizable sport with teams and rules resembling those of modern times. Some obvious differences between the modern and early forms of the game are the lack of baseball gloves, catcher's masks, and other protective equipment. Of course, the ball itself was not as hard and did not carry as far as modern ones.

Although some form of baseball was played by the soldiers in the camps during the Civil War, which may have led to its association with General Doubleday, there is no dependable description of the game extant from that time. A National League with uniform rules governing the game was not adopted until after the conflict was over. The National Association of Base Ball Players, an organization of amateur clubs, adopted the first set of official rules at a convention in 1866.

Professional baseball was particularly popular near the end of the century, and baseball parks were opened to accommodate crowds that sometimes numbered 20,000. The simple wooden structures that served as seats for the spectators were a hazard. In the 1890s there were at least two dozen major ballpark fires, and in several cases the stands simply collapsed under the weight of the fans. At the turn of the century baseball parks began to be built of strong, fireproof steel and reinforced concrete. By the 1910s baseball was being heralded as the national sport.

Softball was not invented until 1887. George W. Hancock organized the first game indoors using boxing gloves and a broom. Although the equipment became more baseball-like in the interim, the game did not move outdoors until 1895. The sport was very popular with groups of adults and students at school during the depression of the 1930s. From its inception, softball has been known by several names including Depression Ball, Diamond Ball, Kitten Ball, Fast Ball, Recreation Ball, and, of course, Playground Ball.

—James M. Volo

FENCING AND SWORDSMANSHIP

Nowhere in America, and possibly in the Western world, was dueling so universally practiced as in the South in the antebellum years. It was in New Orleans that the practice reached its zenith from 1830 to 1860. This period is often called the Golden Age of Dueling. The specter of becoming involved in an affair of honor shadowed every public social and political events, and there were few men of prominence that had not issued or accepted a challenge. A nineteenth-century commentator, Major Ben C. Truman, noted that the purpose of the duel was to resolve a point of honor, not simply to kill an opponent. For this reason swords or rapiers were considered the proper weapons for a duel. Those who lost sight of this were often looked upon as murderers by purists, who saw the process as an exercise in character. Although seen as uniquely Southern, dueling actually had a long history throughout America. Aaron Burr had killed Alexander Hamilton in a pistol duel in New Jersey (Volo and Volo 2000, 83).

Swordsmanship in the eighteenth century had been taught largely by dancing masters; but as the activity became more popular, these masters abandoned their dance students to teach the finer points of fence, lunge, and parry. The basics of the fence were essentially established at Domenico Angelo's fencing school in England, and these fundamentals of posture, footwork, attack, and defense remain largely unchanged even today. These students were intended to prepare for real combat, and while padded jackets were common, no masks were used.

Well-known duelists occupied much the same position in society that sports figures hold today. They were followed through the streets, given the best tables in restaurants and the finest seats in theaters, and their mannerisms and fighting styles were copied by young men. It was, nonetheless, against the law to duel, and for this reason no attempt was made to keep a record of the number of encounters or of the butcher list that proceeded from them. Estimates put the number of duels between 1830 and 1860 in the thousands, and the fatalities in the hundreds.

The violence of the Civil War seemingly quenched the thirst of most duelists for killing, but the popularity of swordsmanship as a physical activity remained. The need to train swordsmen for combat in a nonlethal manner at military schools and academies led the activity to have a sporting component from its beginnings. Cadets practiced with the spadroon (a light straight-bladed military sword of the cut and thrust type), the rapier (a straight cutting and thrusting weapon popular in dueling), and the heavy cavalry sabre with its curved blade. These addressed the combat needs of infantry and cavalry officers, but in the postwar years their use fell into disfavor rapidly due to the widespread availability of revolvers as battlefield sidearms. Bayonet fencing experienced a somewhat slower decline and was still being pursued at a few schools in the 1940s and 1950s.

Many schools and colleges adopted fencing as a physical activity in the second half of the nineteenth century where the instruction was intended for competition rather than bloodletting. The purposes of sport fencing were far removed from their martial roots, and fencing was largely followed to train competing athletes in the most effective tactics to use within the rules of the sport. Academic fencing eschewed sharp blades and utilized padding and masks to prevent unwanted injuries.

The Amateur Fencers League of America was founded in 1891, and collegiate competitions were held under the auspices of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). Fencing competitions were recognized by the Olympics in 1896. Most of the conventions and vocabulary used in American fencing were established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by European sword masters especially those from Italy and Hungary. Perhaps the most notable of these was Italo Santelli, who was active from the 1880s until the 1940s. It would be an error to underestimate the influences of Prussian swordsmen in the development of the sport. Prussian educational theories concerning academics, discipline, and, particularly, physical education were very popular among American educators. The types of sporting fence were organized around the foil, épée, and sabre and were recognized in competition. While competition points could be scored only with the points of the foil or épée, they could be scored with the blade, flat, and point of the sabre.

—James M. Volo

MUSIC

Before the Civil War, the most common means of distributing a song was by word of mouth. Though formal printed sheet music scores were popular with the musically trained and the upper classes, most Americans lacked the ability to read music and were more likely to learn songs by simple imitation. Thus, the most common means of song distribution were song sheets and songsters. Unlike sheet music, which contained the full musical score, song sheets were single printed sheets with lyrics but no musical notation except, perhaps, the name of the tune to which the lyrics were to be sung. Some of America's favorite songs, including "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," were originally distributed as song sheets. Although song sheets had been printed in the British Isles as early as the sixteenth century, their popularity in the United States reached its peak during the Civil War. Song sheets often fit new lyrics to familiar tunes, "Yankee Doodle" and "Just Before the Battle, Mother" being especially vulnerable to adaptation and parody. "The Last Rose of Summer" was parodied as "The Last Potato," a comical ode to the tuber. Other song sheets offered lyrics of newly written popular songs, and as such they provide a glimpse of the topics that dominated Civil War popular culture: the evils of alcohol, slavery, the grief of mourning, and the extremes of fashion were all popular subjects in song. Song sheets reflected civilian attitudes toward the war ranging from unbridled patriotism to hesitancy about the continuation of the conflict to even occasional war resistance. Many of the Civil War songs, like "Mother Kissed Me in My Dream," "The Children of the Battlefield," and "Lorena," were mawkishly sentimental.

The song sheets' counterpart was the songster or songbook. Like the song sheets, they contained only lyrics, but these inexpensive bound books, sometimes selling for just a few cents, usually contained from 60 to 100 selections gleaned from folksongs, ballads, popular songs, and minstrelsy. They usually indicated the tune to which the song was to be sung, in lieu of a printed score. By 1860, these small songbooks were published in America by the hundreds, but they became even more popular during the war, as soldiers carried the slim volumes in their packs. Songs were also published in newspapers and magazines, especially in the South. In taverns, in town squares, and in houses, songs were often accompanied by stringed instruments (and after the war by the piano). The banjo was generally the folk instrument of choice, and it was the predominant instrument in minstrelsy and vaudeville.

Many Victorians believed that song could enhance and stimulate intellectual activity and instill correct moral values. Music could make for a happier and more useful life on earth and even carry on toward heaven. One of the leading proponents of this philosophy, William B. Bradbury (1816–1868), published 921 of his own hymns, more than three million copies of which had been sold by the end of the nineteenth century. His best known was *Esther, the Beautiful Queen* (1856), a long musical drama based on the biblical Book of Esther. By the end of the war, 255,000 copies of *Esther* were in circulation.

During the war years and the sentimental decades that followed, popular music served as a cohesive force in American society. Songs often served as a form of self-entertainment or accompanied tedious labor such as railroad construction, dock work, or field work. Some workers accumulated large repertoires, taking solace from hard labor in their singing. Everywhere the beneficial and useful influence exerted by music on the individual, and on society in general, was recognized. Song energized an increasingly politicized and partisan population. The editor of *Songs of the People: The Union Republican Campaign Glee Book* (1868) stated unequivocally that the party that sang the loudest, longest, and oftenest was always sure to win the election. What was sound judgment for political campaigning was equally valid for boosting general spirits and morale.

Classical music during this period was largely reserved for the upper classes and therefore had limited distribution. Symphony orchestras, where they existed at all, were likely to be temporary organizations convened for a season with whatever free-lance musicians might be available. In the larger cities, the new Italian operas of Giuseppe Verdi and the English operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan were special favorites, but in general, classical music failed to attract much of a following outside the metropolitan areas, the proliferation of small town opera houses (which were more likely to host melodramas and burlesque than opera) notwithstanding.

A few individuals sought to direct and cultivate the general public's musical taste, however. George Templeton Strong, a New York lawyer whose passion was the music of Beethoven, recognized the urgency of accommodating the growing middle class. After a night at the Academy of Music in New York, he wrote that nine-tenths of the assemblage cared nothing for Beethoven's music and had chattered and looked about and wished it was over. He felt that the beneficial value of such music lay in bringing masses of people into contact with it.

Of all the popular composers of the period immediately preceding the Civil War, the favorite was Stephen Collins Foster (1826–1864). Because his music fit the sentiment of the period, it was popular during the war and into the period of Reconstruction.

Foster was born near Pittsburgh and was a musical prodigy. He learned to play the guitar and flageolet (a kind of flute) and wrote high-quality ballads and songs that drew heavily on black and white folk traditions. Foster soon discovered that he could earn a living composing songs for minstrel shows, a popular form of entertainment in which white performers darkened their faces with burnt cork and performed in stereotypical "Negroid" fashion. After the success of his "Old Uncle Ned" and "Oh Susannah," Foster composed mainly for E. P. Christy's Minstrels, one of the most important blackface troupes of the period. Foster eventually wrote some 400 songs, usually favoring themes common to everyday life in both the North and the South during the period—such as love, beauty, and contentment—although many of his characters had black faces. Many of Foster's greatest minstrel-show hits, such as "Old Folks at Home" (often incorrectly called "Way Down Upon the Suwannee River") (1852), "My Old Kentucky Home" (1853), "Old Black Joe" (1860), "Camp Town Races" (1852), and "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground" (1850) depict the South as a land of sunshine, nostalgia, contented whites and loyal, happy-go-lucky slaves—the common themes of many minstrel-show songs. In fact, Foster knew very little about the South from personal experience. Foster's sentimental songs, such as "Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair," "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming," "Beautiful Dreamer," "Gentle Annie," and "Our Bright Summer Days Have Gone" successfully exploited the sentimentality of the era. Despite his successes, Foster died in the New York Bowery an impoverished alcoholic, with three pennies, 35 cents worth of script, and the words "Dear Friends and Gentle Hearts"—perhaps the title of a new song—in his pocket.

The early 1850s saw the flowering of brass band music in America. The all-brass band was predominant in America during that decade, but European immigrants, who introduced woodwinds to the ensembles, were slowly influencing instrumentation. The New York Seventh Regiment Band introduced flutes, piccolos, and reed instruments as early as 1852. When Patrick S. Gilmore, the most popular and influential bandmaster of the Civil War era, introduced reed instruments into his brass band in 1859, it signaled the decline of the all-brass band.

The military used music to provide signals, sustain morale among the troops and lend an air of formality to ceremonial occasions. Military music consisted of two distinct types: field music and band music. Field musicians, including company drummers, fifers, and buglers, signaled troops in daily routine as well as in battle. Company musicians were often too young to enlist as regular soldiers. Drummer boys as young as 12 or 13 were celebrated in such popular songs as Will Hays's "The Drummer Boy of Shiloh" (1863), the poignant story of a youngster not old enough to shave but old enough to beat the drum and stop a bullet.

Military bands generally were brass and percussion ensembles originally ranging from 8 to 24 members and were usually attached to a regiment or brigade. Among the many unusual bands that entered military service was Frank Rauscher's cornet band from Germantown, Pennsylvania, composed of colorfully uniformed Zouaves from General Charles Collies's brigade. Collies had the good fortune to be associated with Captain F. A. Elliot, a wool merchant, who kept the troops supplied with fresh, Turkish-style uniforms and he donated money for their purchase of instruments. An unexpected glut of Union volunteer bands such as Rauscher's during the first year of the conflict caused the U.S. War Department to limit the number of ensembles, and the Confederacy soon imposed a similar limit. Congress passed a bill on July 17, 1862 that ordered the mustering out of regimental bands in October of the same year, and the War Department forbade the further enlistment of regimental bandsmen. With 10 companies to a regiment and 2 musicians generally allowed to each company, a regiment could assemble at most an ensemble of 20 men.

The musician's meager pay was usually supplemented by contributions from the unit's officers. The bandsmen also performed nonmusical, noncombat duties, often carrying stretchers and assisting in field hospitals. Gilmore's 24th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was required not only to play in camp, but also to follow the regiment into the field where the musicians were put to work as hospital corpsman. One member of the band appears to have been lost in action.

A full military brass band most often consisted of two or more E-flat cornets or saxhorns, two or more B-flat cornets or saxhorns, two alto horns, two tenor horns, one baritone horn, one brass horn and one percussion section of snare drum, brass drum, and cymbals. A few bands included woodwind instruments. The most common brass instruments in the bands of both sides were saxhorns, a valve-actuated bugle with a backward-pointing bell that directed the music to the troops parading behind the band. It was this last characteristic of the saxhorn that made it so noticeable among the bandsmen. Levels of skill varied widely among military musicians. While some musicians had learned to play only after enlisting, others, like the members of the band of the 25th South Carolina Infantry regiment, had been professional musicians before the war.

Away from the front, military bands supplied music for ceremonies and special events. Their repertoire ran the gamut from marches, patriotic songs, and dance tunes to hymns, funeral dirges, and special arrangements of overtures and other symphonic pieces.

The Confederacy did not have many professional composers, so it had to rely more on semiprofessional pieces, folk songs, and ballads. A Confederate favorite was "The Bonnie Blue Flag." First published by A. E. Blackmer & Brother in New Orleans, its origins are uncertain. Early editions state the tune was "composed, arranged and sung by Harry Macarthy, the Arkansas Comedian." Other sources credit the lyrics to Annie Chambers Ketchum and the melody to a derivation of an old Irish tune called "The Jaunting Car." The song so fired up the Confederates that it became anathema to Yankees. After the fall of New Orleans, General Benjamin Butler (dubbed "The Beast of New Orleans" by the Confederates) reportedly fined its publisher $500 and anybody caught singing the song had to cough up $25.

Another of the Confederacy's favorite songs, "The Homespun Dress," was a sentimental ode to the privations Southern women had to endure for the sake of their cause. A Lieutenant Harrington, who rode into Lexington, Kentucky, with Morgan's cavalry and was impressed by the quality and beauty of the ladies' homespun gowns, supposedly wrote this song. His song became popular, appealing to sentiment and promoting self-sacrifice, and was printed in numerous Civil War songbooks.

The most popular Confederate rallying song of the conflict, however, was "Dixie." Daniel D. Emmett composed the song in 1859 for Dan Bryant's minstrel show adaptation of the comedy *Pocahontas*. Emmett was Ohio born and one of the first white entertainers to perform in blackface. As a Northerner who opposed the war, he bitterly resented the way the Confederates appropriated his song for their own purposes but was never able to suppress their misuse of his piece. Originally titled, "I wish I was in Dixie's Land," it made its debut at Mechanics Hall, New York, on April 4, 1859. There is circumstantial evidence that Emmett first heard the tune in Ohio from two African American musicians, Ben and Lou Snowden.

With its lively tune and sentimental words and the walk around at the closing number, when the entire cast paraded across the stage, "Dixie" immediately became popular in all sections of the country. When it reached New Orleans in 1860, it became a favorite song onstage and off, and it grew to become the unofficial Confederate national anthem. Its seeming sympathy with Southern sentiment gave it appeal throughout the South and Southerners did everything possible to make "Dixie" their own song. Confederate citizens rewrote "Dixie" in at least 210 variations. Many were couched in terms of fire and valor. One popular Southern version was written by Confederate General Albert Pike: "Southrons, hear your country call you! / Up, lest worse than death befall you! / To Arms! To Arms! In Dixie Land!"

Emmett's original version of "Dixie" was played at the inauguration of Jefferson Davis in Montgomery, Alabama, in February 1861. Ironically, the song was also a favorite of Abraham Lincoln's. As the war drew to its conclusion in April 1865, Lincoln visited the Union camps below Richmond aboard the paddle wheeler, *River Queen*, accompanied by a young French count who said that he did not know "Dixie." When a band came aboard, Lincoln asked them to play the song, saying to the Frenchman: "The tune is now federal property, and its good to show the Rebels that with us in power, they will be free to hear it again. It has always been a favorite of mine, and since we've captured it, we have a perfect right to enjoy it." A week later, Lincoln ordered "Dixie" played as a peace offering upon Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

In the North, the heat of war generated numerous songs. Julia Ward Howe recast an old and popular hymn, "Say, Brother, Will You Meet Us?" into the firebrand "Battle Hymn of the Republic." With its powerful patriotic and religious undertones, Howe's piece, like "Dixie," occasionally underwent transformation. "John Brown's Body" was widely parodied in such songs as "Hang Abe Lincoln on a Sour Apple Tree," or, depending on the singer's point of view, "Hang Jeff Davis on a Sour Apple Tree."

"When Johnny Comes Marching Home" (1863), based on an Irish tune, has occasionally been revived in wartime. With its rollicking march tempo, the tune was adapted for numerous Civil War parodies. George F. Root's "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching" (1864) captured the foot soldier's spirit, as did Henry Clay Work's "Marching Through Georgia," one of the North's favorites.

On the home front, music was used to recruit volunteers, foster patriotism, and create public support for the war effort. Recruiting rallies relied on brass bands to attract crowds. Sheet music of the Civil War period often glorified the soldier's life or related sentimental tales of fallen heroes and broken homes. Other popular songs, like "Kingdom Coming" (Henry Clay Work, 1862) and "Sixty-Three Is the Jubilee" (J. L. Greene and D. A. French, 1863), celebrated the advent of emancipation and showed the musical influences of blackface minstrel songs. Battles and leaders were commemorated in elaborate piano pieces, such as "General Bragg's Grand March" (Rivinac, 1861) and "Beauregard Bull Run Quickstep" (J. A. Rosenberger, 1862). More elaborate still was the "battle-piece," an extended and often quite bombastic orchestral depiction of a specific engagement.

Lamentations over the deaths and the sadness caused by the Civil War were numerous and heartrending. Generally they bemoaned the absence of a family member who was away at war, leaving his loved ones heartbroken and sometimes financially destitute. One song flowing with tears over separation and death was "We Shall Meet But We Shall Miss Him" (words by George Frederick Root, music by H. S. Washburn, 1861). The subject is the man who has gone off to war, for whom "there will be one vacant chair" reserved for his spiritual presence at all future meetings of the family: "We shall meet but we shall miss him / There will be one vacant chair / We will linger to caress him / As we breathe our evening prayer." There was a national outpouring of grief following Abraham Lincoln's death, much of it expressed in such songs as "Farewell, Father, Friend and Guardian" and "Live But One Moment," the latter based on the words spoken by Mary Todd Lincoln as her husband lay dying. The president's death left a lingering impression on songwriters, who continued to pen memorial songs well into the 1870s and beyond.

One of the most popular sentimental songs of the Civil War was "Lorena." Written in 1857, the song remained largely unknown until the war years, when it became a favorite in both the North and the South and was frequently parodied. Sometimes called "Lorena and Paul Vane," its lyrics were attributed to H.D.L. Webster and set to music by J. P. Webster, of no relation.

During the Civil War, both presidents (Lincoln and Davis) were lampooned in song. Often these songs carried double messages and were filled with innuendoes and symbols. Confederate Jefferson Davis was the subject of the vitriolic "Jeff in Petticoats," which sprang from reports that he had fled Richmond disguised as a woman, ahead of advancing Union troops. During this period, hardly any insult could be greater than accusing a man of disguising himself in women's clothes. Such insults, then as now, could be created merely on rumor, and the facts in this case have long since become muddled.

Abraham Lincoln also appeared as the subject of countless song parodies set to folk melodies and minstrel-show tunes. One election-year parody of the song "Old

Dan Tucker" declared, "Old Abe is coming down to fight / And put the Democrats to flight." Another song, "Lincoln and Liberty too," was sung to the tune of "Rosin the Bow," an old melody popular in both the North and the South. "Old Abe Went to Washington" was set to the tune of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," while "Brave Old Abe" used the Scottish tune, "Auld Lang Syne." Not all songs treated Lincoln approvingly. One that did not, sung to the tune of "Pop Goes the Weasel," claimed, "Old Abe is sick, old Abe is sick / Old Abe is sick in bed." Another called "Old Honest Abe" characterized Lincoln as "an arrant fool, a party tool / A traitor, and a Tory." "John Anderson, My Jo, John," an 1824 air often appropriated for political satires, turned up in "Old Abe, My Jolly Jo John," a Copperhead blast at the president in four stanzas. The English ballad, "Lord Lovell," was also widely adapted for vitriolic attacks on the president.

For many Southerners and their sympathizers, the differences between Lincoln and Davis were summarized in four short lines, apparently sung by folk on all social levels: "Jeff Davis rides a white horse. / Lincoln rides a mule. / Jeff Davis is a gentleman, / and Lincoln is a fool."

For African American slaves, singing was a way to ease their burdens, adapt and preserve some of their native musical traditions, and even communicate clandestinely. Sometimes slaves were forbidden to sing out of fear that the songs could contain hidden messages. In Savannah, a congregation of slaves attending a baptism one Sunday was arrested, imprisoned, and punished with 39 lashes each for singing a song. The situation was rarely so draconian, however. Slaves' singing more often served as a source of entertainment for the plantation owners as well as their guests. Former slave Frederick A. Douglass reported that slaves were generally expected to sing as well as do work and that a silent slave was not liked by masters nor overseers. It was to this attitude that he attributed the almost constant singing heard in the Southern states. Douglass pointed out the mistake of presuming that the slaves were happy because they were singing and noted that the songs represented sorrows rather than joys and that even in the most boisterous outbursts of rapturous sentiment there was ever a tinge of deep melancholy.

Slaves often adapted songs from those they heard at the master's houses or in other contacts with whites. The fusion of white material with such African elements as syncopation, chanting, call-and-response, hand clapping, and foot stomping was to have a profound influence on the development of American popular music, leading eventually to the development of such uniquely American musical styles as blues, ragtime, and jazz.

Since most slaves were illiterate and knew music only intuitively, many of their songs were lost. Others were only written down long after the war and were often heavily revised to appeal to the tastes of white audiences. A few are still extant. One, called simply, "Civil War Chant," lists all the materials that Lincoln possessed to whip the Confederacy, including clothes, powder, shot, and lead. Another popular slave song was "Old Jawbone," a ditty about eating and talking—and virtually anything else one wanted to do—that went on for as many stanzas as the singer had breath, always punctuated with the chorus: "Jawbone walk and jawbone talk / and Jawbone eat with knife and fork." White patrols who roamed the plantations and villages looking for absent or runaway slaves were the subject of much derisive humor, especially in songs like "Run, Nigger, Run," which outlined ways of escaping and the terrible punishment if caught (Browne & Kreiser 2003, 119–33).

LEISURE ACTIVITIES: VACATION HOTELS

The vacation hotel rose to prominence during the nineteenth century. Throughout the South it was the habit of the low-country plantation families to remove themselves inland to a seasonal cottage, a resort, or a city with a finer climate than that of the miasmic swamps of the tidewater or the streets of many cities in summer. It has been estimated that the gentry of South Carolina alone spent more than a half million dollars a year outside the state on such trips. Moreover, upper-class families throughout the nation frequently tried to absent themselves from the cities during the fever seasons that came with the intolerably hot and humid weather of summer.

These excursions were more than just leisurely flights of fancy. Cities were often plagued by diseases of epidemic proportions during the summer months. Philadelphia, for example, had experienced almost continuous outbreaks of yellow fever each summer during the decade of the 1790s, and New Orleans was often visited by nearly simultaneous plagues of cholera and yellow fever. In 1832 and 1853, for example, large fractions of the city's population died as the yellow fever raged for six weeks to be followed by an almost month-long epidemic of cholera. One observer noted that the dead were taken away in wagons and carts like cordwood. Getting away often meant getting away from illness or even death.

Cape May in New Jersey became the summer destination for a wide variety of upper- and middle-class families from both the North and the South because of its central location on the Atlantic coast at the entrance to Delaware Bay. Families from New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Wilmington, and Norfolk often made the Jersey shore their summer destination. John Hayward, contemporary author and gazetteer, wrote that Cape May, "situated at the mouth of Delaware Bay . . . [had] become an attractive watering-place, much frequented by the citizens of Philadelphia and other [cities]. During the summer season, a steamboat runs from the city to the cape, and affords a pleasant trip. The beach is unsurpassed as a bathing place" (*Gazetteer of the United States*, 1853, 667).

Abraham Lincoln vacationed in Cape May at the seaside Congress Hotel, which exhibited all the services of a world-class residence during the summer months. The Congress Hotel was a massive structure for a seaside building with its high exterior porticos and towering exterior pillars. The interior ceilings of the ground floor were high, the marble floors were pleasantly cool, and the double-hung windows were large and numerous. The interior appointments were appropriately ornate for a seaside establishment, and the layout of the building allowed for cross ventilation from almost every direction. The majority of the rooms had ocean views, and the seaside boardwalk was only a few yards from the front entrance. It was remarkable that a seasonal clientele could support such an enterprise, but they paid willingly because the sea breezes and salt air were thought to be therapeutic as well as invigorating.

While Southerners abandoned their own beaches as pestilential and unhealthy in summer, New England beaches—particularly those within easy access of large Northeastern cities—were considered a "delightful retreat in the summer months, for those who wish to enjoy the luxuries of sea air, bathing, fishing, fowling, etc." The "constant sea breeze and convenient sea bathing" were considered to "have a fine effect in restoring the exhausted energies of the human system." The coasts of Connecticut and the rocky islands and points of Maine were particularly popular; and the shoreline and island of Rhode Island's Narragansett Bay drew the wealthy to build palatial summer residences there. The island of Newport in the center of the bay became a Mecca for the wealthy after the Civil War (Haywood 1853, 655).

Good accommodations, hotels, and boarding houses of the first order could be found at most seaside resorts around New York City, and some places provided special services for invalids and the elderly. Rye Beach, Glen Island, Locust Grove, and Flushing Bay on Long Island Sound and Rockaway Beach and Coney Island on the Atlantic were all popular destinations for New York residents. Most could be reached by railroad or steamboat for a day trip or weekend outing.

Coney Island, "much resorted to by visitors for the sea air and bathing," was considered a convenient destination for New Yorkers even though they had to pay a toll to cross the bridge over the narrow channel that separated it from the mainland (Haywood 1853, 184). Rockaway Beach was 20 miles from the city, but it could be easily approached by railroad or by coach. The Marine Pavilion at Rockaway was "a splendid establishment erected in 1834 upon the beach," while a number of boarding houses offered "invigorating ocean breezes with less cost and display than at the hotels" (Haywood 1853, 667).

Locust Grove, an outdoor recreational facility in Nassau County, Long Island, New York, was the destination for the unfortunate excursion steamboat *General Slocum* on June 15, 1905. The boat was filled with 1,300 mostly German-American residents from a lower east side neighborhood in Manhattan known as Little Germany (Kleindeutschland). The neighborhood lived up to its name with German language clubs, theaters, bookshops, restaurants, and beer gardens. St. Mark's Lutheran Church commonly hired the steamboat to take groups for a day of picnicking, food, games, and swimming at Locust Grove. However, on this day a fire broke out aboard while the boat was still in the East River and more than 1,000 passengers died, mostly from drowning. The fire on the *General Slocum* was the most deadly peacetime maritime disaster in American history. The tight-knit community suffered greatly because almost everyone in the neighborhood knew, or was related to, one or more of the victims (Volo and Volo 2007, 340–41).

OPTICAL NOVELTIES

Americans seem to have enjoyed a variety of optical phenomena in their drawing rooms and parlors. Some photographs were stereotypes, two simultaneously recorded images set side-by-side, giving a three-dimensional view when seen through a viewer designed for the purpose, known as a stereoscope or stereopticon. Such devices go back to 1838, and stereotypes of period places, buildings, monuments, and naval vessels predominate. Very few stereotypes of battle dead survive, and no stereotypes of the poor or of the squalid condition of the nation's slums are known. Photographers understood that to sell their pictures they would have to appeal to well-heeled customers who did not wish to be reminded of the nation's failures.

Propelled by a fascination with photography, optical novelties were very much in vogue. The magic lantern had been around for over 200 years, used by showmen and hucksters to beguile audiences with mystical images. It consisted of a metal box into which an oil lamp was placed; a polished metal reflector, which focused the light on a painted slide; and a hole with a lens through which the light was projected. These lanterns were notably improved as a result of photographic discoveries, and their use became widespread. Lecturers used lanterns to enhance their presentations, and they also became very popular as a parlor toy to show comic pictures. A number of hand-colored glass slides of the war have recently been restored.

Another optical curiosity was the zoetrope. This consisted of a revolving drum with equally spaced slits around the sides. The interior of the drum contained a series of sequential pictures. The pictures were taken by a series of still cameras activated by trip wires. Walking men and running horses were prominent subjects of the zoetrope. When the drum was rotated, the pictures gave the impression that they were moving. Because many people could view it at one time, the zoetrope enjoyed popularity as a parlor amusement.

A similar device was the phantascope. This simple contrivance was comprised of a cardboard disc with a series of slits equally spaced around the center and a handle that acted as a pivot around which the phantascope was rotated. The reverse side contained a series of pictures set between the slits. When the operator held the device in front of a mirror and rotated the disc, the pictures appeared to be moving (Volo and Volo 1998, 218–19).

CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

The decade beginning in 1860 spawned an abundance of cultural institutions in the North and West. War involvement and subsequent poverty retarded a similar movement in the South for almost 20 years. The interest in art, music, literature, and nature that permeated the parlor surged forth, creating museums, symphonies, libraries, and parks. These, in turn, engendered a host of ancillary institutions such as literary societies, study groups, and reading clubs.

These organizations were gender specific. Male organizations attracted businessmen and professionals. In addition to the obvious activities such organizations would conduct, they created a venue that was ripe for the founding of additional social projects. The distaff version of these clubs provided activities for middle- and upper-class women beyond domestic and church endeavors. The clubs furnished an arena for women to pursue their intellectual development. Study clubs met twice monthly for 10 months a year to discuss such topics as literature, history, and art. Meetings commonly were held in members' homes and consisted of conversation, presentation of papers, and subsequent discussions (Volo and Volo 1998, 219).

READING CLUBS

Many civilians, particularly the women who were doomed to sit out the war while their husbands and lovers fought, found reading one of the few sources of entertainment available to them. Like their loved ones in the army camps, many women read in groups and met regularly to do so. Books were frequently read aloud, making it possible to share the books and newspapers that were "all too scarce in the print-starved Confederacy." Even in the North, where books were widely available, oral presentation by an articulate reader often enhanced the literature and allowed the majority of the women to do other chores such as sewing and embroidery. Reading aloud became an activity with many of the characteristics of theater. Books provided women with an almost pure escape from the realities of war, suffering, and death. More important, oral presentation discouraged continual war gossip among the women, and the camaraderie of the group helped to alleviate depression and gloom among those who were without loved ones, displaced from their homes, and anxious about their own futures (Volo and Volo 1998, 219).

LECTURES

To some extent, literary society or study club meetings took the place of the public lectures that had enjoyed tremendous popularity from about 1840 forward. The war had interrupted many lecture series, which were curtailed, and in some cases suspended. Lectures had been particularly popular among ambitious young men, many of whom joined their cause on the battle line. Northerners often demanded that the remaining lecturers make their concern matters related to the conflict. Topics sought by lecture audiences included denunciations of the South, glorification of Union causes, and narrations detailing the reforms that would follow the Northern victory. Popular speakers included Senator Charles Sumner, Major General Cassius Clay, Theodore Tilton, and Wendell Phillips. Lectures featuring scientific and technological topics were also popular (Volo and Volo 1998, 219–20).

DIME MUSEUMS

Dime museums were another venue of entertainment for those with limited funds. The museums normally housed a motley assemblage of human and natural oddities, perhaps a few paintings, some scientific marvels, and a theater. They were also one of the first venues to attempt to attract respectable audiences, specifically, middle-class women. They did this by banning prostitutes, barring liquor and tobacco, and eliminating bawdy acts. Moses Kimball opened one of the first such museums, the Boston Museum in 1841, followed by P. T. Barnum's American Museum in New York in 1848, which burned down in 1865. Like Kimball, Barnum ran mainly reform melodramas like *The Drunkard: Or the Fallen Saved.* Barnum's museum theater was quite large, with seating for 3,000 people. Museum theaters sprang up in cities throughout the nation, and some hired resident acting companies that produced some of the finest actors in the nation.

The typical dime museum show consisted of a parade of scientific oddities like the bearded lady or the dog-faced boy and then an array of fairly standard performers. First came the quick crayon-sketch masters, magicians, illusionists, mind-readers, sword-swallowers, glass-chewers, fire-eaters, and contortionists followed by the comics, Irish tenors, banjo players, acrobats, dancers, and educated animal acts. New York City's Bowery, however, housed the cheaper museums that catered to a male audience seeking titillation, and they booked acts much like the concert saloons (Shrock 2004, 212–13).

GAMES

Games have always been popular in America. One popular game was solitaire (not the card game), played on a circular board containing 33 holes. Marbles or pegs were placed in all but the center hole. A peg was moved forward, backward, or sideways, but not diagonally, over an adjacent peg, which was then removed from the board. The game ended when the remaining pegs could not make a move. The object of the game was to have only a single peg remaining, preferably in the center hole.

Board games were just coming into their own during this time. Most board game publishers were located in the Northeast, particularly in Boston and New York. *The Mansion of Happiness, an Instructive Moral and Entertaining Amusement* is generally acknowledged as the first board game published in the United States. This 1843 game, produced by S. B. Ives, closely resembles the formerly imported *The Game of Goose,* a game that dates back to the eighteenth century, but had a distinctly moral message. The rules stated that whoever possesses piety, honesty, temperance, gratitude, prudence, truth, chastity, sincerity, humility, industry charity, humanity or generosity was entitled to advance toward the *Mansion of Happiness.* Players rolled the dice and advanced along the board, incurring a variety of changes in fortune involving penalties and bonuses. Players landing on squares marked "gratitude" or "honesty" advanced more rapidly toward their goal. The game served as inspiration for a host of imitators including Milton Bradley's *Checkered Game of Life* (1860).

American board makers copied other games as well. "The Game of Pope and Pagan, or the Siege of the Stronghold of Satan by the Christian Army" and "Mohamet and Saladin, or the Battle for Palestine" were both based on the centuries-old game "Fox and Geese." Other published games took the form of card games and included, "Dr. Busby," "Yankee Trader," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Heroes," "Master Redbury and His Pupils," and "Trades." The last of these consisted of lithographed cards; some depicted such tradesmen as shoemakers, farriers, and tax gatherers, and others showed the symbols of each trade. The object of the game was to collect tricks, which matched the tradesman and the symbol. It is thought that this game served as the inspiration for the very popular English game "Happy Families."

Other popular games included cribbage, checkers, tangrams, and lotto—a forerunner of bingo—which was played with cards of three horizontal and nine vertical rows. Five numbers from one to ninety appeared on the cards, with the remaining spaces blank. Children's versions of the game were developed to teach spelling, multiplication, botany, and history (Volo and Volo 1998, 220).

CROQUET

Croquet became popular among the British elite by the 1850s. The first record of a croquet court in the United States was at Nahant, Massachusetts, in 1859. The game was unique in that it is probably the first outdoor game played by both men and women in America. In 1864, James Redpath of Boston published *Croquet* by adventure author Captain Mayne Reid. That same year, the popular *Peterson's Magazine* described the game of Troco, or Lawn Billiards. The Park Place Croquet Club of Brooklyn organized with 25 members in 1864. By 1865 several croquet rulebooks were published in the United States. One of them was based on the version of croquet played at the exclusive resort in Newport, Rhode Island, and while admitting that croquet taxed mental capacities less than whist or chess, it touted the game as combining the delights of out-of-doors exercise and social enjoyment, fresh air and friendship—two things, it noted, most effective for promoting happiness. Lightweight backyard croquet kits were mass-produced by American industry, and the game spread into the backyards of the American middle class in the 1860s and 1870s. American artist Winslow Homer painted a series of canvases portraying croquet players in both 1865 and 1869.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

LADIES' CRAFTS

Women engaged in a variety of needlework crafts including tatting, knitting, crocheting, and netting. Ladies' magazines carried a profusion of patterns for trims, fashion accessories, and small household items that could be made using these handicrafts. Patchwork quilts were another popular activity. Women worked on quilts alone for their families and in group quilting bees, as community activities. Prior to the war, groups of Northern women used their quilting talents to raise money for the cause of abolition. They renamed some traditional patchwork patterns to draw attention to the cause. “Job’s Tears” became known as “Slave Chain.” “Jacob’s Ladder” became “Underground Railway.” “North Star” was so named after the star that guided runaway slaves to freedom.

Once the war commenced, Northern women mobilized relief efforts and began to produce quilts to be sent to soldiers in need. Quilt making was undertaken by many women who viewed it almost as a patriotic responsibility. Many of the quilts were more utilitarian than those their makers had created in the past, but it is likely that they were made with no less love. To one quilt was pinned this note: “My son is in the army. Whoever is made warm by this quilt, which I have worked on for six days and most of six nights, let him remember his mother’s love.” Quilts were made approximately seven feet by four feet so as to fit a military cot and bedding pack. U.S. Sanitary Commission (the largest private agency channeling donated supplies to soldiers) records show that an estimated 250,000 quilts were distributed during the war. In Hartford, Connecticut alone, 5,459 quilts were collected during 1864. The U.S. Sanitary Commission also sponsored fairs to raise money for their relief efforts. These fairs became well-attended social events held in decorated halls in larger cities. Women, many of whom had turned away from their prewar fancywork, once again took their needles to create more elaborate, decorative pieces that would bring higher prices at the fairs. The U.S. Sanitary Commission raised $5 million for Northern war relief (Volo and Volo 1998, 221–22).

Confederate women also made quilts for soldiers. The Southern blockade, however, severely limited the availability of the requisite materials. Confederate quilts produced during the war were made from whatever makeshift materials were available, including old sheets stuffed with newspaper. The war also inspired a rash of flag bees where women worked to make flags for the South. A contest was held in 1861 to choose a flag to be used as the Confederate Flag (Volo and Volo 1998, 222).

The lack of available materials also created a revival of knitting among Southern women. As the century progressed knitting had shifted from economic necessary to creative craft. The blockade-created shortages forced many Southern women to turn to knitting to provide their families with necessities such as capes, gloves, socks, stockings, undergarments, and braces (suspenders). Even this, however, had its challenges as the necessary yarn and threads were also in short supply, leaving many women to manufacture their own. The homemade materials were often coarse and uneven. To hide these imperfections, women would add crocheted decorations to the knitted items to camouflage blemishes that would be obvious in plain work. Knitting and crochet can be done in limited light and were activities that women undertook after it was too dark to sew or spin. The women even carried their knitting with them when they visited to optimize the production of items for their families and for the soldiers. Once the war was over, knitting returned to its prewar pastime status.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

THEATER

In the sociable and pleasure-seeking decades of the antebellum period, theater experienced a metamorphosis from a crude form of entertainment for the common folk to a spectacle at which the upper classes might show themselves. Prior to the Revolution, Anglo-Americans considered themselves more English than American, and colonial New Englanders, mirroring their Puritan heritage, generally scorned theatrical productions. Plays and theatricals of any nature were totally banned in New England and in many Middle colonies as well as in the entire British Isles during the Puritan-dominated Republican Period of English History (c. 1642–1660). As late as 1698, Jeremy Collier, a pastor and author *(A Short View of the Immorality of the English Stage)* decried the lewdness of theatricals and stage actors, and exposed the abuse hurled from the stage upon the clergy, government, and monarchy in the form of ridicule, satire, and caricature. Playwrights were persecuted, and actors and actresses were fined. In Boston, theaters were formally prohibited by law in 1750, and the prohibition was strictly enforced under the American Republic up to 1792 and not struck from the state statues until 1796.

In the American South, theater enjoyed a continued and uninterrupted prestige among the planter aristocracy similar to that bestowed upon it by their seventeenth-century Royalist counterparts. Theater had been popular during both the Elizabethan and Restoration periods that flanked the rise of Puritanism. During the early eighteenth century, performances became more characteristic of modern theater. Women appeared on stage, strict decorum on stage was abandoned, moral outcomes at the end of plays were no longer a forgone conclusion, and a new style of comedy was improvised that was generally considered superior to the bathroom humor and sexual innuendo of earlier periods.

As Southern cities grew, Alexandria, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Mobile, and Richmond each established fine theaters, but the playhouses themselves were rudimentary, seating no more than a few hundred patrons. These were often subscribers to the theater rather than patrons buying individual seats at a box office. Due largely to the extremes of American weather, the theater season was modified from the English standard of summer and winter into spring and fall seasons. There were three distinct theater circuits followed by the repertoire companies. Ultimately New York and Boston, having overcome their outdated inhibitions, came to accept theater forming the principal northern circuit; Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Annapolis formed the center; and Charleston and New Orleans made up the southern circuit. The central circuit was the favorite of theater managers and foreign companies visiting from Britain.

By the 1850s most major cities had theaters and opera houses were just coming into vogue. Some of the largest establishments were in New York: the Bowery Theater (2,500 seats), Christy and Woods' Theater (2,000 seats), the Broadway Theater (2,000 seats), Niblo's Garden Theater (1,800 seats), Burton's Theater (1,700 seats), and the Academy of Music (1,500 seats) among the largest. At the same time, Chicago had at least three theaters, the newest, McVicker's, costing $85,000 to build.

Although American repertoire companies relied largely on English plays and classics like Shakespeare and Marlowe to firm up their offerings, by the outbreak of the Civil War at least 700 uniquely American plays had been written and produced. Many others were performed, but they may have escaped the keen research of historians simply because they were never formally published. The lack of enforceable copyright protection caused many authors to limit copies of their work to the needs of the cast.

Many newly written plays were available, and authors could expect a one-time payment of approximately $500 for a new work. Many writers adapted novels, poems, and classical works for the stage. These brought as little as $100. Several of James Fenimore Cooper's works were adapted for the stage, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* saw a number of adaptations—one produced by showman P. T. Barnum. Many distinctive American characters were introduced to the stage in this period such as the rural Yankee farmer, the noble savage, or the tough-fisted Bowery B'hoy.

The critics were not always impressed by the quality of this work. They found many of the plays vulgar, coarse, and in bad taste; and many of the performances of standard repertoire works were thought routine, tedious, or slipshod. The audiences—especially those composed in large part of middle- and lower-class patrons—were generally unrestrained, and they let their feelings about the quality of the show be known during the performance. This included calling out, throwing foodstuffs and other items at the actors, and mounting the stage itself to confront the actors directly. Near riots in the theaters were not uncommon (Volo and Volo 2004, 283–84, 287–88, 292–93).

HOLIDAYS AND CELEBRATIONS

Independence Day

Independence from Great Britain was the pivotal event in the brief catalog of United States history prior to the Civil War, and it was widely celebrated in all the states and territories of the nation. The processions of public dignitaries, the patriotic speeches, and the formal dinners that brought together entire communities on the Fourth of July in the first half of the nineteenth century quickly gave way to more lighthearted celebrations in the years leading up to the Civil War. This was especially true in the South where parallels were continually being drawn between the Revolution and the present circumstances of the Southern states with respect to the federal government. While small, rural towns continued traditional events like games, picnics, illuminations, and fireworks to mark the day, in larger cities lively parades were held and people enjoyed boating regattas, band concerts, and steamboat excursions.

Fire companies, tradesmen's guilds, and civic groups, most notably temperance organizations, joined the regular army, state militia, and volunteer units as they marched down city boulevards. Larger parades often included horse-drawn floats with patriotic themes. By 1860 the veterans of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War (1846) had replaced all of those from the Revolutionary War, but the forefathers were still honored by units of men costumed in replica Continental Army uniforms. Many of these garments have been wrongly identified as original to the Revolutionary period by well-meaning, but woefully inaccurate docents and antiquarians.

Parades in cities with large immigrant populations—like New York or Boston with their large Irish populations—included ethnic contingents from groups such as the Shamrock Benevolent Society, the Hibernian Universal Benevolent Society, and the Hibernian Benevolent Burial Society. On Independence Day, 1860, New Yorkers could view a military parade composed of 7,000 men, a regatta in the waters off Battery Park at the tip of Manhattan Island, and fireworks displays at 11 different sites around the city. They could also take one of the many steamboat trips to places outside the city (Appelbaum 1989, 79).

July 4, 1861, was the first Independence Day following secession. The first major battle of the Civil War with its significant and alarming numbers of killed and wounded—Bull Run, or First Manassas—would not be fought for almost three weeks (July 21, 1861). Southerners were divided on how Independence Day should be observed. Some believed withdrawal from the Union was no different than what the Founding Fathers had done in 1776 and celebrated the day as always with the exception that a cannon gave an 11-gun salute to represent the Confederate states instead of the national 34. Others, like a Wilmington, North Carolina, editor, believed that the day belonged to the history of a nation that no longer existed and should be passed unrecognized.

The states of the Confederacy did not celebrate the holiday for the remainder of the conflict. However, Southern newspapers ran editorials in respect of the first American Revolution and many drew parallels between the revolution of 1776 and that of 1861. In many Confederate cities stores continued to close, and the slaves on many plantations were given a holiday by their masters. Northerners continued to observe the day with military parades, fireworks, and excursions albeit within a somewhat restrained atmosphere brought on by lists of war dead and grim news from the battlefront. Speeches and editorials continued to memorialize the deeds of Washington and his army but included exhortations for increased enlistments (Appelbaum 1989, 91–92).

News from the almost simultaneous victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg on July 3–4 generally came too late to effect the Fourth of July celebrations in 1863. While the North's Independence Day celebrations during the war became increasingly subdued, especially as the war dragged on, the Fourth of July 1865—the first since Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse—was celebrated more enthusiastically than any holiday in living memory. Although the specter of a presidential assassination the previous April was generally acknowledged in speeches and newspaper editorials, businesses closed early on the third to give folks a head start on festivities for the following day. Parades were short on military units, especially since most of the volunteer units had disbanded, but there were plenty of marching bands, fire and police department contingents, civic groups, and school children. The cornerstone of the Soldier's Monument at Gettysburg was laid, beginning a six-decade-long tradition of dedicating war memorials on the Fourth of July. Supporters of the Confederacy had little to celebrate, but Southern blacks throughout the South rejoiced with public picnics, parades, and dances.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Thanksgiving

Thanksgiving celebrations were irregularly observed during the early nineteenth century with each state governor setting a date for the holiday to take place. As early as 1827, Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of *Godey's Lady's Book,* advocated a movement to establish Thanksgiving as a national holiday. She believed that Thanksgiving, like Independence Day, should be considered a national festival and observed in all the states and territories. In 1858, she petitioned President James Buchanan to declare it a national holiday. She saw the spiritual dimension of Thanksgiving as a means for preventing the looming Civil War. When her pleas were ignored by the men who ran the nation, she turned to her readers, the women of the country. After hostilities broke out between North and South, she bombarded both national and state officials with requests for the national holiday, hoping that Thanksgiving could bring the nation together once again.

In 1863, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the last Thursday in November to be Thanksgiving Day to bolster the Unionist spirit. After the war, Congress established Thanksgiving as a national holiday. Widespread national observance, however, caught on only gradually as many Southerners viewed the new holiday as an attempt to impose Northern customs—especially those of New England—on the rest of the nation.

Thanksgiving's emphasis on home and family embodied two of the most popular social institutions of the time. Hale wrote that Thanksgiving was the exponent of family happiness and household piety, which women should always work to cultivate in their hearts and in their homes. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century women had come to embrace the holiday. Currier and Ives, the preeminent printmakers of the period, captured the essence of the holiday in sentimental tableaux of families in communal celebration and thereby further helped to fix its place in popular culture. For the millions of immigrants this truly American holiday was a way to affirm their new country. For many Americans the religious aspect of the day was observed with a church service in the morning followed by a large meal in the afternoon. The menu usually embraced Victorian interpretations of traditional New England dishes of turkey, cranberries, vegetables, and pumpkin pie. An important part of the holiday for many families was joining together to prepare Thanksgiving food baskets for less fortunate families.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Christmas

To the Puritans, Christmas was a purely religious event. They saw sin in the feasting and drinking that characterized the celebration of the season in England. From 1659 to 1681, the celebration of Christmas was actually outlawed in Boston. After the Revolution, some attitudes began to change, but it was not until 1856 that Christmas was recognized as a legal holiday in Massachusetts. This austere attitude was not embraced by all the colonies. The Dutch in New York and the Swedes in Delaware kept the Christmas traditions they brought from their homelands. In the South, Christmas was an important part of the social season and was celebrated with balls, hunts, and extended visits. The first three states to make Christmas a legal holiday were in the South: Alabama in 1836 and Louisiana and Arkansas in 1838. By 1865, 28 jurisdictions included Christmas Day as a legal holiday. During the second half of the nineteenth century, however, Americans reinvented Christmas, and changed it from a raucous holiday into a family-centered day.

Santa Claus is generally traced back to the Dutch veneration of St. Nicholas and the custom of Sinter Claas [sic] bringing gifts to children on December 6th, St. Nicholas' name day. While the Dutch may have brought their custom to America, it was contained within the small community and once the English assumed control of New York, little was made of the practice. In Washington Irving's 1809 *Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York,* a satire of contemporary life, St. Nicholas played a prominent part as patron saint of the city. In a new edition of the *History of New York,* Irving referred to St. Nicholas as riding over treetops in a wagon, bringing gifts to children. He described how the smoke from St. Nicholas's pipe spread like a cloud over his head and how he placed a finger to the side of his nose prior to making his exit. That same year William B. Gilley published a children's book that showed Santa Claus with his reindeer. The following year, Dr. Clement Clarke Moore, a teacher and scholar, is said to have composed the poem, "A Visit from St, Nicholas" for his children, while traveling to the city to purchase a turkey for Christmas dinner. On Christmas day he gathered his family around and read those now famous lines, "Twas the night before Christmas and all through the house. . . ." A family friend later read the poem and sent it to the *Troy Sentinel,* a paper in upstate New York, which published it on December 23, 1823. It was reprinted numerous times over the years, and in 1844 Moore published it under his own name. By then, virtually every family was familiar with the poem.

Various illustrators created images of Santa Claus, who was commonly portrayed as a gaunt, somber man, but it was political cartoonist, Thomas Nast, who created the prototype of the endearing Santa that is known today. Santa was not the only image for which Nast is famous. He also invented the Tammany Tiger, the Democrat Donkey, and the Republican Elephant. Nast was an illustrator for *Harper's Weekly* covering the Union forces during the Civil War. His first published drawing of Santa Claus appeared in the January 3, 1863, issue of the magazine. Santa, wearing a fur-trimmed, star-spangled shirt and striped pants, was seated on a sleigh distributing packages to the soldiers. As the years passed Nast continued to work on his Santa, providing *Harper's* with a Christmas image, usually of Santa, every year until 1886.

Christmas trees had been a tradition in many German homes even in the eighteenth century. It wasn't until 1848, when a full-page illustration of Queen Victoria, her German husband, Prince Albert, and their children standing around their tree at Windsor Castle appeared in the *Illustrated London News* that the custom gained popularity. The picture epitomized family togetherness and happiness and captured the hearts and imagination of her subjects. The picture was accompanied by a description of the tree. Each of the six tiers of branches was illuminated by a dozen candles. Most of the other decorations were edible and an angel topped the tree. Victoria was very popular with her subjects, and what was done at court immediately became fashionable. Two years later the almost exact illustration appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book,* only the royal family had been transformed into an American one by the removal of Victoria's coronet and Albert's mustache and royal sash. Americans too embraced the image. The first retail tree lot was set up on a sidewalk in New York City in 1851 and sold out quickly. Christmas trees have been sold commercially ever since. Benjamin Harrison was the first president to have a Christmas tree in the White House.

The earliest trees were displayed on tables, but an 1860 issue of *Godey's Lady's Book* published the first account of a tree being placed on the floor. Dressing the tree usually took place on Christmas Eve and was done by parents and older children. Trees were decorated with ornaments made from paper, straw, lace, yarn, seedpods, pinecones, and scraps. Scraps were pieces of paper printed in color lithography. The pictures were pressed into cookies or pasted on cardboard and small boxes. Sometimes scrap faces were placed on cotton batting that had been formed to resemble angels, cherubs, and even Santa. Berries were strung onto cords and festooned around the tree boughs. In addition to ornaments, trees were also decorated with small toys and treats. Cornucopias fashioned from cardboard and paper were filled with candy and nuts. Larger gifts were often secured to the branches by a basketwork of ribbon. On Christmas morning, the children waited outside the room where the tree was displayed while parents lit the candles that were used to illuminate the tree. Candles were lit on Christmas morning and possibly again for special parties, but the threat of fire was great, and a bucket holding a wet sponge on a long stick was always nearby to extinguish any fire.

Children were encouraged to participate in making decorations for the tree, and ladies magazines provided instructions for them by the scores. Paper was used to make chains, flowers, and fans. Tinsel-wrapped wire was twisted into various shapes and placed around cardboard decorated with scrap. Prunes and nuts were wired into human forms, and eggs shells were used to make nests and other egg fancies.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Maple Sugaring

Maple sugaring-off parties were described by one period writer as one of the most pleasant of rural gatherings. The traditional party, usually in late February or early March, which brought together townspeople and farmers, men and women, young and old, celebrated the end of winter and welcomed spring. Sap was gathered from the sugar maple trees in sap buckets and brought to the sugarhouse, a rough, often temporary, structure built near a barn. There, the sap was boiled over an open fire all day and all night until it thickened into syrup, which was tested by dropping some hot syrup onto the cold snow. The syrup congealed into a taffy-like substance, called sugar-on-snow, which tradition dictated had to be eaten with plain cake doughnuts and pickles. When all the work was done, the effort was celebrated with an evening of bonfires, music, pancakes, and baked ham.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Emancipation Day

Emancipation Day was celebrated by freedmen in Southern states to commemorate their emancipation from slavery. The news and actual emancipation usually came with the arrival of the Union army in most states, so the dates of celebration varied from state to state. Sometimes the celebration was called Juneteenth, a corruption of "June" and "nineteenth," the day of the observance commemorating the announcement of the abolition of slavery in Texas. On June 19, 1865, Union General Gordon Granger and 2,000 federal troops arrived on Galveston Island to take possession of the state and enforce the emancipation of its slaves. Former slaves in Galveston rejoiced in the streets with jubilant celebrations. Juneteenth celebrations began in Texas the following year. They were local affairs with speeches, camaraderie, and food. Other Juneteenth events included a parade, music, and dancing or even contests of physical strength and intellect. Juneteenth was observed mainly in eastern Texas, Alabama, and Mississippi. Other locales celebrated the day as Emancipation Day.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Appelbaum, Diana Karter. *Thanksgiving: An American Holiday, An American History*. New York: Facts on File, 1984.

———. *The Glorious Fourth: An American Holiday, An American History*. New York: Facts on File, 1989.

Bellinger, Martha Fletcher. *A Short History of the Theater*. New York: Henry Holt, 1927.

Bishop, Morris. "The Lower Depths of High Education." *American Heritage* XXII, no. 1 (December 1969).

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Cameron, Kenneth W. *The Massachusetts Lyceum During the American Renaissance*. Hartford, CT: Transcendental Books, 1969.

Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. *Annotated Catalogue of Books Used in Home Libraries and Reading Clubs*. Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Library, 1905.

Castello, Julio Martinez. *Theory of Fencing: Foil, Sabre, Dueling Sword*. New York: St. Marks Printing Corporation, 1931.

Chudacoff, Howard P. *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Clay, C. F., trans. *Secrets of the Sword by the Baron de Bazancourt*. Bangor, ME: Laureate Press, 1998.

Cohen, Hennig, and Tristram Potter Coffin, eds. *The Folklore of American Holidays*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research Company, 1987.

Crawford, Richard. *America's Musical Life: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001.

Dahlhaus, Carl. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Elliott, Jock. *Inventing Christmas: How Our Holiday Came to Be*. New York: Abrams, 2002.

Finson, Jon. *Voices That Are Gone: Themes in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Song*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Glazer, Tom. *A Treasury of Civil War Songs*. Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard Corporation, 1996.

Grover, Kathlyn, ed. *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840–1940*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

Hayward, John. *Gazetteer of the United States*. Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffant and Co., 1853.

Hewitt, Barnard. *Theater, USA: 1668 to 1957*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959.

Hutton, Alfred. *The Sword through the Centuries*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002.

Jackson, Richard. *Popular Songs of Nineteenth-Century America: Complete Original Sheet Music for 64 Songs*. New York: Dover Press, 1976.

Jenkins, Susan, and Linda Seward. *The American Quilt Story: The How-to and Heritage of a Craft Tradition*. Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1991.

Kaser, David. *Books and Libraries in Camp and Battle: The Civil War Experience*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Kelley, R. Gordon, ed. *Children's Periodicals of the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Kingman, Daniel. *American Music: A Panorama*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1990.

Kiracofe, Roderick. *The American Quilt*. New York: Clarkson Porter, 1993.

LaRocca, Donald J. *The Academy of the Sword: Illustrated Fencing Books, 1500–1800*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.

Louisiana State Museum. *Playthings of the Past: 19th and early 20th Century Toys*. New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, 1969.

McAuley, James. *The New and Improved Broad Sword Exercise, As Recently Taught at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y.* Columbia, SC: Printed at the Telescope office, 1838.

McNeil, Keith, and Rusty McNeil, *Civil War Songbook*. Riverside, CA: McNeil Music, Inc., 1999.

Monroe, Lewis B. *Public and Parlor Readings: Prose and Poetry*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1871.

Nicholls, David, ed. *The Cambridge History of American Music*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Nye, Russell. *The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: Dial Press, 1970.

O'Neil, Sunny. *The Gift of Christmas Past, A Return to Victorian Traditions*. Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1981.

Rader, Benjamin. *American Sports: From the Age of the Folk Games to the Age of the Spectators*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Silber, Irwin. *Songs of the Civil War*. New York: Dover Publications, 1995.

Stirn, Carl P. *Turn-of-the-Century Dolls, Toys, and Games: The Complete Illustrated Carl P. Stirn Catalog from 1893*. New York: Dover Publications, 1990.

Time Life Books. *Time Life Book of Christmas*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1987.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

———. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wechsberg, Joseph. *The Lost World of the Great Spas*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979.
Weissman, Judith Reiter, and Wendy Lavitt. *Labors of Love: American Textiles and Needlework, 1650–1930*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

Religious Life

THE TIDE OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

The United States has been a predominantly religious country from its inception, and the nineteenth century was one of great religious revivals fueled largely by a Protestant crusade in the East, camp revivals in the settlements and on the frontiers, and a political backlash brought about by an immense influx of Irish Catholics into the cities of America. The religious character of the country was essentially rooted in the Protestantism of England, Scotland, and Wales, but many new sects and denominations had joined the list of traditional Christian religions popular before the American Revolution. The flow of religious thought between Europe and America, and vise versa, cannot be overemphasized.

Europe was swept by great religious wars and moral awakenings during the colonial period that resulted in waves of religious zealots and exiles crossing the Atlantic. Spanish and French Catholics, Protestant Walloons and Huguenots, Dutch Calvinists, English Puritans, Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, German Lutherans, Baptists, Anabaptists, Moravians, and others were all moved by much the same religious spirit. Yet religious bigotry influenced many largely well-meaning clergymen—Catholic, Protestant, Pietist, non-conformist, and unconventional—and encouraged intolerance among those who chose to do God's work.

The First Great Awakening, a complex movement among a number of interrelated religious groups, had swept through colonial America in the eighteenth century. Begun in the 1720s by Rev. Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed minister from New Jersey, this movement spread into New England to reach its peak in the 1740s under men like Jonathan Edwards. In the South it continued through the American Revolution in several distinct phases led respectively by Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. The First Great Awakening stressed personal religion and multiplied the number and variety of churches and congregations everywhere. An estimate of the number of religious congregations in the former English colonies at the close of the colonial period gives a total of more than 3,100. While this number was almost equally divided among the three regions of New England, the Middle colonies, and the South, there was an unequal distribution among the different denominations giving each region a distinct religious character that carried through to the Civil War period and beyond. By the end of the nineteenth century, the number of congregations had multiplied 20-fold.

The Protestantism of the framers of the Constitution from New England had been essentially related to the Puritanism of the Congregational churches, while those from the South was generally Church of England (Anglican in the United Kingdom, Episcopalian in the United States). Quakers, considered dissenters and nonconformists since colonial times, congregated mainly in Pennsylvania, while pockets of English Catholicism could still be found in Maryland at the turn of the century. The country was also characterized by a wide variety of newcomers: Germans, Scandinavians, Swiss, Welsh, French Huguenots, and Jews. The Scotch-Irish immigrants added an element of Presbyterianism to American religious life, and later the Baptist church became popular among the Welsh and Germans. The Appalachian frontier and the Old Northwest Territory digested a wide variety of these immigrants, but most of them were within the same religious compass of essential Protestantism. Both the Presbyterians and the Baptists played a major role on the frontier. Lutherans—largely Germans and Scandinavians—were the first to introduce a new element to the religious mix. Nonetheless, their churches were essentially Protestant, and they had been assimilated with little fuss into the American social fabric.

Yet not all of the religions in America were considered legitimate by the society in general because many minor sects espoused doctrines that were on the fringe of traditional Christian belief. Although it was not the only new religion to originate in America, the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, known as Mormons, was viewed with particular animosity and actively persecuted from its establishment in 1823 until recent times when adherents to its tenets, running for national political office, still need to address a lingering cloud of suspicion.

Some Christian evangelical revivals, particularly those headed by powerful preachers such as Rev. Charles G. Finney of western New York and Rev. Lyman Beecher of Boston, provoked less thoughtful followers of mainstream American Protestantism to take up the rhetoric of the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic Nativists, who created and published salacious rumors and anecdotes that distorted the beliefs and activities of many of these minority religions.

A number of these minority religions can be considered Pietist in nature because they generally abandoned an ordained ministry, a strict church structure, and a national hierarchy. Shakers, Quakers, Moravians, Mennonites, Anabaptists, and other Pietist sects generally placed their emphasis upon inner spiritual life and a personal path to salvation, while denying the need for a more formal ecclesiastical organization.

Although Quakers and Moravians had been major components of American religious life since colonial times, they were essentially Pietist religions whose pacifist adherents were viewed with suspicion by many Americans during the Civil War. Moreover, the English-speaking Quakers and Shakers were largely distinct from the Mennonites, Amish Anabaptists, and Moravians that had their origins in Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of central Europe. The Germans penetrated into the far northwestern portion of New Jersey and west into the region of Reading, Lancaster, and Harrisburg in Pennsylvania. They tended to separate themselves from other groups, a process aided by their persistent use of the German language.

The abolitionist movement seriously affected the structure of many denominations. In the 1840s and 1850s, radical abolitionists disrupted religious services with uninvited lectures on antislavery at churches not dedicated to the immediate abolition, even if the doctrine of the church accepted slavery as an evil and believed in gradual emancipation or colonization of former slaves in Africa. Abolition leaders like Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, and William Lloyd Garrison rose to denounce the clerical establishments as "thieves, blind guides, and reprobates" (Stewart 1976, 114). Others like Gerrit Smith and Lewis Tappan—the financier of immediate emancipation in New York State—withdrew from their own denominations and formed free churches of their own in which slave owning was considered a sin and any attitude other than that of immediatism was viewed with suspicion. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists all experienced serious defections among their church membership in the East and Northeast, and Methodists experienced a formal division of their denomination into pro- and antislavery groups.

Repelled by the clergy's stubborn resistance to immediate abolition and the seeming hollowness of conventional worship, many abolitionists abandoned the formal organization of churches and sought out a personal religion. Theodore D. Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, Lydia Marie Child, Elizur Wright, and other anticlerical abolitionists moved toward a diffuse and generally unorganized religion of humanity that discarded the formal precepts of Biblical doctrine for a purely humanitarian creed built on immediate emancipation. Viewed through this lens of Christian utopianism, all human agencies seemed retrograde and all institutional churches seemed weak, no matter how determined they were to see the ultimate end of slavery.

—James M. Volo

MORALITY

Sincere religious reflection was a hallmark of soldiers in both armies in the Civil War, and it was generally an authentic religiosity rather than a battlefield conversion to spirituality. This is not surprising as these characteristics were found in the general population. Americans, despite their politics, were a strongly religious and highly moral people. As the conflict wore on, the soldiers were exposed to a number of evils characteristic of camp life: gambling, swearing, fighting among themselves, and prostitution. A number of religious organizations were established to help maintain the high moral fiber of the troops. Bible societies, moral reform organizations, and social uplift associations of all kinds sent missionaries and representatives into the field in an attempt to improve the physical and moral environment of the troops.

Chief among these were the U.S. Sanitary Commission and the U.S. Christian Commission with offices located in Washington, D.C. There is some dispute over the exact role they played in the war, but the latter and its western affiliate were later in forming than the Sanitary Commission. The Christian Commission sprang from an association of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the American Bible Society, and the American Tract Society, and it was somewhat more evangelical in its agenda than the Sanitary Commission, which looked more to the physical environment of camp living. Most historians agree that both commissions provided quality reading materials for the troops and tried to establish a moral standard for the soldiers of the federal army. However, their agendas were essentially religious and evangelical in nature. Although there was some friction between the various organizing groups over the sectarian content of their message, no less than $500 million was raised for religious and philanthropic purposes during the war.

Most regiments North and South had resident chaplains to look to the spiritual needs of the soldiers, and many of the commanding officers were steadfastly religious and not hesitant in demanding a certain adherence to moral standards among their men. Catholic priests attended to the needs of some of the all-Irish regiments. Since whole regiments were often raised from a single community, the clergy were often well known among the men they served. One Confederate general, Leonidas Polk, was a consecrated bishop of the Episcopal Church, but many other officers were full- or part-time ministers in civilian life.

Although religious tracts and Bibles were circulated throughout the army camps and Sabbath services were held with regularity, Captain J. W. De Forest observed that "the men are not as good as they were once; they drink harder and swear more and gamble deeper." The same officer noted that "the swearing mania was irrepressible." Nonetheless, De Forest tolerated the use of inappropriate language in the heat of battle. "In the excitement of the charge it seemed as if every extremity of language was excusable, providing it would help toward victory" (Croushore 1949, 65, 80).

The most egregious violation of morality that went uncurbed was the flock of prostitutes who followed the armies wherever they went. It simply did not seem possible to keep the men away from these women even though the provost (military police) were given orders to discourage their trade in amorous economics. At one point in the war, the problem was so uncontrolled in the federal camps of the Army of the Potomac that the prostitutes were known as "General Hooker's girls," after the army commander Joseph Hooker. The name seems to have stuck with the term hooker becoming a synonym for prostitute.

Notwithstanding these limitations, public demonstrations of piety and religious worship, organized by ministers, priests, lay preachers, officers, and the men themselves, were common events in camp and were well attended by the troops. General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's fanatical Presbyterian evangelical devotion came to be almost stereotypical of Confederate religious sentiment, although there is little evidence to indicate that the majority of Confederate soldiers were any more dedicated to religion or immune from temptation than their counterparts in the federal forces. Stories of a higher moral tone among Confederate troops are largely a postwar product of the writers of *Lost Cause* literature. Nonetheless, when two dozen general officers of the Confederate army were seen at the same church service in 1864, it was suggested by a female worshipper frustrated by the Southern army's recent lack of success on the battlefield that "less piety and more drilling of commands would suit the times better" (Woodward 1981, 585).

—*James M. Volo*

RELIGION

The Religious Compass

To better understand the role of religion in nineteenth-century American life, it is important to provide a brief thumbnail sketch and history of the various religion sects prominent during the period especially those on the margins of Protestant orthodoxy. It is also important to discuss the effects of traditional Euro-American religious beliefs on the Africans and African Americans living in a white dominated society.

The dominant Protestant religions—Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist—were essentially from within the same religious compass, despite some doctrinal and organizational differences. With historical roots firmly established in the Puritan movement and adherence to the principles of the Church of England, Congregational and Episcopalian churches had initially dominated New England and the South, respectively. There were 668 Congregational denominations in the colonies in 1750, while the Episcopalians came in second with 289. By 1850, however, the largest number of congregations were Lutheran (16,400), closely followed by Methodists (13,200), and Baptists (9,400).

Sectional issues surrounding the Civil War like the continuation of slavery and secession affected each religious group as geography rather than doctrine dictated. The Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists each broke apart into pro-Northern and pro-Southern branches before the war, as issues of slavery and ways to read the Bible divided the denominations.

Religious diversity characterized America. A look at some of the variety of religious expressions and experiences suggests the range and diversity of religions interest.

Religious Denominations in America, 1650–1850

Affiliation	1650	1750	1820	1850
Congregational	62	668	1,096	1,706
Episcopal	31	289	600	1,459
Quaker	1	250	350	726
Presbyterian	6	233	1,411	4,824
Lutheran	4	138	800	16,403
Baptist	2	132	2,885	9,375
Dutch Reformed	0	90	389	2,754
Catholic	6	30	124	1,221
Methodist	0	0	2,700	13,280
Disciples of Christ	0	0	618	1,898
Unitarian/Universalist	0	0	0	891

(Volo and Volo 2007, 129).

Quakers

Quakerism, or the Society of Friends, was begun in seventeenth-century England by George Fox and Margaret Fell. The first adherents to the new sect—many of whom were of Welsh ancestry—were drawn largely from farmers who lived on the fringe of the cultural, economic, and social mainstream. Quakerism was a radical religion that attracted these generally independent people by preaching the virtues of the family as the basic disciplining and spiritualizing authority in society as opposed to that of magistrates and church prelates. Thanks, in part, to their devotion to the decentralization of authority, many Quakers devoted themselves to their religious duties by creating nearly autonomous personal households. Everything in the Quaker household—wives, children, and business—was subjected to a familial order rooted in morality. The burden of producing, sustaining, and incorporating morality, and civic and economic virtues, into the household was taken on by the entire family and supported by the community at large. Outside authorities such as an intolerant established priesthood, an authoritarian upper class, or even a pedantic university system were considered not only unnecessary but even pernicious.

Although sparsely settled throughout much of the country, Quakers maintained a political influence in Pennsylvania that well outweighed their number. Their neat, well-tended farms, and social solidarity were among the characteristics that made the state one of the most prosperous in America. Yet the unique form of the Quaker community and its pacifist sentiments left the Society of Friends distrusted by the wider community in general. In applying their principles Quakers relied heavily upon a religious and spiritual form of human relations. Although Protestant in their origin, they radically reorganized their church from one that required the performance of a series of external disciplines and the reception of a well-prepared sermon, as among the Episcopalians, into one in which the silent meeting and a personal conversion took precedence.

The Quaker community also gave unprecedented moral authority within the household and within the congregation to the women of their sect. They thereby radically changed the structure of the traditional household, especially in the areas of authority over childrearing, courtship, and marriage. Women were encouraged to discuss and legislate on women's matters in specially designed women's meetings set up for the primary purpose of controlling courtship and marriage within the community. This integrated well with wider movement toward advancing women's rights during the nineteenth century. Angelina and Sarah Grimké, for instance, were sisters born to a slave-owning family in South Carolina. Upon their father's death, the young sisters took up the twin crusades of abolition and women's rights. Originally members of the Episcopal Church, they were attracted to the Quaker sect by friends who lived in Philadelphia, but found that they lacked the Quaker self-restraint to curb their unequivocal hatred of slave owners. Sarah and Angelina began their careers by addressing small groups of women on both feminist and antislavery topics, and ultimately entered the reform lecture circuit.

The basic unit of Quaker settlement in America was the family farm of about 250 to 300 acres—an initial size to which much was added with time. The overwhelming majority of Quaker children in America married other Quakers locally and tended to stay within the meeting house discipline. They thereby quickly found themselves related to one another in their local communities, not only by religion, but also by shared genetics. This web of kinship was partly responsible for the strong ties exhibited by a community of people who were otherwise defiantly anti-institutional.

Moravians

The Moravians were among the least fanatical of the sects that came to America. With roots in the teachings of John Hus and John Wycliffe, the Moravians *(Fratres Unitas)* had become an important Protestant group in central Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although their influences were more important in colonial times than in the antebellum period, their religious beliefs strongly influenced John Wesley, a leader in the evangelical movement and the founder of Methodism. Nonetheless, because Moravians refused to take oaths or to bear arms in times of war, they were viewed with a good deal of suspicion by the majority of other Protestants. Only their very small numbers and general isolation from other communities kept them from being the targets of prejudice and repression.

Shakers

For some historians and social scientists, the Shakers serve as the epitome of the splinter religious sects during the nineteenth century with their material style and style of living being assigned to the classification of furniture, tools, and architecture. Founded in Britain in 1758 by Ann Lee, who styled herself the Mother of the community, Shakerism was a celibate religious movement rooted in Protestantism. The religion is noted for being founded by a woman, and there was a strand of early feminism that punctuated its doctrine and organization. Actually named the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming, the religion took on the name of Shakerism because of the dancing and shaking that characterized some of those who attended its rituals and prayer meetings.

Shakerism was brought to America by Mother Ann Lee in 1774 and was most successful in New England. In the antebellum period it made great gains in membership in Ohio and Kentucky. Like many other groups that followed a social gospel or a utopian Christian doctrine, the Shakers believed in communal living, productive labor, and a closed self-sustaining economic unit. "Without Money, Without Price" was one of their mottos. Shakers came to be known for a distinctive craftsmanship and folk art characterized by its simplicity, and they printed, published, and distributed their own writings in the nineteenth century.

The religious doctrines of the community included a belief in the direct communication of some of its members, known as seekers, with other celestial realms inhabited by Most High God, Holy Mother Wisdom, Lord Jesus Christ, Mother Ann, and a cast of angles, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and saints drawn from the Bible. Although families with existing children were welcomed as members, Shakers practiced absolute celibacy, and suffered from the need to attract new adherents to their communities as there was no natural increase due to birth. By the 1850s this aspect of the religion caused a good deal of concern as the number of young men entering the fold diminished to the point that many communities were entirely populated by females and had to hire nonadherent male workers to perform heavy tasks such as plowing and woodcutting.

Judaism

Jews made up only a small proportion of the American population before the late nineteenth century. However, Sephardic Jews, those whose ancestry lay in the Iberian Peninsula, had significant communities in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Louisiana. The practice of Judaism in New York was almost as old as the colony itself, and at least one Jewish congregation was active in New Amsterdam under Dutch rule during the seventeenth century. In 1845, an economic depression caused many European Jews, especially those of German descent, to immigrate to America. They brought an early form of Reform Judaism with them. In their synagogues, they innovated the ritual, used German, English, and Hebrew in their services, and allowed men and women to be seated together. Nonetheless, most still observed the traditional laws in their homes, and read and spoke the Torah in Hebrew only. The lack of intermarriage between the German and Russian-speaking newcomers to America and the more established Sephardic Jews tended to keep the communities apart. Apparently, Jews in their insular communities experienced little overt anti-Semitism during the period, and several individuals played important roles in the coming war as commanders and in government.

Catholics

By the 1860s the Roman Catholic Church was possibly the only religion in America not divided over doctrine. The Roman Church was intolerant of criticism, unapologetically authoritarian, resolute, and unalterable in its structure. It was the oldest and best-organized religion in the western world, and it demanded the unquestioned obedience of its members to the will of the Pope. A "Protestant Crusade" to stem the growing influence of the Catholics began in the 1820s and increased in proportion to Catholic immigration, which grew most precipitously in the 1840s and 1850s with the flood of Irish immigration. The nativist movement, truly reactionary and discriminatory in its nature, was rooted in a traditional abhorrence of authoritarian Roman popes, and it focused largely on the mass of Irish Catholic immigrants who were filling the northern cities.

The Catholic archbishop of New York, John Hughes, took an unquestionably militant stand in defense of his church. He rallied the largely Irish Catholic population of the city in defense of Catholic institutions. This response clearly sharpened the dispute and helped to swell the ranks of the Nativist, or Know Nothing political party, which used anti-Catholicism and the evils of popery as foundation stones of their all-American rhetoric.

Fourierists

The followers of social architect Charles Fourier would be relatively unimportant except that they included a group of literary giants from New England known as Transcendentalists, who practiced a form of Christian humanitarianism at Brook Farm in Massachusetts. These literary giants included Ralph Waldo Emerson. Fourier's views were somewhat convoluted and difficult to grasp. The basic tenet of Fourierism was a crusade for social harmony. Fourier believed that the basic force that ruled all the aspects of social order, including passion, was attraction. Social harmony could be attained only by balancing all the possible attractions.

The religious aspects of Fourierism were essentially organized around the shared Protestant beliefs of its adherents, while the social aspects of the movement were dedicated to balancing individualism and ego with group membership and shared responsibility. Communal production was segregated into specific working groups with more than 40 discrete craft specializations that were ultimately assembled into a larger series of tasks. The final products were meant to sustain a small, self-contained community. The New England group at Brook Farm sought to propagate the movement by buying a weekly column in Horace Greeley's *Daily Tribune* and by publishing their own literary work in *The Dial*. Nonetheless, the movement was largely unsuccessful in sustaining itself, falling heavily in debt because of the lack of expertise exhibited by its adherents, who were much better at crafting essays and poems than furniture and textiles.

Mormons

Those who chose to follow the Mormon religion (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints) may have been the persons most vigorously persecuted for religious reasons in the nineteenth century. As possibly the most important fringe religion of the period, Mormonism was the great catch-all of the evangelical movements. Patriarchs, angels, and demons seemed to punctuate the semi-Biblical rituals of Mormon metaphysics. At one time or another, according to its critics, every Protestant heresy in America was championed by one or the other of the spokesmen for the Latter-Day Saints. Yet Mormons were generally courageous, dedicated, and hard working people unfairly targeted by the more established religions. Only by removing themselves to the remote desert southwest during the period of expansion did Mormons escape persecution. There they made the desert bloom through the creative use of irrigation and inventive farming practices. The community of saints was self-disciplined and, of necessity, hostile to outsiders. The Mormon religion is presently the fourth largest discrete religion in the United States.

African American Religion

The Africans, who were first brought to the Americas as slaves, came from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. Upon arrival at a plantation, they found themselves intermingled with other blacks who held a wide range of beliefs and practiced a multiplicity of religious rites. The desire to hold true to ancestral customs was a strong one, and some slaves would periodically steal away to neighboring farms to join in worship with others from their same ethnic group. This diversity, however, produced an openness that transcended cultural differences with a common mystical relationship to the divine and the supernatural. African religious practices were marked by a communication with the natural world and exponential religion, which opened them to the practice of laying on of hands, spiritual possession, baptism in quaker and emotional expression—all of which would make evangelical Protestantism later appealing. Lacking an understanding of the African cultures and having no desire to cultivate one, slaveholders did their best to strip slaves of their native religious cultures. Effectively, however, these practices were merely driven underground to be practiced in secret.

By the close of the eighteenth century and as a outgrowth of the First Great Awakening, some whites felt it was their duty to bring Christianity to the slaves. Protestantism leveled all men as sinners before God, regardless of wealth or color, and an intense commitment by evangelists and revivalists to black conversion was focused largely on the slave communities. The success of the undertaking was facilitated by a number of factors. Generally, the slave community was open to this religious movement. Second-, third-, and even fourth-generation African Americans had fewer cultural and linguistic barriers to Christian instruction than their forbearers. The emotionalism, congregational response, and plain doctrine of revivalist preaching proved favorable to well disposed blacks, and it resonated somewhat with their religious heritage. Remnants of African dance and song found a home in the spirituals of evangelical Protestantism.

The egalitarian perspective of this religious movement opened the way for black converts to participate actively in churches as preachers and even as founders of their own congregations. Slaves had the freedom to attend church with their owners (although discretely seated in the rear or among the rafters), but in some instances, they were allowed to worship at independent black churches. Even so, the majority of slaves who had the opportunity to become church members in the first decades of the nineteenth century were household servants, artisans, and urban residents rather than field hands.

By the 1830s evangelical churchmen had become increasingly committed to the idea of an aggressive program of developing plantation missions to bring Christianity to rural slaves. Planters were generally amenable to the concept of slave conversion in a theological sense, although two slave conspiracies led by black preachers—Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner—found validation for their cause in Scripture. These events produced huge setbacks in any latitude afforded slaves regarding their traditional religions. Planters were expected to bring the Gospel to the slave quarter by joining missionary societies and supporting local churches with money for the plantation missionaries. Proponents of the cause adopted the techniques of Northern bible and temperance societies to raise Southern consciousness by printing sermons and essays, adopting resolutions, and devoting entire conferences to the topic. However, the distance between plantations made ordinary pastoral care almost impossible.

Southern slave owners began to see that Scripture could be used to sanction a kind of Christian social order based on mutual duty of slave to master and master to slave as found in Ephesians 6:5–9. The ideal of a Christian master-slave relationship fed the Southern myth of the benevolent planter-patriarch that oversaw the simple, helpless black. As the decades advanced, growing uneasiness toward Northern abolitionists created an ambivalence in Southerners regarding the instruction of slaves in Christianity. However, the criticism of Northern churchmen made Southerners more sensitive to their duty, and the supporters of plantation missions continued to remind slaveholders of their religious duties toward their blacks. Plantation mistresses in particular were urged to take an active role in slave instruction by reading sermons to them, including them in family prayers, and conducting Sabbath schools. Some household slaves were led in prayer each morning by the mistress.

By the eve of the Civil War it was not unusual for slaves to outnumber whites at racially mixed churches. This manifestation of the plantation missionaries' success was misleading, however, because it represented only one component of the slaves' religious experience. In the secrecy of their cabins and amid brush or hush arbors, slaves met free from the owner's gaze and practiced a religion that addressed many issues other than a slave's Biblical subservience to his master. Absolute freedom was often the subject of their prayer. Through prayer, song, and feeling the spirit slaves gained renewed strength through hope. These informal prayer meetings were filled with spirituals that perpetuated a continuity with African music and performance. The drums, which had once been a vital part of African spiritual expression, were replaced by rhythmic hand clapping and foot-stomping known as shouting. Rather than truly adopting Christianity, the slaves had adapted it to themselves.

Generally, slaves faced severe punishment if they were found attending nonsanctioned prayer meetings. Gathering in deep woods, gullies, and other secluded places, they created makeshift rooms of quilts and blankets that had been wetted down to inhibit the transmission of voices. A common practice was to place an iron pot or kettle turned upside down in the middle of the floor to catch the sound. The roots or symbolism of this belief have been lost. On occasion, rags would be stuffed into the mouth of an overzealous worshiper. Slave narratives repeatedly speak to the uplifting nature of these meetings.

An underground culture of voodoo, magic, and conjuring were practiced in areas where there were large numbers of slaves from the islands of the Caribbean or where African snake cults—which handled serpents as part of their ritual—had been imported and adapted. It would be a mistake to believe that the majority of slaves followed Voodoo. That was more characteristic of those from Haiti and other West Indian Islands. However, many slaves exhibited a respectful attitude toward occult practices in general. Newly imported slaves from Africa brought with them a periodic infusion of non-Christian religious practices and mystical beliefs that kept the echoes of an older naturalistic religions alive. Nonetheless, the power of the Voodoo priests and other conjurers never reached the level it had enjoyed in the islands or in Africa.

The Quaker religion openly welcomed black and native American worshipers. While the Catholics had a minority black representation in their churches in the

North, they were able to maintain their position in the South only by making seating concessions to the etiquette of white supremacy. Separate black congregations also grew in number among many Protestant sects because the white congregations of their several denominations did not welcome them. A growing army of black ministers was, thereby, able to found parishes among the freemen and slaves of the South. The African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Churches had some of the most prominent black ministers of the period.

—*James M. Volo*

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Beringer, Richard E. *The Elements of Confederate Defeat: Nationalism, War Aims, and Religion*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988.

Croushore, James H., ed. *A Volunteer's Adventure, by Captain John W. De Forest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949.

Hankins, Barry. *The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Stewart, James Brewer. *Holy Warriors, The Abolitionists and American Slavery*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Sweet, Leonard I. *The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelism*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983.

Woodward, C. Vann, ed. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.

3

RECONSTRUCTION

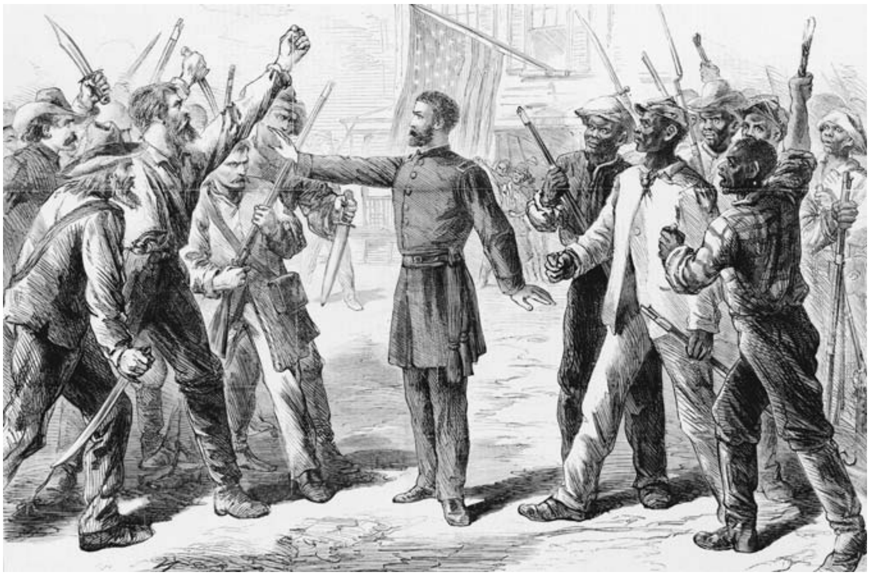
Overview

RADICALS, FREEDMEN, AND KLANSMEN

With the Confederate army defeated, the Southern government in flight or surrendered, and slavery legally abolished, the process called Reconstruction was an attempt to resolve many of the issues remaining after the Civil War that had not been addressed by the effusion of blood. If the Confederate experience did nothing else, it gave white Southerners of all classes a corporate identity for the first time. There had always been some black "Freemen" in the South, but now there was a mass of former slaves who were considered "Freedmen." The difference between the two was not lost on Southern whites or on the blacks themselves.

Running from the surrender of Confederate forces in 1865 to the end of the presidency of Ulysses Grant in 1877, the period of Reconstruction addressed the return to the Union of the secessionist Southern states, the status of the leaders of the Confederacy, and the constitutional rights and legal status of all blacks. Reconstruction came in three consecutive and largely mutually exclusive phases: Presidential Reconstruction and reunification along the lines that Abraham Lincoln had envisioned before his death; radical Reconstruction driven by a Congress dedicated to establishing a pro-union government in the South and bringing basic rights as citizens to all blacks; and redemption Reconstruction, which placed the fate of the former Confederate states and all blacks living in the South in largely white Southern hands.

In March 1865, the U.S. War Department established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, which was normally called just the Freedmen's Bureau. It supervised the relief efforts—shelter, rations, clothing, and medicine—relating to refugees and escaped slaves at the end of the war. During Reconstruction, the Bureau provided practical aid to more than four million newly emancipated blacks. It oversaw



The Freedmen's Bureau was often the only government agency that stood up for the rights of blacks in the former Confederate states. This powerful image from *Harper's Weekly* is symbolic of the isolation experienced by the officers of the agency when involved in disputes between black freedmen and white Southerners. Courtesy Library of Congress.

the building of hospitals, schools, and shelters, and the dispensing of rations, medical care, and justice to millions of black citizens in the face of sometimes cruel oppression and palpable terror perpetrated by their former masters.

Reconstruction had its darker side in the North also. The victory of federal arms and the occupation of the former Confederate states was seen as a golden opportunity to humiliate and eliminate the influence of the Southern aristocracy. Sometimes violent controversy erupted over how to tackle these issues, especially the reluctance of the South to accept defeat on the issue of black emancipation. Many Southerners refused to consider blacks as equal citizens and forced them into leasing their homes and sharecropping their fields at a great financial disadvantage to themselves. Only the great fear that Southern whites had for unrestricted blacks can explain the recklessness with which the South defied the North during Reconstruction. Nonetheless, all 11 former Confederate states had been readmitted to the Union by 1871.

Reconstruction came in three phases that were largely driven by momentous events. Presidential Reconstruction (1863–1866) was envisioned by Lincoln and followed by his successor Andrew Johnson, with the goal of quickly reuniting the country through moderate programs and policies. It was during this phase that the most determined of the Southern states passed their Black Codes in an attempt to retain white supremacy. Radical Reconstruction (1867–1873) was a program favored by certain factions of radical Republicans that gained political power after the elections of 1866. These emphasized the civil and voting rights of blacks, the establishment of Republican governments in the Southern states, and the eradication of the decades-old concept of States' Rights. The final stage of Reconstruction is sometimes called the Redemption (1874–1877). This was characterized by overt racism and the substitution of fear and violence for the rule of law in the form of organizations like the Ku Klux Klan.

Reconstruction spanned the presidencies of Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, and Ulysses Grant. Long before the end of Grant's second term the course of Reconstruction was presumed at an end. The final stage began with a strong showing by Democrats in the national bi-election of 1874. They won a majority of 70 seats in the House and almost took control of the Senate. Reconstruction ended in 1877 with the inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes, who declared the policy of Southern reconstruction a failure and returned to a prewar pattern of cooperation between Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans in the Congress and white domination in the South. The new political alliance marked the end of force as an element in postwar politics and a return to the ways of reconciliation and compromise.

The period of Reconstruction was one of the most controversial in U.S. history. During 12 years (1865–1877) changes took place that fundamentally altered American society. It set the stage for many of the controversies that would populate the next century including civil rights, the supremacy of the federal government over the states, the growth of industrialization and urbanism at the expense of agriculture and rural living, and the rejection of caste and race as the basis for social order in favor of money and influence.

It must be remembered that the period of Reconstruction was abnormal, filled with ambiguities and contradictions. A president had been assassinated for the first time, and his successor had been impeached—also for the first time in U.S. history. Moreover, the policy of Reconstruction cannot be understood in simple terms of Constitutional legalities and precedents. The Constitution had not addressed the concept of secession and Civil War. Some historians have written of the period as an era of tragedy and an age of hate, and certainly bigotry, racism, and corruption marked its passing. During this period a coalition of freedmen, Carpetbaggers (Northern politicians), and Scalawags (Southern politicians) controlled most of the Southern states. The sometimes blatantly dishonest practices of these men caused an upsurge of reactionary groups. From 1873–1877, white supremacist Southerners known as Redeemers jockeyed for control of their state governments. They ultimately defeated the Republicans in their states and took control of each under the old political banner of Southern Democrats. The Redeemer movement also engendered the formation of the Ku Klux Klan and the White League.

Yet it should also be remembered that the South received the mildest punishment ever inflicted on the losing side in a civil war in all of recorded history to that time. Within a decade of the first shot fired at Fort Sumter, all of the states in the rebellion had been readmitted to the union with full constitutional rights and privileges. With the exception of Major Henry Wirz, commander of the notorious prison camp at Andersonville, no military or political leader of the Confederacy was executed, and the ex-president of the Southern states, Jefferson Davis, was released within two years of his capture.

—James M. Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002.

Franklin, John Hope. *Reconstruction after the Civil War.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Stampp, Kenneth. *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877.* New York: Knopf, 1965.

Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

RECONSTRUCTION
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Domestic Life

KINSHIP SYSTEMS: REFUGEES

The hard hand of war drove many Southern families to flee from the federal armies as they occupied increasingly larger portions of the South. An editor in wartime Alabama estimated that 400,000 persons were refugees in the whole of the Confederacy, but modern estimates are about half that number. It is impossible to determine how many families were displaced voluntarily or involuntarily. Two-thirds of the population of Alexandria, Virginia, voluntarily left town out of fear of the uncertainties of military occupation in 1862, whereas in Atlanta in the fall of 1864, U.S. General William Tecumseh Sherman ordered all residents to leave the city or suffer the consequences. Dense crowds of people thronged the streets moving their meager belongings in carriages, carts, wheelbarrows, or piled high on the backs of slaves. Every sort of man, woman, or child made their way to the railway cars, or trudged down the dusty roads away from the advancing federal lines.

It is safe to say, nonetheless, that tens of thousands of Confederate families were displaced during the war. Many left their homes for brief periods of time or simply moved in with relatives in another county or state—others never returned to their original homes. Their general lack of preparation for an extended stay or means to finance one created great burdens on relatives, especially those who had their own financial problems caused by fathers and brothers away at war. A place on the farm or plantation of a friend or relation was best because a few more mouths were more easily tolerated. Yet economic security, once the hallmark of the plantations that stood like agricultural city-states amid their thousands of acres, was no longer a certainty. Cities offered employment, opportunities for socializing, a variety of alternative living arrangements, and the psychological security of being among a white majority rather than being a white minority among so many slaves. Soon even large communities became congested and rents rose to where decent lodgings could not be found.

Although Southerners of all classes became refugees, the quickest to flee tended mostly to be from among the planters and their families—men who feared being arrested because they were local political leaders—and families with property, including slaves, which they feared would be taken by invading Yankees. They crowded into supposedly safe places anywhere from Richmond to East Texas, looking for work and provisions. Middle-class refugees also suffered from their dislocation. Teachers found themselves looking for students, ministers for congregations, and tradesmen for customers with money and the livings that went with them. Unlike the poor, these rarely went hungry or jobless. They had no lack of influential friends and relations to find them something more than the bare necessities of life and an employment of sorts, even if it was not in their normal realm of work.

Small farmers—yeomen, sharecroppers, and tenants—tended to keep to their land until the pressure of an advancing enemy army forced them away. This pressure came in many forms. Both sides resorted to foraging for foodstuffs, and sent out groups of men, usually cavalry, to strip the countryside of provisions—a standard practice of armies since ancient times. There was also the threat of informal foraging by deserters, refugees, and escaped or recently freed slaves. Many farms were visited repeatedly and stripped bare by friend and foe alike.

The farms in middle Tennessee and the Shenandoah Valley had been the prime focus of army foragers time and again. The area around Winchester, Virginia, changing hands between the North and South more than a dozen times, was left sorely pressed and economically destitute by constant foraging. In 1863, the Southern government had begun impressing items of all kinds—horses, wagons, hogs, cattle, grain, potatoes—leaving the farmers only enough for their own subsistence. The incredibly large herds of army horses, requiring unending amounts of fodder, stripped the region of hay and grass and made husbandry over the winter and plowing in the spring barely possible. Even the hogs, which were generally allowed to roam the scrub and woodlots of most farms, seem to have become a favorite target of the foragers.

The economic pressures brought upon a sanctuary community by the influx of so many refugees, often changed attitudes of sympathy or pity into indifference and disgust as food, shelter, and employment became scarce for everyone. Those who had been landowners became tenants for the first time, enduring high rents, imperious landlords, frayed tempers, and a lack of privacy. Sometimes the tension between locals and refugees exploded into violence, especially among teens too young to enter service and men too old for the battlefield. Youngsters got into frequent scraps, older men often resorted to duels.

Local residents often viewed refugees with suspicion—especially rich refugees whose war seemed less demanding to less fortunate families. A contemporary observer, Kate Stone, herself a member of a displaced family from near Vicksburg, shared the contempt that the wealthy refugees often expressed about their new neighbors: "[T]he more we see of the people," she wrote shortly after moving in, "the less we like them, and every refugee we have seen feels the same way." She attributed the attitude of her Texas hosts to "envy, just pure envy. The refugees are a nicer and more refined people than most of those we meet, and they see and resent the difference." At a Texas barbecue, a refugee friend complained about their less-than-perfect surroundings and asked, "Why should we dine with plebeians?" After making an appearance and seeing "the animals feed," in the memorable words of Kate's mother, the Stones returned to their lodgings.

In the final stages of the war, it became obvious to many that the South would succumb to Northern might. Many Southern families sold their clothing, jewelry, silver plate, china, slaves, crops, land, houses, and other possessions. They then made arrangements to convert the Confederate dollars they received into Yankee paper or, preferably, silver and gold coin as quickly as possible to avoid the rampant depreciation. Many chose to move to Canada or Mexico after the war.

In the final year of the war federal troops systematically and vigorously searched even the poverty-stricken homes of Southern sympathizers to remove any provisions that could be of use to the Rebel army. In a conscious attempt to disable the Army of Northern Virginia the effort was carried out with ruthless efficiency. Provisions that could not be carried off were destroyed; livestock were slaughtered; freshwater wells were fouled; 2,000 barns were destroyed; and fields were burned. Although lacking in humanity, as a warlike measure this was very effective. Ultimately the farm family was left without any means of subsistence, and they too were added to the legions of homeless wanderers.

While the Confederacy was generally sympathetic to the plight of refugees, it was overwhelmed by the demands of the war on the battlefield and did little to ameliorate the wants of displaced families. Once the government had failed, there was nothing that the South could do and generally no one to do it. The U.S. Sanitary Commission, which made provisions for the relief of the sick, provided ambulances, and cared for the wounded and the dead during the war, also operated in the South and in the West, overseeing the diet and personal cleanliness of the soldiers in camp, provided housing for white refugee families, and raising money to expand their work. A single Sanitary Commission fundraiser in New York City at war's end raised over $1 million for the effort.

In the aftermath of the surrender at Appomattox, everyday inconveniences plagued the daily life of refugee families. Schooling was particularly bothersome. Many tutors and schoolmasters were with the army, and normal schooling was interrupted with every move the family made. A new community meant a new school, if there was one, and children were subject to taunts and teasing until they found their place in the new community of youngsters. Many children were sent away to schools in areas thought safe from the more gruesome after-effects of the war. Special occasions like birthdays and holidays were difficult when the family was not gathered around its own hearth. It was also difficult to send and receive mail with any confidence that it would be received or forwarded, and news of family members, especially soldiers missing on the battlefield or those in prison camps, was often misrouted or simply lost.

Moreover, the Confederate mails were two to three times more expensive than those in the North, and even soldiers at the front had to pay to have mail brought to them. By 1864 the Confederate postal system had so completely broken down that thousands of personal letters remained undelivered. The inability of the Confederacy to maintain the mails had no little effect on the deterioration of Southern morale.

The tribulations associated with displacement were not isolated to Southern families. Families sympathetic to the Union living in the South, and vice versa, were often forced from their homes by uncompromising neighbors. This was especially true in Tennessee where secessionist sentiment was somewhat split along geographical lines. Because large areas of the border states like Missouri and Kentucky were quickly brought under federal control, actual secession was impractical; nonetheless, when the new Confederate battle flag had been designed, it sported 13 stars, the last 2 representing the fiction that Missouri and Kentucky were willing but unable to join their sisters. The use of 13 stars was thought to reinforce the symbolic connections between the infant Confederacy and the American Revolution. Many people who had tried to maintain a cautious neutrality during the war found themselves caught in undercurrents of history so strong and compelling that they were unable to avoid further conflict without moving.

—James M. Volo

FAMILY LIFE

Household Structure

Generally, in the decade of the 1870s the typical white, native-born woman had seven or eight pregnancies during her childbearing years, and raised four or five children. Where data is available, women seem to have married at a median age of 20 years, and given birth to their first child within one or two years. In the 1870s, the median period of childbearing remained at about 10 years. Foreign-born women continued to have higher fertility rates than native-born women, and second generation foreign-born women were somewhere in between (Wells 1979, 524).

The absolute changes in black birth rates during Reconstruction are hard to determine as it is commonly agreed among researchers that blacks were undercounted in the 1870 and 1880 censuses. Blacks (from data beginning in 1850) sustained decreasing, but still higher, fertility and birth rates (eight or nine pregnancies and seven to eight children) than their white counterparts throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The end of slavery shifted the decision-making process concerning additional pregnancies to the black family along with all the economic, social, and legal arrangements under which children were conceived and raised. Yet, the initial response of former slaves to emancipation after 1865 seems to have been a continuation of the old fertility patterns of the plantation. Only with time did black fertility decrease markedly (Engerman 1978, 129–30).

Vital Statistics

Average white life expectancy at birth in 1860 was 44 years, and white infant mortality rates for 1860 at 181 per 1,000 were significantly worse than those in 1900. There were significant improvements when these data are compared to a decade later. Average white life expectancy at birth in 1870 remained low at 45 years, and white infant mortality rates for 1870 improved slightly at 176 per 1,000. There is no reliable data for infant mortality or life expectancy for blacks until the early twentieth century.

—James M. Volo

MEN

Early nineteenth-century social structure was based mostly on wealth and ancestry—an accident of birth, bloodline, and race that often put a man in his place and established his identity as he drew his first breath. Antebellum Northerners openly attacked this stratified order as antiquated and immoral especially in the South where social life was largely based on these principles; but Northerners substituted a new and equally unsound social order of their own upon the community—that of work. "The legitimacy of the North's political culture was based on the dignity it offered the common white laborer, on the sanctified importance of the hard, white working day for the economic and moral advancement of society. The legitimacy of the South's political culture was based on the dignity it offered the common white farmer, on the sanctified importance of black slavery as the guarantor of all that it meant to be white and free" (Berry 2006, 259).

Southern whites, reeling from the defeat of a generations-old cause rooted in the traditional inequality of the races, scrambled to maintain their identity during Reconstruction as the foundation of their social order collapsed under their feet. The members of the planter aristocracy—with its wealth largely dissipated, if not destroyed—fell back upon the laurels it had gained in warfare, retaining their military rank and referring to their peers as "Captain" or "Colonel" in an effort to bolster a fading identity. Yet this was an affectation available to only a few former Confederates. It was equally important for the mass of private soldiers who had fought for the South to emphasize that they remained free and white even after defeat. In no other matter were white men more equal than in their subjugation of other races. Unfortunately, the structure of the reconstructed South allowed most white men to be not only free, but poor. Their place in the structure of society was slowly becoming equivalent to that of freedmen. This aspect of Southern identity may help to explain the attraction poor whites had for race-based supremacy organizations like the Klan during the Reconstruction period where they found a new place and identity.

Amid the increasing urbanization, industrialization, and capitalism of the nineteenth century, it was a man's work, in particular, which gave him his place and identity in the North. A man was seen as a banker, a doctor, a teacher, a tradesman, or farmer before much else was known of his family background, character, or aspirations. His place in society was as firmly set by his vocation as it had been in former times by his bloodline. Profession or vocation, thereby, defined to a large degree one's public identity.

J. Clinton Ransom, writing from the perspective of the 1880s, believed that a man's natural attributes fitted him for his profession and for his place in society. He wrote, "We do not believe that all men, or any considerable number of men, could enter upon . . . totally different lines of action and succeed in all." A man who followed his vocation for a lifetime "with utter faithfulness" and "mastered the duties around him" could expect no surprises as he arrived at eminence and social respectability. "It is entirely natural that he should be there, and he is as much at home there and as little elated as when he was working patiently at the foot of the stairs. There are heights above him, and he remains humble and simple." A man who lost his place at business or failed in his profession also lost part of his identity (Ransom 1889, 435).

Most people believed that certain personality traits were attached to a man via his vocation and vise versa. A bookish youth might find teaching or law an appropriate profession; a dull child—manual labor or storekeeping; a clever lad—a trade or craft; an ingenious one—a career in engineering; an aggressive boy—a commission in the army or navy. Writing in 1876, Haines and Yaggy warned, "Be what nature intended you for, and you will succeed. . . . The young man who leaves the farm-field for a merchant's desk, thinking to dignify or ennoble his toil, makes a sad mistake.... He barters a natural for an artificial pursuit.... The more artificial a man's pursuit, the more debasing it is, morally and physically.... Thousands who might have been happy at the plow, or opulent behind the counter; thousands dispirited and hopeless,... disgusted with their vocations, [are] getting their living by their weakness instead of by [the] strength of their natural character" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 131).

It was well for young men to have a defined objective in the choice of their vocations. According to Haines and Yaggy, the decision to follow a particular vocation "once taken is taken forever, and a mistake at this point is a vital mistake from which it is impossible to recover.... To spend years at college, at the work-bench, or in the store, and then find the calling the wrong one, is disheartening to all but men of the toughest fiber." Once in the busy life that surrounded a chosen vocation, a man studied it with zeal and mastered it. Great men were thought to have a mission in this regard, which they followed through peril and difficulty to its full realization. This concept of an internal battle or quest fed upon the perception of the masculine gender role, and many men were thought to have led a life of failure solely due to the lack of a sufficiently noble professional objective (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 131).

A man was supposed to be masculine in his manner, his clothing, his interests, and his sentiments. Such traits were part of his identity, but many men sought to create a look that outwardly reinforced these qualities. Often they attempted to accomplish this by having their hair, beard, or moustache trimmed, set, or curled in the tonsorial parlor in forms that made them almost caricatures of themselves. The better classes never frequented barber shops—commonly reserved for the lower classes—and might threaten their employment if found doing so. In a time before the invention of the disposable safety razor, a daily or every other day professional shave was not uncommon.

A period illustration by Currier and Ives of the successful and honored man in the bosom of his family. Courtesy Currier and Ives.

Contemporary advisors produced long lists of personal attributes concerning clothing and accoutrements that were thought to be appropriate for those aspiring to rise from the middle classes, and as the century wore on respectable persons increasingly valued those qualities that separated them further from the working classes. Silk caveats and waistcoats, walking sticks, stickpins, gold pocket watches and chains, and top hats were suggested as items that reinforced an upper-class and successful look.

Among those qualities of character most highly valued were gender-neutral ones such as obedience, virtue, thrift, or loyalty. However, some traits were thought to have a specific masculine or feminine quality: patience, kindness, affection, or sentimentality for women; honesty, industrious, courage, and dedication to duty for men. As the business world expanded its sphere of influence, thrift, punctuality, attention to detail, cleverness, and a reserved manner became highly regarded as workplace attributes (Volo and Volo 2007, 51–53).

WOMEN

Women as Housewives

By 1870 in the industrializing North, most production for the marketplace had moved out of the home, dramatically changing cultural understandings of women's roles and home life. Families made few of their own consumables and much production had shifted from artisan craft shops and farms to factories. The middle-class home was no longer understood to be an extension of the commercial and political world. Americans began to think of the home as a sanctuary from those competitive arenas. They idealized the home as a haven from a heartless world and a place where women were to nurture their harried husbands, educate their children, and compensate for a spiritually impoverished world outside of the home. With the rapid growth of a wage-dependent population and a shift toward a more market-oriented economy, Americans understanding of the roles of men and women underwent a dramatic shift.

Most American women were expected to live their lives in separate spheres. Men were expected to enter the competitive, impersonal marketplace and political arena. In this public sphere, Americans believed that a Darwinian logic ensured that only the strong and shrewd prospered. The resulting competition for survival was a positive force leading to human progress. It was the role of women, according to this line of thinking, to compensate and spiritually heal men brutalized by the public sphere. Women were expected to remain in the home, caring for children, cleaning cooking, washing, and overseeing the physical and spiritual health of the family. In this private sphere, an alternative ethic of cooperation and self-sacrifice was supposed to prevail. Through high praise for the angel in the home and condemnation of the so-called unnatural women who entered the public sphere, women were presumed to confine themselves to the household.

Middle- and upper-class women were increasingly valued for their spirituality, their beauty, and their remoteness from the everyday strife of the marketplace and political realm. Americans of this era expected women to be concerned with their children and husbands but not with larger political and economic issues. A typical statement of this ideology of separate spheres appeared in an 1869 article from the women's magazine, *The Household*. Entitled "Women's Relations to the State," the article claimed that women were the divinely commissioned teachers of their race charged with the sacred and crucial task of rearing and educating men who would "become citizens" and determine "the condition of the state." Women were uniquely equipped, moreover, to educate the future citizens of the nation precisely because women were excluded from the "strife" of the noisy world. Should women go about making public speeches, editing newspapers, or holding public office, they would be made unfit for their role as the spiritual leaders of their families.

Women's restricted status was somewhat elevated, however, by new beliefs about childhood, childrearing, and the development of domestic science. Because children were increasingly understood to respond better to loving influence than stern punishment, women raising young children were given greater esteem than childless or older females. The advent of the so-called domestic sciences also served to elevate women's sphere. Starting with the widely read 1869 volume, *The American Woman's Home,* advisors encouraged women to apply scientific methods and the latest technology to improve the health and happiness of their homes. Harriet Beecher Stowe, renowned author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and her sister, Catharine Beecher, famous in her own right as an educator, penned *The American Woman's Home* to "elevate woman's true profession" and to "embody the latest results of science." The sisters began their chapter on "a healthful home" with a short anatomy lesson demonstrating the importance of pure air and a properly ventilated home to the heart and lungs.

The Beecher sisters and other domestic science writers and advisors advanced women's status, not by arguing for an enlarged role in the public spheres of life, but by attempting to professionalize the private spheres. They argued that women's domestic responsibilities were just as important as men's political and economic responsibilities, and that they consequently should have just as much formal preparation for their daunting labors.

The labor of women, whether working class or middle class, was daunting. In an era when public schools were still relatively rare in some sections of the country, women were responsible for educating their children. They also nursed family members through many common, contagious diseases, which often resulted in months of attention to invalids in bed. They cleaned the home without the aid of vacuum cleaners, washed clothes without the aid of motorized washers or dryers, cooked on wood or coal burning stoves that had to be refueled frequently, ironed using irons heated in the fire, sewed much of their family's clothing, and often carried fuel and water into the home.

Upper- and middle-class women may have had servants to help them with the multitude of chores, but such women often commented on the difficulty of managing the help. In addition, working-class women sometimes labored all day in factories or took in piecework, sewing, or laundry to help support their families. It is no wonder then that Lydia Maria Child, talking about the stresses of being a woman, commented in frustration to her brother Convers "that great labors strengthen the intellect of a well-balanced character, but the million Lilliputian cords of housewifery tied down the stoutest Gulliver that ever wrestled in their miserable entanglement."

While many women might have felt similarly overwhelmed by the volume and physical demands of housework, the ideology of separate spheres discouraged them from reconsidering the tasks that ought to comprise their duties. Domestic writers often portrayed housework as an expression of love rather than as labor. It was important that women did not think of themselves as workers because the home would then become an artisan's shop rather than a haven against a hostile, even, corrupt world.

The early nineteenth-century wife did strenuous work and was valued for her labor, but she rarely received any pay. As Americans increasingly entered a wage paying economy, society came to accept that money was a neutral index of economic value. Unpaid housework in the home ceased to be valued as real work. The angel in the home seemingly produced a clean house, a plentiful and tasty meal, and well-educated children through her virtuous nature rather than through strenuous exertion. While working-class women may have engaged in paid labor outside the home, they were still responsible for the women's work inside the home.

There were women who protested the restriction in women's roles. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony continued in as advocates of a woman's right to vote and to participate more fully in public life. Anthony traveled extensively urging women's rights in many school districts and local governments across the country. In the postwar years, Frances Willard and the members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union—founded in 1873—began to look beyond the issue of alcohol consumption and to frame their arguments in terms of women's maternal role. This gave their arguments a special perspective in politics. They asserted that women needed to be given the right to vote because they had the moral perception to clean up the increasingly corrupt world of male politics. Such arguments were often ridiculed in the popular press, and women could expect little support from the men in their families for their ambitions in the public realm.

In the South, even with the emancipation of slaves, the social system was based on a more rigid class hierarchy, a less fluid labor market, and a far less industrialized economy. A Southern model of family life placed less stress on the private, nuclear family and more on the extended family or clan. Even housing differed significantly in the warmer climate of the South. The kitchens in large homes were commonly detached from the main house to keep the home from becoming overheated in the summer. Consequently, Southern family life reflected different norms from those valued in the North (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 99–104).

From women's perspectives the most important invention of the nineteenth century was likely the sewing machine. It transformed both the work women did and that which they no longer had to do. Prior to the invention of the sewing machine, most women made all of their family's clothing by hand.

The first operational sewing machine was patented in 1846, and by 1860 companies such as Singer were selling more than 30,000 units per year. Nonetheless, the machines were expensive and remained out of reach for many. Improvements in manufacturing techniques and the expiration of expensive patents resulted in much more affordable sewing machines by the late 1870s. Most households, even poor ones, owned sewing machines by 1880 in part because they had become available and in part because they could be used to supplement a family's economy. With the invention of the sewing machine, people could sew much more rapidly and the cost of ready-made clothing declined significantly. Most women continued to make women's and babies' clothing in the home, but by the 1880s very affordable men's and boy's clothing could be purchased at department stores and through mail-order catalogs (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 106).

The cast-iron stove was widely purchased during the industrial era and made cooking a less arduous and safer task for women. Previously, women had cooked over open hearths, a method that required constant tending to keep it burning steadily and far more trips to the woodpile. It was difficult to control temperature on the open hearth, and the equipment was heavy and cumbersome. The kitchen fireplace was a constant hazard to young children who did not keep their distance and to women whose long skirts dragged close to the ground and where stray embers could drop.

The cast-iron stove with its vent and fuel efficiency reduced the amount of smoke in the home. The interior oven could also be heated to a hotter temperature. Because the fire was enclosed, it posed less of a risk to the family. Ornate stoves also provided a decorative addition to the kitchen, though some domestic advice columnists warned that they were difficult to keep clean (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 109).

Following the Civil War commercial cheese factories began to boom, removing a time-consuming task from the housework repertoire. By 1875 there were more than 500 cheese factories in New York State alone. In those days before refrigeration the factory had to be within a half-hour drive of the dairy because the milk had to be transported by wagon. In 1878, a German immigrant named Julius Wettstein started a cheese factory in Monroe, New York where he produced a fine line of German, French, and Swiss types that were traded over the entire length of the Erie Canal. He sold these quality cheeses at a high price, and also taught the cheese-making arts to locals for $3.00 per day. He returned to Germany a rich man after only a few years. Mrs. E. P. Allerton in her essay "Dairy Factory System—A Blessing to the Farmer's Wife" noted that in many farmhouses, the dairy work loomed up every year like a mountain that took all summer to scale. The cheese factory, she explained, had removed that mountain, and for that she exhorted, "Let us be thankful" (Volo and Volo 2007, 237).

Women's Responsibilities: A Typical Week

Most women took great personal pride in their household crafts. At a time when mass production increasingly robbed men of the satisfactions they once had in creating a unique finished product, women still designed elaborate clothing, specialty cakes, and decorations for the home. With the exceptions of domestic servants, women in the home also had more control over their work schedules than men who reported to supervisors. Their work more closely followed the natural rhythms of days and seasons than did factory or office work. Finally, much of that work took place in a social atmosphere. Women might take their sewing over to a neighbor's home for a sewing circle. Some cooked alongside other women in the home. If they hung laundry outside or gardened in a small, urban lot, they found occasions to socialize with their neighbors. Generally, they were surrounded by their young children, which, while it may have complicated their round of tasks, it also enlivened them.

The following schedule illustrates the tasks of women who did not work outside their own homes. For women who labored in the factories, these tasks would fall to another member of the family or would have to be abbreviated to fit into the little time a factory woman would have at home. For those in domestic service, only

Sundays and one evening per week would likely be available for time with their families. Consequently, few married women went into domestic service. Women fortunate enough to have older daughters in the home might share these tasks with them.

Washing a family's clothes and bed linen was a physically onerous task, and most women set aside one day a week just to do the laundry. Because people generally wore fresh, clean clothes on Sunday, Monday was typically the day for washing. Wood or coal had to be gathered for heating water, and in homes without indoor plumbing, water also had to be carried from outdoor wells. One family's laundry, using just one wash, one boiling, and one rinse required about 400 pounds of water, which usually had to be carried from outside in buckets each load weighing as much as 40 or 50 pounds. The bathtub or smaller tub would be set up in the kitchen, though some wealthy homes had a special room set aside for laundry. The laundry would be soaked in separate tubs, depending upon the color of the fabric and the amount of dirt. During the soaking, women used little if any soap. Most soaked clothes overnight; others started the soaking stage early in the morning. While the laundry soaked, a woman would tend to her other daily chores such as childcare, cooking, fueling fires, and the like. At the end of the soaking stage, women would add soap and wash each item by rubbing it across a washboard. After wringing out each item by hand or in a wringer, she would set it aside for the boiling stage. She might rub soap on persistent stains.

During the boiling stage, women would cut up bar soap and dissolve it in boiling water. One domestic advice book recommended adding concentrated ammonia and powdered borax to the boiling water, a mixture that would sting and severely dry women's hands. Women then transferred the heavy, damp cloths to the kettle of boiling water. After a quick boiling, during which they stirred the clothes with a heavy stick, they removed the clothes into a rinse of plain water. Some recommended a second rinse with bluing, a preparation meant to counteract the yellow stains on sweat-stained clothes, and another wringing.

Then the laundry had to be hung, generally, outside, even in winter weather. Pioneer Mary Dodge Woodward had a special room built for hanging laundry in the winter. She advocated that everyone in Dakota have such a place speculating that the cost of such a structure would be well outweighed by less wear and tear on the clothing and less stress on the health of the women who did the laundry. When weather was too inclement, women had to do the laundry indoors. The smell of boiling, soaking soiled clothing would fill the home. On laundry day, women had to stand next to the stove or outdoor fire for most of the day, heaving heavy, damp clothes between basins of water and hoisting them onto laundry lines to dry. It is no wonder that it was commonly referred to as the most dreaded of women's chores.

Laundry was one of the first tasks to be hired out when a family became more prosperous because it was so physically onerous, and it could be easily done outside of the individual house and yard. Even the working class commonly took men's collars and cuffs to individual laundry women or commercial laundries. Wealthier families might either drop off all of their wash or have a laundry woman come weekly to pick it up. For working-class women, laundry service provided a way for them to earn money while staying home. Toward the close of the century, commercial laundries, benefiting from large equipment and economies of scale, drove individual laundry women out of business.

Most clothing and table linens had to be pressed on the day after laundry day. To press clothes, women placed three to six flat irons on a cast-iron stove or on a hot piece of sheet iron set in the hearth. Before each use, each iron had to be wiped with beeswax to keep it from sticking to fabrics and then tested on a piece of scrap material to make sure it would not scorch the clothing. Women dipped cuffs, collars, and shirtfronts in starch. The rest they sprinkled with water. They used towels or put potholders to grasp the heavy iron and used it until it began to cool, when they exchanged the iron for another. It was heavy labor and a dangerous job during which many women were burned.

Bread required a full 24 hours to bake and was, consequently, one of the first prepared foods Americans purchased outside the home. Nonetheless, by 1900, 75 percent of women still baked their own bread because homemade bread was a source of pride for many women. On the day before baking white bread, women mixed up the flour, yeast, sugar, and water, and left the dough to rise. The next day they divided this into loaves, and left it to rise more. They might also chop fruits or mince meats for pies the night before baking. On baking day, they finally baked the white bread as well as brown bread, biscuits, cakes, and pastries for the next few days. Faster acting yeast, developed during the industrial era, ultimately made it possible to abbreviate the process of making white bread. Women generally baked on Saturdays in preparation for the Sabbath and one other day during the week, usually Tuesday or Thursday.

In general, the most time-consuming housework was cooking. In an era before most Americans could afford to purchase canned goods or prepared foods, and at a time when they expected to eat three large meals per day, preparing food consumed hours every day. Breakfast, for example likely consisted of bread, fried or baked potatoes, cooked or raw fruit, and beef, ham, or fish. Many women, however, found this work comparatively enjoyable since a good cook often received much appreciation from her family. Moreover, nutritious, tasty food was considered an expression of a woman's love for her family.

Tending to the fire was a central task for women. Both the cast-iron stove and open hearth had to be carefully fueled and the ashes removed regularly. In the winter, the kitchen might be the only heated room in the house. Consequently, the family gathered in the kitchen to conserve on fuel. Cooking could be a highly social activity for women and one that often involved all of the family's capable females.

Most foods were either grown on the property or bought in the marketplace unprepared. Even urban families commonly kept vegetable gardens to defray costs. Cooks ground their own spices, roasted and ground their own coffee, and sifted flour, which was purchased in an impure form. With refrigeration being relatively rare, urban families brought live chickens home from the market and then killed and plucked the chickens themselves.

The frequency of cleaning chores varied depending on the chore. Daily tasks included sweeping the kitchen, washing the dishes, making beds, and tending lamps. Washing dishes in houses without running water meant hauling a great deal of water by hand from an outdoor pump. Even making beds was a complex task. Feather beds had to be fluffed, adjusted, and frequently flipped to keep them from becoming uncomfortably lumpy.

Tending kerosene lamps could also be a time-consuming job. It meant wiping the top chimneys, replacing or trimming the wicks, and filling the lamp with oil. Despite the time it took to maintain kerosene lamps, they were a big improvement over candles. Kerosene lamps produced a brighter, steadier light than candles. Still, improperly tended, they presented some drawbacks. A dirty chimney would result in a dimmer light and sootier stains on the walls above the lamp.

The soot and grime produced by even well-tended lamps, along with that from the cast-iron stoves, mixed with the dust, mud, dirt, and horse manure brought in from the unpaved streets, meant that the well-kept home required daily, weekly, and seasonal cleaning routines. Rugs had to be pulled up, hung outside, and beaten to remove loose dirt. Each spring, women thoroughly cleaned their homes, beginning by taking up the heavy carpets and drapery and washing them, a physically arduous chore. They also washed windows and floors, polished their wood furniture, scrubbed walls, repainted the kitchen, cleaned the furnace if they had one, put away extra heating stoves, and replaced or refurbished the ticks or covers on beds. Women sometimes sewed new ticks or replaced the feather or hay stuffing inside the ticks. Blankets and comforters were also washed at this time (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 110–14).

Mary Mason's *The Young Housewife's Counselor and Friend: Containing Directions in Every Department of Housekeeping, Including the Duties of Wife and Mother* (1875) was written expressly for the benefit of residents of the Southern states. Mason advised homemakers to thoroughly clean their chambers every February. She also instructed that the walls be whitewashed, the floors scoured, the paint well washed with soap and water or soda and water. The bedsteads should be taken apart, and every portion wiped over with pure cold water, and when set up again, all the joints and cracks should be filled up with turpentine soap mixed with red pepper.

Two girls under big tree with mother, 1888. Courtesy Library of Congress.

It fell to women to care for the ill, who generally recuperated at home, rather than in hospitals. Whereas doctors administered medicines and specialized in treatments, protracted illnesses required more constant care and attention than a doctor could provide. In *The American Woman's Home*, Catharine Beecher described women as especially suited to nursing as an extension of their maternal natures.

According to Beecher, nursing a sick person, whether through cold-like symptoms, dyspepsia, or nervous ailments, required a well-run sickroom. She advised covering the patient for warmth and then opening all of the windows to ventilate the room twice a day. To remove impurities in the bedding, it too was to be aired and washed frequently and the patient was to be given periodic sponge baths.

Beecher stressed the calming effects of a neat and well-ordered sickroom, explaining that a sick person has nothing to do but look about the room and when everything is neat a feeling of comfort is induced. To relieve the discomfort of fever, she recommended cooling the pillows, sponging the hands with water, and swabbing the mouth with a clean linen rag on the end of a stick (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 115).

Mary Mason also provided instructions for nursing the sick. She instructed the caretaker to avoid creaking shoes, hasty, noisy movements, or impatience of any kind. In fact, she advised wearing slippers and to move slowly, quietly, carefully, and not clumsily because everything in the sickroom should project an air of cheerfulness, quietude, and comfort. There should be no loud talking or whispering, but the voice should be carefully attuned to a moderate and, if possible, in musical key.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

CHILDREN

Children: 1865–1877

Childhood seemingly entered a Golden Age following the Civil War. The literary market was flooded with children's stories that were no longer moralistic tales veiled as entertainment, but were designed to excite a child's imagination and to provide them with fantasies of escape. These stories were devoured by middle-class children who lived in the highly protected world of the Victorian era. Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* provided heroes who were largely free to act outside parental control and who moved from one adventure to another confounding accepted standards of behavior, but coming ultimately to a just and moral end. Besides dealing with the effects of the war on average families, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* addressed many of the family issues and emotions that young middle-class girls were expected to suppress. In an age of childhood regimentation and control, novels such as these established a romantic picture of childhood and young adulthood as a time of adventure, exploration, and fulfillment.

A gender segmentation of the market that emerged mid-century generated adventure stories for boys that fostered manly independence like Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). Putting a new twist on this theme in 1867, Horatio Alger created a different kind of boy's adventure story that centered on the upward struggle to economic success. *Ragged Dick: or Street Life in New York* commenced a series of rags-to-riches tales focusing on the rewards of hard work, perseverance, and concern for others. Stories targeting the female audience were mainly sentimental domestic stories and novels with a young female protagonist, usually orphaned, who had to make her way in an often unkind world. Among these were Sophie May's *Little Prudy* series (1863–1865), Martha Finley's 28-volume saga *Elsie Dinsmore* (1867), and Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (1850).

Manufacturing increased the number of store bought toys and board games that were available to those families who could afford them. By the 1870s middle-class children had many commercially produced toys. Board games, alphabet blocks, and jigsaw puzzles were colorfully adorned with stunning chromolithographic prints. Brightly painted cast metal soldiers allowed boys to replay real and imagined battles. Doll making achieved a high level of sophistication during this period. Dolls had quasi-realistic faces, hands, and feet made of porcelain. Some had glass eyes and real hair rather than yarn hair. Rocking horses, too, reached new heights of decoration and realism. Horses with finely carved heads, painted bodies, flowing manes, and tails also sported miniature saddles and bridles. They were often presented as galloping steeds with outstretched legs fixed upon turned rockers.

Many commercially produced toys were designed as educational aids, which would serve to amuse the children while helping them learn their alphabet or numbers. Of these, alphabet blocks were the most ubiquitous. Word making tiles contained letters that children could use to build words. Expensive sets were made from bone or ivory, but cardboard letters were available at the lower end of the market. Some alphabets were capable of being projected on the wall through a Magic Lantern and provided entertainment for the entire family. Numeracy aids included Domino-Spel [sic], a set of engraved cards with humorous scenes that incorporated spots as an aid to learning. Tangrams or Chinese Puzzles were sets of thin wooden triangles, squares, and rectangles that children were asked to arrange into various patterns contained on the accompanying cards. Board games commonly used teetotums, small multisided tops marked by a number or set of dots rather than dice. Dice had the negative association of being the devils bones and were not considered appropriate for children (Volo and Volo 2007, 270).

Employment for children and adult attitudes toward child labor ranged widely. Many children continued to work in traditional settings, as on family farms alongside their parents. Farm work was often regarded as wholesome or character building. Juvenile delinquents and orphaned or abandoned children, in fact, were frequently sent to the countryside as workers on family farms. Many children, however, experienced farm work far differently than those who extolled it imagined. Some children worked long hours as itinerant laborers, picking sugar beets or dragging heavy bags of cotton. Stooping for 12 hours a day under a hot sun could result in heat exhaustion or back injury.

Children who sold newspapers, matchbooks, and gum or who scavenged for junk comprised another class of child laborers, whose economic plight was often viewed romantically by writers and artists. These street merchants seemed to turn work into play, roaming the streets with familiarity an élan many adults admired. They frequented bars, gambling houses, and theaters. They gave some of their earnings to their parents, but often kept some for candy and other treats.

Nonetheless, the majority of these children were constantly living on the edge of economic disaster. Some street merchants, most notably the newspaper boys, lived on the streets rather than with their families. Some were orphans; others were abandoned by their parents or had fled overcrowded or abusive homes. By 1870, Newsboy's Lodging Houses had been well established and provided shelter and meals for them for a set fee.

Street peddlers who did live at home commonly played in the streets where, to middle-class observers, they appeared to be unsupervised. In fact, adults were often within close reach as mothers checked from tenement windows and shop owners looked on from their shops and carts (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 127–28).

With no other place to go, working-class children flocked to the streets and appropriated them as their own. Police officers often viewed the space quite differently. Children in New York and Chicago were arrested for so-called crimes as various as playing baseball on the street, shooting craps, throwing snowballs, and loafing on the docks. Children who were found gambling were likely to be sternly rebuked by police and have their change seized. Penalties for more serious offenses, however, differed dramatically for boys and girls.

A boy found sleeping out might be taken to one of the Newsboy's Lodging Houses, where his stay was voluntary. A girl accused of the same offense was viewed as a greater social threat, someone likely to become a prostitute. If she was under 16 and deemed vulnerable but not yet corrupted, she was likely to be sentenced in probate court to a reform school.

The first such state reform school for girls, the State Industrial School for Girls in Lancaster, Massachusetts, was opened in 1856 and became the model for wayward girls in cities across the country. Lancaster took in girls aged from 7 to 16 who had been sent by the state-appointed judge or commissioner as a result of being homeless or leading an idle, vagrant, and vicious life. About one-fifth of the girls sent to Lancaster were sent there for thievery; the rest were sent for behavioral, rather than property crimes. The institution primarily sought to save girls from promiscuity or prostitution; consequently homeless girls, girls exposed to sexually illicit behavior in the home, and stubborn girls were all eligible. The term stubborn was a catchall label applied to girls who frequented taverns or brothels, ran away from home, or befriended low men and women. Fifty-five percent of the girls admitted to Lancaster between 1856 and 1905 were labeled stubborn.

Initially, the institution offered a common school education as well as moral guidance from a male superintendent and female matron living in one of 30 cottages. The education and food offered was so valued by poor parents that some had their daughters designated as stubborn just to be relieved of the burden of feeding another mouth.

By 1870, however, the focus of Lancaster and similar institutions had shifted. Rapid industrialization, poverty, and the breakdown of more local forms of social welfare and discipline in cities resulted in a large population of girls considered delinquent. Lancaster increasingly paid little attention to the girl's schooling. By 1869 the girls were only encouraged to acquire only basic literacy and simple arithmetic (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 129–31).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Orphanages and Asylums for Black Children

Many black children were left orphans or displaced from their parents and relations by the Civil War. The eastern seaboard from Savannah to Boston teemed with abandoned and parentless black children. In the South before, during, and after

Reconstruction, these orphaned blacks were generally left to the good will of other blacks, and local Southern governments had little incentive to provide food, clothing, or homes for them. In Northern cities blacks were often among the poorest residents and occupied the least favored neighborhoods and housing.

There were many humanitarian groups that tried to aid the plight of these destitute black children, but most orphanages, homes, and institutions refused to mix blacks into their otherwise white population. Many of these poor children were sent to prisons and asylums where their minimum physical needs were addressed, but little else. Many were placed in so-called industrial schools where they were expected to work as laborers or learn the duties of servants. Their condition was only a little better than slavery. It was not considered necessary to provide black orphans with an education, and in some states they did not have to be taught reading and writing until attitudes toward black children changed in the last quarter of the century.

Those housed in prisons were often separated from the criminal population, and there was some attempt to treat orphans differently from youths assigned to prison because they had committed a crime. Physical barriers like walls and fences were often erected to separate blameless youths from criminal youths in work areas, dormitories, and exercise yards. Nonetheless, the line between the two quickly faded in the minds of the overtaxed institutional personnel. Moreover, many small children were locked up with older youths, who had repeatedly broken the law and served as a bad example to them.

In the 1870s, well-meaning humanitarians supported laws that banned keeping orphaned children in asylums or poorhouses unless they were unteachable, epileptic, or otherwise considered physically or mentally defective. Unfortunately, many black children seem to have been included under these exceptions, and they were often misplaced in institutions for lunatics or in asylums for the disabled where education was not a part of the service provided. Moreover, foster placement for black children was very difficult and little effort was made to place black orphans with families of their own race. Thousands of black orphans were still living in poorhouses and asylums into the 1880s, and many more remained on the streets.

Some informal adoption took place among the free African American community, and a large number of private persons opened orphanages specifically for black youth. One of the first of these was the Colored Orphan Asylum that had been founded by a Quaker group in Manhattan in 1836. The three-story brick structure was attacked and burned by the largely Irish immigrant mob during the violent New York Draft Riots of July 1863. The orphans, who were turned out into the streets by the enraged white rioters, found temporary refuge in a nearby local police station and an asylum for white children. The Colored Orphan Asylum was rebuilt in 1867 on 143rd Street near Harlem Heights north of present-day Central Park. This was considered part of the city suburbs at the time. It was later moved to the Westchester County line at Riverdale, in the Bronx. The Quakers also founded an asylum for orphan and destitute Native American children on the Seneca Indian Reservation in western New York State in 1855.

—*James M. Volo*

SERVANTS AND FREEMEN

The upper classes in America—as in all of Europe and many other places—had servants, among them both freemen and bondsmen, male and female. There were servants among the original colonists at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1623. The Hudson Valley Dutch in New York owned black slaves and established tenants on their lands who were little less than serfs. In colonial and revolutionary times indentured servants, apprentices, and slaves were available to do odious or heavy tasks around the house or shop.

However, beginning in the second decade of the nineteenth century, there was a sharp decline in the use of apprenticeships (a form of personal service), and many among the immigrants that came to America did not come as indentures but rather as redemptioners, who could buy off their passage with cash instead of time. As the decades passed, there grew among the class of immigrants those with a growing network of family and friends already established in America who were willing to aid those who wished to emigrate from their native lands. It is also generally true that decreases in the cost of passage across the Atlantic allowed many more immigrants to pay for their fares from their own resources without encumbering themselves as servants. By the 1830s indentured servitude among European immigrants to America had almost entirely ended. Yet personal service contracts could still be found among immigrants from Asia, largely confined to California and the West. In the South during this same period, the use of slaves increased manyfold as the number of white workers—both free and bound—decreased.

As indentured servitude grew more rare and the number of persons willing to work for a wage increased, the relative cost of employing indentures rose. This contributed to the end of the practice in the United States by about 1840. Many employers, however, continued to consider wage labor and abject servitude interchangeable—a development much despised by white workers living in the slave-owning South. The lack of indentures and the increased pool of young women willing to work for wages tended to augment the development of paid domestic service as an alternative to forced service. Yet, contemporary observers noted that "in the present state of prices [1869], the board of a domestic costs double her wages, and the waste she makes is a more serious matter still" (Beecher and Stowe 2002, 235).

The mistresses of households at the beginning of the century had often relied on temporary, short-term paid help from among the young women of the neighborhood. These were often the supernumerary daughters of local families from the middle range of the local social hierarchy. The vast majority of these part-time servants were single women between 15 and 25 years of age who fully expected to become mistresses of their own homes in the fullness of time. They often alternated work in their family home with that in the homes of their neighbors. They were usually of the same class as the mistress of the house and expected to work beside her in doing the normal tasks required of proper housewifery. "Such shuffling and reshuffling of workers was part of a larger system of neighborly exchange that sustained male as well as female economics in the period." In the nineteenth century this common feature of domestic service changed (Ulrich 1990, 82).

As a servant to a prominent New England family, Robert Roberts, a free black, wrote a guide for those who cared to enter domestic service. *The House Servant's Directory* (first published in 1827 and available throughout the nineteenth century) provides a number of insights into the social structure, hierarchy, and maintenance of a manor house. Roberts wrote: "Now, my friends, you must consider that to live in a gentlemen's family as a house servant is a station that will seem wholly different from any thing. I presume, that ever you have been acquainted with; this station of life comprises comforts, privileges, and pleasures, which are to be found in but few other stations in which you may enter; and on the other hand many difficulties, trials of temper, &c., more perhaps than in any other station in which you might enter, in a different state of life.... When you hire yourself to a lady or gentlemen, your time or your ability is no longer your own, but your employers; therefore they have a claim on them whenever they choose to call for them: and my sincere advice to you is always to study to give general satisfaction to your employers, and by so doing you are sure to gain credit for yourself" (Roberts 2006, 12)

The treatment of black laborers in the North was often brutish, and blacks applying for positions in white households were often met with distain. Many whites—caught by the sudden explosion of a freed black population into a formerly white only world—expressed mixed feelings about the former slaves and blacks in general. Due to the recent emancipation of slaves in the South, the hiring of blacks to serve as domestics could prove an embarrassment even for white abolitionist families. Beecher and Stowe noted that "the condition of domestic service [in America]... still retain[ed] about it something from the influences of feudal times, and from the near presence of slavery" (Beecher and Stowe 2002, 235–37).

For example, George and Elizabeth Custer were usually accompanied by their cook, Eliza, a former slave who had served them since the second year of the Civil War. The Custers were postwar Democrats (and very political), and they had made many friends during their residence in the South who were cool to the idea of incorporating blacks into white society. George Custer, like many Midwestern whites, believed in emancipation but regarded the granting of suffrage to blacks as absurd, and he did not hesitate to say so publicly.

The Custers were very affectionate toward their black cook. On a trip through Louisiana after the war, the proprietor of a lunchroom tried to banish Eliza from the Custers' dining table because of her color; but the general insisted that she stay because "no other table had been provided for servants." At another time, General Custer succeeded in having Eliza wear a colorful turban when accompanying him in public. It was one of the fads of the day to have black servants dress in Turkish or Hindustani costume (Custer 1971, xiv).

Elizabeth, "Libbie," Custer had lost her mother as a child, and was the product of a women's boarding school education. In her diary she freely admitted a "deficiency in housekeeping skills, possibly because of the overindulgence of her stepmother." Her husband, too, did not highly value these skills in a wife, and because he was demanding of her time and attention in other areas, he saw no reason for her to do tasks that could be turned over to others. Consequently, in addition to Eliza, George Custer hired additional domestic help whenever possible. This freed Elizabeth to pursue a career as a writer and journalist. Ultimately, it was this aspect of Elizabeth's life that fueled the so-called Custer Myth after his death at Little Big Horn and kept Custer from becoming just another statistic in the Indian Wars (Custer 1971, xxiii).

Northerners were willing enough to hire black freemen to do manual labor, to tend the lawn, garden, or stables, or to serve as ornaments as coachmen or footmen; but they preferred white help in the confines of the family quarters. Not until the twentieth century did the hiring of black domestics become fashionable. In New York City at mid-century, Irish domestics composed the largest recognizable group of female workers, which suggests the extent of the demand for such workers and the Irish response to it. Moreover, domestic service in general was the leading occupation in the city employing 15 percent of the total male and female working population. The 1870 census—the first to break down occupation for women by age and race—determined that there was one female domestic for every 8.4 families. These were most prevalent in urban areas and in the South. Half of all working women were employed in private or public housekeeping in 1870. By 1890 this proportion had fallen to one third, and by 1920 to one sixth. Nonetheless, domestic service remained the largest occupation for women in every census until 1940 (Volo and Volo 2007, 351–52).

PETS: THE PROTECTION OF ANIMALS

Among the many reform movements begun in the nineteenth century were those that espoused animal rights for the first time in an organized fashion. Henry Bergh found a receptive audience when he called for the creation of an organization that would actively seek the protection of animals. Fortified by the support of wealthy contacts who signed his "Declaration of the Rights of Animals," Bergh proposed the creation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) to the New York State Legislature. On April 19, 1866, nine days after being granted a charter for the SPCA in New York, the legislature passed an anticruelty law and granted the society the right to enforce it. Bergh worked tirelessly to improve the conditions in which animals lived. He visited businesses and stables checking under collars and saddles for raw flesh, exposed dog pits, and lectured to children in public schools.

Animal welfare organizations spread. Many began to take over control of stray animals from communities and promoted animal adoption. The American Humane Education Association was one of several groups that pushed for organized classes for adults and children and promoted pet centered community events such as parades and shows. The New York Poultry Society expanded to include lop-eared rabbits, cats, and dogs in 1869.

Among the social reform movements that women joined during this period were animal protection societies. The Women's Branch of the Pennsylvania SPCA, based in Philadelphia, advocated for kinder, more rational methods of animal control and encouraged adoptions. They lobbied the mayor for control of the management of the pound. They built what they named a shelter for strays in 1870 and made sure that the animals were provided with proper water and food. The women were responsible for changing the methods for which stray dogs were cared. They opposed the annual roundup of dogs in summertime and instituted ongoing, routine control procedures where unwanted dogs could be relinquished. They also instituted painless killing of canines and cats at first by chloroform and later through a euthanasia chamber that used carbonous oxide gas (Grier 2006, 217).

Ironically, some very cruel practices survived. Even caring pet owners accepted the practice of drowning unwanted litters of kittens and puppies. Ambivalence to this action was so great that even animal advocates cited the practice as a kindness rather than let the innocents make their own way in the world.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Aron, Cindy S. "The Evolution of the Middle Class." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America,* ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA; Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Beecher, Catharine E., and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Berry, Stephen W. "The South: From Old to New." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America,* ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA; Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Brewer, Priscilla J. *From Fireplace to Cookstove: Technology and the Domestic Ideal in America.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

Deer, Mark. *A Dog's History of America: How Our Best Friend Explored, Conquered, and Settled a Continent.* New York: North Point Press, 2004.

Engerman, Stanley L. "Changes in Black Fertility, 1880–1940." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America,* by Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Green, Harvey. *The Light of the Home.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Haines, T. L., and Levi W. Yaggy. *The Royal Path of Life: Or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness.* Chicago, IL: Western Publishing House, 1876.

Heininger, Mary L. *A Century of Childhood, 1820–1920.* Rochester, NY: Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

McClinton, Katherine Morrison. *Antiques of American Childhood.* New York: Bramhall House, 1970.

McGuire, Judith W. *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War by a Lady of Virginia.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

Mintz, Steven. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Ransom, J. Clinton. *The Successful Man in His Manifold Relation with Life.* New York: J. A. Hill & Co., 1889.

Reef, Catherine. *Alone in the World: Orphans and Orphanages in America.* New York: Clarion Books, 2005.

Roberts, Robert. *The House Servant's Directory, An African American Butler's 1827 Guide*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006.
Schenone, Laura. *A Thousand Years over a Hot Stove*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.
Strasser, Susan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1982.
Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wells, Robert V. "Demographic Change and the Life Cycle of American Families." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Economic Life

RECONSTRUCTION
|
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

WORK

A Laborious World

The nineteenth-century environment was a laborious world—one filled with work of all types. There was no place in a properly ordered society of this type for men who were indolent or lacking in energy. T. L. Haines and Levi W. Yaggy, in *The Royal Path of Life: or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness*, wrote in 1876, "It is not study, not instruction, not careful moral training, not good parents, not good society that make men.... It is employment.... No man feels himself a man who is not doing a man's business. A man without employment is not a man. He cannot act a man's part.... Hence [the world] sets its boys to work; gives them trades, callings, professions; puts the instruments of man-making into their hands and tells then to work out their manhood" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 131–32). If a man needed to work for a living, if he needed to pursue a vocation and hoped to attain a "high station" or anything that resembled success, he needed to invest either his "brow-sweat or brain-sweat" until he accomplished it. The same observer noted, "Working men walk worthy of your vocation!" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 187).

A man could successfully grapple with resistance by applying mental as well as physical force, if he possessed the quality of industry. Possession of this quality enabled him to work his way through "irksome drudgery and dry detail." Haines and Yaggy observed, "What can be more beautiful than to see a man combating suffering with patience, triumphing in his integrity... and... pressing on with unconquerable zeal to the end?" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 254–55). Honest success, based on merit and gained through the application of perseverance and industry, "should neither be despised or idolized." Moreover, it was thought that success "extends its bright and prophetic vision through... the distant time and bequeaths to remote generations the vindication of its honor and fame, and the clear comprehension of its truths" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 269–70; Volo and Volo 2007, 53–54).

Men's Roles as Settlers

Although the farming frontier of the Great Plains may have fulfilled, for some, the dream of owning property, it was neither an adventure nor an idealized acting out of the Jeffersonian concept of the yeoman farmer. Although there were variations in both the scope and methods of farming—most notably the large-scale, nearly industrialized bonanza wheat farms of the Red River Valley or the irrigated farms around Salt Lake City—most farms on the Plains were small, labor-intensive operations in which men, women, and children struggled against nature to eke out a marginal existence. For most families, 160 acres was more than enough land to farm. Work could be brutal with little power other than human and few mechanical contrivances. A man often had to walk miles to borrow a neighbor's team of oxen to plow his fields; after an exhausting day he'd return the animals and face another long walk home. They'd cut grain with cradles, dig wells with broken-handled picks, hoe corn, and chop whatever wood was available with dull axes. A sense of the homesteader's hardships is reflected in Hamlin Garland's dedication to *Main-Traveled Roads* (1881): "To My Father and Mother Whose half-century pilgrimage on the main-traveled road of life has brought them only toil and deprivation, this book of stories is dedicated by a son to whom every day brings a deepening sense of his parents' silent heroism."

Work was hard, almost as inexorable as the cycle of seasons that it followed. All work tested animal and human endurance. One of the most difficult jobs was breaking the sod for the first time. The ordinary breaking plow turned a strip of sod 20 to 33 inches wide; to accomplish this, one needed a yoke of six oxen. (Most farmers preferred oxen to horses for their strength.) However, many farmers had no team at all, or only a couple of animals, so they either had to borrow a neighbor's team, hire the work done (which was rarely possible for cash-strapped newcomers), or do the work with what they had. Sometimes the first-year settlers only planted sod corn, gashing the sod with an ax and then dropping in seed corn. This was, however, only a temporary measure, postponing the almost epic struggle of man and beast against sod unbroken since prehistory. Hamlin Garland remembers a "giant" neighbor bracing himself for the shock of the plow, pulled by four straining horses; his father sat on the beam to add weight and keep the coulter in the ground. "These contests had the quality of a wrestling match, but the men always won" (Garland 1925, 104).

The work exacted its toll. Oscar Micheaux learned from experience that gummy soil was best tilled with plows that made a slanting cut; his made a square cut, causing roots and grass to collect on the plowshare, requiring frequent stops to clean it. He was not used to driving horses, nor could he keep the plow in the ground at first. He later wrote, "I hopped, skipped and jumped across the prairie, and that plow began hitting and missing, mostly missing. . . . I sat down and gave up to a fit of the blues; for it looked bad, mighty bad for me." Eventually he mastered the technique, and by the end of the summer he'd broken more than 120 acres. (Most homesteaders broke only a few acres at a time, planted them, and then tackled a few more. Micheaux, however, being the only black in his part of South Dakota, wanted to prove he was the equal of white farmers.) However, he paid for the accomplishment: "As it had taken a fourteen hundred mile walk to follow the plow in breaking the one hundred and twenty acres, I was about 'all in' physically when it was done" (Nelson 1986, 51–52). It was not for nothing that Willa Cather invested the plow with an almost epic significance in her novel of Nebraska, *My Ántonia* (1918).

Usually after the land was plowed, it had to be dragged or harrowed, breaking up clods and pulverizing the soil prior to planting. Garland remembers that "dragging is even more wearisome than plowing . . . for you have no handles to assist you and your heels sinking deep into the soft loam bring such unwonted strain upon the tendons of your legs that you can scarcely limp home to supper" (Garland 1925, 100). Once the crop was in, the war of weeds began. Howard Ruede describes day after day hoeing corn, his blue shirt bleaching to red across his back from sun and sweat (Garland 1925, 87, 106–7).

In the early years the harvesting of wheat, rye, and oats, as well as cutting hay, was done with a sickle. The harvester would grasp the stalks in his left hand and, with his right, draw the sickle close to where the bunched stalks were held. Consequently most harvesters bore one or more scars on their left hands from the sickle coming too close. Periodically the harvester would stop, hang the sickle on his belt, and bind the sheaves. Using such techniques, a man could harvest, on average, three-quarters of an acre a day. The work was easier and more efficient with a scythe or cradle, but it was not until the arrival of horse-drawn McCormick reapers, which could cut fifteen acres a day that the farmer was freed from back-breaking labor.

Generally neighbors would move from farm to farm (especially during harvesting and threshing seasons) helping each other and eliminating the need to hire help. In addition men would often exchange labor, using a monetary value to determine the length of services provided. For example, Howard Ruede cut wood for neighbors at the rate of $1 per cord; rather than paying him in cash, one neighbor planted potatoes for him and another agreed to break an acre of sod for every three cords of wood. On another occasion he worked at the sorghum mill at the rate of one gallon of molasses per day; he then made a deal with another neighbor to plant his wheat in exchange for molasses. Oftentimes no cash at all was involved in these transactions. People did whatever work was required. Ruede dug cellars, plowed, shelled corn, and stripped sorghum at the mill. With skills he thought he'd abandoned back in Pennsylvania, he set type for the town newspaper and, when the editor was gone, published it himself. For this he was sometimes paid in cash, though at no set rate (Ruede 1966, 66–67, 157, 40, 69).

Men with carpentry or painting skills could work in the burgeoning new towns; there too they could find jobs in livery stables, saloons, stores, or pool halls. Some families made a little money selling farm surplus in town. Many women made butter, kept chickens for eggs, spun flax or wool for sale. Keturah Penton Belknap recorded in her journal the prices she and her family received in Iowa in the 1840s: 12.5 cents a pound for butter, 6.5 cents a dozen for eggs, fresh pork for 5 cents a pound; corn at 12.5 cents a bushel unshucked, and, for their wheat, $3 a barrel after having had it ground, buying barrels, and hauling it sixty miles to Keokuk. At the end of one year, she noted rather proudly, they had $20 in silver to "put in the box" (Luchetti and Olwell 1982, 136; Jones 1998, 189–93).

Women's Roles as Settlers

It is clear that on the homesteader's frontier everyone worked and work was not gender-specific. Though milking cows was often considered women's work, men did that chore too; conversely, when more help was needed in the fields, women pitched in. Women, however, were generally in charge of the house and the children. They tended the garden, nursed the sick, taught the children before a school was organized, sewed and repaired the family's clothing, cooked and baked—often without benefit of a stove. Washday was often a nightmare. Before a good well was dug on the claim, women saved a little water every day for the week's washing. Miriam Davis Colt recalls going "to the spring five times today; three times is my usual number," making "five miles travel for me [on foot] to bring sixty quarts of water" (Colt 1862/1966, 106).

Many women also had to make their own soap. Priscilla Merriman Evans describes her technique: "[I] took an ox and a gunny sack and went out into the field where the dead cattle had been dragged [after the disastrous winter of 1885–86] and I broke up all the bones I could carry home. I boiled them in saleratus and lime, and it made a little jelly-like soap" (Luchetti and Olwell 1982, 167). Miriam Davis Colt wondered what her mother back east would think of her white clothes in this land of little soap or water. All she could say was that they were "clean for brown—but . . . awful dirty for white." She and her family stopped wearing nightclothes, she said, once they got to Kansas, "because I could not bear to have them take on the brown color" (Colt 1862/1966, 135–36).

When the first labor-saving devices—the sewing machine and the washing machine—became available, women who could afford them were ecstatic. The sewing machine was driven by human power, with the woman working a treadle with her feet. The washing machine was essentially a small tub with a hand-turned paddle for agitating the clothes; its primary advantage was that the children could be assigned the task of operating it, freeing their mother from the drudgery of scrubbing the clothes on a washboard.

Though some women took their unremitting labor in stride—Mollie Sanford said, "I can put my hand to almost anything" (Sanford 1959, 58)—some historians suggest that the hymns they sang may have reflected their hopelessness, their exhaustion, and their yearning for release as much as they did their religiosity.

Death, to some, might be preferable to unending labor. Hamlin Garland, remembering his mother, confirmed this: "I doubt if the women—any of them—got out into the fields or meadows long enough to enjoy the birds and the breezes. Even on Sunday as they rode away to church, they were too tired to react to the beauties of the landscape" (Garland 1925, 138–39; Jones 1998, 193–94).

Children's Roles as Settlers

Children, too, were expected to work. Garland remembers trying to be a "good little soldier" and live up to the expectations of his father, a Civil War veteran. Early on he and his brother had the responsibilities of grown men. They chopped and stacked wood, hunted cattle that had wandered off, and harrowed and cross-harrowed the fields until "tears of rebellious rage" creased the dust on their faces. At age 10 he had been taught to handle bundles of thoroughly dried barley shocks; at age 14 he was one of five men on a crew binding straw after the reaper had passed (Garland 1925, 149–51). Kept out of school during October and November, he first plowed and then husked corn. His father was not unkind, giving him the freedom to do what he wanted and go where he liked on Sunday as long as he was back in time for milking.

His experiences were not unique. Other children, some as young as age four to six, had chores: to carry in enough fuel—wood or cow chips—each night to last the next day, to bring in water from the barrel outside, to fill kerosene lamps.

For recreation, many children had to make do and use their imaginations because toys weren't available. Elinore Stewart remembers her daughter calling a block of wood her "dear baby," a spoke from a wagon wheel "little Margaret," and a barrel stave "bad little Johnny" (Stewart 1914, 13–14).

Sometimes children worked off their homestead. Parents controlled their children's labor, and a father could generally claim his son's wages until he was 21 years old (Schob 1975, 174). In 1858, 14-year-old Frank O'Brien was hired out to work on a farm seven miles away; having walked there, he found his quarters to be in the attic, which he shared with seed corn, dried pumpkins, and field mice. His work included washing dishes, helping with the threshing, churning butter, turning the grindstone as his employer sharpened tools, and cleaning the hay mow (Schob 1975, 189–90). Farmers, especially widowers, often advertised for hired girls; because of the disproportionate male-female ratio, many girls married early.

Children's work was not always voluntary. On at least one occasion a farmer, with too many mouths to feed, agreed to indenture two of his children to another man looking for "draft animals." The agreement was that the employer would buy them each a pair of shoes if they worked out. Their mother, who had not originally been consulted, so harassed her husband that a week later they rescued the children, sick, terrified, bewildered, and maltreated (Schlissel, Gibbons, and Hampsten 1989, 221–23).

Given the often brutal hardship of work on the frontier and given such treatment of children, it is not surprising that tired animals were also sometimes mistreated. Mollie Sanford told of one man, angered because his horse was balky, who after piling hay around him literally set a fire under the animal, then left him in agony until Mollie's father shot him (Sanford 1959, 66; Jones 1998, 194–95).

FINANCE: NORTHERN GREENBACKS AND BONDS

Owing to the initial expectation of a short war, the federal government raised its war chest chiefly by taking loans and issuing paper money and bonds. The government generally failed to raise enough funds through these methods, running in deficit throughout the conflict. Expenses ran eight times the revenue from taxes.

After encountering serious difficulties in marketing government bonds, Secretary Simon P. Chase authorized the firm of Jay Cooke and Company to be the sole subscription agent for the sale of federal bonds. Through his network of sub-agents, his many newspaper advertisements, and his vivid speeches appealing to workingmen to put their savings into the war effort, Cooke quickly marketed the bonds. He was thereafter known as "the financier of the Civil War." The failure of his firm in 1873, however, sparked a deep national recession.

Nonetheless, the money raised by selling bonds was inadequate. In August 1861, the federal government required each state in the Union to fill a revenue quota for the war based on population. How each state raised the money was left to its own devices. It was hoped that $20 million would be raised, but only $17 million was forthcoming.

Another source of war funding was found in the adoption of a personal income tax, the first tax of its kind ever levied by the United States government. As first envisioned, it fixed a 3 percent tax on family incomes over $800, but by June 1864 the exemption fell to $600 and the minimum rate rose to 5 percent on incomes up to $5,000. The rates increased progressively to 7.5 percent on incomes between $5,000 and $10,000, and 10 percent on those over $10,000. During the 3 war years 1863, 1864, and 1865, the income tax yielded only $55 million.

To raise additional funds, the federal government established an excise tax. This was an internal revenue tax that was added to the price of a broad range of items, and it served as the main source of federal financing for the war. Ostensibly the seller paid a tax on the sale price of the item, and the purchaser paid a personal property tax on its ownership. These taxes were applied to a list of commodities that included a three percent tax on malt liquor, spirits, tobacco, and stamps; manufactures of cotton, wool, flax, hemp, iron, steel, wood, and stone. Meats were taxed at 30 cents per butchered steer, 10 cents per hog, and 5 cents per sheep. Carriages, billiard tables, gold and silver plate, yachts, and other top-tier items were charged a luxury tax. Moreover, many professions and trades were forced to pay fees for licenses, and many forms of entertainment were required to collect taxes as part of their ticket price. Railroads, banks, insurance companies, and telegraph companies were required to pay at rates and in ways best fitted to their business operations. The law was so extensive and so minute in its detail that it required 240 pages and more than 20 thousand words to express its provisions. In 1864, and 1865, these excise taxes yielded close to $210 million (Randall and Donald 1961, 344–45).

Although buoyed by the influx of precious metals from California and the Mountain West, in 1862, the Lincoln administration began to issue paper currency as a wartime economic measure. Called greenbacks, more than $450 million in engraved paper bills were issued. Ever since the days of the Federalists, paper currency had been issued by the government, but it had always been backed at a specific rate ($20 per troy ounce) by specie (gold) held in government vaults. Lincoln's greenbacks were based only on the good credit of the United States government. Inevitably, in the midst of a war of disunion, a difference between gold value and paper currency value appeared on most commodities, and trading in currency became complex and volatile.

Gold being the universal liquidator of commerce, the first premium on gold coins and bullion was seen when importers of foreign goods were required by their suppliers overseas to pay in gold rather than paper. Domestic commodities and internal business exchanges were less affected than foreign ones. The premium set in motion a speculative trade in greenbacks and gold futures that caused the value of both to fluctuate. In January 1862, gold opened at a mere 1 1/2 cent premium, but it quickly increased. Exactly two years later, it was at 52 cents per dollar, and in June 1864, the gold premium stood at more than 95 cents. In other words, almost two paper dollars were needed to make the equivalent of one in gold. In July the premium reached its greatest excess at $2.85 of paper currency for $1 in gold money.

Finding their shops swamped with business customers trading in dollars and gold, Wall Street money brokers, who commonly dealt in foreign currency exchanges, moved into a suitable building that was dubbed the Gold Exchange. There were numerous reasons for the fluctuations in gold premium. Indeed, the whole gold market was as sensitized to the political and economic pulse of the country as was the stock market. Changing currents in fiscal policy, debates in Congress, international crises, battle results, changes in army or government personnel, rumors, and many other factors affected the price of gold and had the inverse effect on greenbacks. When the Confederate forces under General Jubal A. Early were loose in Maryland and threatening the federal capital on July 11, 1864, the paper price of gold reached $2.84 per $1.00 in gold money. Early was met by a hastily improvised force under Federal General Lew Wallace, and when he turned away from Washington, the premium price of gold fell, some say in proportion to Early's distance from the federal capital. Although the Gold Exchange was a wartime phenomenon, it remained in operation for 17 years. After a long fight in Congress and the courts over the conversion of greenbacks to gold, specie payments were resumed in 1879, and the price of gold was again fixed by the government.

—James M. Volo

COST AND STANDARD OF LIVING

Real and Personal Property

The 1850 census collected data only on real property, while the subsequent censuses sampled both real and personal property. The data can be disaggregated by race, residence, occupation, place of birth, and age and can be used to provide a look at the economic health of the family during the late nineteenth century. The 1870 census sampled more than 7.5 million families with an average wealth of almost $3,000, much of the total held by a small minority of very wealthy families. Sixty-nine percent of American families had property valued at more than $100. This included real property (land and houses) and personal property (cash or items of value). Given that the $100 threshold for inclusion masks some details regarding the poorest third of the population, it is still clear that wealth among the majority of families in this mid-nineteenth-century sample lacked any equality in how it was distributed.

No one should be surprised that the inequality was greater among blacks than among whites especially in the South where wealth was most unequally distributed across all sub-groups. Researchers using random samples from the censuses taken in these periods, however, found "that property was nearly as unequally distributed in some parts of the Northeast, and in the Pacific and Mountain regions." Moreover, property inequality was also higher in urban than rural areas, higher in industrial than agricultural areas (the plantation South excepted), and higher among sales occupations than among wage earners. Differences in skilled versus unskilled pay rates, a proxy for income inequality, were greatest in areas in the earliest stages of industrialization. Wealth was more equally distributed among farmers, professionals, and clerical or office workers. What is remarkable is that by 1870, at least, there was little inequality based on ethnicity in terms of being native- or foreign-born. Inequalities also varied with age. Not surprisingly, young adults had the smallest portion of income. Older persons within every category of occupation or residence were much closer to one another than the young in terms of wealth distribution (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 4–5).

The average wealth of households headed by older, foreign-born, white males was higher than that of the general population if they were employed in manufacturing. Among these, regional and urban-rural distributions were quite similar as a whole. About 11 percent of all households were headed by native-born, rural females, made heads of households largely because they were widowed. Two-thirds of these female heads-of-household were black. With their limited economic prospects and an average age five years older than their male counterparts, it is not surprising that black women reported less property or no property more often than other groups of persons.

State and regional differences in wealth were pronounced ranging from an average high of almost $5,000 per family in the Pacific region to an average low of just under $1,000 in the Mountain states. Wealth in the Northern states was two to three times greater than in the South, but in the border states of Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky it was higher than in the Deep South of Georgia, Mississippi, or Alabama. Among the Northern states, the New England manufacturing centers of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts had much higher levels than the more rural states of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine. In New England the value of real property (57%) accounted for a smaller portion of wealth than elsewhere (70%). Property ownership also varied across the region with the North Central states (80%) leading, and the Northeast (70%) and the Southern states (50%) lagging behind (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 8).

In terms of wealth nationwide, 27 percent of real property and 38 percent of personal property was owned by the top 1 percent of the population. Wealth was most concentrated among a few families in South Carolina, Louisiana, California, and the New England manufacturing states. The recently settled Western states reported little wealth of any kind, and the agricultural states of New York, Pennsylvania, and the North Central region had a generally equitable distribution of wealth in terms of farm land. Real property inequity was greatest in the South, and personal property inequity greatest in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. Black families were about 30 percent less likely to report owning any property, and those that did have property valued it at little more than half that of comparable white families. There was no significant difference between native-born and foreign-born real property owners, but immigrants reported about 20 percent less personal property. Literacy and advancing age increased the likelihood of property ownership, but wealth peaked at age 55 to 60. Women, as a subgroup, were less likely to own any reportable property and had less of it than men of the same class when they did. Modest city dwellers were less likely to own property of any kind, and the odds of ownership fell with the increasing size of the city. This may have been due to a great number of renters. Those urban families with wealth, however, were generally better off if they lived in a large city than a small one (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 13).

There were marked differences in wealth distribution across occupational groups. General laborers and domestics, as expected, were the least likely to own property of any kind, but farmers, because of their land, were the most likely to report real property ownership. In terms of wealth, professionals and managers were among the wealthiest occupations, but farmers also placed very high along the wealth spectrum. Craftsmen and machine operators came next with salesmen and clerks being last in wealth among persons with specific occupations (Rosenbloom and Stutes 2005, 28; Volo and Volo 2007, 61–63).

Standard of Living and Family Budget

A prominent American figure in the area of family income and budget was Carroll D. Wright, chief sociologist for the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor from 1873 to 1888 and head of the U.S. Bureau of Labor from 1888 to 1905. Wright published one of the earliest studies of American family spending in 1875 in an attempt to understand the growing problems of labor unrest, poverty, and slums in Massachusetts. Wright's study included a sample of 397 working-class families and made it possible to calculate the annual surplus or deficit from income and to gauge the details of family expenditures using categories much like those developed by English researcher B. Seebohm Rowntree. Wright found that "if a man is earning only $2 or less a day, as is the case with thousands of men . . . with families, he must be very near the condition of poverty or want. . . . If he have no loss by sickness and permit himself no vacation $526 can be taken as a reasonable annual estimate for their poverty line" (Fisher 1993, 3–4).

The work of Wright, and that of Ernst Engle, came to the attention of James Cook, a Congregationalist minister and proponent of the social gospel then prevalent among some American Protestant reformers. In a series of talks (given in 1877 and 1878) known as the "Boston Monday Lectures," Cook proposed a distinction between *starvation wages* and *natural wages* (just wages). He concluded that a five-person middle-class family in which neither the wife nor the children worked for wages needed an annual income of about $850 (1874) if it was not to "inevitably graduate members unfit to become part of [the] popular sovereignty." He also concluded that a working-class family would need a minimum of between $520 and $624 a year "to live according to the standard of the workingmen of America." This agreed well with Wright's idea of a poverty line. In another lecture he made a distinction between *family wages* and *bachelor wages* that was very near to the tenets of Marxism noting that a married man might work for $1.50 per day at the same task as a bachelor who got $0.80 a day with equal justice (Fisher 1993, 5).

To control food costs, an American sociologist and nutritional scientist, Wilbur Atwater, proposed a minimum caloric diet that contained no fresh meat, although boiled bacon was included three times a week. Atwater also used his expertise to develop a series of ideas concerning poverty and family income. He argued that American workers were extravagant in their food-buying habits. The average annual expenditure for food for a workingman's family was calculated to be $422. Atwater said that if workers would use this amount to buy their food more efficiently, they would meet their dietary needs at a cost noticeably less than their current wasteful food expenditures. He held that the purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables and fresh meats was among the most wasteful and extravagant means for working families that needed more calories and protein. He recommended the use of grains, cereals, beans, and preserved meats such as bacon in their place. Of course, the vitamin value of fresh food items was not yet known, but Atwater should have realized the need of fresh foods in preventing diseases such as scurvy and pellagra even if he did not recognize the mechanism by which they were prevented (Fisher 1993, 5–6).

Atwater's argument that the poor were poor because they made wasteful and extravagant expenditures appealed to factory and business owners who were under siege by workers demanding higher wages. Likewise his scientific theories gave cultural backing to the growing middle-class attitude that poverty among the lower classes was somehow self-inflicted. Social reform movements fueled by true altruism had begun early in the century, but over time as the programs of reform failed to alleviate the problems of society, many persons decided that the poor and unemployed were at fault for their own condition. Nationwide studies done in the early twentieth century, however, showed that the idea that lower-class families spent their incomes inefficiently or wastefully was incorrect. Research has shown that nineteenth-century families repeatedly received more nutrients and a better balance of diet per dollar than higher-income families. The problem was that the dollars were too few to provide for appropriate nutrition after the cost of rent, transportation, and fuel were accounted (Fisher 1993, 6).

—*James M. Volo*

URBAN-RURAL ECONOMY

Life among the Farms

During Reconstruction there was a national slump in farm prices with wheat falling from 67 to 43 cents a bushel, corn from 75 cents to 38 cents, and cotton from 31 cents to 9 cents a pound. In the second half of the decade of the 1860s, a group of Midwestern farmers formed a secret society aimed at attacking the railroad monopolies and their high freight rates. These Grangers, Patrons of Husbandry, were among the largest fraternal orders during the postwar years, but they quickly turned political. Hard economic times suffered by farmers in the 1870s caused the Granger movement to rapidly gain membership. The organization recorded its highest membership numbers in the period in 1875, at 850,000 members.

Popular backing made the Granger movement the driving force in agricultural life. The Grangers established cooperatives and banks and pushed through legislation regarding railroads and grain elevators, among other notable economic and political accomplishments. Improving agricultural conditions and competition from similar organizations caused the political wing of the Granger movement to go into decline during the 1880s, but it maintained a diminished base involved in social activities and horticultural education (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 99).

Local Granger meetings became the focus of picnics, dances, and other social festivities. The highlights of the social season, however, occurred during separate celebrations for Harvest day, celebrating the end of the crop-growing season; Children's Day, praising the contribution made by youth to farming and agricultural life; Anniversary Day, commemorating the establishment of the Granger movement on December 4 of each year; and Independence Day, celebrating the nation's birthday. Food, games, signing, and the occasional parade characterized each of the four celebrations (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 99).

Life in the Towns

To those dwarfed by the immensity of the Plains, a trip to town—even if it was ostensibly to buy a sack of sugar and a pair of new boots, or to arrange for milling grain, or to meet a relative arriving by train to take up a homestead—was an opportunity for socialization. The general store, the barber shop, Main Street itself provided opportunities to exchange information on crops, catch up on news and gossip, quaff a beer, or attend a political rally. Just as in California those who had provided goods and services to the miners prospered more than the miners, so, also, to Plains towns gravitated the "butcher, baker, bootmaker, banker, merchant, saloonkeeper, doctor [and] barber. Inevitably their ranks also included desperadoes, shysters, prostitutes, and scalawags, but mostly they were serious men and women bound upon the honest mission of building a new society in the wilderness" (Wheeler 1975, 19–20). Though the Civil War slowed the town-building process, the Homestead Act spurred it, until by 1890 there were villages of "at least some pretension every ten miles or so across the central grasslands" (Wheeler 1975, 20).

The railroads were instrumental in establishing many towns. They had been granted up to 20 square miles of public land per mile of track as a subsidy to encourage construction. This land they could sell as they chose to finance laying the rails. Surveyors moved ahead of the tracks, selecting town sites every 6 to 10 miles. The "team haul" principle was consciously applied; town sites were placed at the distance farmers could travel to town by horse and wagon and return in the same day (Nelson 1986, 85; 192, n.5). Every 70 miles or so, transcontinental railroads established a main depot, or division point, where repair shops for rolling stock could be built.

Others also sought to establish towns. Through the Townsite Act of 1844, settlers and/or speculators could stake out 320 acres and take possession for $1.25 an acre. Usually such sites were divided into town lots of 125 feet by 25 feet (approximately 1/8 acre), with the profits from sales ranging from $50 to $1,000 per lot. At one point, what with surveyors working for the railroads and for others platting towns, a Missouri River steamboat captain observed he could make more money by "carrying survey stakes than by transporting passengers" (Wheeler 1975, 64).

Many towns were established by special interest groups. For example, Neosha, Kansas, was founded by a group of vegetarians; Amana, Iowa, by Mennonites; Cheever, Kansas, by prohibitionists; and many Kansas towns by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, whose members were ardent abolitionists. Nicodemas, Kansas, was founded by the colored people of Lexington, Kentucky, and Runnymede, Kansas, was established as a haven for dissipated young English aristocrats, who spent their time playing tennis and riding to the hounds—after coyotes, not foxes (Wheeler 1975, 66).

Most town plats were reasonably regular grids, drawn as T towns in which the railroad and Main Street formed a T. The railroad depot was usually at one end of Main Street; at the other end was a public building, such as a courthouse, with businesses lining the streets and banks being situated on prime corner locations (Nelson 1986, 85). Probably two of the most unusual town plats were the Octagon Plan of Neosha, Kansas, and one designed by Frederick Law Olmsted in which there were no straight lines and the blocks were shaped like melons, pears, and sweet potatoes.

Once the town was platted, boosters aggressively encouraged settlers. Newspapers, sometimes called mother's milk to an infant town, were at the outset vehicles for public relations and development rather than for newsgathering. The town promoters shipped such advertising pamphlets and propagandizing papers east to attract new settlers. It was observed that if a town had several papers, it must be desperately in need of promotion. An English visitor who asked how a young town could afford four newspapers was told that "it took four newspapers to keep up such a city" (Wheeler 1975, 65). Other methods were also tried to promote new towns. Some railroads ran free excursion trains from the East, putting up potential settlers in the local hotels, sometimes established just for this purpose. Other towns auctioned off prime lots or, as a gimmick, offered free lots to desirable professionals, to the first couple married in the town, or to the first baby born there. Clearly such towns intended to project an air of permanence.

However, some promotional brochures projected an image vastly different from reality. An 1858 brochure for Sumner, Kansas, showed steamboat docks, a waterfront business district, a mill, a machine shop, a factory, four churches, fine residences on tree-lined streets, and even a domed college. In reality, the town then consisted of a couple of general stores dotted along one graded street, and about two hundred houses, most of them shabbily constructed of wagon boxes and sod slabs and roofed in canvas or straw. Beautifully produced, the brochure was later condemned as a "chromatic triumph of lithographic mendacity" (Wheeler 1975, 54).

No matter how they were established, most towns that survived in their competition for railroad spurs, the right to be county seat, and settlers had certain common denominators: a blacksmith shop, a livery stable, a general store, one or more saloons, and a hotel. Conditions were often somewhat primitive. At one hotel a guest complained about the grimy condition of the roller towel; he was told that there'd been "26 men that went before you and you're the first one that complained" (Wheeler 1975, 27). Grace Fairchild tells of a Fort Pierre, South Dakota, hotel infested with lice (Wyman 1972, 39–40). Main Street was unpaved—usually dusty but a wallow of mud after rain.

Initially town businesses were constructed of any materials that were at hand and presented a hodgepodge of styles. However, when lumber became available an almost universal style appeared. The false-front building with its phony windows and massive cornice may have been unabashed braggadocio, an attempt to be imposing in an architectural manifestation of the town's boosterism. Some townsmen took advantage of prefabricated buildings brought from Midwestern lumberyards by freight wagons or boxcars.

The general store was stocked with staples—whiskey and Bibles and everything in between. One proprietor proudly announced that he carried "anything you might call for, from a $500 diamond ring to a pint of salt" (Wheeler 1975, 88). As a town became more established, other stores catered to more specialized needs: the meat market, combined drugstore and doctor's office, dry goods and clothing stores, and an emporium for boots and shoes. There were, in addition, offices for real estate/insurance/loan agents, dressmakers' shops, restaurants as well as saloons, and small establishments selling fruits and cold drinks. Aaron Montgomery Ward, a dry goods salesman who had traveled throughout the West and heard customers' complaints about prices, printed his first catalog of only 167 items in 1882. His goal: to sell directly to the consumers and thereby save them the middleman's markup. Naturally storekeepers objected, referring to the mail-order house derisively as "Monkey Ward," especially as the catalog swelled to 2,000 items by 1875 and to 75,000 before the end of the century (Wheeler 1975, 118).

For the farmer, the town provided an incredible gamut of entertainment ranging from brutal animal fights and boxing matches to lyceum lectures and Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. The offerings were kaleidoscopic: minstrel shows, brass bands, itinerant jugglers and magicians; prostitutes and taxi dancers—girls who were employed by saloonkeepers to dance with patrons for a fee of 25 cents a dance; freak shows, traveling zoos and stereoscope exhibits, which one proprietor called "choice works of art" but which the county judge deemed to be "obscene and lascivious pictures." Major actors played the West; Hamlin Garland remembers seeing Edwin Booth in *Hamlet*. The audiences, however, were not always sophisticated. During one performance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* just as the bloodhounds had almost caught up with the escaping Eliza, a drunken cowboy "came to her rescue" and shot the trained animals dead (Wheeler 1975, 178). During election years political rallies, speeches, and debates offered both entertainment and intellectual stimulation. Baseball was popular; in one nearly endless game the Blue Belts of Milford, Nebraska, beat the Seward team by a score of 97 to 25! But the favorite, for most people, was the circus.

In contrast to the democracy of the Plains where no one was looked down on for poverty or unfashionable clothes, some townsmen considered themselves to be superior to the hayseeds and clodhoppers who reveled in such entertainment. These townsmen inaugurated a new trend in the West—joining organizations, many of which had women's auxiliaries, for philanthropic or recreational purposes. At first many of these, such as the local militias or fire companies, had primarily civic functions to help build the community and maintain public order. But when one examines a list of organizations established in Colorado towns between 1882 and the turn of the century, one sees that the frontier, that "border between civilization and savagery," was indeed gone.

A whole range of specific denominations—Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Catholic, Congregational, African Methodist Episcopal, and Christian Science—established churches, a far cry from the comparative ecumenicism of earlier days. Some provided outlets for Civil War veterans of both sides: the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Sons of Civil War Veterans. Fraternal organizations proliferated—Masons, International Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), Knights of Pythias, the independent Order of Good Templars—as did professional and trade organizations—the Western Colorado Stock Growers' Association, the Typographical Union, the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Real Estate Exchange, and the Mesa County Teachers Association. There were cultural organizations such as the Chatauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, the Shakespeare Club, or the Young Men's Cultural Club; and others celebrated hobbies and recreation—the Jockey Club, the Rifle Club, the Amateur Dramatic Club, and the Grand Junction Wheel [bicycling] Club.

In short, in contrast to the unending labor of early days on the homesteads, people in towns scattered liberally across the Plains now had leisure to spend on recreational activities. This, as much as the Bureau of the Census announcement in 1890 that there was no longer a frontier line, marked the end of the frontier. Only the paroxysms of the Indian wars needed to be experienced before the process of transforming the Great Plains was complete (Jones 1998, 205–10).

FARMING/HUSBANDRY: HARDSHIPS FOR THE SETTLERS

No matter how potential settlers acquired the land, and no matter how they got there—by steamboats, trains, farm wagons, stagecoaches, or on foot—many were in for a rude awakening. Though establishing a farm in the grasslands initially seemed easier than it had been in the woodland East where trees had to be girdled, cut, and burned and stumps grubbed out before land could be plowed, the environment of the Great Plains was far from hospitable. This was, after all, a region that George Catlin had pronounced "almost one entire plain of grass, which is and ever must be, useless to cultivating man" (Dick 1937, 164). Yet, Catlin was an artist who viewed the world through a painter's eyes. A farmer saw the treeless expanse as an agricultural wonderland with no stumps to plow around. A Michigan farmer noted, "You can behold the vast plain of twelve thousand acres, all waving in golden color, ripe for the . . . harvest" (Davidson 1951, 410–11).

The climate, however, was a trial. Howard Ruede remembered that August in Kansas produced temperatures of 108°F in the shade and 128°F in the sun (Ruede 1966, 140). Hamlin Garland recalled summer in Dakota Territory as "ominous":

> The winds were hot and dry and the grass, baked on the stem, had become as inflammable as hay. The birds were silent. The sky, absolutely cloudless, began to scare us with its light. The sun rose through the dusty air, sinister with flare of horizontal heat. The little gardens . . . withered, and many of the women began to complain bitterly of the loneliness, and lack of shade. The tiny cabins were like ovens at mid-day. (Garland 1925, 308)

Winter was equally formidable. Garland observed, "No one knows what winter means until he has lived through one in a pine-board shanty on a Dakota plain with only buffalo bones for fuel" (Garland 1925, 309). Grace Fairchild remembered a cow breaking the ice and stepping into a water hole one winter; one back leg froze and "the next spring her leg dropped off." Her husband fashioned a wooden leg, but after the cow kicked out and the leg hit him in the head, they fattened her and butchered her in the fall. "We couldn't tell any difference between a three-legged cow and a four-legged one when the steaks were on the table" (Wyman 1972, 23). The winter of 1885–1886 was especially hard. According to a South Dakota folk saying, "It was so cold that when he died they just sharpened his feet and drove him into the ground" (Wyman 1972, 115). Elinore Stewart remembered such extremes in Wyoming: "They have just three seasons here, winter and July and August" (Wyman 1972, 6).

Though there were summer droughts, when the rains came they turned the soil to a thick, viscous gumbo. Many settlers recall it clinging to wagon wheels until it was 8 to 10 inches thick before it fell off of its own weight. Later, graded gravel roads made travel easier, but the soil was unchanged. As settlers said, "If you stick to this country when it's dry, it will stick to you when it is wet" (Nelson 1986, 40).

Across the open plains the wind was omnipresent and often nerve-wracking. Mary Clark wrote to her parents from her South Dakota claim:

> The wind was too fierce. Really it was something awful and it hardly ever goes down. It actually blows the feathers off the chickens' backs. . . . I can't put up many pictures and things for every time the door opens they all blow off the wall. . . . . It's so funny—we noticed how terrible loud everyone talks out here and now we find ourselves just shouting away at the top of our voices. We discovered it must be the wind and unless you yell you can't be heard at all. (Nelson 1986, 37)

If a windstorm hit on washday, everyone rushed outside to get the clothes before they blew away. Buckets, pails, and lightweight tools might be blown for miles if they didn't first catch on fences. The same winds, blowing over sun-baked land, produced dust storms, clouds of soil hundreds of feet high that blotted out the sun, filled the house with dust, almost smothered cattle in the stable, exposed the roots of young wheat, causing it to wither and die, and sent homesteaders into "dull despairing rage" (Garland 1925, 128).

Bad as summer winds were, winter blizzards were worse. The Ammons sisters, returning from school, saw a blizzard coming "like white smoke," and before they got home they could not see their hands before their faces (Nelson 1986, 35). With the thermometer at –30°F and the snow blowing at 80 miles per hour, it seemed as if the sun had been "wholly blotted out and that the world would never again be warm" (Garland 1925, 110). Homesteaders rigged ropes between house and barn so they wouldn't get lost going to feed the animals. Dr. Bessie Rehwinkel, returning from a house call, was caught in a sudden Wyoming snowstorm. Driving blindly, her horses becoming more exhausted by the minute, she recalled, "My whole body was becoming numb, and I began to feel an almost irresistible drowsiness creeping upon me." Finally, miraculously, she saw a light through the gloom, and "covered from head to foot with an icy sheet of snow which had frozen into a crust so that I had become a human icicle," she was welcomed into that very house she had left three hours earlier (Rehwinkel 1963, 76–77). Another winter wanderer was not so lucky. Lost in a storm he killed his horse, ripped him open, and crawled into the body cavity to stay warm. He was found several days later, frozen into his equine tomb (Dick 1937, 222).

One of the most terrifying natural disasters was the prairie fire, which might be caused by a lightning strike, a spark from a train, or human carelessness. It was simultaneously horrifying and awesome. "The sky is pierced with tall pyramids of flame, or covered with writhing, leaping, lurid serpents, or transformed into a broad ocean lit up by a blazing sunset. Now a whole valance of fire slides off into the prairie, and then opening its great devouring jaws closes in upon the deadened grass" (Dick 1937, 216). Such a fire could roar across the plains destroying homes, barns, haystacks, even whole settlements in its path. It was the unwritten law that whenever a fire broke out, every able-bodied person must pitch in to fight it, plowing firebreaks, setting backfires, and slapping tongues of flame with wet rags. To be the cause of such a fire not only was embarrassing but also brought legal penalties. A settler convicted of carelessness with fire could receive six months in jail and a thousand-dollar fine (Nelson 1986, 38).

Settlers were also pestered by native critters. Mosquitoes were so bad during summer that some farmers would build a fire at the door and let the wind blow smoke into the house; eyes smarting from the smoke were, to most people, preferable to the welts raised by the voracious insects (Ruede 1966, 89). Flies mercilessly attacked cows in their stalls—and the women or children milking them. During August and September when men were in the field cutting oats or hay, crickets ate coats or hats left beside the haystack, gnawed pitchfork handles, and devoured any leather straps left lying about (Garland 1925, 209). On occasion cinch bugs, small, "evil-smelling" insects, devoured the wheat crops at harvest time, bringing financial disaster to farmers (Garland 1925, 215).

Another hazard, the rattlesnake, was mentioned so often by diarists as to be commonplace. Miriam Davis Colt remembered seeing rattlers crawling or hanging over sills near her front door. At night she'd hear peculiar noises under the floor, which at first she thought were rats. Instead they were snakes, and her husband kept a stout hickory stick near their bed to drive the snakes away (Colt 1966, 104). Mollie

Sanford, in her bare feet, heard the tell-tale sound, killed a snake, and hung its 11 rattles on a tree as a trophy. The snakes did not fear people but slithered into homes, barns, and cellars. Children playing in the yard were their most frequent victims, though adults and livestock also died of snakebite. Nearly everyone carried a hoe to kill any rattlers they might encounter. Sometimes they actually invaded the house. One young boy awoke in the night complaining that his brother, sleeping in the same bed, was pinching him; the parents quieted the boys, and in the morning one was dead—of snakebite.

It was no wonder, with all these natural disasters and herpetological and entomological plagues, that Grace Fairchild "questioned in my own mind how a sane man could [drag] his family into such a . . . country" (Wyman 1972, 13). Indeed, faced with such disasters some homesteaders who could afford it left the country, the sides of their wagons emblazoned with bleakly humorous slogans such as "From Sodom, where it rains grasshoppers, fire and destruction" (Dick 1937, 206; Jones 1998, 186–89).

THE CATTLE MARKET

In the 1850s, Texas ranchers had begun to market the Texas longhorn, a new breed descended from the Spanish criollo, to which had been introduced other genetic strains including the English shorthorn. The Civil War interrupted development of the Texas cattle industry. Not only did many of the ranch hands find themselves in the Army of the Confederacy, but the war made it difficult to get their cattle to market. Thus, by the end of the war a large number of longhorns—some estimate as many as five million—roamed free in Texas.

The longhorn is an extremely tough, resilient animal, able to travel great distances with little water; moreover, it can protect itself against predators with horns measuring up to five feet from tip to tip. However, it is not an ideal beef animal, reaching its full weight of 1,000 pounds only after 8 to 10 years. It has often been described as "eight pounds of hamburger on 800 pounds of bone and horn." At the end of the Civil War these longhorns were a glut on the Texas market, selling at only \$3 to \$6 a head. In contrast, a good-quality steer sold in New York for \$80; in Illinois, for \$40; and in Kansas, for \$38 (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 255). Clearly it made good business sense to move Texas cattle north and east to more lucrative markets.

There was, however, one major—though tiny—problem. The Texas cattle carried a small tick that transmitted splenic fever, commonly known as Texas or Spanish fever, to which the longhorns were generally resistant. However, on the trail north the ticks dropped off and found new hosts, devastating dairy herds, breeding stock, and oxen that lacked resistance. Tick fever was the first cause of trouble between farmers and cowboys on the Plains. Because of the tick, Missouri had banned Texas cattle as early as 1851; in 1867 Kansas established a quarantine line east of which the cowboys could not drive their herds.

It was discovered, however, that cold Northern winters killed the tick. Thus, cattle could be driven north to fatten for a winter or two, after which they were ready for market—and tick-free, thus welcome in the eastern markets. Nearly simultaneous results of the tick problem and its solution were the creation of cattle towns and an infusion of entrepreneurial capital into the cattle business.

The first of the cow towns was Abilene, established in 1867 by Joseph McCoy at the juncture of the Kansas Pacific Railroad and the Chisholm Trail. In that year an estimated 35,000 cattle came up the Chisholm Trail; over 20 years, the number reached two million (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 255). Each summer the herds moved north to Abilene and other towns such as Wichita, Ellsworth, and Dodge City; the towns and the trails that fed them moved progressively west as farmers and their quarantines moved into the region.

The longhorn, however, still did not produce prime beef—and beef was what the American public now wanted. Pork had been supplanted as the meat of choice as cookbooks and magazines began to describe pork as "difficult to digest, unwholesome and unhealthy"; beef became a "health food" (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 256). But consumers wanted nicely marbled beef. Cattlemen thus began importing purebred Hereford and Shorthorn bulls to the Plains to improve the longhorn stock.

In 1871, Dr. Hiram Latham, a public relations man for the Union Pacific Railroad published a booster pamphlet entitled *Trans-Missouri Stock Raising* that unabashedly sought investors in the Western cattle business. He argued in part that if the United States was to be competitive in international markets, it must furnish its laborers with cheap food, including beef. Land in the West was cheap and animals fattened well there, Latham and other such boosters argued, guaranteeing immense profits. Newspaper stories promising 40 percent annual returns brought a flood of investors and the formation of new cattle companies on the northern plains. In 1883 alone, 20 new companies were organized with a capitalization of $12 million (White 1991, 223). Baron Walter von Richthofen, the uncle of the Red Baron of World War I fame, published *Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America* in which he projected that from an initial herd of 100 cows one could, in 10 years, have a herd of 2,856, assuming four out of five had calves every year and that heifers starting calving at two years of age (Forbis 1973, 62). Such optimism now sounds unbeliev-

The Chicago stockyards were immense as can be seen in this early twentieth-century photograph of the Union Yards. There were 250 miles of railroad track within the stockyards in the 1890s. They brought together about 10,000 head of cattle every day, and as many hogs, and half as many sheep—which meant some eight or ten million live creatures turned into food every year. Courtesy Library of Congress.

able. Nonetheless, Eastern investors included William Rockefeller; Marshall Field of Chicago; August Busch, the brewer; James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald;* and Theodore Roosevelt.

To achieve great profits, production costs also had to be controlled. With the introduction of railroad refrigerator cars, pioneered by Gustavus Swift, shippers no longer had to pay freight on live animals; a dressed carcass cost half as much to ship as did a live animal. By the 1880s refrigerated beef was less expensive in the East than fresh beef; between 1883 and 1889 the price of prime cuts dropped 40 percent (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 256). Beef became mass produced, with a few packing houses such as Swift and Armour dominating the market.

There thus grew up a dichotomy between the cattleman—the investor, the entrepreneur, the businessman—and the cowboy, his employee. Though he was essential to the enterprise, the cowboy usually received from $25 to $40 a month plus room and board (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 261–62). Teddy Blue describes receiving 25 cents per head for running a herd of beef in the last open range in Montana during 1878; he notes that he made $125 a month, "big money for a boy in those days when the usual wages ran as low as ten dollars" (Abbott and Smith 1939, 34). A transplanted Englishman, Frank Collinson, recalled earning $14 a month on his first job in Medina County, Texas, in 1872 (Collinson 1963, 8). Charles A. Siringo noted that the greenhorn who wanted to be a cowboy might at first have to work only for his "chuck" (i.e., his board), but this was worth it to "acquire all the knowledge and information possible on the art of running cattle." Starting wages, he remembered, were from $15 to $40 a month, depending on latitude. On northern ranges the wages were higher, but so were expenses; cowboys needed warmer clothing and bedding during the long, severe winters. He continued: "After you have mastered the cow business thoroughly—that is, learned not to dread getting in mud up to your ears, jumping your horse into a swollen stream when the water is freezing, nor running your horse at full speed, trying to stop a stampeded herd, on a dark night, when your course has to be guided by the sound of the frightened steer's hoofs—you command good wages, which will be from $25 to $60 per month" (Siringo 1886, 340).

On the debit side, the cowboy's equipment required an initial outlay of funds that could range considerably. A fancy outfit might cost $500: saddle, $100; saddle blanket, $50; quirt and riata, $25; a pearl-handled Colt .45, $50; a Winchester rifle, $75; Angora goat chaps, $25; and a Spanish pony, $25. However, a serviceable outfit could be bought for $82: pony, $25; leggings, $5; saddle, $25; saddle blankets, $5; spurs, bridle, and stake rope, $5; and Colt .45, $12 (Sawey 1981, 28–29).

In the early Texas cattle industry, it was the custom for cowboys who assisted at branding to receive a portion of the cattle in return. Cowboys could also acquire mavericks (motherless calves whose owners could not be determined). Thus, some cowboys could take the first steps toward becoming cattlemen. However, on the northern plains the mavericks were declared the property of the stock raisers' associations and auctioned off. Thus "mavericking—a way to begin a career of enterprise—became rustling—a way to begin a career of crime" (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 265).

Often the cowboy was laid off during the winter months, for ranch owners could get by with a skeleton staff and did not want to pay idle hands. During this time, especially on the northern plains, cowboys would take odd jobs around saloons or livery stables, trap or hunt wolves, mine, or simply ride the chuck line—that is, ride from ranch to ranch, staying at each until their welcome wore out. But at roundup, ranches needed a full complement of help (Jones 1998, 165–67).

INTERNATIONAL TRADE: THE CHINA TRADE

In the first half of the nineteenth century American Clipper ships opened trade with China, the South Seas, and Japan; and in the second half-century the U.S. Merchant Marine entered its heyday under canvas only to be supplanted late in the century by British steam. Rare spices and unusual fragrances could be found in most up-scale markets, and many wealthy Americans had collections of Chinese porcelain, silks, lacquered ware, and various other Oriental items like rugs, draperies, and wallpaper arranged in special rooms *à la Chinoise*. The so-called China Trade was actually a misnomer involving about a half dozen major trading destinations other than China in the Far East. These included—besides mainland China and Formosa—India, the East Indies (Spice Islands), the Siamese and Malay peninsulas, Japan, and the Philippines. Traders visited hundreds of small ports and isolated islands in their quest to complete a cargo of rare goods (Gardner 1971, 47).

Asian produce like peppercorns, cinnamon, nutmegs, and cloves were the big four among the fragrant spices. So desirable were these spices that a pocketful of peppercorns, for instance, was valued the same as a nugget of gold. Many of the rarest spices originated in the islands of the Molucca Sea, near New Guinea, so that the group came to be known as the Spice Islands. Although steps were taken to isolate the source of the plants to these islands, ultimately plants and seeds were smuggled out to other areas in the tropics where they could be grown. By such means India ultimately became a source of pepper and ginger; the West Indies and Brazil sources of cloves; Zanzibar and Madagascar producers of black pepper; and Nigeria and Sierra Leone traders in ginger.

Chinese porcelain was particularly admired in America and Europe, and it was soon imitated, especially by European potters, who tried to duplicate the hard Chinese porcelain but could only copy shapes and patterns from China on tin-glazed earthenware. The result was a flourish of decorative potting technique in Europe. The imitative process produced a white opaque surface sometimes known as creamware, pearlware, or faïence in English, as Saint-Porchaine ware or faïence blanche in French, and as the familiar delft in Dutch. On these white glazed ceramics the potters used cobalt blue to imitate Chinese figure scenes, flowers, birds, and other common patterns from late Ming and Kangxi porcelains. None of these were comparable to actual Chinese porcelain. European copies did not have the resonance, hardness, translucence, or luster of the Chinese originals.

The desire for spices, authentic Chinese items, or other Oriental products drove the American China Trade, and New England skippers lined up to get command of trading vessels destined for the western and southern Pacific, the Indian Ocean, or the South China Sea. Sea captains made good use of the prevailing winds when making these voyages. In an era largely dependent on sail, the seasonal monsoons provided a reliable source of propulsion. Moreover, a good run to the east could be made in the westerly winds of the southern latitudes and a fair run to China could be enjoyed in the northeasterly trade winds (Morison 1953, 130).

A common gathering point for ocean traders was the port city of Malacca, an international port on the west coast of the Malay peninsula overlooking the strategically important strait that linked the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean. Over the centuries, Chinese, Islamic, and Malaysian traders had called there every year trading silk and porcelain from China; textiles from Gujarat and Coromandel in India; nutmeg, mace, and cloves from the Molucca Islands; gold and pepper from Sumatra; camphor from Borneo; sandalwood from Timor; and tin from western Malaya. It was said that whoever held Malacca "held the throat" of far eastern commerce with Europe.

In the nineteenth century, Malacca was a great anchorage for European and American trading vessels awaiting the monsoon winds. The harbor was filled with Chinese sampans and junks, Arab *fellucas* and dhows, and western brigs and schooners all waiting for the winds to India, Africa, or home. When Malacca became overcrowded, many skippers chose the alternate route through the Sunda Straits by way of the Java Sea. The Sunda Straits and a stretch off Borneo were dangerous waters, where the threat of Malay or Chinese pirates was added to natural perils. The route was infested with Atjeh and Rian buccaneers who had established pirate havens in southeastern Sumatra. Famous among these in the nineteenth century was Chui Apoo who made his headquarters at Bias Bay. Yet this was not the only pirate threat. The Malay and Dayak pirates had a base in Borneo from which they attacked ships moving to and from Singapore and Hong Kong, and the Balarini pirates based at Jolo generally preyed on ships going to and from the Philippines. There were many tight passages among the islands of Indonesia, and sailors were glad to get clear of the straits.

Initially, the island of Formosa (Taiwan) showed promise as a place where direct trade with the Chinese might be possible, but ultimately it was found that merchants in the Chinese port of Canton were almost always offering the best deals. The Chinese merchants advertised their wares in their shops with bright red characters as they had for hundreds of years. It is through these early interactions between Europeans and the Chinese that words like Cantonese, Cantonware, and their complements derived their common use in English.

Although tea accounted for most of the imports from China, the manifest for one ship's cargo illustrates the great variety of goods Yankee traders would bring back including fresh Bohea tea of the first quality; China in many varieties; clothe including satins, silks, and taffetas; satin shoe-patterns; pearl buttons fixed with gold figures and inlays; superfine lambskins, a type of clothe; ivory and lacquered ware; tea-caddies; lacquered tea-trays, waiters, mirror frames, and bottle-stands; silk handkerchiefs, hair ribbons; cinnamon, cinnamon buds, black pepper, and sugar.

The British-Chinese Treaty of Nanking that ended the Opium War of 1842 effectively overthrew the original Chinese mercantilist system by means of forcing open the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai to British trading. Seeing that Britain could now easily eliminate foreign competition in China with its new privileges and considerable trading prowess, the Americans, who had stayed on the sidelines in the conflict, needed to establish formal diplomatic relations and a commercial equality in China. For almost six decades the Americans had been interacting with China merely through their business transactions, without government-to-government communication. The American decision to acquiesce was based on the twin assumptions of the futility of a direct and forceful confrontation with the Chinese, and the profitability of letting Britain do precisely that, while Americans posed as friends and allies.

The administration of President John Tyler sent Caleb Cushing to negotiate a treaty in 1844 that would give Americans the same privileges as Britain. The Sino-American Treaty of Wanghia not only achieved this goal but also won for the Americans the right of extraterritoriality, which meant that Americans accused of crimes in China were to be tried by American courts only. The treaty also included the right to buy land in five Chinese ports, the right to provide Christian missionaries to the Chinese people, and the right to learn the Chinese language. This treaty was monumental in that it laid the foundation for a more extensive and better regulated American trade with China. The opium trade was explicitly declared illegal, and the United States agreed to hand over any offenders against that law to Chinese officials. More importantly, these privileges were gained without war and without the recriminations that war often leaves.

The China trade facilitated a worldwide circulation of wealth. Practically every known port and trade route of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was utilized by the China traders. Americans reinvested the wealth that they accumulated in the China trade, not only in stateside ventures, but also in such Chinese enterprises as the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company. They also financed charitable projects in China on a scale comparable to stateside public endowments like the Canton Hospital. Native Chinese merchants also ventured their capital in worldwide investments that included American railroads and other projects.

—*James M. Volo*

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Abbott, E. C. ("Teddy Blue"), and Helena Huntington Smith. *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939.

Bartlett, Richard A. *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776–1890.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Burgess, William W. *The Voyages of Capt. W. W. Burgess, 1854–1885.* Plymouth, MA: Jones River Press, 2003.

Citro, Constance F., and Robert T. Michael, eds. *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach.* Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1995.

Collinson, Frank. *Life in the Saddle*. Edited by Mary Whatley Clarke. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Colt, Mrs. Miriam (Davis). *Went to Kansas*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1862.

Davidson, Marshall B. *Life in America*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951.

Dick, Everett. *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854–1890: A Social History of the Northern Plains from the Creation of Kansas & Nebraska to the Admission of the Dakotas*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937.

Donald, David H., Jean H. Baker, and Michael F. Holt, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2001.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.

Fisher, Gordon M. "From Hunter to Orshansky: An Overview of Unofficial Poverty Lines in the United States from 1904–1965." (A paper presented October 28, 1993 at the Fifteenth Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management in Washington, DC available from the Department of Health and Human Services.)

Forbis, William H. *The Old West: The Cowboys*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1973.

Gardner, Brian. *The East India Company*. New York: Dorset Press, 1971.

Garland, Hamlin. *Son of the Middle Border*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1925.

Goldstein, Jonathan. *Philadelphia and the China Trade 1682–1846*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978.

Haines, T. L., and Levi W. Yaggy. *The Royal Path of Life: Or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness*. Chicago, IL: Western Publishing House, 1876.

Jones, Mary Ellen. *Daily Life in the Nineteenth-Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Luchetti, Cathy. *Women of the West*. In collaboration with Carol Olwell. St. George, UT: Antelope Valley Press, 1982.

Lupiano, Vincent DePaul, and Ken W. Sayers. *It Was a Very Good Year: A Cultural History of the United States from 1776 to the Present*. Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams, 1994.

Milner, Clyde A., Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss. *The Oxford History of the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *By Land and By Sea*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.

Nelson, Paula M. *After the West Was Won: Homesteaders and Town-Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900–1917*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986.

Randall, J. G., and David Donald. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1961.

Rehwinkel, Alfred M. *Dr. Bessie*. St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1963.

Rosenbloom, Joshua L., and Gregory W. Stutes, *Reexamining the Distribution of Wealth in 1870*. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2005.

Ruede, Howard. *Sod-House Days: Letters from a Kansas Homesteader, 1877–78*. Edited by John Ise. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966.

Sanford, Mollie Dorsey. *Mollie: The Journal of Mollie Dorsey Sanford in Nebraska and Colorado Territories, 1857–1866*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959.

Savage, William A., Jr. *The Cowboy Hero: His Image in American History and Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.

———. *Cowboy Life: Reconstructing an American Myth*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975.

Sawey, Orlan. *Charles A. Siringo*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1981.

Schlissel, Lillian, Byrd Gibbons, and Elizabeth Hampsten. *Far from Home: Families of the Westward Journey*. New York: Schocken Books, 1989.

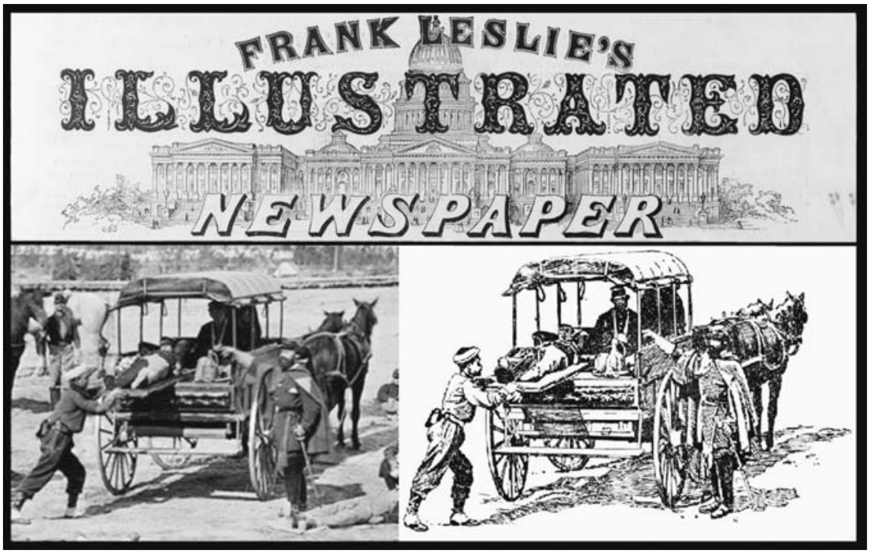
Schob, David E. *Hired Hands and Plowboys: Farm Labor in the Midwest, 1815–1860*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.
Siringo, Charles A. *A Lone Star Cowboy*. Santa Fe, NM: n.p., 1919.
———. *A Texas Cow Boy, or Fifteen Years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony*. Chicago: Siringo and Dobson, 1886.
Stewart, Elinore Pruitt. *Letters of a Woman Homesteader*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1914.
Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.
Van Dyke, Paul A. *The Canton Trade, Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wheeler, Keith. *The Townsmen*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1975.
White, Richard. *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
Wyman, Walker D. *Frontier Woman: The Life of a Woman Homesteader on the Dakota Frontier*. River Falls: University of Wisconsin–River Falls Press, 1972.

Intellectual Life

SCIENCE: PHOTOGRAPHING AMERICA

The early history of photographic science in America transcends the nineteenth century. Daguerreotype, tintype, and wet-plate photographic portraiture were ill-suited to outdoor use, and the practical use of photography to record large-scale historical events was not attempted until the Crimean War of 1854. Moreover, there were no published manuals for photographers prior to that printed by George B. Coale in 1858, and it is doubtful that the pocket-sized booklet could be used to successfully teach the intricacies of the photographic art in the absence of face-to-face instruction. The domination of the complicated wet-glass plate colloid process from 1855 to 1888 helps to explain why outdoor photography remained in the hands of professionals.

Among the many brave photo- journalists who recorded the battle scenes and war dead of America's Civil War were Alexander Gardner, George N. Bernard, and Captain Andrew J. Russell among others. Although he limited most of his work to the studio, Matthew Brady is possibly the best-known photographer of the period, and people flocked to him to have photographic portraits and *cartes de visite* taken in their best clothes. Historians continue to dispute Brady's active participation on the battlefields of the Civil War, but there is no question that the Brady studios sponsored many of the most productive photographers of the period.



This composite showing wounded being loaded into an ambulance shows how Leslie's engravers turned a photograph (left) into a half-tone illustration (right) capable of being reproduced on newsprint. In many ways the illustration is superior in quality to the photo as it removes the fussy parts of the photograph caused by the motion of the subjects and redistributes or eliminates elements to emphasize the meaning of the scene. Courtesy Library of Congress. Leslie's by James Volo.

In this period individual images from negatives were almost exclusively made on chloride paper, and the technology of reproducing photographs for the printing press was almost nonexistent before the end of the century. The usual way of reproducing a photograph for a newspaper, magazine, or book was to have an artist redraw it and make a woodcut or engraving as with battlefield sketches. This process neutralized most of the advantages of photography for the print medium. Moreover, Americans seem to have favored the more romanticized full-page chromolithographs and engravings over the generally small black and white photographs made by contact printing.

Nonetheless, hundreds of photographs of battlefields and personalities were shown in galleries in the major cities of the North during the Civil War years. The pictures, including some of the first to show war dead on the battlefield, were poignant and realistic, and may have helped to create an antiwar feeling in the North. Nonetheless, the photographic galleries in New York and Washington, in particular, were very popular and admission was expensive. The South also had its photographers. George S. Cook, J. D. Edwards, and A. D. Lytle, among others, were able photographers committed to the Southern cause, but their work was much more circumspect than that of their fellows from the North being generally limited to portraiture. The South's limited technical facilities forced the public to be content with rough woodcuts, engravings, and paintings.

It was through the older and simpler technology of the metal-plate process, however, that photography was introduced to the rural American public. All through the last half of the nineteenth century itinerant photographers traveled the fairs and road shows producing tintypes (sometimes called ferrotypes). Some tintypists traveled alone, riding a regional circuit of towns and seasonal stops, and returning to them at regular intervals to update the images of children and record the likenesses of newborns or recently married couples. Beginning with the presidential election of 1860, tintype campaign pins became the single most important electioneering apparel of the period with the exception of printed ribbons. All four major candidates for president that year had their slightly out-of-focus features photographically placed on dime-sized brass buttons. These tintype pins were considered invaluable as an electioneering tool, and they remained popular with the candidates until the 1880s. One inventive photographer took out a patent on "tombstone tintypes" made to fasten an image of the dearly departed to the grave marker (Holzer 1979, 316). Tintypes were less expensive than paper prints, but they were one of a kind works unless taken with multiple lens. There was no negative from which prints could be duplicated. The tin was itself the product of the exposure. Nonetheless, tintypes were long lasting and accurate in their portrayals. Tintype photographers could still be found working the county fairs in the 1920s.

With the development of faster acting dry-plate glass negatives by George Eastman in 1888, photographers were better able to take their instruments out-of-doors. William Kurtz was the first to specialize in night photography using flash powder, and social reformer Jacob Riis used the dry-plate system to capture the misery of slum life in New York's tenements. A young politician (then police commissioner), Teddy Roosevelt, often took Riis with him when enforcing the city's health and safety regulations to make a permanent record of the violations. Also noted at the time for their images of street scenes and immigrants were Percy Byron and Lewis Hine (New York), Sigmund Krausz (Chicago), and Arnold Genthe (San Francisco). The new realism of such photographs became the vogue among Americans and generated a post–Civil War generation of documentary photographers (Volo and Volo 2007, 396–97).

EDUCATION

Enduring the ordeal of the Civil War changed the world of American youth. The very idea of adolescence was beginning to change during the 1860s and 1870s. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, Americans generally referred to people in their late teens and early twenties when they talked about the passage from childhood to adulthood. With the faster pace of American life following the war, Americans turned their attention toward the maturation process among children in their pre- and early teens.

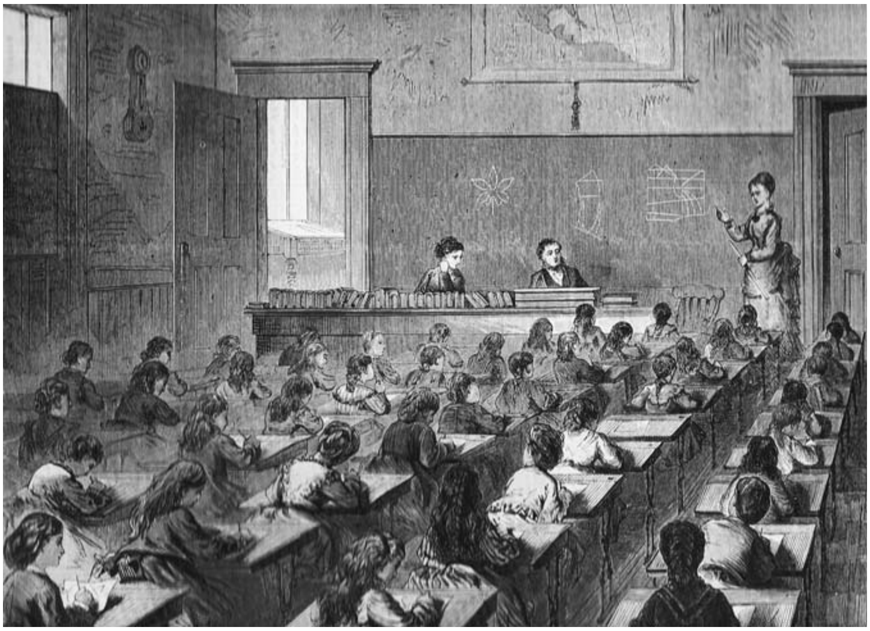
Going to school represented a milestone that children experienced in increasing numbers during the postwar era. Americans had placed high value upon the educational basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic since the late colonial era, at least for white children, but formal education for young people became the norm only during the late 1870s with the establishment of common schools in all states. Leading educational reformers believed that publicly supported schools would both foster social equality among students from diverse economic backgrounds and produce future workers and managers capable of sustaining economic growth. The push to extend educational opportunities to all white children caused the common school enrollment rates to skyrocket during the postwar era. By 1870, 60 percent of white Americans between the ages of 5 and 19 attended publicly supported schools, up from only 35 percent in 1830. Opportunities for higher education also increased with the passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act by Congress in 1862. The Morrill

Act gave individual states land to support colleges that taught both practical and academic subjects. With the passage of the act, agricultural colleges and institutes of technology joined universities in growing numbers across the nation. By 1870, the United States boasted 500 colleges and universities, more than all of Western Europe combined. These numbers must be read with some caution, however, because college students still formed a select breed in post–Civil War America. Only about 50,000 students attended college during the early 1870s, about one percent of the college age population.

Children who attended common schools during the late 1860s and early 1870s experienced an educational environment that their parents and grandparents would have found familiar in many ways. Most notably, educators continued to believe school an institution of moral uplift. William Holmes McGuffey, an Ohio college professor, authored a series of four elementary readers during 1836–1837 that taught reading skills and moral precepts to equal degree. The books became the most widely used school texts during the mid- and late-nineteenth century, selling more than 60 million copies by 1879. Stories, poems, and essays in McGuffey's readers offered children proof that virtue and faith went with God; and that thrift and industry went with success. McGuffey's *Second Reader* (1836), for example assured children "A little child who loves to pray, and reads his Bible, too, shall rise above the sky one day, and sing as angels do." A line from the *Fourth Reader* (1836) taught children that true happiness came from inside the person. "Wealth, rightly got and rightly used," McGuffey wrote, "Power fame, these are all worthy objects of ambition, but they are not the highest objects, and you may acquire them all without achieving true success."

Other elementary textbook authors followed McGuffey's lead, although never gaining the same level of distribution and sales. Salem Town, also the author of a reader, declared that his goal was to improve the literary taste of the learner, impress correct moral principles, and augment his fund of knowledge. S. Augustus Mitchell, the author of an elementary geography text, expressed a similar sentiment proffering that the introduction of moral and religious sentiments into books designed for the instruction of young persons was calculated to improve the heart, and elevate and expand the youthful mind and that observations had been made to illustrate the excellence of Christian religion, the advantages of correct moral principles, and the superiority of enlightened institutions.

In other ways, much had changed in common schools after the Civil War. Women increasingly replaced men as teachers, in part an attempt by educators to base classroom discipline and learning upon what they termed moral suasion rather than corporal punishment. Troublemakers, of course, still remained in the classroom. Boys in particular were into mischief, especially as they grew to be larger, lustier, and more masculine according to one Illinois school official. School officials increasingly drew a hard disciplinary line, however, expelling young rowdies into the work world rather than submitting to their antics. Women also became teachers in increasing numbers because, with few other employment alternatives, they were willing to work for lower wages than men. In Massachusetts, the state with among the most



In the second half of the nineteenth century public education became more common especially in the large urban areas. In this illustration a teacher instructs a class of girls in the sewing arts under the watchful eyes of visiting members of the Board of Education. Please note the formal lines of desks and chairs fastened to the floor, the common set of textbooks on the teacher's desk, and the large number (50+) of students. Courtesy Library of Congress.

complete educational records, female teachers earned less than one-half the pay of male teachers.

In addition to school officials hiring women teachers, they grouped students together by age. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, educators made little distinction between learning needs among students of different ages. The result was that teachers instructed pupils who ranged in age and physical development from toddlers to young adults. George Moore, a teacher in Massachusetts, recorded that the 70 students he taught in 1828 ranged in age from a 4-year-old girl to a 20-year-old young man. With children entering common schools in increasing numbers following the end of the Civil War, however, educators concentrated students by what they termed "age grading." Children between 8 years and 13 years of age were grouped into intermediate schools. And teenagers between 14 and 19 were grouped into high schools. The age range of high school students in small rural towns and villages often was younger, generally between 11 and 17, to enable students to begin full-time work on family farms sooner. Age grading in intermediate schools and high schools also influenced the ages of students attending college. By the end of the nineteenth century, most college students ranged between 18 and 22 years of age, with much younger and older pupils as a rarity.

The increased emphasis upon public schooling in late-nineteenth-century America opened educational opportunities for both African American youth and young women. Blacks across the former Confederate states expressed an eagerness to learn, painfully aware that the denial of education had been a hallmark of the slave system. One Mississippi freedman promised that if he never did anything more worthwhile in his life, he would give his children the opportunity to go to school because education was the next best thing to liberty. Southern blacks worked with the federal government and various Northern-backed benevolent societies to establish schools of their own. By the 1870s, about one quarter of former slaves attended public school, while others received educational instruction at their church. Black schools often suffered from overcrowding and stingy state financial aid. To many African Americans, the advantages in educational opportunities seemed miraculous. Ambrose Headen recalled how difficult it was, when he was a slave in Alabama, to build a private academy for white boys when he had no right to educate his own sons. After the war, the building was purchased as a school for black children. When

Headen saw his own children coming from the same school, carrying their books under their arms, he remarked that he thought he must be dreaming.

Young women also made striking gains in education during the postwar era. The first public high school for girls had opened in Massachusetts in 1824. By the early 1870s, girls constituted the majority of high school graduates. Many female students attended coeducational public schools, a far less costly alternative to single-sex academies. Between 1850 and 1870, the number of public high schools attended by both boys and girls in the United States had more than doubled, from 80 schools to 170 schools. The expansion of women into secondary education fostered greater access to higher education. By 1870, nearly one-quarter of college students were women. Many women attended newly created women's colleges including Vassar, opened in 1865; and Wellesley and Smith both opened 10 years later. Other women attended previously all-male schools. Boston University and Cornell opened their doors to women during the postwar period, joining Oberlin, Antioch, and Swarthmore as coeducational institutions. Additionally, eight state universities opened under the Morrill Act admitted women. The number of coeducational colleges and universities continued to grow through the remainder of the century (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 27–30).

LITERATURE

Novels

Two genres of popular literature reemerged after the Civil War—the mystery tale and the historical romance novel. The historical romance was an old form that had been popular since the birth of storytelling. It abandoned reality for fantasy and told its stories in the realm of imagination where any kind of characters and actions could be presented. Women authors became very adept at historical romance. (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 111).

Although authorship by women was generally frowned upon before 1850, many novels were written by women in the period. The widespread popularity of sentimental and often formulaic domestic novels written in this period caused Nathaniel Hawthorne to complain that "America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women" (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 110). Writing was an acceptable female hobby, but women who practiced the profession of letters seem to have been viewed with less disapprobation than those who became teachers, nurses, or lawyers. Several women were acclaimed in the Southern press for their published works in which heroines sacrificed their romantic love for dedication to the Southern cause and the Confederate forces remaining in the field (Volo and Volo 1998, 215–16).

The historical romance branched off into various forms, such as love stories, detective stories, westerns, and gothic tales. Edgar Allan Poe was especially good at the gothic and detective genres. He first Americanized the detective story in the 1840s with his tales of "ratiocination and detection," including "The Murder in the Rue Morgue" (1840), "The Mystery of Marie Roget" (1842–1843, based on the actual murder in New York City of Mary Celia Rogers), and "The Purloined Letter" (1845). Lesser known than Poe, Anna Katherine Green, the daughter of a well-known lawyer, challenged the earlier author's grip on the detective genre with her novel *The Leavenworth Case* (1878). Herein she introduced the fat and amiable character Ebenezer Gryce, who like her own lawyer father had an appearance and manner that belied his shrewd and unrelenting detective work (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 111).

Lew Wallace, a Civil War general who served as governor of New Mexico Territory, was also a novelist. He published a best-selling historical novel, *The Fair God,* in 1873, but his best-known work was *Ben Hur* written in 1880. Another late period author working in the genre was Francis Marion Crawford (nephew of poet Julia Ward Howe). Crawford wrote some 45 historical novels with Europe as the setting, particularly Italy where he was born and lived for many years. Crawford's first novel, *Mr. Isaac's* (1882) was an immediate success but his second, *Dr. Claudius* (1883) confirmed him as a major author. In defense of the novel Crawford wrote, "[It is] a marketable commodity…an intellectual artistic luxury…meant to amuse and please, not teach and preach." His third novel, *The Roman Singer,* was printed serially in the *Atlantic Monthly* and published in book form in 1884. Crawford continued writing into the twentieth century (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 111).

Juvenile Literature

Particularly important in the field of juvenile literature was *The Youth's Companion* founded in 1827 and growing to a behemoth circulation of 500,000 in 1900. It set the format for juvenile periodicals in the nineteenth century. Yet it was another publication, Scribner's *St. Nicholas Magazine*, begun in 1873, which is generally considered the best children's periodical of the era. *St. Nicholas* benefited from absorbing a number of short-lived children's magazines that came and went during the period. Among these were *Our Young Folks* and *The Children's Hour* in 1873 and *The Little Corporal* and *Schoolday Magazine* in 1875. Others like the *Riverside Magazine for Young People* (1867), *Wide Awake* (1875), and *Pansy* (1874) simply disappeared in the new, competitive market for children's literature. They may also have been affected by the continuing effect of the economic downturn known as the Panic of 1873 that simply sucked the life from all but the best-founded enterprises.

The editors and owners of these periodicals like G. P. Putnam, Charles Scribner, and James and John Harper consciously viewed themselves as "custodians of morals and culture" and sought to bring genteel values into their publications. *Our Young Folks,* absorbed by *St. Nicholas* in 1873, starkly illustrated the connection between the values of the creators of children's periodicals and those of their youthful audience. The editors invited their readers to write essays on a number of socially appropriate topics. The best of these appeared in subsequent issues. One such invitation issued in 1871 concerned the nature of a true gentlemen. Over 400 young people replied with a list of values that appeared in the very stories that the publishers had run in their periodical: integrity, modesty, manners, purity of heart, dedication to service, bravery, justice, generosity, temperance, self-control, and good taste. The editors had promoted these values in the articles and essays that they placed in their publications believing, as most of good society did, that they were vital for all youth. Spotless character, intellectual curiosity, moral refinement, and a dedication to public service were all considered essential ingredients in genteel children's literature (Shrock 2004, 166–67).

Periodicals

During the 1870s and 1880s, the South was winning in the pages of popular magazines and novels the culture war it had lost on the battlefield in the 1860s. It was a victory that was costly to Southerners in the long run because it blinded them to a good part of their own social history. During the 1880s a number of major magazines in the North began to feature articles steeped in the romance of an earlier and less menacing prewar period. The antebellum South conjured romantic images of oversized verandas, lazy rivers churned by the paddle wheels of luxurious steamboats, exaggerated hoopskirts, and trees hung with Spanish moss. The slower pace of this period seems to have rendered it an era untouched by time, and filled with an extravagant hospitality for all those who shared the Southern heritage. The reality, however, was exceedingly complex and replete with contradictions (Volo and Volo 2000, vii).

In Margaret Mitchell's novel, *Gone With the Wind,* written in 1936 and made into a significant and influential motion picture in the magical cinemagraphic year of 1939, the author described the loss of the Southern way of life in the winds of Civil War and the crusade of one young women, Scarlett O'Hara, to find her own redemption in the world of Southern Reconstruction. Mitchell's work was primarily romantic fiction, not meant to be a history or a social commentary on the South, but it has had a greater influence in forming the modern consciousness of the lifestyle it portrayed and the interpersonal relationships it presented than many formal studies. Moreover, it was—unknowingly perhaps—the culmination of an extended literary crusade to resurrect the image of the South after the war.

Once Reconstruction ended, the majority of white Southerners united in an attempt to remove blacks from local politics—by force if necessary. They pursued blacks with multifarious personal humiliations, lynch laws, and Jim Crow. Some claimed that these violations of human and civil rights were an explosion of pent-up frustrations over the loses of the Civil War long suppressed under the weight of federal occupation troops, few though they were. Regardless of its cause, the situation on the ground was often ugly and violent. In most Southern communities, it was the newly won set of black civil rights, rather than the antebellum white lifestyle, that was gone with the wind.

In the 1880s, *The Century,* a beautifully illustrated monthly magazine aimed at the genteel reader, began to run articles heavily favorable to things Southern. An abundance of articles appeared showcasing notable painters, Gothic architecture, and rambles through foreign and exotic lands. *The Century* also ran lengthy pieces on the "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," in which equal time and equal editorial comment was given to Blue and Gray alike. *Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, and *Lippincott's*, among others, joined *The Century* in featuring Southern literature in which a familiar pattern began to appear. "Gentle and faithful old blacks would relate, with a comic mismanagement of the longer words, tales of how their cleverness or faithfulness had helped their beloved masters when the Yankees came" (Weisberger 1975, 108).

The story line usually involved a planter family, one or more high-spirited sons, and a beautiful and virtuous daughter in love with a Yankee from the North. The course of true love, thwarted by family feuds or the coming war, finally ran smooth in the postwar resurrection of the South. If the Yankee was a scoundrel, he was soon dismissed, but in most cases he was of a better sort that recognized the gallantry of Southern tradition. He, at least, had come to understand that it was only right that the South had been restored to proper white upper-class hands. He was usually rewarded for his epiphany, and the curtain fell on a scene of tender love and understanding with the old black family retainers peeping slyly from the shrubbery (Weisberger 1975, 108).

The story lines found in magazines like *The Century* gave the South an arm to lean on during the difficult postwar years, and the wave of moonlight-and-magnolia writing had a strong effect in putting to final rest many of the ideological ghosts of the Civil War. Southerners soon came to accept this fiction, relegating slavery to a tender and sentimental form of black welfare, and ennobling the sacrifices of their sons in gray. Reformers in the North, fighting battles between pure Republican government and the unwashed legions of city machine voters, were no longer focused on reforming the South. They lost their last vestiges of interest in the fate of Southern blacks in a sea of two-dollar-a-vote foreign immigrants. According to Edwin L. Godkin of *The Nation*, blacks would never be worked into the government that he and his fellow civil service reformers envisioned in any case. Richard W. Gilder, *The Century's* editor, observed that blacks constituted a peasantry wholly untrained in, and ignorant of, the concepts of constitutional liberty and social progress that were the birth-right of every white American (Weisberger 1975, 109).

Prominent in these stories was the stereotypical character of the female slave generally known as Mammy, who was so close to the family that she shared in its most personal secrets and aspirations. Besides being characterized as benign and maternal, Mammy exhibited wisdom and folksy common sense. She represents a social relationship between blacks and whites that transcends the auction block, fetters, injustices, and punishments of the overseer. Mammy interacts directly with the white slave owning family without offending the traditional hierarchy of a stratified and race-conscious society.

Plantation records from the antebellum period acknowledge the presence of female slaves who held a position equivalent to that of a head housekeeper or caregiver to their master's children. Yet their appearance in the historical record is incidental and outnumbered to a great degree by the employment of white governesses and nurses. The secure place of Mammy—or of a male Uncle Tom equivalent—in the mythology of Southern life was created by a combination of historic revisionism and romantic imagination that seems as first to have been a projection of the slave owner's own delusions about how their household slaves were devoted to them on a personal level—a repeated allusion found in contemporary Southern diaries, especially those of young women (Volo and Volo 2004, 66).

No historian or revisionist cemented the image of Mammy (or the loyal black family retainer) more firmly in this mythology than the actress Hattie McDaniel, who portrayed the character Mammy in the 1939 film version of *Gone With the Wind.* McDaniel's characterization exhibits all of the characteristics of "Mammy-ism" developed in the earlier nineteenth-century print media. She chides the debutante Scarlett in a motherly way, is concerned in family complications, weeps during its tragedy, is aware of its most personal feelings, and remains loyal to it during its reconstruction. While McDaniel's performance as Mammy provided moving, warm moments in the film (garnering her an Academy Award), there is no hard evidence that such persons existed as anything other than a balm for Southern consciences (Volo and Volo 2000, 180).

—James M. Volo

Poetry

During both the Civil War and Reconstruction, Americans read the classical poets—Shakespeare and Milton—and the antebellum American giants—Bryant, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, and Longfellow. Yet there were also other forms of poetic materials that were widely appreciated: the instructive and everyday poetry by and for the people. In his *Library of Poetry and Song* (1872), William Cullen Bryant pointed out the values of both kinds of poetry. Some poems, he wrote, were "acknowledged to be great." Others, though less perfect in form, "have, by some power of touching the heart, gained and maintained a sure place in the popular esteem." Following the philosophy of the time, Bryant believed both forms were worthy art. Other poets and commentators on poetry preferred the popular form. Henry M. Coates's *Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry* (1879) included only poems that "have touched the human heart" (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 112).

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882) wrote musically cadenced poems that were everywhere admired. His "Psalm of Life," with its uplifting and inspiring sentiment, was widely read and appreciated. The public took it to their hearts and gave it the ultimate compliment, setting it to song and parodying it in dozens of ways. Walt Whitman (1819–1892) is difficult to place in the popular poetry of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. Though he lived during the period, his work transcended it. During the war, he was a hospital nurse caring for battlefield wounded in Washington, D.C., and once got to shake the hand of his hero, Abraham Lincoln. His *Democratic Vistas* (1870) outlined his vision of democracy in America.

The heat of war generated much popular poetry. A great deal of it took a predictably sentimental view of the tragedy of war and people's feeling in reaction to it. Many popular poems were set to music and sung straight or parodied. Perhaps the most sensationally popular poem of the war—at least with Northerners—was John Greenleaf Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1863. The poem was based on an apocryphal incident in Frederick, Maryland, that had been relayed to

Whittier by novelist Emma Southworth. It told of an aged woman's defiance of Confederate Lieutenant General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson in flying a Union flag from her window. Whittier had his heroine utter the immortal line, "Shoot if you must this old gray head, but spare your country's flag." The incident was almost certainly a fabrication, but Whittier's poem captured the imagination of a nation hungry for heroes. It was widely reprinted throughout the North and even made into a popular song.

Also in the North, the Rev. Theodore Tilton wrote the hymn-like "God Save the Nation," Harvard University philosophy professor F. H. Hedge penned "Our Country Is Calling," and George H. Boker, a prominent playwright, wrote "March Along!" For the South, Albert Pike, a lawyer, editor, and poet-turned-Confederate-general, wrote "Southrons, Hear Your Country's Call." James Randall's "My Maryland" was sung straight as well as being parodied and twisted into dozens of different versions. In both parts of the nation, hundreds of poems with titles like "Following the Drum," "The Soldier's Mother," and "The Volunteer to His Wife," were written in reaction to the horrible sadness of parting, loneliness, and death.

The Northern longing for reconciliation predominated in the works of such poets as Edmund Clarence Stedman, Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Edward Roland Sill, Cincinnatus Heine, and Thomas Buchanan Read. Some of the poems were so passionate in their appeal to patriotism or reconciliation, or to human dignity and universal love of mankind and country that they appealed equally to both sides. Stedman's "Wanted—A Man" was such a poem. It so impressed President Lincoln that he reportedly read it to his cabinet in 1862, when it was clear that the president needed above all else a general of the army who could successfully lead his troops against the Army of Northern Virginia.

In Southern poetry, nostalgia and defiance were common themes. The Southern poet Henry Timrod, called upon to produce a Confederate anthem, initially refused; then in March 1862 penned "A Call to Arms," just one of many such calls to battle that would be produced by Southern writers during the course of the war. Paul Hamilton Hayne, known in his lifetime as the "Poet Laureate of the South," began writing verse while in law school, which he left to take over the *Literary Gazette*. Too frail for military service, he turned to writing patriotic and martial poems. Hayne's sentimental poems exalted the glories of antebellum life and were blamed for contributing to sectional divisiveness, although Hayne personally was said to be nonpartisan. After the war, his works were published widely in the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's Monthly*, and other respected magazines (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 111–13).

Regional Literature: The Lost Cause

Immediately after the Civil War, the public was swamped with war stories, journals, memoirs, and battle descriptions. Former army commanders renewed wartime arguments about tactics and strategies in print—the pen and the printing press now their only weapons. Battlefield opponents, and sometimes former comrades, aired the dirty laundry of their respective commands before an awaiting public. Southern apologists, particularly, tried to rationalize their loss by finding unexploited opportunities, scapegoats, excuses, and martyrs. Many pointed to the exhausted condition of the Southern manpower pool and its economic infrastructure as proximate causes for the South's surrender—not its defeat. For quite some time—in fact for almost as long as the veterans of the war lived to tell and retell their experiences—this was the stuff of Civil War history. Many of these authors drew sweeping conclusions from sometimes superficial and anecdotal evidence. In 1881, Francis M. Palfrey—a federal veteran and war historian embittered by the increasingly sympathetic light in which the Army of Northern Virginia was being portrayed—wrote, "A few more years, a few more books, and it will appear that Lee and Longstreet, and a one-armed orderly, and a casualty with a shotgun, fought all the battles of the rebellion and killed all the Union soldiers except those who ran away" (Newton 2000, 3).

The term "Lost Cause" first appeared in 1866 in the title of a book by historian Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*. Southern writers, like Pollard, made it clear that the arguments over states rights and secession, and not slavery, were the precipitating controversies of the war. As expressed by one abolitionist, the prominence of secession as a cause of the war becomes obvious: "Who cares now about slavery. Secession, and the Oligarchy built upon it, have crowded it out" (Lewis 1991, 163). Although antislavery was a prominent reform movement of the period, other causes, such as temperance, women's rights, religious revival, public education, concerns for the poor, and prison reform, were as zealously pursued by activists. Of these only slavery and states rights became politically charged issues in the antebellum period; and as the middle ground of compromise on such issues was eroded, only the extreme positions became viable, until disunion (secession) brought on armed conflict. Universal abolition, never an overall war aim of the North, was not even recognized by the Proclamation of Emancipation of 1863. Only in the afterglow of victory did the federal government dare to propose the universal abolition of slavery and full citizenship and voting rights for American blacks.

In 1865, Alexander H. Stephens was imprisoned for several months in Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. As former vice president of the Confederacy, Stephens had been a lackluster leader often at odds with the policies of President Jefferson Davis. Denied his seat in the 1866 U.S. Senate by the Republicans, Stephens undertook to write a book justifying the course of the South in the recent unpleasantness detailing the route from states rights to secession, war, and defeat. Like many Southern writers, he became immersed in the process of political rationalization that characterized the "Lost Cause."

A *Constitutional View of the Late War between the States* was a work in two volumes written by Stephens and published in 1868 and 1870, respectively. Stephens played down the slavery issue as a cause of the war and played up the controversy over states rights—the absolute ultimate sovereignty of the several states in the federal system. The book sold well and was widely read especially by Southerners. The case for states rights had flourished for more than seven decades before the war, and it would seem, from an unbiased reading of the record, that the secessionists had at least an arguable case for disunion on their side. By comparison, the case for a perpetual union and the supremacy of the federal government had been a recent product of the sectional conflict of the 1850s. Moreover, its fundamental legal principles, especially with regard to the 10th Amendment to the Constitution, were far from perfect, and the logic behind its arguments was fraught with ambiguity.

Stephens argued that the conflict from 1861–1865 had been no civil war, but a "war between the states." This position was a reaction to the Radical Republican demand that the unreconstructed states be treated as territories under the rule of federal political and military authorities. Southerners adopted the concept of a war between the states to reinforce their political position, and they insisted upon using the designation for the recent conflict, although the phrase had been seldom if ever used before Stephens proposed it in 1868.

Ultimately it was the series of articles written by former Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early for the Southern Historical Society in the 1870s that established the Lost Cause as a long-lasting and often-used literary phenomenon. Early claimed that his inspiration for the series came from Robert E. Lee, who wanted the world to understand the odds against which the Confederate Army (and the Army of Northern Virginia, in particular) had to contend. John Bell Hood, J.E.B. Stuart, and even Jefferson Davis were made scapegoats for the loss of Confederate independence, but the most powerful image used by Early was the failed attack on the third day of Gettysburg known as Pickett's Charge. He blamed the failure squarely on Lee's premiere subordinate, Lieutenant General James Longstreet, accusing him of failing to carry out his part in the attack. Longstreet was widely disparaged by Southern veterans during the postwar decades—not so much for his behavior during the war, which was laudable in most cases, but for his support of federal Reconstruction and his defection to the Republican Party. This made him the key villain in the Lost Cause mythology. Robert E. Lee, who had ordered the attack against an entrenched and numerically superior enemy, across open ground, free of protective cover, and obstructed by two substantial fence lines, received no scrutiny during his lifetime (and for some considerable time after his death). Lee's admitted tactical and strategic brilliance remained sacrosanct in the Lost Cause debate. He was viewed in the postwar period as the ideal Southern gentleman—sage, pious, unflappable, and honorable—who had selflessly sacrificed himself for the cause.

The fact was that the South had not merely lost the war. It had been beaten and beaten badly. Its economy, industry, agriculture, and population had been sorely pressed. The end of Reconstruction had restored the right of the South to be, once more, fully American. Yet Southern men and women were not willing to uproot their traditional way of life and replace it with machines, railroads, and factories. They clung to their un-machined ways and yielded only reluctantly to progress. Above all, white Southerners feared and resisted most of all changes of any kind that threatened their "biracial world, the fabric of white control of Southern life—a control which might be cruel or benevolent depending on time and place, but which in their view had to be unquestioned" (Weisberger 1975, 100).

—James M. Volo

COMMUNICATIONS: THE PONY EXPRESS

The Pony Express was founded as a subsidiary of the freight and stage company of Russell, Majors, and Waddell. The official company name was the Central

Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. Financially, the Pony Express was an abject failure. The owners invested $700,000 and left a $200,000 deficit when the company failed. The express mail service ran from April 3, 1860, through October 1861, being put out of business by the completion of the transcontinental telegraph and competition from the Overland Stage Lines. The company was sold at auction to Ben Holladay in March 1862. Four years later he sold out to Wells Fargo for $2,000,000. The Pony Express had proved that the central route to California was usable year round, and the Overland Mail Company, which held the mail contract, relocated from the southern/Butterfield route to the central route in 1861.

The idea of using a series of horses and riders to bind together the region between St. Joseph on the fringe of western settlement and the mining communities of California was challenging and bold, but it was not new. From ancient times, such post riders had served to bind together the provinces of monarchies, empires, and republics. The 1,966 mile route from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California, was a particularly difficult one, however, passing by ferry over the Missouri River and through the states (or territories) of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California was done in approximately 10 days. The fastest trip was 7 days and 17 hours. These riders were carrying President Lincoln's first inaugural address. Keeping the lines of communication open and the mail flowing may have influenced California to remain in the Union.

There were between 80 and 100 riders working for the Pony Express at an average wage of $100 per month. The riders ranged in age from teens to men in their mid-forties. Each had to weigh less than 125 lbs. and be agile in the saddle. William "Buffalo Bill" Cody supposedly rode for the Pony Express. The youngest rider was 11-year-old Bronco Charlie Miller, but some of the first riders to attempt the express route are well known: Johnny Fry (St. Joseph), James Randall (San Francisco), and Billy Hamilton (Sacramento). The riders were changed every 75 to 100 miles depending on the geography, and the horses were changed every 10 to 15 miles galloping at approximately 10 miles per hour. The stations along the route—almost 200 of them—were supplied with 400 mustangs and Morgan horses. Mail cost $5 per 1/2 ounce at first, but the price fell to $1 per 1/2 ounce just before the company went under.

—*James* M. *Volo*

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The General Practice

No medical instruments are so characteristic of the general practitioner in his office than the stethoscope and ophthalmoscope. Virtually every modern child's medical playset includes the double-tube stethoscope to place in their ears and the curved mirror with the hole in it (the ophthalmoscope) to wear on their forehead. Both of these important diagnostic instruments were introduced to medical science during the nineteenth century as medical screening devices.

The acoustic stethoscope was invented in France in 1816 by René Laennec. It consisted of a single (monaural), hollow wooden tube with a trumpet-like bell on one end that was almost indistinguishable from the common ear-trumpet used to aid the so-called hard-of-hearing for centuries. Laennec placed the bell of his microphone on the patient's chest and listened on the other end to the collected sounds of heartbeat or breathing. In 1851, Arthur Leared of Dublin invented the biaural (two tube) stethoscope with a small hollow cup replacing the bell, and in 1852 George Cammann of New York perfected the design that has become so familiar. This form—made possible largely by the development of thin rubber and metal tubing—was immediately put into commercial production, and was very popular with physicians. Cammann also wrote a treatise on the diagnostic used of his stethoscope. By 1873, there were proposals for a stereo stethoscope that absorbed sound from two locations at once, but the design was not widely adopted even though the concept was a good one.

Sound waves are composed of pressure differentiations that spread out from the source. Diagnostic stethoscopy (also called auscultation) used the sound waves produced in the body or on the skin surface by concentrating them and allowing them to travel up the tubing to the physician's ears. Used together with a light tapping on the chest or back quickly became a fundamental nonintrusive medical protocol. The qualities of the sounds emitted by the patient's body—especially the heart, lungs, blood vessels, and intestines—can denote the health or abnormality of the organs. Many diseases can be recognized, even in their early stages, by the skillful use of the stethoscope. The instrument was not without its flaws, however. One problem was that the sound emitted by the body was extremely faint. Moreover, the sources of the sound varied in their location, amplitude, and frequency. The hollow cup transmitted low frequency sounds better than high frequency ones. A diaphragm stethoscope, looking much like a metal disk rather than a cup, transmits higher frequencies better than the bell. In the twentieth century, physicians (Howard Rappaport and Maurice Sprauge) developed a two-sided chest piece that incorporated both chest pieces in a single instrument.

The ophthalmoscope is used to diagnose the eye. Initially invented as a freestanding table device by Charles Babbage in 1847, and independently by Hermann von Helmholtz in 1851, the instrument was not widely utilized until reinvented in a hand-held format by Andreas Anagnostakis, a Greek physician studying in France. It was presented at the first Ophthalmological Conference, which was held in Brussels in 1857. The concave mirror with a hole in it, allowed the physician the free use of one hand. It was later attached to a head strap that allowed both hands to be free. The mirror concentrated light on the eye and the ophthalmologist could examine the internal structures of the eye by viewing through the hole in the mirror and the eye's pupil. The entire retina can be examined and magnifying glasses and lens can be used by the physician to see even minute structures clearly. Its present form makes use of an incorporated source of light, but the nineteenth-century version is indistinguishable from many modern instruments.

The Discovery of Anesthesia

An advance in both general and surgical practice in both medicine and dentistry was the discovery of the anesthetic properties of ether, nitrous oxide, and chloroform. The discovery of general anesthetics and their subsequent applications to surgery revolutionized medicine in the United States and throughout the world. Before anesthesia, surgery was a frightening process for the patient and the surgeon alike. Once a patient had agreed to an operation, even an amputation, no further attention was paid to cries of protest and pain until the procedure was complete. This was found to be the only practicable method by which an operation could be performed under the gruesome conditions that prevailed before the advent of anesthesia. For obvious reasons, such surgeries were delayed until absolutely necessary: often until after it was too late to save the patient.

Although it is difficult to assign credit to one person as the discoverer of anesthetics, several Americans played a seminal role in their discovery and application. Scientists, most notably Sir Humphrey Davy, had experimented with nitrous oxide since the late-eighteenth century. The gas-induced antics of nitrous oxide users provided comical relief for various demonstrations given to the general public in the nineteenth century—hence the term laughing gas. In 1844, a Connecticut dentist named Horace Wells witnessed such a show and realized the possible uses for nitrous oxide in dentistry. Wells began administering it to his patients, providing pain-free tooth extractions. It's difficult to imagine modern dentistry without anesthesia. For instance, when American George Green patented the first electric dental drill in 1875, such a device would certainly have found limited use in the mouth of an unanesthetized patient. Wells's experiments came to a tragic end (at least for Wells himself), when he committed suicide in despondency over a failed demonstration of nitrous oxide to medical students at Massachusetts General Hospital.

Other Americans soon took up the experimental use of general anesthetics in various types of surgeries. Among these early pioneers were Wells's protégé, William Morton, who began using ether to induce sleep before dental procedures; Crawford Long, who had used ether in operations without publicizing the fact as early as 1842; Charles T. Jackson, who experimented with the use of several anesthetics on himself; and John C. Warren, who also experimented with the use of ether in surgery. Within a few years of the first demonstrations of the power of general anesthesia for surgery, the technique had spread across the country and to Europe, offering a mixed bag of results for physicians and their patients. Among these was an increase in the number of surgical interventions, and a decrease in the time lag that ensued between the onset of a problem and the decision to resort to surgery. Ironically, the larger number of surgeries increased the number of postoperative problems, including death, as the so-called hospital fevers—gangrene, erysipelas, septicemia, and so forth—rose in proportion due to the lack of an antiseptic environment. Nonetheless, through the use of anesthesia physicians were able for the first time to attempt a number of operations on the head, chest, and abdomen that were just too painful to imagine without it. Combined with a new understanding of germ theory and antiseptic practices, anesthesia ultimately made a significant difference in overall mortality rates (Timmons 2005, 147–49).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bradley, Glenn D. *The Story of the Pony Express: An Account of the Most Remarkable Mail Service Ever in Existence, and Its Place in History*. Chicago, IL: A. C. McClurg, 1913.

Browne, Francis F. *Bugle-echoes: Collection of Poetry of the Civil War Northern and Southern*. New York: White, Stokes & Allen, 1886.

Casper, Scott E., Joan Chaison, and Jeffery D. Groves, eds. *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

DiCerto, Joseph J. *The Pony Express: Hoofbeats in the Wilderness*. New York: F. Watts, 1989.

Duffy, John. "Science and Medicine." In *Science and Society in the United States*, eds. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966, 107–34.

Fahs, Alice. *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Glass, Andrew. *The Sweetwater Run: The Story of Buffalo Bill Cody and the Pony Express*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education, A Documentary History*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Holzer, Harold. "Photographs on Tin: The Ferrotype Endures." *The Antique Trader Annual of Articles*, Volume X (September, 1979).

Johnson, Clifton. *Old-Time Schools and School-books*. New York: Dover Publications, 1963.

Kelley, R. Gordon, ed. *Children's Periodicals of the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Lewis, Thomas A. *The Guns of Cedar Creek*. New York: Bantam, 1991.

Mason, Philip P., ed. *Copper Country Journal: The Diary of Schoolmaster Henry Hobart, 1863–1864*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

Mautz, Carl. *Biographies of Western Photographers: A Reference Guide to Photographers Working in the 19th-Century American West*. Nevada City, CA: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1997.

Meredith, Roy. *Mathew Brady's Portrait of an Era*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982.

Mondale, Sarah, and Sarah B. Patton, eds. *School: The Story of American Public Education*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines*. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930–1968.

Newton, Steven H. *Lost for the Cause, The Confederate Army in 1864*. Mason City, IA: Savas Publishing Company, 2000.

Nye, Russel B. *The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: Dial, 1970.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Tebbel, John, and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
———. *Daily Life in Civil War America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Weisberger, Bernard A. *The LIFE History of the United States: Steel and Steam, Volume 7: 1877–1890.* New York: Time-Life Books, 1975.

Material Life

FOOD AND DRINK

Changes in Cooking

The Reconstruction period was a time of transition both in the methods of acquiring food and in the food itself. Thomas Defoe, a New York butcher and observer of the market scene, published a guide to the marketplace in 1867. He noticed significant changes in the manner in which New Yorkers acquired their food, particularly a loss of contact with purveyors of the foods that they were purchasing. He noted, "Some fifty years ago it was the common custom of the thrifty 'old New Yorker' when going to market, to start at the break of day, and carry along with them the large 'market basket,' then considered a very necessary appendage for this occasion. His early visit gave him the desired opportunity to select the cuts of meat wanted from the best animals, to meet the farmer's choice productions, either poultry, vegetables, or fruit and catch the lively jumping fish, which ten minutes before were swimming in the fish-cars." He lamented that by the era of Reconstruction, heads of families rarely visited public markets, doing all of their purchasing through agents from their shops—butchers, confectioners and others (Williams 2006, 13–14).

The food distribution network had become international in scope and was governed by an industrialist capitalist economy. Corn, oats, and barley, once traditional staples of the Anglo-American diet, were being supplemented by a massive wheat enterprise in the Midwest. Bread, once a homemade or locally baked commodity, poured out of commercial ovens. Housewives turned to making muffins, cakes, biscuits, and other baked goodies found in cookbooks (Williams 2006, 15).

With the rise of industrialism, there were astonishing changes in how some Americans ate. Railroad shipping, industrial food processing, and new nutritional ideas began to stimulate the culinary landscape. Class had a significant impact. Northern slum dwellers, Southern sharecroppers, small farmers on the Great Plains, and recently freed slaves were less affected by the innovations. This was partly due to the

The so-called modern kitchen of the nineteenth century had its cast-iron cook stove, running water, and convenient pantry. The cook stove was a particular improvement over open hearths that often sent cinders into the room or caught long skirts on fire. Yet accidents persisted as housewives made adjustments in their kitchen protocols. House fires decreased as the number of cook stoves increased, but the number of reported superficial burns, especially among small children making contact with hot metal, became greater. Courtesy Library of Congress.

fact that people with more money could afford to buy more food and food of a better quality, but the difference was not purely financial. Food was one way in which social classes distinguished themselves from each other (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 152–53).

By the 1870s women were cooking on cast-iron ranges and using so-called modern utensils. Cooking techniques became more scientific. Recipes no longer called for butter the size of an egg or a teacup of sugar. New standardized tools for measuring ingredients ensured that the final product would be generally replicable without previous training or experience. By mid-century, cookbooks, domestic advice manuals, and household management literature became widely available, and they continued to be published throughout the period. These texts offered their readers a window into cooking cultures that far exceeded the traditional bounds of place and family. New issues of economy, nutrition, fashion, and taste entered the American kitchen, reshaping daily menus and family diets (Williams 2006, 53).

By the period of Reconstruction stoves had evolved from relatively small boxes with a two-hole cooking surface, to massive ranges with between four and eight potholes, multiple ovens and large attached tanks for heating water. The stoves reflected the period craving for ornamentation and had relief-molded side panels and nickel-plated doors. "The Housekeeper," a high-end range produced by Philadelphia stove-maker Charles Noble & Co., was intended to be first class in every respect. It had nickel-plated knobs and ornaments, front illumination, a nickel-plated shifting guard-rail, a shaking and dumping clinker-less grate, ash fire, and hot-air arrangements to heat any number of rooms and many other desirable characteristics. This grandiose range, for which its manufacturer won a medal at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876, had six burners and two ovens and was embellished with cast-iron panels depicting standing stags, rabbits and lion's heads. Renaissance ornaments crowned the top. More furniture than appliance, it would have been just as suitable in a bedroom or parlor as in a kitchen.

One important outcome of the shift from fireplace hearth cooking to stove cooking was that on a stove, a woman could more easily cook multiple items at once. As a result, family menus became more complex, involving more courses and more complicated recipes. Women had to acquire new skills. Opening and closing dampers and flues could moderate temperatures, but it required great practice and familiarity with the range to master the individuality of each range (Williams 2006, 57).

Common Foods

In general, Americans ate as much meat as they could and at every meal, if they could afford it. Beef was the meat of choice, and as Americans became wealthier, they ate more beef. Pork, however, was the most consumed meat because it was less expensive. The distinction took on social dimensions as middle- and upper-class cooks looked down upon pork as a lesser or cruder meat (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 153).

Pork, sheep, and beef raised in the West and Midwest were transported to stockyards where they were slaughtered, packaged, and transported around the country. P. D. Armour opened the first meat-packing plant in Chicago in 1868, and the first refrigerated railroad cars left Chicago with a load of fresh meat in 1877. Thomas DeVoe noted that the producer was often hundreds of miles in one direction, while the consumer might be as many hundred in another from the mart at which the products were sold and purchased (Williams 2006, 15).

By the Civil War most families were purchasing factory-made cheese. DeVoe's *The Market Assistant* (1867) noted that the best cheeses in New York State came from Herkimer and Jefferson Counties and that a Colonel Meacham of Oswego, with a dairy herd of 154 cows, was able to produce 300 wheels of cheese weighing 125 pounds each (Williams 2006, 22–23). While cheddar had been the overwhelming favorite from early times, the arrival of new, non-English immigrant groups brought new cheese-making skills and tastes. In Wisconsin, German artisan cheese makers made that state a center of cheese production by the post–Civil War era. John Jossi, a native of Switzerland, living in Lebanon, Wisconsin, created American Brick cheese in 1877.

The growing affluence of the period also brought a taste for imported cheeses. European cheeses began to appear in marketplaces as well as in restaurant menus. The Parker House, one of Boston's finest restaurants, listed five different cheeses on its 1874 menu including Roquefort, Neufchatel, Gruyere, and two traditional American cheeses, American and Sage (Williams 2006, 24).

Vegetables, at the beginning of the Victorian era, consisted mainly of cabbages, corn, root vegetables, onion, squash, and potatoes. They were all relatively easy to grow, easy to keep, and easy to cook. By the later nineteenth century, American tastes for vegetables were expanding. This was due, in part, to the improving economic situation and the resulting demand for more status foods. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 permitted the shipping of more exotic vegetables from California and the South to the East and Midwest. DeVoe reported that the market gardeners of New Jersey, Connecticut, Long Island, and other New York suburbs could no longer meet the demand for produce. Requisitions, he noted, were being made to the Southern states and Bermuda Islands to send their early supplies to Northern markets prior to the production of the native supply. Tomatoes, potatoes, peas, cabbage, and onions were brought in twice a week from Charleston, Norfolk, Savannah, and the Bermudas. Some of the items were brought in by hundreds of barrels at a time. DeVoe observed that many rare vegetables and other edibles were brought to Northern markets by the facilities afforded by railcars and steamboats, thus inducing, as it were, artificial seasons in those latitudes. DeVoe wrote his book to provide consumers with a sweeping view of what was available in the New York markets and included dozens of vegetables in his discussion. Luxury goods, such as asparagus, abounded in and out of season. He described the vegetable as one of the best and choicest luxuries of the vegetable kind and pronounced it as a wholesome, digestible, and light food. He wrote that potatoes were undoubtedly the most useful, wholesome, and nutritive of all roots in use at the time and speculated that scarcely a dinner was prepared without having them on the table. He also praised tomatoes for their health benefits and quoted Dr. Bennett who argued that the tomato was excellent for dyspepsia and indigestion and advised that it should be used daily either cooked, raw, or in the form of catsup (Williams 2006, 30–31). Vegetable varieties and vegetable preparation techniques continued to expand throughout the period. In 1872, chefs at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco invented Green Goddess salad dressing and Oysters Kirkpatrick and popularized a new vegetable—the artichoke.

From the beginning of the century cookery literature included recipes for piquant sauces, catsups, relishes, chutneys, and mustards, all of which added flavor and zest to foods. The use of these condiments was so popular that it became common for castor sets to adorn middle- and upper-class tables during the late-nineteenth century. Castor sets were metal, often silver plated, stands that held a number of glass bottles. Many were highly ornate. Sets contained as many as five or six bottles to hold such savory items as flavored vinegars, pepper sauces, Worcestershire sauce, red and black pepper, and mustard, or whatever condiments the family preferred. Marion Harland devoted an entire section to catsups and vinegars in her popular 1871 cookbook, *Common Sense in the Household: A Manual of Practical Housewifery*. She offered readers recipes for store sauces, to compete with the array of bottled sauces, largely imported from England, which were available in American markets. In 1869 Henry J. Heinz and L. Clarence Noble formed a company to manufacture Heinz's mother's pickled horseradish. They marketed it in clear glass bottles so that consumers could be assured of its purity. By 1876 the company was also producing ketchup, celery sauce, pickled cucumbers, sauerkraut, and vinegar. One of Harland's recipes, identified as "A Good Sauce," contained horseradish, allspice, nutmeg, pickled onions, whole black pepper, cayenne, salt, sugar, and vinegar. After it had rested for two weeks, she suggested that it was an excellent seasoning for any gravy, sauce, or stew. Harland also attempted to replicate the most famous of bought sauces, Worcestershire sauce. Her version had a walnut or tomato catsup base flavored with cayenne, shallots, anchovies, vinegar, and powdered clove (Williams 2006, 38).

As with vegetables, fruit options expanded during the Victorian era. In addition to apples, pears, peaches, cherries, raspberries, blueberries, cranberries, plums, and other fruits, improvements in communication and transportation brought pineapples, oranges, lemons, limes, bananas, and other tropical and warm weather fruits to markets in the North and Midwest.

Fruit formed the basis of many desserts in Victorian America, whether pastries, puddings, pies, or served alone. In 1871 Jane Cunningham Croly wrote that fruit alone made a very good dessert and when in season a plentiful and cheap one. Generally, though, the American sweet tooth preferred its fruit in combination with sugar, flour, and fat as suggested in cookery literature (Williams 2006, 40–41).

The title page of Eleanor Parkinson's *The Complete Confectioner* (1864) stated that the book would provide recipes for all sorts of preserves, sugar-boiling, comfit, lozenges, ornamental cakes, ices, liqueurs, water, gum-paste, ornaments, syrups, jellies, marmalades, compotes, fancy biscuits, cakes, rolls, muggings, tarts, and pies. All of these confections required some sort of sweetener, and by the nineteenth century, many choices were available. DeVoe listed sweeteners available in New York's urban markets as molasses, maple sugar, maple syrup, and honey. Molasses, a by-product of sugar production, became an alternative syrup for sweetening in the eighteenth century, but was typically used for cookies, puddings, cakes, and other cooked dishes, rather than as a table sweetener. Cane sugar became the primary sweetener for most people in the nineteenth century, as a result of improvements in sugar cultivation and processing, as well as transportation. As refining techniques improved, sugar became cheaper and whiter, which added to its status and appeal. Loaf sugar was preferred for its fineness and texture. By 1871, however, it was replaced by granulated sugar. Loaf sugar, sold in cone-shaped blocks, had to be cut into lumps or pounded into powder before use. Granulated sugar was loose and much more convenient to use (Williams 2006, 41–43).

A wide variety of sweets and desserts relied on the new abundance of sugar. Penny candies, sheathed in brightly colored wrappers, were widely available and affordable for most children by the 1860s. In 1871 German immigrant, F. W. Rueckheim opened a popcorn stand in Chicago. He expanded his merchandise to include marshmallows, caramel candy, peanuts, and molasses taffy. Rueckheim noticed that his best sellers were peanuts, popcorn, and molasses taffy. Thinking that his customers would enjoy them all the more if they were mixed, he combined them into one product. He named his new product after the exclamation of a friend who shouted "Cracker Jack!" upon tasting it.

Early nineteenth-century cookbooks included soup recipes, but only in a limited way. Working-class families consumed much soup, which for those of lesser means was an important way of stretching meat with grains, legumes, root vegetables, and liquid. Wealthier families ate soup as well, but on their tables it followed European recipes for consommés, broths, and potages. By mid-century cookbooks were featuring more soup recipes. Eliza Leslie's soup offerings reflected a considerable degree of gentrification and included Fine Beef Soup, Rich Veal Soup, *Soupe à la Julienne,* Vermicelli Soup, Rich White Soup, Mock Turtle/Calf's Head Soup, Asparagus Soup, Mullagatawny (as made in India), and two dozen others. The most prevalent ingredient in the soups was veal, followed by beef, fowl, ham, oysters, and clams. They were seasoned with almonds, cayenne, cloves, onions, bacon, nutmeg, celery, sweet marjoram, coriander seeds, mint, and mace. The growing taste in Victorian America for diverse soups coincided with the rise of mechanized food processing, specifically canning. James H. Huckins began producing canned soup in Boston around the time of the Civil War and advertising his canned tomato soup in 1876 (Williams 2006, 26–27).

While coffee was available long before the Civil War, the high cost kept it off the table of most American families. Many young men went off to war never having even tasted coffee. Army rations in the North, however, included coffee, and it soon became a favorite beverage, which soldiers were not inclined to abandon. Following the war there was a rush of coffee importing, coffee wars, and the development of coffee-roasting devices. The Oriental Tea Company of Boston, Massachusetts, introduced "Male Berry Java," which they touted as the very best coffee in the world. They claimed that it had powerful strength, richness of aroma, and healthy drinking properties. While critics and competitors pointed out that if the berry had any gender at all, it would not be male, consumers embraced the coffee and sales were brisk despite the fact that it was the company's most expensive coffee. Other coffee companies offered premiums. Osborn's Celebrated Prepared Java Coffee proudly advertised that they offered no prize packages, no orders for spoons or dolls, just coffee worth the price.

At this time coffee was distributed in small paper bags, and coffee quickly went stale and rancid. Arbuckle's developed a process of coating, or glazing the beans to lengthen their shelf life. With the same goal in mind, Dillworth Bros. developed a steam polisher. To discredit Dilworth Bros., Arbuckle's circulated a woodcut handbill showing a roasting facility with barrels of dubious materials and people claiming to realize why they had been sick. The newspaper advertising campaigns that followed were bitter and anxiously followed by the public.

The coffee business was plagued by many unscrupulous roasters, wholesalers, and retailers who sold adulterated products at lower prices. The *Philadelphia Grocer* warned readers that the adulteration of coffee was very common and that all sorts of wasted grains, nuts, and shells were used. Charcoal, red slate, bark, and date stones were also employed. Chicory root was the most common adulteration, and adulterers went so far as to grind the root into a powder, mold it into the proper shape, and color it to resemble the coffee berry. Coffee extract was a popular patent compound that contained little if any coffee. Adulteration also occurred at the retail end. Cheap boarding houses often mixed it with real coffee (Johnson 1961, 74–77).

To avert the commercial adulterations, many people preferred to roast their coffee themselves. Some people used simple roasting pans, but a variety of small machines were developed and patented to fill the need. These devices tumbled small amounts of beans inside metal cylinders or globes that were placed over coals.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Beverages

Americans consumed a variety of beverages depending on the meal, the occasion, religious and political convictions, climate, and social status. While cookbooks from earlier in the century provided recipes for the home production of current wine, ginger beer, hop beer, lemon brandy, spruce beer, and medicinal drinks, people were increasingly turning to the commercial production of such beverages following the Civil War. Small beers, or low-alcohol beers carbonated by the action of yeasts, had been traditional and nutritious drinks for children, women, and men for centuries. When colonists arrived in North America, they found new varieties of spruce and birch for their beers, and discovered Native Americans using such novel flavorings as the roots of sarsaparilla and sassafras as well.

Root beer was a tonic health drink. *Dr. Chase's Recipes* from 1869 touted it as an alternative to medicine and suggested that families make it every spring, and drink freely of it for several weeks, and thereby saving, perhaps, several dollars in doctors' bills. In 1876, Charles E. Hires began marketing packets of the herbal ingredients necessary to make "the Greatest Health-Giving Beverage in the World" at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia advertising it as "the National Temperance Drink." This kit for making root beer was supposed to contain 16 roots, herbs, barks, and berries, including sassafras, the dominant flavoring, and required home fermentation with yeast. In 1884 Hires decided consumers would be more interested in an easier-to-use product and began selling a liquid concentrate and soda fountain syrup, as well as bottled root beer.

Chocolate had been a less stimulating alternative to coffee and tea since the sixteenth century. Typically consumed at breakfast, chocolate was associated with indulgence and torpor. In the nineteenth century, technology transformed it into a commodity that was widely available for all, especially children, to enjoy. The traditional drink was made by dissolving solid chocolate, made from cocoa beans, in hot water or milk, often adding such other flavorings as sugar, vanilla, nutmeg, or even wine. The rising demand for chocolate, however, made it a target, like coffee, for adulteration by unscrupulous producers and manufacturers. Chocolate was adulterated by a variety of starch-grain items including powdered dried peas, rice or lentil flour, and a particular favorite, potato starch. In 1872, "A Boston Lady" included a section on cacao in *The Dessert Book.* Her discussion of chocolate focuses mainly on it as a drink. She cautioned her readers about adulterated chocolate noting that people who believed that chocolate thickens when prepared were mistaken because the coagulation was indicative of the presence of farina (Coe and Coe 2007, 244–45).

Cider was a staple drink in colonial American homes and continued to be popular through the nineteenth century, especially in rural areas. Families that had large orchards had the option of pressing their own fruit at home with a portable press or having it processed at a local cider mill. Some people simply purchased cider from the mill. In addition to being consumed plain, cider was the basis for a number of other drinks. It could be mulled, mixed with beaten eggs, sugar, and spices. Cider could also be made into cider vinegar, an important component in the pickling process. It could also be fermented and turned into a potent alcoholic beverage, but with the rise of the temperance movement, it lost much of its following. Temperance reformers originally exempted beer, wine, and cider but by the 1870s zealous reformers rampaged through the countryside destroying acres of apple orchards (Williams 2006, 44–45).

In place of hard cider many families turned to softer drinks. The temperance and health reform movements made water a politically charged beverage. Bottled spring waters and manufactured soda water became fashionable. Soda fountains became very popular as an outgrowth of the temperance movement. Gustavus Dows invented, patented, and operated the first marble soda fountain in 1863, and in 1870, he patented a more advanced and modern form of the soda fountain. Solon Robinson, a writer, agriculturalist, and founder of the Lake County Temperance Society published a small volume in 1860 entitled *How to Live, or Domestic Economy Illustrated* where he mentioned that the previous summer he had gotten into the habit of taking tea iced, and really thought it better than when hot (Williams 2006, 45). By 1871 the new beverage competed with iced milk and iced water on hot summer days at fashionable hotels in New York. Shrubs, made from fruit-flavored sweet vinegar mixed with water, were also popular drinks on a hot day.

As wine became more fashionable among the middle class, cookbooks increased the number of recipes for making wine at home. Jane Cunningham Croly included directions for making currant champagne and wine from grapes as well as from currants, blackberries, elder flowers, rhubarb, gooseberries, and ginger. She described a grape syrup, which she recommended as a nonalcoholic wine. In addition to wines, she provided recipes for other beverages, alcoholic and not, which would be useful for entertaining such as blackberry and cherry brandies; hop; ginger; quick and spruce beers; mead; shrub and claret punch; May Drink (a German favorite); Oxford Swig (a potent mix of beer, sherry, sugar, and lemon); Sack Posset; lemonade; milk punch; and Christmas eggnog (Williams 2006, 46).

Beer, once brewed by housewives, became a consumer product in the nineteenth century. With the influx of German immigrants came a new kind of commercial beer production. The earliest brewers brewed top-fermented English style ales and stout, but in the 1840s and 1850s with the arrival of bottom-fermenting beer yeast, they began to make Bavarian-style lagers and pilsners. These new brews utterly transformed beer consumption in America, and they became popular with working-class, native-born Americans as well as immigrants. By 1873, there were 4,132 breweries in the United States, producing nine million barrels of beer annually.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Canned Foods

Commercially produced canned goods gained popularity throughout the period. By 1819 the William Underwood Company in Boston, was providing canned oysters, lobsters, fish, meat, soup, fruits, and even some vegetables, both for export and domestic consumption. At the same time, another canning pioneer, the New York City firm of Ezra Daggert and Thomas Kensett, also began packing salmon, oysters, and lobsters and in 1825 received a patent for a tin can. Packing in tin (actually tinned iron) had advantages over packing in glass, especially for shipping, but it was more costly and less safe for consumption because the iron often imparted an unwanted metallic flavor to the food. Glass bottling and tin canning continued to grow over the next three decades. Handmade tin cans became obsolete with the introduction of machines that made them automatically.

Tomatoes were one of the earliest canned foods to be widely accepted by the public. A cannery in Philadelphia was processing 18,000 baskets of tomatoes in 1855 and a New Jersey processing plant processed 150 bushels of tomatoes a day in 1864. By 1870 tomato canneries had sprung up in many places including Mystic, Connecticut (Williams 2006, 40). Underwood's line of highly seasoned or deviled canned meat sandwich spread became very popular. In 1867, their Red Devil logo became the first registered food trademark in the United States.

Despite the invention of the can opener by Ezra Warner in 1858, canned foods remained a luxury for most people until after the Civil War. Warner's device looked like a bayonet and was used by grocery clerks to open the cans before they left the store. The canning industry received a tremendous boost from the war. From 1860 to 1870 there was a sixfold increase in the number of canned goods sold nationwide from 5 million cans to 30 million. William Lyman invented the modern can opener, with a cutting wheel that rolls around the rim, in 1870.

While canned goods were a boon to settlers in the West and on the Plains, the situation in the East was different. The poor were unable to afford canned goods and the middle and upper classes were initially suspicious of canned goods ability to resist spoiling. For many housewives there was also the issue of pride in using only fresh ingredients in cooking. Additionally, after refrigerated cars were introduced in 1870, fresh produce became more available. Despite initial resistance, canned food became popular with most middle-class households.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Dining Habits

Ordinary family meals by the 1870s were normally divided into two or possibly three courses. Jane Cunningham Croly provided a set of menus to her readers for an entire year. Most of her normal dinners began with meat or fish, accompanied by vegetables and possibly a relish, and dessert. For February, she proposed a dinner of baked pork and beans, with boiled codfish, mashed potatoes, pickles, applesauce, and apple fritters for dessert. A "Sunday Dinner" involved a slightly elevated array, as in a menu she proposed for April of roast chicken, stewed tomatoes, new or a "Bermuda" potatoes, spinach, canned corn, and for dessert, lemon meringue pie. A "Company Dinner" listed for January was even more elaborate, beginning with vermicelli soup. This was followed by boiled turkey with oyster stuffing, as well as roast chicken, boiled ham, cranberry jelly, celery, fried potatoes, canned corn, tomatoes, stewed parsnips, cauliflower, macaroni, plum pudding, nuts, oranges, and raisins (Williams 2006, 162).

HOUSING: TENEMENTS, APARTMENTS, AND FLATS

During the nineteenth century America's fastest growing cities were often growing up as well as outward. The six-story Adelphi Hotel, built in New York in 1827, was the city's first skyscraper, and the Boston Exchange Hotel, built in 1830, sported eight floors. Two- and three-story structures with dressed stone, brick, or cast-iron facades became common sights in the older urban districts often replacing buildings of wood. Shops and workplaces were often located on the lower floors and residential quarters could be found in the back or on the upper floors. Often called apartment houses, or flats, these dwellings initially accommodated three or more sets of tenants, living and cooking independently from one another usually on different floors or in a basement apartment. Each apartment usually had its own toilet and bathing facilities.

Northern cities were generally characterized by a well-defined business district and a manufacturing area within easy access of the railroad tracks or other transportation hub such as a waterfront or canal. This area was usually surrounded by lower-class residences, the style of which often became characteristic of whole parts of the city known loosely as neighborhoods. A style of row housing (the brownstone dwellings of Manhattan's east side, for an example) was developed in most major cities so that many people (related by race, language, or ethnicity) lived near each other and near their work. These neighborhoods were sometimes referred to by descriptive sobriquets such as Hell's Kitchen, the Back Bay, China Town, Germantown, or Little Italy among many others. Some of these names continue to be in use today. One of the worst and most crime ridden ethnic neighborhoods was Five Points in New York City named for the conjunction of streets at its center.

Ethnic neighborhoods were often characterized by buildings known as tenements, which were usually viewed in a negative connotation by the upper classes of urban society. Before they decayed into slums and ghettos of the 1870s and 1880s, these buildings had accentuated the appearance of uniformity and equality among their mid-century residents, at least as viewed from the street. However, they were quickly abandoned by the better-heeled segments of the population for free-standing homes in the nineteenth-century equivalent of the suburbs. In Manhattan the 1850s boundary of the suburbs was at the present south end of what would become Central Park (approximately 59th Street and Columbus Circle).

Unscrupulous landlords often subdivided the living space in urban dwellings into separate living areas with little regard for space, light, or ventilation. Tenement residents, like apartment dwellers, had separate family quarters, but they often shared toilets and baths. Rents were determined by the size of the living space or their location in the building with lower amounts demanded for those on upper floors or in the rear. Monthly rates in New York City averaged between $5 and $6 for a single room with a cooking area, and so many living units were created that a landlord could realize a monthly income of $600 from some buildings.

Jacob A. Riis, who immigrated to New York from Denmark in the 1870s, became a newspaper reporter working for the *South Brooklyn News* and later for the *New York Tribune*. Aware of what it was to live in poor and overcrowded conditions (he was one of 15 children), he documented the life of tenement dwellers in New York City in several articles and pamphlets, but his major work was a study of tenement life called *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). Riis noted, "There had been tenant-houses before, but they were not built for the purpose. Nothing would probably have shocked their original owners more than the idea of harboring a promiscuous crowd; for they were the decorous homes of the Old Knickerbockers, the proud aristocracy of Manhattan in the early days. . . . Neatness, order, cleanliness, were never dreamed of in connection with the tenant-house system, as it spread its localities from year to year; while redress, slovenliness, discontent, privation, and ignorance were left to work out their invariable results" (Riis 1890, 1).

The New York State Legislature commissioned a report on the city's tenements in 1857. The commissioners were alarmed. "In the beginning, the tenant-house became a real blessing to that class of industrious poor whose small earnings limited their expenses, and whose employment in workshops, stores, or about the warehouses and thoroughfares, render their near residence of much importance . . . [but] large rooms were partitioned into several smaller ones, without regard to light and ventilation, the rate of rent being lower in proportion to space or height from the street; and they soon became filled from cellar to garret with a class of tenantry living from hand to mouth, loose in morals, improvident in habits, degraded, and squalid as beggary itself" (Riis 1890, 1). In one of his articles, Riis described an "attic with sloping ceiling and a single window so far out on the roof that it seemed not to belong to the place at all. With scarcely room enough to turn around in [the residents] had been compelled to pay five dollars and a half a month in advance." There were four such rooms carved from a single small attic space (Riis 1890, 3).

The growing number of poor and uneducated persons in the cities soon turned the older tenements and apartment buildings from acceptable, if crowded, residences into ethnically segregated slums and ghettos. These were described as old buildings—crowded rear tenements in filthy yards, damp basements, leaking garrets, shops, outhouses, and stables converted into dwellings. This was largely an unfortunate consequence of social and ethnic prejudice combined with unchecked levels of immigration and population growth. In 1889 alone more than 350,000 persons entered New York City. More than 100,000 came from England, Scotland, and Ireland, 75,000 came from Germany, 31,000 from Poland and Russia, 29,000 from Italy, 16,000 from Hungary, and 5,400 from Bohemia (Volo and Volo 2007, 8–9).

CLOTHING

Women's Fashion

One of the biggest changes in women's fashion during the postwar period was the change in the silhouette. Hoopskirts had been decreasing in circumference since 1865. Skirts became more formfitting, with fullness below the knee and in the back and sporting tiny trains. The hoop was finally overtaken during the winter of 1869–1870 by the dress improver or bustle. Made either of horsehair with a series of ruffles in the back or of steel rods encased in fabric, the bustle moved the bulk of the skirt fabric to the back of the wearer, leaving the front of the skirt relatively flat. Bustles continued to grow throughout the 1870s reaching enormous proportions as equally absurd as some hoops from the previous decade. Waist and hips were closely fitted, and some of the smallest waists can be found during the first half of the decade.

Tunics or overdresses became ubiquitous. They were caught up at the sides and decorated with bows, rosettes, and other various trimmings. Dresses were very highly decorated. Bodices were cut high, and sashes to match the outfit were popular for evening as well as street wear. Sleeves came down to cover the hand. Dresses had long trains for dress occasions, but street attire ended just above the instep. Bonnets and hats were very small and flat. The popularity of croquet led to the creation of a new type of striped costume that showed high walking boots with a tassel in front.

Hair was braided and rolled at the nape of the neck. The front and side hair was made into finger puffs on the top of the head. Sometimes curls were formed into a soft cluster that hung over the braid. A favorite style was to let a single, long finger curl out from the braid hang out over the left shoulder. For dress occasions, artificial flowers were placed at intervals between finger curls.

—Dorothy D. Volo

Men's Fashion

The plain white shirt, the business uniform of the 1860s gave way in the 1870s to the colors and stripes, and neckwear became increasingly garish as the nineteenth century progressed. Top hats of silk, beaver, or other exotic materials remained popular with the professional classes, but new styles such as bowlers and derbies also met with increasing favor. Straw hats [so-called skimmers] were popular in summer. Facial hair, particularly moustaches and mutton-chop sideburns, were considered stylish, and in some quarters the clean-shaven face was considered effeminate. For the professional, a trip to the barbershop was a weekly ritual.

Laborers wore plain, rugged work clothes of canvas, denim and other coarse fabrics. Levi Strauss's copper-riveted denim trousers were the choice of miners and laborers. Originally offered only in brown, by 1870 they were dyed a deep indigo, the beginning of the uniquely American blue jean.

The urban footwear choice was the leather-soled high top shoe, fastened with either the traditional button or the newly introduced shoelace. Sports shoes with rubber soles and fabric tops were considered fashionable for lawn games, such as croquet or tennis. Laborers and farmers wore heavy-soled boots, sometimes studding the smooth soles with hobnails for better traction (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 67).

Children's Fashion

Children's clothing did not change appreciably from the Civil War period. However, in 1874, Britain's Prince Albert (Son of Victoria and Albert, and later Edward VII) had his own son photographed in sailor suits, and the publication of the images set off a clothing craze that affected two continents. Sailor suits were popular among upper-class parents for boys aged 7 to 14. There were many variations of this nautical theme—white blouses for summer and navy blue for winter. The open-necked shirts were equally comfortable in cotton or wool as the season demanded. On cold days a nautical reefer jacket could be worn on top. The sailor suit proved one of the most sensible of children's fashions and could be adapted for girls by replacing the trousers with a pleated or gathered skirt. The style was noted for its looseness and freedom of movement, and it was thought to be durable and protective, covering all the limbs.

This sampling of children's clothing styles from newborn to youngster shows how prevalent the use of ruffles and bows had become in the nineteenth century. The clothing was artistic in its conception but wildly impractical and expensive. Courtesy Library of Congress.

The Aesthetic Movement that swept Britain also affected the United States in this period. It led illustrators to provide images of generally frivolous and impractical dress on the children that they drew. There was a particular emphasis on large frilled caps and bonnets, flounced tippets and fichus, high waists, and mittens for girls. The children looked pretty and picturesque in print, but unlike the practical and functional sailor suit, the clothing was largely unsuited to the needs and comforts of most active children. Possibly as a result of nostalgia for the older country-style, smocked dresses in cotton and linen remained fashionable. These were loosely modeled on the smocks worn by agricultural workers and craftspersons.

Poor children wore simply cut clothing of cotton or linen much like what had been worn by their parents. Much of this was cast-off or was cut down from adult garments. Horatio Alger's poor boy character, Ragged Dick, was rather peculiar. "His pants were torn in several places, and had apparently belonged to a boy two sizes larger than himself. He wore a vest, all the buttons of which were gone except two, out of which peeped a shirt which looked as if it had been worn a month. To complete his costume he wore a coat too long for him, dating back, if one might judge from its general appearance, to remote antiquity" (Seelye 1985, 3).

—*James M. Volo*

TECHNOLOGY

The Hydraulic Turbine

Waterwheels were an ancient technology used to power mills and furnace bellows, lift water and drain land (as in Holland), and do other mechanical work. So-called over-shot, side-shot, and under-shot waterwheels were very common in colonial

America. A waterpower system turns the potential energy stored in water into kinetic energy of motion by redirecting its natural fall. Typically, water was channeled out of a river or pond at a certain height above its point of use by a power canal. This canal led to a point from which the water would fall to a lower level. During its fall, the water filled the buckets of a vertical waterwheel, and this weight moved the wheel around under the influence of gravity. Power was usually taken from a driveshaft attached to the wheel by a series of primitive gears.

In the nineteenth century, engineers designed a turbine that could replace the waterwheel. The turbine system, reconfigured and reengineered through many iterations over the years, was organized so that water entered the wheel at its center. The energy was directed outward by stationary vanes (stators) that turned a second set of moveable vanes (rotors) that were attached to a driveshaft. Power was taken off the shaft and transmitted through a series of shafts, countershafts, belts, and gears. The relatively compact turbine was intrinsically more efficient than the larger and more cumbersome waterwheel.

The turbine was developed largely as an outgrowth of intellectual curiosity in France in the 1820s and 1830s. The first successful turbine was invented by Benoit Fourneyron in France in 1827. It was an outward-flow (axial) device with curved vanes that was about 80 percent efficient. In the following year, Feu Jonval developed an axial-flow turbine that required a much smaller height of falling water (head) for operation. Samuel B. Howd of Geneva, New York advanced the technology in 1838 by inventing an inward-flow device that was somewhat smaller, and less expensive to build and maintain. The Howd design, improved by James B. Francis in 1849, ran at much higher speeds than earlier forms. "The [American] development [of the turbine] was almost totally pragmatic and empirical, largely ignorant of and indifferent to theoretical considerations" (Hunter 1979, 307). Turbines saw extensive use in the United States being introduced in the Mid-Atlantic states in the 1840s by Ellwood Morris and Emile Geyelin, and in New England by Francis, Uriah A. Boyden, and George Kilburn. The turbines designed by Boyden and installed at the mills at Lowell, Massachusetts, by Francis in 1858 generated between 35 and 650 horsepower.

—James M. Volo

The Philadelphia Water Works

The sounds of the waterworks could not be heard in any other locale in America during the 1820s: mechanical pumps moving frothing water into different ponds and through pipes. The futuristic scene attracted onlookers from around the world and clearly defined Philadelphia as one of the world's most advanced cities. But this was just the beginning. Upstream from the waterworks, the city had also set aside the land directly along some of the rivers that fed the city's water system. Converted into Fairmont Park, these open spaces offered some of the nation's first urban green spaces (Black 2006, 41).

Benjamin Henry Latrobe's plan to create the Philadelphia Water Works in 1798 was later extended into the Fairmont Park and Water Works. The initial works planned by Latrobe utilized two steam engines to lift water from the Schuylkill River, into two huge water tanks (three million gallons), and finally into the city through a series of wooden water mains under the influence of gravity. The ingenuity of the water pumps was matched only by the splendor of the classical architecture that surrounded them. This system, however, was plagued with problems, and if the engines failed, the water supply to the city was totally closed off. Consequently, the Committee of Health turned to John David and Frederick Graff to redesign the system and expand it to fill the needs of an increasing urban population. In 1822, a 1,600-foot-wide dam was built across the Schuylkill River to direct the flow of the river to three waterwheels that replaced the steam engines in lifting drinking water. Some time later Jonval turbines were installed to produce the lifting power.

The technology to supply and purify Philadelphia's water placed this city ahead of nearly every city in the nation. However, in prioritizing the symbolic value of this accomplishment—one of the first public works in American history—the technology was carefully wrapped in an aura of classical art. The wheels of the primary works, for instance, were contained in a building resembling a Greek temple. By veneering the cutting-edge technology, the works linked the classical styles with the modern age of technology. The works became a magnet for visitors including British author Charles Dickens, who praised it for its pleasant design and public usefulness.

The heavily designed buildings contrasted with the rustic, natural surroundings of the brown-gray fieldstones, trees, and river. Designers did not attempt to blend the works with their natural surroundings; the instruments were intended to stand as monuments of a new era. Even so, the open land around the waterworks still became part of Fairmont park, the nation's first planned recreational natural environment (Black 2006, 41–42, 55).

TRANSPORTATION: STREETCARS AND TROLLEYS

Mass transit played an important part in the development of cities and their extension into the nineteenth-century equivalent of suburbs. It should be noted that the suburban areas of many nineteenth-century cities are today found firmly rooted in what is considered the downtown area. As an example, the area north of Columbus Circle at the southern end of New York's Central Park was considered a suburb in the last quarter of the century, and Park Avenue East and Park Avenue West were lined with charming suburban homes rather than high-rise apartments overlooking the park.

Although railroad companies built steam rail connections from the suburbs into the city centers, including an elevated steam railway in New York City in 1876, the greater revolution in urban transportation in the nineteenth century came with the introduction of the mechanically powered (not horse-drawn) street cars. The cable car and the electric streetcar (or trolley) quickly displaced the horse-drawn cars that had served city dwellers for several decades. Streetcars remained in common service until displaced by the combustion engine bus in the 1950s in most cities, and today they would be roughly equivalent to light-rail service.

The first of these innovations, the cable car, was patented by Andrew Hallidie in 1871. Hallidie constructed a passenger cable car system in San Francisco in 1873 and forever changed the face of urban transportation. Hallidie's system included a moving cable buried beneath the ground, pulled though a continuous loop by a powerful stationary steam engine, and accessed through a slit in the roadbed. The cable car was outfitted with a device attached below street level that gripped the moving cable. The car traveled at the speed of the cable. By releasing the device (and applying a mechanical handbrake when necessary), the gripman controlled the overall movement and speed of the car. The cable car soon spread to other major U.S. cities, and for a few decades it was a predominant form of urban transportation.

The South adopted streetcars earlier than other areas of the country. Electric streetcars were built in New Orleans and Montgomery, Alabama, but the first commercially successful electric streetcars began service in Richmond, Virginia, in the 1880s. The basic idea for the electric streetcar had been around since the early 1800s. The first electric streetcar prototypes, unfortunately, ran on batteries—a power source then in its infancy that was much too bulky and inefficient to be practical.

Frank Sprague, a former assistant to Thomas Edison, contributed scores of electrical inventions to nineteenth-century America including electric locomotives, electric elevators, and other devices. He solved many of the problems associated with electric streetcars, including an improved direct current motor and a better way to mount it in the vehicle. Sprague's success led to a buy-out offer from Edison's General Electric Company, and by 1890 two hundred cities had built or were in the process of building electric streetcar systems with about 90 percent based on Sprague's patents.

Less than 20 years after the cable car appeared in San Francisco, the electric trolley threatened to displace it. Practicality dictated that electric streetcars receive their energy from a central generating source. The first of these streetcars were powered by two rails that were fed current of different polarities. The dangers of this system were evident as accidents regularly occurred when people or animals touched both rails simultaneously. The problem was rectified by the installation of overhead wires to which a troller (hence the word trolley) made contact from the top of the car. The rails served as a ground for the current, but the hot wires were safely suspended high in the air. Showers of yellow and white sparks cascaded from the troller as the cars passed. Similar systems are still used in bumper cars at amusement parks. It was relatively easy for a city with a horse-drawn system to string these overhead wires along the existing rail system and retire their animals to more remote routes. The number of electric trolleys went from 130 in 1888 to more than 8,000 in 1892, and by 1902 they registered 5.8 billion riders annually. Trolleys were also used to transport farm produce from outlying farms to the marketplace in the city center (Timmons 2005, 34–36).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Black, Brian. *Nature and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century American Life*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Coe, Sophie D., and Michael D. Coe. *The True History of Chocolate*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

Elkort, Martin. *The Secret Life of Food*. Los Angeles, CA: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 1991.

Grover, Kathlyn, ed. *Dining in America: 1850–1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.

Hooker, Richard J. *Food and Drink in America: A History*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1981.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780–1930*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Johnson, Laurence A. *Over the Counter and On the Shelf: Country Storekeeping in America 1620–1920*. Edited by Marcia Ray. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company Publishers, 1961.

Jones, Mary Ellen. *Daily Life on the Nineteenth-Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Levenstein, Harvey Q. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

McIntosh, Elaine N. *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective*. Westport, CT: Greenwood/Praeger Press, 1995.

Nelson, Paula M. *After the West Was Won: Homesteaders and Town-Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900–1917*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986.

Nye, David E. *Electrifying America: The Social Meanings of New Technology, 1880–1940*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990.

Riis, Jacob A. *How the Other Half Lives, Studies among the Tenements of New York*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890.

Seelye, John, ed. *Horatio Alger, Jr., Ragged Dick and Struggling Upward*. New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1985.

Smith, Merritt Roe, and Leo Marx, eds. *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Wheeler, Keith. *The Townsmen*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1975.

Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States, 1820s–1890*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Woodward, George E. *Victorian City and Country Houses: Plans and Designs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1996.

———. *Woodward's Architecture and Rural Art*. New York: Privately printed, 1868.

———. *Woodward's National Architect*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Wyman, Walker D. *Frontier Woman: The Life of a Woman Homesteader on the Dakota Frontier*. River Falls: University of Wisconsin–River Falls Press, 1972.

Zanger, Mark H. *The American History Cookbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Political Life

RECONSTRUCTION
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

CARPETBAGGERS AND SCALAWAGS

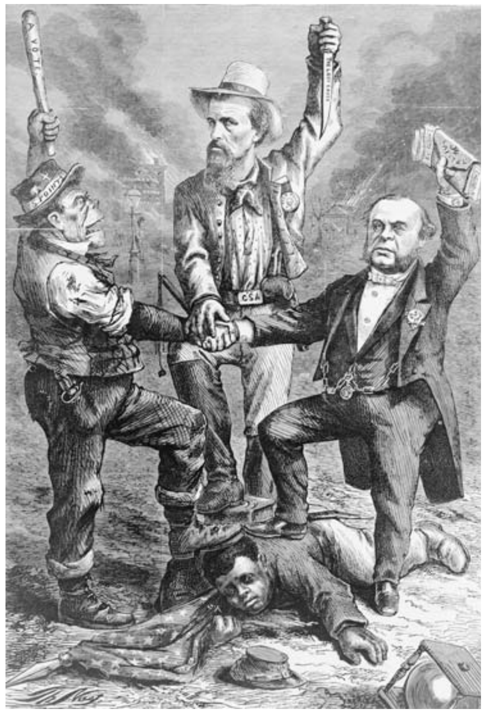
For many ex-Confederate states the postwar period of Reconstruction was relatively brief. It was long enough, however, to foster a lasting bitterness between traditional and progressive Southern whites, but not long enough to sustain the nascent black political power that was kindled at the end of the war. Black Southerners and freedmen saw Reconstruction as their opportunity to enter the American political mainstream. The presence of federal troops and the support of the Freedmen's Bureau was strong enough to give Southern blacks a taste of the rights and privileges they were supposed to enjoy under emancipation. They were particularly buoyed by the presence of armed U.S. Colored Infantry on the streets and at the polling places. Nonetheless, the black soldiers serving as occupation troops were not numerous enough—nor were the white soldiers well-enough disposed toward Negroes—to garrison every Southern street corner, patrol every country crossroad, or defend every black family from violation.

Reconstruction brought many new groups into the Southern political process. Besides newly emancipated slaves, there were blacks who had been free before the war but unable to vote or run for office. Some of these had owned businesses, buildings, and shops. Free blacks were sometimes slave owners themselves holding their workers and even their relatives in legal bondage. This helped to stabilize their workforce and provided a modicum of legal protection for their families. Black slave owners had their few limited rights recognized in law in most Southern states. These men were highly educated, cultured, and sophisticated in their outlook, and at the beginning of the war some of them were openly supportive of the Confederacy (Volo and Volo 1998, 66).

White politicians from the North known as carpetbaggers, and Southern unionists known as scalawags also came to power. Southern mythology holds that both groups were conniving opportunists, and this may be true for a minority of them. Yet many Northerners saw the unreconstructed South as a land of opportunity for both honest enterprise and long-overdue reform. Many came south as missionaries of Yankee ideology with a real sense of spreading the gospel of Yankeeisms including black education, women's rights, and universal temperance. Resentment of Northern meddling in Southern affairs had been one of the factors in bringing about disunion. Most Southerners were not going to allow it simply because they had lost an encounter on the battlefield, but now Northern meddling served as a convenient excuse of overt racism, intimidation, and violence (Thomas 1973, 198–99).

The scalawags that took part in the reconstruction of Southern government were often portrayed as apostates and traitors because they jumped on the postwar Republican Party bandwagon, supported the black franchise, and combated racist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan. Some were former petty politicians seeking an advantage in the vacuum left behind by the collapse of the great families. They sought to trade their support for reforms in taxation, governmental structure, and social order for political access under the new state governments that had been denied to them in former years by the plantation owners.

This plantation aristocracy had successfully dominated Southern society for many years by applying their wealth and political influence to the wheels of government, yet their numbers were so small that no more than 50,000 persons—men, women, and children—in a population of several million qualified as part of this class. The war had decimated a generation of aristocratic Southern youth and economic security, once the hallmark of the plantations, was no longer a certainty. Moreover, the historic political power of the planter class had largely been conveyed to a new moneyed aristocracy in the North vested in industry, commerce, banking, and railroads.



"This is a white man's government. We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."—Thomas Nast lampoons the Democratic platform and its unholy alliance of former confederates, Irish immigrants, and self-seeking Northern politicians. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Many poor whites in the South had only recently gained their own franchise from a generally unyielding plantation aristocracy that needed their support in the secession congresses and on the battlefield. In an effort to garner wider public support for their agendas, Southern patricians consciously moved the decision-making process from the gatherings of a few influential individuals into the open. Although the smoke-filled back room still played its role, the politicians recognized a need to develop a following in the electorate. Inevitably these tactics led to the benefits of an extended franchise and the removal of property qualifications for office holding. As the process expanded to include persons never before allowed to participate in politics, many were attracted to socially acceptable outlets for their newfound zeal. During Reconstruction the control of state politics gradually shifted away from its traditional base, and, in many cases, came to reside in unexpected hands.

Ironically, the poor white population also provided willing recruits for the violent racist organizations that wanted a return to Southern traditionalism through the mechanism of white superiority. Race-based slavery had promoted a type of equality among all white Southerners regardless of their social status. The lowliest white man could find comfort in the knowledge that he was the legal superior of even the wealthiest black freeman. Emancipation had changed all of this, and the amendments to the Constitution that guaranteed blacks full citizenship also made them the legal equals of all white men—a circumstance that many whites found abhorrent.

The sum total of all these elements in Southern Reconstruction—blacks, carpetbaggers, occupation forces, Freedmen's Bureau, scalawags, and poor whites—varied from state to state. Some states like South Carolina came to a semblance of bona fide republican governance. Others, like Virginia, reverted almost immediately to a form of Southern conservatism almost indistinguishable from the prewar form of governance; or they became so corrupt, like Louisiana, that they rivaled in infamy some of the most dishonest political machines to be found in the urban North.

—*James M. Volo*

GOVERNMENT

Presidential Reconstruction

On March 4, 1865, in his second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln reiterated a policy of reconstruction that he had personally favored since the twin federal victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July 1863. He reassured his listeners that his purpose on the occasion of his first inaugural had been to save the Union without war, but the Southern states had chosen to "make war rather than let the nation survive" while the remainder of the states would "accept war rather than let it perish." Now with the fall of Savannah in hand and the final campaigns in Tennessee and Virginia coming to a conclusion, Lincoln had consented to receive Southern representatives with talks of peace provided they renounce secession and accept the consequences of the war. In his address in 1865, he assumed an imminent end of the Civil War. "The progress of our arms... is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all." He said of the North and the South, "Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which its has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict [slavery] might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease." Of course, the President was alluding to the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1863) that he had signed two years earlier that had effectively ended slavery. He ascribed this to the "true and righteous" judgments of the Lord (Current and Garraty 1965, 11–12).

Finally, Lincoln reached out to the disaffected sections of the country by proposing an evenhanded and fair policy for the postwar future. "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations." On collateral issues outside the immediate end of open hostility on the battlefield, Lincoln showed a substantial generosity, assuring Southerners that executive policy would be lenient and remarking that he was open to consideration of compensation to slave owners for emancipating their bondsmen, a position he changed soon enough where even union slaveholders refused to recognize slavery was dead. In six weeks Lincoln would be dead, killed by a Southern assassin's bullet. With him would die any hope of the just and unprejudiced period of national reconstruction that he envisioned (Current and Garraty 1965, 12).

Andrew Johnson, who succeeded as president, was put on the Republican ticket in 1864 because he was the most anti-Confederate Democrat with Southern roots that the Republican Party could find to strengthen Lincoln's chances for reelection. Johnson had told a street crowd that given the chance he would hang Jeff Davis and all of his crew in Richmond. This peeled off some of the prowar Democratic support from Lincoln's opponent, George B. McClellan, who was running on a platform that included ending the war at the earliest possible moment by declaring it finished regardless of the situation on the battlefield. The political pundits of the day had misjudged the temper of the public, and Lincoln won the popular vote by 400,000. The fact that almost 70 percent of the soldiers in the federal army voted for him shows how badly the antiwar sentiment in the country had been gauged.

Undoubtedly the Radical Republicans in the Congress believed that Johnson could be pushed gradually into their view that a social and political revolution was needed in the South even though most of the Northern electorate was looking for nothing more than the restoration of the Union and Southerners' acknowledgment of their defeat. In this Johnson would fail them, and they were outraged when the newly constituted Southern state assemblies adopted new sets of black codes under his program of presidential reconstruction. Even if Johnson had been more authoritarian, the Radicals would still have found the restoration of the South to a form of their liking filled with difficulty. The real temper of the people of the North was not reflected in the angry speeches they gave in the halls of Congress calling for recriminations and punishment, but rather in the demobilization of the armies and a return to the normalcy of growing their crops or earning their wages.

—*James M. Volo*

Radical Reconstruction

Radical Republicans were led in the Senate by Charles Sumner, who argued that secession had destroyed the status of the Confederate states as political entities and left the Constitutional authority of the federal government to rule and protect the individuals in those states as if they were residents of territories. Alexander H. Stephens, the ineffective former vice president of the Confederacy, led the opposing view that the Southern states retained their prewar political sovereignty and status as members of the Union. Stephens and other former Confederates were elected to the Congress by their respective states in 1865 under Johnson's program, but they were refused admission by the Republicans who controlled that body. Thaddeus Stevens, congressman from Pennsylvania and leader of the Radical Republicans in the House of Representatives, had no sympathy for any ex-Confederate. What was the use, he asked, of having fought and won a war at great expense in lives and money, if Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and the other enemies of the Union could march right back into the halls of government and take over the legislative branch or even the White House?

Radicals like Sumner and Stevens, who had fought the battle of ideas in the Congress with the Southern representatives of Slave Power before the war, wanted Reconstruction to completely change what the South had previously been. Stevens planned to carve up the rebel provinces and fill them with new white settlers and black farm families. The lands of the rebel leaders and plantation owners would be divided into 40 acre farms and sold to their former slaves at $10 per acre. But such a proposal went nowhere, for most Republicans respected property rights. There was no confiscation of land or redistribution of land after the war ended (Butterfield 1947, 186).

Since the war was over and reunion was important to the health of the nation, the Congress of 1866 decided to take control of the course of Reconstruction. It claimed the right, without supporting precedents, to dictate how government and republicanism [small "r"] would operate in each readmitted southern state. In 1867 the Congress passed two Reconstruction Acts that virtually wiped out most of what Johnson had pursued. Johnson's veto of the first of these, which excluded the electoral votes of the former Confederate states, was overridden, and Stevens declared, "I was a Conservative in the last session of Congress, but I mean to be a Radical Henceforth" (Randall and Donald 1961, 592).

The Republican program focused on establishing the basic civil rights of the black freedmen. The 13th Amendment ended slavery as a legal institution. Then came the black schools, the relief centers, and the special courts for blacks in the South. Black male suffrage was established under army protection and any offensive rules found in state black codes were abolished. The 14th Amendment gave full citizenship to blacks, and the 15th Amendment barred the states from interfering with their right to vote on the basis of their race, color or previous condition of servitude. These later amendments forced the South to yield on the subject of black freedmen, but it also forced Northern states like Michigan, Ohio, Kansas, and others to accept what they also had rejected immediately after the war—black enfranchisement.

Thus just five years after the Emancipation Proclamation, there was the potential that the newly freed blacks might be politically dominant in the South, and that they could thereby hold the balance of electoral power in the nation. In the 1868 presidential election Ulysses Grant ran as a Republican against Horatio Seymour, Democratic governor of New York. Grant's victory in the Electoral College was overwhelming: 214 to 80; and in the popular vote Grant posted 3,015,071 votes to Seymour's 2,709,613 votes. This was a less comfortable margin of victory. More importantly, however, contemporary election watchers noted that Grant's total included approximately 700,000 black votes without which he would have lost the popular vote to Seymour. This was a lesson concerning the power of the black vote that the politicians were not quick to forget. Lacking their own political leaders and largely uneducated, black freedmen in the South for a time fell under the influence of Northern carpetbaggers and Southern scalawags. Southern legislatures were often corrupt, but they were no more so than those in many Northern states (Butterfield 1947, 194).

—James M. Volo

Impeachment of President Johnson

Enacted in 1867, the Tenure of Office Act required the approval of the Senate for the removal of officers originally appointed by the president with senatorial consent. The act thus affected President Johnson's ability to dismiss, for instance, members of his cabinet. When Johnson, disregarding the act, dismissed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton in 1867, his action became one of the reasons for his subsequent impeachment by the House of Representatives. The trial of the president was held in the Senate before Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase in 1868. Senator Sumner, a leading Radical, declared Johnson "an impersonation of the tyrannical Slave Power," and voted him guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors" as well as 10 other charges (Randall and Donald 1961, 614); however, the final Senate vote of 35 to 19 failed to reach the necessary two-thirds threshold for the president's removal. Although the impeachment was the high-water mark of Radical power, the acquittal of Johnson was made possible by the votes of seven Republican Senators, added to those of all the sitting Democrats. These defections prevented the president's removal from office. The constitutionality of the Tenure of Office act was never tested, but, in 1926, in regard to another statute, the U.S. Supreme court upheld the president's independent power of removal of executive branch personnel for any reason whatsoever without the consent of the Senate (Randall and Donald 1961, 614).

—*James M. Volo*

Redemption

The final stage in Reconstruction is sometimes called the Redemption. Conservative whites rejected Republican governments as illegitimate because they enfranchised blacks and recoganized their basic rights. The editor of the Tuscaloosa, Alabama *Independent Monitor* wrote of the "galling despotism that broods like a night-mare over these Southern States . . . a persistent prostitution of all government, all resources and all powers, to degrade the white man by the establishment of a negro supremacy" (Butterfield 1947, 190). James S. Pike, a Maine Republican, endorsed this view in his book *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government* (1873). No other book of the period did so much to disillusion Northerners about Radical Reconstruction or to prepare them to accept a return to white supremacy. Pike, no adherent of race-based prejudice, was, nonetheless, a segregationist who believed that blacks should either be deported to Africa or confined on a vast reservation cut out from the conquered territory of the Confederacy, preferably in the West near those already set aside for the Indian nations. He like many other whites feared that the nation would otherwise become Africanized.

A friend of Horace Greeley, and a political enemy of Ulysses S. Grant, Pike made an inspection tour of South Carolina in the 1870s keeping notes in a private journal that he quickly published as a multichapter book. Herein he wrote an unflattering description of the corrupt Republican-controlled government of the state that formed an image of ex-slave-and-carpetbagger governments on all levels that poisoned the minds of Northern moderates against them and animated Southern bigots.

Albion W. Tourgee, a Union war veteran from Ohio and a Radical Republican politician in North Carolina, termed the policy of Reconstruction "a magnificent failure." An acquaintance and supporter of future president James A. Garfield, Tourgee wrote, "Reconstruction was a failure so far as it attempted to unify the nation, to make one people in fact of what had been one only in name before the convulsion of civil war. It was a failure, too, so far as it attempted to fix and secure the position and rights of the colored race. They were fixed, it is true, on paper, and security of a certain sort taken to prevent the abrogation of that formal declaration. No guaranty whatever was provided against their practical subversion, which was accomplished with an ease and impunity that amazed those who instituted the movement. . . . The doctrine of 'State Rights' is altogether unimpaired and untouched by what has occurred except in one particular; to wit, the right of peaceable secession. The war settled that. The Nation asserted its rights to defend itself against disruption" (Current and Garraty 1965, 72).

Most Americans were unconcerned by the course of these events in the unreconstructed South. The old bitterness between North and South was largely forgotten amid the realities of everyday life and work, only to be trotted out at election time by fawning politicians waving the bloody shirt or rallying the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). Despite oratory about Negro Supremacy and Africanization, the South had remained under white leadership during all phases of Reconstruction even though black voters were a numerical majority. The problematic effect on Southerners was that the white leaders had been Republicans or transplanted Northerners. The few black politicians that had gained office during Reconstruction were intelligent and surprisingly conciliatory in their political views and activities. Ironically some of them had worked hand-in-hand with Democrats to restore white rule to the South (Butterfield 1947, 223).

The so-called Solid South, a political designation, was born in the compromise of 1877, and Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes was its godfather. After his inauguration Hayes declared Reconstruction a failure and immediately sent the federal troops in the Southern states back to their barracks. By April 24, 1878, only seven weeks into his administration, the last federal garrison in the South at New Orleans was recalled. With remarkable ease, the Southern states thereafter negated the 15th Amendment so far as black voting was concerned, and it became solidly Democratic for the next 75 years.

—James M. Volo

Third Parties

The Greenback Party was a political third party that was active between 1874 and 1884. The party was founded largely in response to the Panic of 1873. Also known as the Independent Party, the National Party, and the Greenback-Labor Party among the several state organizations, the Greenback Party opposed the shift from Civil War-era paper currency back to a specie-based monetary system. The party was most successful in the elections of 1878 when it helped to elect 21 independent members to the U.S. Congress. It ran James B. Weaver as a presidential candidate in 1880.

The name referred to the greenbacks on most paper bills. It was believed that the banks and corporations would amass gold and silver coins and bullion and thereby acquire the power to dictate the value of products, produce, and wages. Party supporters also thought that paper currency was more likely to remain in circulation, as it had during the Civil War, and help to free the money supply to aid farmers and small businessmen through higher prices and lower debts. In 1878, the soft money forces in Congress passed the Bland-Allison Act, which required the Treasury to redeem at least $2 million in paper each month through the use of silver bullion. Most Greenbackers joined the soft money forces in backing the compromise that kept most paper currency in circulation and at face value. Thereafter, they were known as Free Silverites. After a long fight in Congress and the courts, specie payments in gold were resumed in 1879. In 1880 the Greenback Party broadened its platform to support an income tax, an eight-hour work day, and women's suffrage. Its influence declined thereafter, and many party members switched their support to the Populist Party.

—*James M. Volo*

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

Law Enforcement: The Provost

In the face of the advancing Union armies, Confederate civil government crumbled, and the federal army became for a time, the sole source of law and order in occupied areas. Therefore the army had to improvise a system of law enforcement, and the method that most naturally developed was to extend the functions of the provost marshals (military police) from policing its own troops to policing the population of the occupied states. The provost marshals decided which Southern citizens should be taken into custody and which should remain free to follow their livelihoods and day-to-day tasks.

The provost marshals were given the task of policing the Southern population everywhere except in General William T. Sherman's department because he chose to continue the civil authority of the Southern governments. The provost elsewhere soon met challenges to their authority from a population accustomed only to their local officials. The provost developed a system of loyalty oaths as a means of testing the inclinations of Southern citizens and determining how much freedom and local control to allow them.

To make Presidential Reconstruction policies as coherent and as effective as possible, Andrew Johnson had pardoned most former Confederates upon their taking of a simple loyalty oath, allowing them to reestablish their civil governments under the watchful eye of the army of occupation. Johnson's program was so lenient that it encouraged Southern whites to return to political views and governmental protocols with respect to blacks that were hardly different from those they had held before the war. With Johnson's permission, the restored state governments reorganized their state militias with personnel drawn from the Confederate forces—many issued gray uniforms. The principal activities of these forces were to enforce the reissued Black Codes and to intimidate blacks at the polls.

—*James M. Volo*

Black Codes

Slave uprisings in the antebellum South had been perceived as a very real physical threat. There had been three important black insurrections in the South: the Gabriel Revolt in 1800, the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy in 1822, and the Nat Turner Revolt in 1831. Only the Turner Revolt had led to any deaths among white Americans, but these had numbered mostly women and children among the 60 or so killed. Coupled with the knowledge of major slave revolts and the mass murders elsewhere, such doings were taken seriously by slave owners.

During the decades before the Civil War, therefore, a number of restrictions on blacks—both slave and free—had been adopted, and most of the legal procedures and accepted protocols for controlling slaves were set down in the so-called slave codes. The prewar codes were fairly comprehensive. Unlike white employees, slaves in the pre-emancipation South were not free to change their condition should it become too burdensome. Slaves were defined principally as property rather than as people. They, their children, and their loved one could be bought, sold, or traded. Without the written permission of their owners they were restricted to their plantations. It was illegal to teach black children to read or write, although some adults were taught to do so as part of their work. Slaves could be physically chastised by their masters for many forms of disobedience, for insolence involving a white person, and for petty crimes. Within his own household and on his property the master ruled completely, in law. Incredibly, masters did not have unlimited legal power over their slaves if their slaves harmed other parties or brake the law. A slave accused of a felony—even murder—could not be purposely mutilated, maimed, or killed as a punishment without the intervention of a court. While slaves had no right to a trial by their peers, their masters could make a defense, call witnesses, and submit evidence. The jurisdiction of these courts varied from place to place, but they were almost always composed of white slave owners.

During the period of Reconstruction a new set of Black Codes were adopted in many states to regulate the newly freed black population. To summarize all the laws passed by the various Southern states is beyond the scope of this work, but a sampling of common principles reveals their basic thrust.

- Existing black marriages, regardless of their nature, were recognized, but future unions were required to be licensed and duly solemnized.
- Mixed race marriage was forbidden.
- Marriage by apprentices required permission.
- Abandonment of a spouse or minor child was made a misdemeanor.
- Parents were made responsible for all their children regardless of the circumstances of their birth.
- No black person could enter any employment other than agriculture or domestic service without a license from a judge.
- Compulsory apprenticeships for blacks entering the mechanical trades were instituted.
- Regulations for labor contracts and work schedules were specified.
- Servants could not leave the premises of their employers without permission.
- The eviction of hapless or elderly slaves from their plantation quarters was prohibited. Future occupancy was to be by lease.
- Unemployed or disorderly persons, peddlers, gamblers, those in disreputable occupations, unlicensed strolling players, and beggars were to be considered vagrants and made liable to fine, imprisonment, and/or hard labor.
- Blacks had access to the courts—the ability to plead, defend, sue, and testify in all cases—but they could not sue or testify against whites.

- Blacks could serve as witnesses, but could not sit on juries in most states.
- Segregation of blacks in schools and other public places was provided.
- Landowning by blacks was restricted to certain districts or types of real estate.
- Blacks were forbidden to carry arms (Randall and Donald 1961, 576–77).

South Carolina's acceptance of blacks in its legal system was remarkable in that it seemingly worked so well. The federal military government transferred the courts back to state's jurisdiction in October 1866. Thereafter, several whites were convicted of crimes based on black testimony, and several black defendants were acquitted based on the word of other black witnesses. However, after the occupation troops were withdrawn, Alabama added a restriction on the right of blacks to testify in court against whites, and Mississippi ultimately allowed so-called vagrants to be bound-out to work until they could pay their fines. Many Northerners viewed these restrictions as efforts to reestablish a form of slavery.

Moderate Republicans, unwilling to trust the Southern governments, joined with the Radicals to place the oversight of black rights under the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been created in March 1865 to feed and care for Southern refugees, black and white. The Bureau was now charged to protect the civil rights of blacks from discrimination in Southern communities and to counteract somewhat the effect of the most grievous of the black codes. The Bureau was most important in areas where blacks were being terrorized by local racist groups acting as Jayhawkers, Regulators, Black-Horse Cavalry, or other pseudonyms. It was said in some circles that the South hated the Freedmen's Bureau more than they detested the freedmen.

—*James M. Volo*

INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

Trouble in Mexico

The Mexican Civil War that brought Benito Juarez to prominence ran from 1857 to 1861. It was a war of reform launched by the liberal forces in Mexico dissatisfied with the reigning conservative government with its strong ties to the Catholic Church. The so-called War of Reform ended in 1861 with the installation of Juarez as president in Mexico City and the development of a new constitution that reflected the principles of the Great Charter of 1857. This document called for general elections, the expansion of the franchise, and the establishment of federated states under a republican system of central governance.

The Juarez government abrogated many of the contracts and nullified the debts owed to Spanish, British, and French business interests, and the three European countries sent troops to Mexico to intervene over the objections of the United States. The Spanish and British quickly withdrew their forces, however, when it became apparent that the French planned to conquer Mexico. Although the French army suffered an initial defeat at Puebla on May 5, 1862 (the origin of the Cinco de Mayo holiday still celebrated by Mexicans today), they eventually defeated the Mexican republican forces. The members of the Juarez government were forced to retreat to Vera Cruz taking the government treasury with them. French troops entered the capital at Mexico City in June 1863, and a conservative junta of 35 persons was established to govern the country under French oversight.

Meanwhile, Napoleon III of France offered the so-called Mexican throne to Duke Maximilian of Austria. It is difficult to believe that the French would have so brazenly challenged the precepts of the Monroe Doctrine had the United States not been involved in a civil war of its own. A rightful member of the Habsburg line, Maximilian was enthroned as Emperor of Mexico, and he and his wife Carlotta arrived in Mexico City in May 1864. Maximilian was no dictator, and he believed in a limited form of monarchy tempered by an elected legislature. He also took steps to abolish child labor, to limit working hours, and to reform the system of land tenancy. He was quickly left with no support whatsoever. The conservatives who had initially cheered his acceptance of the throne were put off by his liberal ideas, and the republican Juaristas considered Maximilian an enemy simply because he existed. This circumstance also cooled Napoleon III's ardor somewhat, and left Maximilian with few friends and numerous enemies.

The United States had supported Juarez and his republican forces, but Lincoln (who viewed French intervention in Mexico disturbing) found that he was too busy with his own Civil War to intervene on the part of the Juarez government. The U.S. Congress passed a unanimous resolution opposing the establishment of any monarchy in Mexico. American diplomats demanded that the French withdraw their forces and that Austria recall Duke Maximilian, but nothing happened. Immediately after the end of the American Civil War, however, President Andrew Johnson took steps to visibly threaten the French by supplying arms to the Juarez government. General Phillip Sheridan was ordered to place 50,000 federal troops on the American-Mexican border along the Rio Grande, and the U.S. Navy set up a blockade of the Mexican coastline to prevent French reinforcements.

Napoleon III withdrew his support of Maximilian in 1867, and the Mexican emperor was forced to capitulate. The capture and execution of Maximilian (June 19, 1867) ended the crisis. Juarez restored order to the country and was reelected president. He died in 1872, and left Sabastián Tejada as president. During this period, the United States was attempting to suppress the Apache, who used the diplomatic uncertainties along the Mexican-American border to their advantage.

—*James M. Volo*

The Alabama Claims

Many of the most effective vessels of the Confederate Navy were built and armed in Britain. These included the *CSS Alabama*, *Tallahassee*, *Shenandoah*, and a half dozen other raiders. Since the Confederate raider *Alabama* made the largest share of the Civil War era seizures of United States shipping, the resulting litigation between the United States and Great Britain over damages and punitive payments came to be know as the Alabama Claims. The United States, in an arbitrated settlement in 1872, received over $15 million in reparations from the British for that nation's complicity in building, supplying, manning, and otherwise aiding the raiders. The two governments also agreed to arbitration of the northwest boundary with Canada (decided in favor of the United States) and a partial settlement of a Grand Banks fishing dispute (completed in 1877).

In laying the foundation of its case against the British in the Alabama claims, Charles Francis Adams, representing the U.S. government, also demanded payments for the virtual destruction of the maritime commerce of the United States during the war years. This demand amounted to an assertion that the raiders and, by extension, Great Britain were entirely responsible for the decline of the U.S. merchant marine during the Civil War period. These *indirect damages* were ultimately disallowed by the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal that oversaw the settlement of the case.

The rationale of the government's argument for indirect damages, which serves as a foundation for the Flight from the Flag theory, was rooted in the concept that the existence and reported success of the Confederate raiders had undermined American preeminence in the foreign carrying trade to the extent that British carriers were unfairly able to displace the Americans. By driving war risk insurance premiums higher than was warranted by the accomplishments of the raiders, Adams argued U.S. commerce was forced to suffer. American shippers were forced to seek neutral carriers, often British ones. Moreover, he charged that Lloyd's of London, which set the underwriter's standards for vessels and held the position as the largest marine insurer of the world's fleet, had given British vessels favorable treatment. Northern shippers, already working on small profit margins, had been forced to *sell foreign* (legally sell to foreign owners) in the face of the financial ruin brought on as port charges mounted on their unused vessels.

The terminology of *selling foreign* and that of *flying a flag of convenience* are often confused. Vessels that were sold foreign were considered to actually have been sold so that their former owners no longer held a financial stake in their operations. Flying a flag of convenience was a different matter. It amounted to a paper transaction, wherein the former owners still retained financial and practical control of the vessels, but had legally transferred their ownership to another national registry.

In the face of close scrutiny, therefore, the Confederate commerce raiders fade as a cause for the severe distress documented to have taken hold of the U.S. merchant marine trades; and the importance of the raiders' depredations in the patchwork of causes for the decline of the foreign carrying trade seems to be based more on anecdotal evidence provided by former Confederates and the owners of economically distressed shipyards rather than on documented statistics. While the wartime figures evidence a decline, they do not seem to support a general abandonment of the U.S. flag or an extinction of its commerce.

Rather than a general abandonment of U.S. registry, the facts seem to indicate that only a minority of owners, generally of large sailing vessels, deserted the flag. Moreover, the reliance on the psychological apprehension of loss and on the fear of high war risk rates as compelling mechanisms for owners to change registry fails to answer one salient question convincingly. Since the owners of vessels captured or destroyed by the Confederates were paid for their vessels and cargoes by the insurance or by the foreign purchasers in the case of sale, why were these vessels not replaced after the Civil War as the hundreds of captured and destroyed merchant vessels had been after the colonial and Revolutionary wars of the eighteenth century? Furthermore, the insurance rates returned to their prewar levels with the end of hostilities, but foreign carrying continued to decline even in the absence of the raiders. This was the central weakness in the argument of the continuing effect of the raiders, especially because it fails to suggest a mechanism by which the immediate effects of the raiders could prove so enduring (Volo and Volo 2001, 288–91).

DISCRIMINATION: THE WHITE SUPREMACY MOVEMENT

While on an intellectual level Southerners claimed racial superiority for the white race, they nonetheless depended on blacks to tend their animals, repair their vehicles, cook their food, and care for their children. White Southerners, more than those of the North, had been intimately involved with blacks almost all of their lives. In the isolation of the great plantations, it was possible that most of a white person's dealings, in human terms, were either with family members or blacks.

Race-based prejudice promoted a type of equality among all white Southerners regardless of their social status. The lowliest white man could find comfort in the knowledge that he was the superior of even the wealthiest black freeman. Although it is uncertain with how much respect these whites viewed the black freedmen, it would be common for them to have to deal with free blacks as laborers, tradesmen, servants, and artisans. The working white population in much of the South exhibited far less abhorrence of blacks than did many in the upper and middle classes in the North.

The treatment of blacks in Northern states was often brutish, and they were often despised and treated with contempt. In the decades after emancipation, towns and cities were flooded by thousands of freed blacks, some of whom had fought in the federal army and navy with distinction; and any plan for a general bestowing of legal equality had to deal with the touchy problem of free blacks living in a white-dominated, racist society. This led many sympathetic whites to fear for the ultimate welfare and safety of a black population suddenly foisted on an unfriendly America.

In the South a number of white vigilante groups evolved. The Ku Klux Klan was the best known of the underground organizations and secret societies prominent during the Redemption founded to restore white supremacy. One of its founders was Nathan Bedford Forrest. Widely regarded as one of the most brilliant generals on either side in the war, Forrest was said to have had 29 horses shot out from under him in battle and to have killed more men in single combat than any other general officer in the Civil War. Nonetheless, Forrest's reputation was tainted by his association with the massacre of black federal soldiers at Fort Pillow after they had surrendered.

The Klan was not a reaction to Northern radicalism, but rather an attempt to reinstate white supremacy. It was founded at Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1865 almost two years before congressional Reconstruction began. It utilized whippings, murders, terror, and crude warnings such as newspaper cartoons, handbills, and burning crosses to intimidate not only blacks but also Northern carpetbaggers and Southern scalawags. Of the former one Klan posting noted, "The genus carpet-bagger is a man [with the] habit of sneaking and dodging about in unknown places—habiting with negroes in dark dens and back streets—a look like a hound and the smell of a polecat." Of scalawags they wrote, "Our scalawag is the local leper of the community. Unlike the carpet-bagger, he is native, which is so much worse. Once he was respected in his circle; his head was level, and he would look his neighbor in the face. Now he is possessed of the itch for office and the salt rheum of Radicalism, he is a mangy dog, slinking through the alleys, haunting the Governor's office, defiling with tobacco juice the steps of the Capitol, stretching his lazy carcass in the sun on the Square, or the benches of the Mayor's Court... He hath bartered respectability; hath abandoned business, and ceased to labor with his hands... while discussing the question of office" (Butterfield 1947, 190).

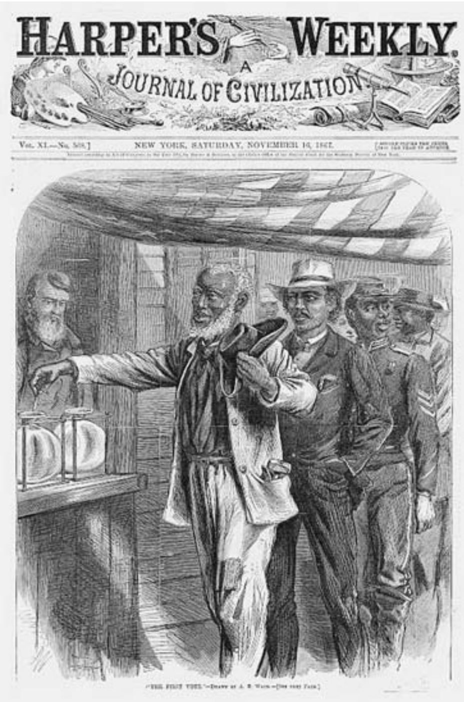
The Klan was not alone in its brutality and terror-mongering, but it is possibly best known for its hoods, masks, and robes. Such regalia were common to the white supremacy movement, and as the concept expanded these organizations came out of the dark to parade openly in city streets and to endorse candidates for office. Other underground organizations of this ilk were the Knights of the White Camelia, the Black Horse Cavalry, the White League, and the Order of the White Rose.

—James M. Volo

REFORM: THE POSTWAR FRANCHISE

The question of loyalty among the ex-Confederates emerged during 1864, and the Wade-Davis Bill required all voters in the former Confederate states to take an Ironclad Oath, swearing that they had never supported the Confederacy or had served in its armed forces. Lincoln pocket-vetoed the bill, preferring not to be bound by so restrictive a measure. Radical Republicans initially lost support for the bill following Lincoln's pocket veto, but they regained strength following his assassination in April 1865. Thaddeus Stevens proposed that all ex-Confederates lose the franchise, but he had to settle for an undefined compromise with the Republican moderates that included only military leaders and government officials. The number of Southerners effected by the temporary loss of voting privileges has been estimated at only 10,000 to 15,000 (Foner 2002, 273–76).

By mid-century adult white males could vote in every state in the Union, and election turnouts often rose above 70 percent of the eligible voters. Ordinary Southern citizens had quickly recognized that their support was needed for secession and they sought to trade their support for reforms in taxation, governmental structure, and social and political access under the new Confederate government, which had been denied to them in former years. However, it was the political, social, and religious elite who most effectively interjected their concerns into the Confederacy, and they were successful in exporting their ideals beyond the battlefield soldier to



The front page of *Harper's Weekly* from November 16, 1867 showing the first votes cast by blacks. The first three men in line are, respectively, a workman with tools in his pocket, a well-dressed man with a wallet in his pocket, and a black noncommissioned officer (NCO) with a medal on his chest. Courtesy Library of Congress.

the mass of the Southern people. They expected to return to their legal status after the war was lost.

The second and possibly more volatile issue to face the nation was the extension of the franchise to blacks. Whites were often recent comers to voting rights, and they regarded them highly. The initial program of Reconstruction had failed to equally integrate the freedmen into the fabric of voting America. Many Northern states had openly rejected the idea of enfranchising blacks, but the Radical Republicans in Congress wanted to make the issue a national one largely because they distrusted the loyalty of the South. If black freedmen became part of the electorate, it was hoped they would form a solid pro-Union bloc in the Southern states.

Political conservatives in the North and many white Southerners opposed black voting, but a few like Wade Hampton, former slave owner and general of Confederate cavalry, actually saw an opportunity to court the black vote and thereby gained political power. Hampton was voted governor of South Carolina twice due in part to the support of black voters. Lincoln and Johnson allowed that some blacks be granted the vote. Lincoln believed that those blacks who had served in the federal army had earned the franchise, and Johnson thought that the better class of Negro who worked and sustained themselves might be more reliable than many whites who had proved their disloyalty by taking arms against their country. As president, Johnson expanded on his belief. He wrote to William L. Sharkey, governor of Mississippi in August 1865, "If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution in English and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, and pay taxes thereon, you would completely disarm the adversary, and set an example the other states will follow" (Franklin 1961, 42). But Johnson opposed any federal effort to encourage enfranchisement and explicitly opposed the 14th Amendment.

—*James M. Volo*

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bullock, James D. *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*. 2 vols. New York: Putnam's, 1884.

Butterfield, Roger. *The American Past: A History of the United States from Concord to Hiroshima, 1775–1946*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947.

Cadenhead, I. E., Jr. *Benito Juarez*. New York: Wayne Publication, Inc. 1993.

Cimbala, Paul A. *The Freedmen's Bureau: Reconstructing the American South after the Civil War*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing, 2005.

Current, Richard N., and John A. Garraty, eds. *Words that Made American History since the Civil War*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965.

Dalzell, G. W. *The Flight from the Flag: The Continuing Effect of the Civil War upon the American Carrying Trade*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

Donald, David H., Jean H. Baker, and Michael F. Holt. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.
Du Bois, William E. B. *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1956.
Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002.
Franklin, John Hope. *Reconstruction after the Civil War*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
Harding, Bertita Lonarz de. *Phantom Crown*. Mexico City: Ediciones Tolteca, S. A., 1967.
O'Connor, Richard. *The Cactus Throne*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971.
Randall, J. G., and David Donald. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1961.
Stampp, Kenneth. *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877*. New York: Knopf, 1965.
Stark, Francis R. *The Abolition of Privateering and the Declaration of Paris*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1897.
Thomas, Emory M. *The American War and Peace, 1860–1877*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.
Trelease, Allen. *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan, Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*. New York: Harper, 1971.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
———. *Daily Life in the Age of Sail*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.
Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.

Recreational Life

SPORTS

Rowing

Rowing is one of the oldest and most physically demanding sports. When done correctly, it utilizes every major muscle group in the body. Competitive rowing as it is known today began in 1829 with the first Oxford-Cambridge race. The Royal Henley Regatta was started a decade later in Britain. The first American rowing club was established in New York Harbor in 1834, and a Yale student began a intramural rowing club in New Haven in 1843 with the purchase of a secondhand boat from New York. The Detroit Boat Club (founded in 1839) is the oldest in continuous existence in the United States.

The first American rowing competition between academic communities was held in 1852 between Yale and Harvard on the Thames River in Connecticut. This was also the first organized collegiate sporting competition. A sanctioning body called the Schuylkill Navy (named for the nearby river) was organized by a group of Philadelphia boat clubs in 1858, and it remains the oldest sports organization in America. In

1875, 13 eastern colleges (Cornell, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Dartmouth, Wesleyan, Amherst, Brown, Williams, Bowdoin, Hamilton, Union, and Princeton) formed an association dedicated to the governance of intercollegiate rowing. In that year, they ran an event at Saratoga Lake, New York that drew more than 25,000 spectators. This organization was the basis for the present-day Intercollegiate Rowing Association that was formed in 1895. International competitions were placed under the Federation Internationale des Societies d' Aviron (FISA) in 1893, and competitive rowing became an Olympic sport in 1896.

The Civil War briefly slowed the development of rowing as a sport, but in the postwar period it grew in popularity. Rowing regattas in the United States increased from a mere dozen annually before the war to over 150 in 1872. By 1873, there were almost 300 recognized rowing clubs in the United States. New York had 74 rowing clubs, Georgia 12, Michigan 14, Iowa 5, and California 14. Philadelphia had dozens of rowing clubs along the Delaware River, and Pittsburgh sported more than 20 boathouses on the Ohio. Depending on the local economic and geographical conditions, many rowing contests took on the characteristics of mass spectator events with partisans, food, drink, entertainment, and, of course, gambling.

Competitive rowing falls into two categories: Crew (or Sweep-oar) and Sculling (or Scull racing). In crew—the more common form—two or more rowers (called strokes) pull on one oar each as a team; and they are kept in time by a coxswain, who also guides the direction of the boats and decides the strategy of the race. In scull the rower, or rowers, each pull on a pair of oars. In both cases the rowers face the rear of the vessel. In the nineteenth-century crew members numbered 8, 10, or 12 persons. In the twentieth century, 2, 4, or 8 are more common. Sculling was usually done by a single person, a pair, or at most four rowers. Both types use specialized boats with paper thin wooden hulls and sliding seats that allow the rowers to utilize the power of their legs. The long oars attached to a fulcrum(s) (pivot) outboard of the side of the boat were specially designed with curved blades for the purposes of competition.

The first appearance of women rowers has been reasonably dated as taking place in 1877 at Wesleyan College. Soon thereafter, they began appearing in club and intramural races around the country. The activity was considered healthful and recreational for women, but serious competition was considered unladylike. American women did not found a sanctioning organization of their own (National Women's Rowing Association) until 1962. Today American women rowers are among the best in the world.

Professional rowing contests were enormously popular in the second half of the nineteenth century, and prize money varied from tens to several thousands of dollars. One of the most famous professional rowers was Ned Hanlan, a Canadian, who put on exhibitions and took part in match races in Britain, Canada, Australia, and the United States. Amateur rowers and collegiate athletes looked with distain on the professionals and formed the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen in 1872. This organization was the first to define the difference between amateur and professional athletes. Professional rowing waned during the first decade of the twentieth century because many of the events, competitors, and sponsors seemingly lacked a high degree of integrity allowing or participating in rigged races, dirty tricks, and other forms of fakery.

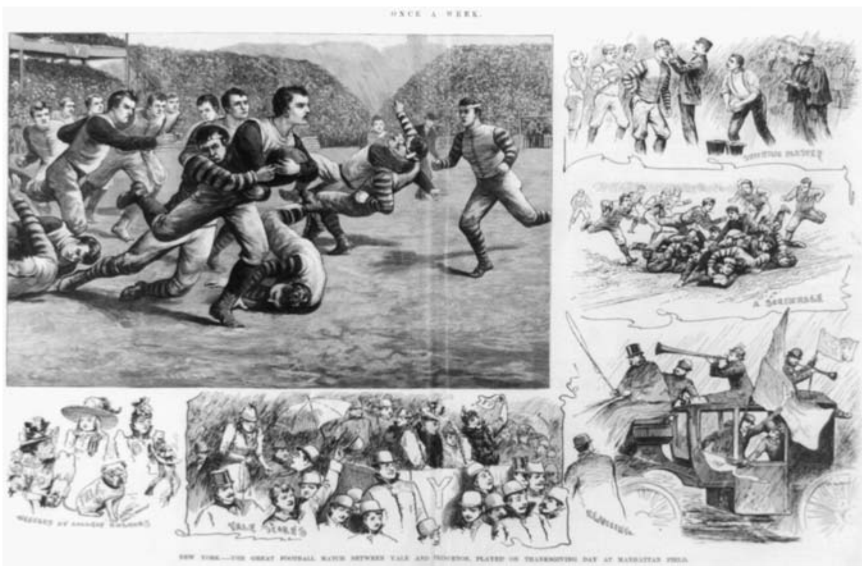
—*James* M. *Volo*

Football

Sports historians generally regard the contest between Rutgers and Princeton on November 6, 1869, as the birth of American football. The game had 20 players on a side and resembled English rugby more than modern football. The sport quickly won popularity due to its activity and seemingly uninhibited brutality. In 1873, representatives from Columbia, Rutgers, Princeton, and Yale met in New York City to form the Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA), which set the number of players at 15 per team, set the size of the playing field, and determined some of the playing rules. In 1876 at the so-called Massasoit Convention, many of these rules were written down and formalized. Nonetheless, the game played in the 1870s bore little resemblance to the modern version.

It was Walter Camp, coach and athletic director at Yale from 1888 to 1914, who gave the game many of its present-day characteristics. Camp had been a player when he attended Yale as a student. Under pressure from Camp, the IFA soon cut the number of players to 11 per team; established the concept of possession of the ball; instituted a system of downs and a line of scrimmage; created the positions of quarterback and center; established the forward pass as a legitimate play (sanctioning a different shape for the football so that it could be thrown); standardized a system of numerical scoring for field goals, touchdowns, and safeties; allowed tackling above the knee; and established penalties for violations of the rules during the game.

The game remained brutal by nineteenth-century standards with close to 200 serious injuries and 18 deaths being reported by the end of the century mostly due to the mass plays and linking of arms that had become common practice over the intervening decades. A large number of colleges had banned the sport by the beginning of the twentieth century. The U.S. Army outlawed the game on its posts because the men were spending more time on the game than on military maneuvers. In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt called upon the colleges to reform the game. Sixty schools led by representatives from Yale, Harvard, and Princeton formed the National Collegiate Athletic Committee (NCAA), which shortened the length of the game from 75 to 60 minutes;



Earlier football games were rough and tumble affairs lacking protective equipment. Courtesy Library of Congress.

established quarters and half time; made touchdowns worth six points, field goals three points, and safeties two points; and generally banned the most brutal plays and dangerous tactics like piling on, gang tackling, and pass interference. The first night football game was made possible by the installation of 20 electric lights of 2,000 candlepower in 1892.

—*James M. Volo*

Sharpshooting

Concerns over poor marksmanship abilities exhibited by recruits during the Civil War caused veteran Union officers Colonel William C. Church and General George Wingate to form the National Rifle Association (NRA) in 1871 for the purpose of promoting and encouraging shooting on a scientific basis. This was the first civilian organization of its kind in the world. Church and Wingate emphasized the study of ballistics, gunpowder chemistry, and marksmanship. In 1872, with financial aid from New York State, the NRA purchased a farm on Long Island to build a rifle range. Creed Farm (Creedmore) was the site of the first National Rifle Matches until the crowds forced the NRA to move them to Sea Girt, New Jersey. In 1907 the extremely popular matches were moved to Camp Perry, Ohio, a much larger location capable of supporting the crowds. They are still held there.

In the interim, the NRA began to establish rifle clubs at all the major colleges, universities, and military academies. These programs emphasized gun safety and firearms education, and resulted in academic, amateur shooting, and hunting programs with an unprecedented safety record. Five shooting categories were included in the 1896 Olympic games, and many of the American competitors learned their skill through NRA sponsored programs. In 1903, the U.S. Congress created the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice (NBPRP) with a nearly identical charter to that of the NRA. The NBPRP is now known as the Civilian Marksmanship Program. The NRA formed affiliate programs with the 4-H Clubs, the Boy Scouts, the American Legion, the Jaycees, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), and the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC).

During the years after the Civil War, firearms had undergone a number of significant changes that speeded up the loading and firing sequence. This made competitive shooting—both amateur and professional—more exciting for both the participants and any spectators.

Outstanding among the many sharpshooters that put on exhibitions of their skills was Annie Oakley. She was, hands down, the finest woman sharpshooting entertainer of all time, and was the most famous woman to appear in American Wild West shows. Only her bigger-than-life employer, Buffalo Bill Cody, was more famous.

Ironically, Oakley was not a Westerner, having been born in Ohio in 1860. Her real name was Phoebe Ann Moses. The 5-foot-tall, 110-pound Annie was hired in 1885 to give Wild Bill's flagging show a shot in the arm. Annie had come to the attention of the shooting world when she took on Frank Butler of the Butler and Baughman shooting act in a marksmanship challenge in 1881. She beat Butler

23 to 21. Frank was so impressed that he invited her to see his act in Cincinnati. The two fell in love and were married in 1882. Annie joined the act as Frank's partner almost immediately thereafter. She was an instant success, and played with Frank at small theaters, skating rinks, and circuses. While working at one of these, the couple met Cody, who hired them as a warm-up act for his Wild West Show. Annie's act was spectacular. She was an ambidextrous shot who fired rapidly and with unerring accuracy at plates, clay birds, coins, and stones. On the rare occasions when she missed (which she sometimes did on purpose for effect), she immediately fired again. She had the quickness and agility of an athlete. She used shotguns, rifles, and pistols with equal facility. She was invited to perform at Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887 and in Paris in 1889. She shot a cigarette from the mouth of a willing Kaiser Wilhelm II during a 1890–1891 tour of Germany, and joked during World War I that she should have hit him when she had the chance.

During her career Annie performed frequently at public shooting matches and exhibitions arranged by her husband and manager, Frank. In one match for $50 she broke all 50 clay birds, and in another took down 50 live birds, defeating Miles Johnson, the champion marksman of New Jersey. In 1888 she appeared in a stage play melodrama, *Deadwood Dick,* but even her presence could not keep the show open. In 1894, Oakley, a few Indians, and Bill Cody were photographed by Thomas Edison's new moving-picture machine at Orange Mountain, New Jersey, making her the first cowgirl in the movies.

In 1897, the Wild West Show played in Canada for the first time since Chief Sitting Bull had appeared as a headliner in 1885. Sitting Bull was now dead, killed while in U.S. custody, and the Old Wild West seemed to be fading. By 1899, Annie—now 39 years old and wearing a wig to cover her graying hair—considered retirement. The railroad travel had been endless, and living from a suitcase had many disadvantages. After her retirement from the Wild West Show, Oakley tried her hand again at stage acting appearing in *The Western Girl,* which opened in New Jersey in 1902. She also taught shooting at exclusive marksmen's clubs. Meanwhile her husband worked for the Union Metallic Cartridge Company promoting its product line to a growing number of trapshooters and hunters. Oddly, Annie never became a spokesperson for any of the firearms manufacturers that courted her. "Guns, rifles and pistols are of many styles," she once said, "and to declare that any one make is superior to all others would show a very narrow mind and limited knowledge of firearms" (Sorg 2001).

Annie Oakley's continued fame allowed her to promote a number of egalitarian views concerning women. She believed that women needed to learn to be proficient with firearms to defend themselves and that they were perfectly capable of fighting for their country. During America's brief involvement in World War I (1917–1918), she offered to sponsor and train a regiment of female sharpshooters for the American Expeditionary Force served under General "Black Jack" Pershing. Oakley and her husband died from the aftereffects of an automobile crash in Ohio in 1926.

—*James M. Volo*

MUSIC

Band Music

Following the Civil War, many military bands returned home and reorganized into civic bands. At a time when full symphonic orchestras were still rare in America, concert bands filled a pressing need and attracted a large following. Bands of all sizes and skill levels played at parades, picnics, dances, political rallies, beer gardens, and concerts on village greens. They could be found in big cities, small towns, and even mining camps. The proliferation of these bands prompted John Sullivan Dwight, America's first influential music critic and editor of *Dwight's Journal of Music*, to wonder where so many musicians came from during war times.

Patrick Gilmore created the pattern for a successful bandleader with his 22nd Regimental Band in New York, which actually had few connections to the military. Departing from the mid-century custom of relying entirely on brass, Gilmore reintroduced woodwinds until his band consisted of one-third clarinets, one-third various woodwinds, and one-third brass. Gilmore's band survived through concerts and substantial tours. In the summer and winter the band played concerts in New York venues and toured in the spring and fall.

Gilmore was known for his grandiose musical productions. Having organized a grand musical extravaganza for the inauguration of a new governor in New Orleans in 1864, the famous bandmaster was asked to use his penchant for showmanship to undertake two of the most gigantic popular festivals known in musical history. The National Peace Jubilee in 1869 and the International Peace Jubilee in 1872, both of which were held in Boston, featured the finest singers and instrumentalists of the day. The National Peace Jubilee lasted five days during which time were assembled an orchestra of 500, a band of 1,000, a chorus of 10,000 and a host of famous soloists. Performers included church musicians, whole choirs, public school teachers, orchestra players, bandsmen, children, and even the Boston Fire Department. The subsequent International Peace Jubilee gathered 2,000 instrumentalists and a chorus of 20,000. The 18-day event featured some of the best military bands of *Europe* and some of the most famous composers, vocal and instrumental artists of the day, including waltz king, Johann Strauss, and his Vienna Orchestra in their only American appearance. A coliseum seating 100,000 people was erected for the occasion. These extravaganzas cemented Gilmore's reputation as the leading musical figure of the age.

The National Peace Jubilee was an artistic and financial success and the high water mark of the band in American music. The response to these concerts by agents of high culture illustrated how music would diverge with the orchestra and the band going their separate ways. Dwight attacked Gilmore's efforts as the best that could be done by a man of "common education" and someone who catered to "popular street taste." Dwight demonstrated a determination by the cultural elite to impose a hierarchy on American musical tastes, separating the art from entertainment. The combination of the entire musical resources of a region for such a massive concert occurred periodically into the Gilded Age, but the high culture champions of music as art would increasingly come to the conclusion that the masses of Americans could not adequately appreciate their art (Schrock 2004, 198).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

The Thomas Orchestra

Theodore Thomas was a German-born American conductor who was dedicated to securing the symphony orchestra's place in America. While most performers catered to the audience's tastes, Thomas endeavored to elevate it. In 1874 he wrote that his lifelong aim was to make good music popular. Thomas was a strict taskmaster who strove for precise, polished performances and demanded a lot from his players. He helped to create the professional symphonic orchestra in the United States and the new profession of full-time symphony orchestra musician.

In addition to performing the classics in concert halls, theaters, and auditoriums, the Thomas Orchestra made a specialty of giving outdoor concerts. Their summer series of concerts in Central Park Garden was enormously popular, totaling 1,227 programs during the 1868–1875 seasons. In addition to flashy showmanship, audiences enjoyed performances that featured music with clearly defined melody and well-marked rhythm, much like those played by the bands with which most people were familiar. Selections included overtures, dances, and lighter pieces designed to prepare novice listeners for a higher grade of music. The comfortable and relaxed setting with snacking, drinking, and socializing further served to soften the barriers between audiences and the performers. Thomas was keenly aware of his audiences and their tastes, but his belief in the superiority of certain classical works never wavered. He hoped that the music would inspire their souls with noble emotions and free them from worldly cares. Relying on concert receipts for support, in 1869 the Thomas Orchestra made the first of many tours on what has been called the Thomas Highway. Major stops included Montreal, Canada, New Orleans, San Francisco, and locations in Maine and Georgia.

Over time, Thomas played a pivotal role in establishing the ritual elements in a symphony orchestra concert, including a rapt but quiet audience, formal dress code, and musical performances true to the composer's work. These elements created an aura of prestige around classical music played by symphonic orchestras, and it was not long before the wealthy began to patronize the performances just as they did art (Shrock 2004, 200).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Black Spirituals

Shortly after the commencement of hostilities between the North and the South in April 1861, refugee slaves began to seek the protection of Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Unfortunately, the military was unable to meet the physical and social needs of the newly freed blacks. By late summer, the American Missionary Association stepped in and sent Rev. Lewis C. Lockwood to minister to the ex-slaves. Lockwood was deeply impressed by Southern black worship, especially the singing. Anxious to document the spirituality and creativity of newly freed slaves, he sent back a report from the field that detailed a song. The report was published in a Northern abolitionist newspaper. A few months later the paper carried a 20-stanza transcription of *Let My People Go. A Song of the "Contrabands"* that the missionary had taken down verbatim from the dictation of Carl Hollosay and other slaves. The song took a Bible story as commentary on their own lives of bondage and turned it into a spiritual of dignity and strength. This was the beginning of the printed circulation of spirituals.

Thomas Baker, who had no knowledge of the song's original context, arranged the first printed version of the *Song of the Contrabands,* essentially turning the slave song into a parlor ballad in six/eight time. This marked the earliest known sheet music publication of any black spiritual. In 1872, Theodore Seward published the song calling it *Go Down, Moses.* Seward's new arrangement, which included several additional stanzas, managed to translate it into white hymnody while maintaining a flavor apart from it.

In 1867, Northern antislavery activists, William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim published *Slave Songs of the United States,* the first of many anthologies that preserved black spirituals. The three were involved in educating freedmen on the Sea Islands outside the Charleston Harbor. *Slave Songs* contains 136 melodies with texts arranged geographically as Southeastern slave states, Northern seaboard slave states, Inland slave states and Gulf states. Each song's transcriber and location is identified. Great care was taken to faithfully record this important part of slave culture and the song texts contrast against Seward's Standard English translation.

Fisk University was one of the newly organized schools for blacks founded after the Civil War. Inspired by the success of a choir performance at a national teacher's conference, choir director, George L. White, thought to utilize the choir to raise desperately needed funds for the fledgling university. In the fall of 1871, a select group of spiritual singers set out on a tour of the North. Initially, they were met with racism but after a successful performance for a convention of clergymen in Oberlin, Ohio, followed by the endorsement of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher in New York, attitudes changed. The Fisk Jubilee Singers rewrote and rearranged the old spirituals for their white audiences, playing down the traditional African elements while introducing European harmonies and choral arrangements to add an element of respectability. The formula worked, and the Fisk singers were a sensation in New York and New England. They continued to tour for seven years making tours of the British Isles and the European continent.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Minstrelsy

African American musical traditions had been popular in the United States in the form of the minstrel show since the 1830s. By mid-century the loud, impromptu entertainment had evolved. Having moved from the fringes of respectability to the center of American show business, it became more restrained and balanced. Pieces included comic songs, sad songs, love songs, sentimental songs, and even opera parodies. Minstrel troupes continued to travel and entertain extensively after the Civil War, and there were 26 documented traveling all-African American minstrel groups in the 1870s (Shrock 2004, 192).

At the time when few black performers and composers were able to rise above obscurity, James Bland made his mark on American popular music. Born to a middle-class African American family in New York, Bland decided to leave his studies for a career on the stage after attending a performance by George Primrose, a popular white minstrel-show star. Within a year, Bland was managing his own minstrel troupe and he went on to enjoy a long career as a singer and comedian with some of the best-known minstrel troupes, even touring to great acclaim in England and Germany. Bland's abilities as a performer have long been overshadowed by his popularity as a songwriter. Bland composed approximately 700 songs, among them "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny" (1875) that was adopted by Virginia as its official state song in 1940, "In the Evening by the Moonlight" (1878), and "Oh, Dem Golden Slippers" (1879). Bland's work, however, exhibited little African American influence and was generally indistinguishable in content and form from the stereotypical minstrel songs being turned out by white composers (Brown and Kreiser 2003, 131–33).

White Gospel Music

Industrialization of the era produced great wealth and new comforts to many but it also brought tremendous uncertainty and vast life changes for many more. These issues helped to fuel the Protestant Urban Revival Movement whose goal was to bring the gospel to unchurched Americans of all social and economic classes. One of the movement's leaders was Dwight L. Moody. With a focus more on emotion than theological doctrine and like Sunday Schools and the YMCA, Moody used popular hymns like William Bradbury's *Jesus Loves Me* to deliver his message. In the early 1870s Moody went on a tour of Great Britain accompanied by Ira Sankey, his musical director, who led the group singing and performed solos as well. Their popularity in Great Britain led to a U.S. tour upon their return. Moody and Sankey sought to entertain and evangelize, reworking gospel hymns and sacred songs into a popular format.

Philip P. Bliss worked as a song booster for the firm of Root and Cady. As such, he promoted the company's products, holding music teachers' conventions, singing schools, and concerts. He also composed hymns, which were often printed in his employer's books. In the late 1860s Moody enlisted Bliss to sing at a prayer meeting. Through Moody's encouragement Bliss became a singing evangelist. Bliss found he could promote the gospel and his finances at the same time. Sheet music and books of sacred songs were available for sale at every service. By 1875 evangelical revivalism was not only a religious movement, it was also big business. Crowds in excess of 10,000 flocked to Moody's meetings to hear the choirs that had been trained by Sankey.

In 1876, Sankey published *Gospel Hymns,* a collection of hymns he and Bliss had used on tour. The collection was the best-selling hymnal well into the twentieth century. Two hymns from the collection, *Beautiful River* and *Sweet By and By,* were extremely popular and typical of the approach used by the evangelists.

—*Dorothy Denneen Volo*

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Springs Tours

Nineteenth-century medical experts suggested that the taking of mineral waters had beneficial effects on the health of those who could afford a month at the many vacation spots noted for their springs. The mineral-laden waters, filled with sulfates and salts of many types, were commonly taken internally to correct real or supposed intestinal ailments, dyspepsia, or general aches and pains. The warm and hot springs of these vacation destinations were commonly fitted with pools or tubs for soaking and fountains for drinking. Doctors and chemists often charted a particular itinerary or regimen for their patients that would, in their opinion, provide the proper cure by alternate soakings and imbibings of the mineral laden liquid, but many happy travelers followed their own designs in the hope of stumbling upon Nature's own antidote.

Various medicinal effects were attributed to the different springs. The waters were said to relieve gastro-intestinal distress, gout, rheumatism, anemia, and obesity. They were also supposed to be good for neurasthenic problems, excesses of intestinal wind, chronic skin diseases, and the elimination of certain poisons from the body. The waters came in four general types: cathartic, tonic, alternative, and diuretic. The cathartic springs contained bicarbonates of magnesia and soda, and chlorides of sodium (table salt); the tonic springs, bicarbonates of iron; the alternative, sodium iodide and potassium chloride; and the diuretic, bicarbonates of lithium and hydrogen peroxide. By the 1850s, establishments had been set up by self-proclaimed Doctors and Scientific persons that offered, besides water, various baths—deemed as Turkish, Russian, Roman, and Electrothermal; two types of electric shock therapy—Galvanic (from batteries) and Faradic (from generators); compressed air, rarified air, and vacuum treatments; and medicated oxygen. The naturally carbonated waters could be bottled and brought home—a practice that spawned a commercial business in soda water and seltzers. It is not surprising that the springs charged fees for these extras while supplying the water gratis and in unlimited quantities (Wechsberg 1979, 182).

From the 1830s to the mid-1850s a particularly popular and affordable trip for Southern families was a so-called Springs Tour. The city of Chattanooga in the hill country of Tennessee, for instance, was known for its sulfur springs and attracted a good deal of patronage among the gentry. The region of western Virginia that straddles the Alleghenies also abounded in various natural springs. Around these a number of fashionable resort hotels were to be found, connected by good turnpikes and dependable stagecoach lines. These locations were convenient to the best families of the South and within the financial means of the moderately well-off. The best-known springs at the time were all located in a 75-mile square within a respectable distance of many coastal plantations.

The hotels and cottages that served this clientele varied in their appointments and level of hospitality. As an example, besides well-appointed rooms for his guests, the resort of Colonel John Fry at Warm Springs, Georgia featured a large ballroom, a stag-horn bar, and chilled wines—with a black bartender to serve them. While the women gossiped and loitered, the men talked politics, played chess, billiards, or cards, and smoked and drank prodigiously. Young unmarried men and women were expected to be polite and openly socialize, but they were warned to avoid any lasting attachments. Many places became disgracefully overcrowded, with insufficient blankets, and two people to a bed. So many private carriages entered the area that there was often insufficient space in the barns; and coaches, teams, coachmen and servants often were left to fend for themselves and find shelter under the coaches or under trees almost completely open to the weather.

The United States Hotel at Saratoga Springs in New York was one of America's most popular luxury hotels and a favorite destination of many wealthy families. The city of Saratoga also boasted the palatial Adelphi Hotel (not the one in New York City) with its three mineral baths and its fountain of youth. At the time these were two of the largest hotels in the world, but the upstate region of central New York also had dozens of smaller hotels and hostelries. The mineral springs, particularly those of Balston and Saratoga, were made more accessible by the growing system of canals and railroads throughout the region. The visitors were offered lodgings in a grand style, and many spent the entire summer taking the waters, attending the horse races, frequenting the casinos, and enjoying a country village life filled with boating, canoeing, and fishing on the many local lakes. Most travelers, however, invested only about six weeks of their time on springs tours—gossiping, socializing, and soaking while having consumed brandy juleps, ham, mutton, ice cream, and many gallons of mineral spring water.

At the springs of central New York were found rich merchants from New Orleans, wealthy planters from Arkansas, Alabama, and Tennessee, and the more haughty and polished land owners from Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, all mixed together with New Yorkers, Bostonians, Philadelphians, and other members of the Northern elite. Famous names from all over the nation can be found on the old hotel registers including Daniel Webster, Martin Van Buren, Washington Irving, Andrew Jackson, and Franklin Pierce. The springs also became a magnet for many families of more common means trying to emulate fashionable society, but the rich remained in their own enclaves and even formed enclaves within their enclaves.

Horse racing had always been a hobby of the elite, but even the most common persons followed the sport and bet on it. Remarkably, the casinos of central New York did not attract enough of the undesirable elements of society to drive away the elites. Even upper-class families had enough weak-willed husbands and sons to constantly populate the gambling parlors. The red-brick casino in Congress Park, New York, built in 1867, flourished, and by 1894 was considered by knowledgeable persons to be the most profitable and famous gambling house in the world. Gambling was not legal in New York at the time, but nobody in authority inquired too closely into the leisure activities of America's richest families (Volo and Volo 2007, 341–42).

Roller Skating

Roller-skating was introduced in 1863 and was quickly embraced by the New York City elite. By the 1870s, rinks with hard maple floors could be found in nearly every town and city. For an admission fee of 25 or 50 cents men, women, and children could join in races, fancy skating, or dancing on skates. Special skating dresses that permitted women a greater freedom of movement became popular during the 1870s. By the 1890s the popularity of roller-skating waned, but it helped to advance the status of women's participation in activities outside of the home (Green 1983, 152–53).

Exercising

The benefits of physical activity for both women and men began to gain recognition as the century progressed. Women were discouraged from partaking in strenuous and competitive sports, but light exercise was thought to improve a woman's health. Walking and hiking were the simplest forms of exercise. Women of all social classes were able to participate because it required no specialized equipment or costume. Recommendations for clothing included loose upper garments and a skirt short enough to avoid dragging on the ground. For those women who could afford specialized attire, walking skirts with a system of hooks and eyes to hold up the front of the garment were available for walking in steep or rough terrain.

Another form of exercise was the use of Indian clubs. Invalids and children used a short, light club known as a bat. Adults used the long club. Indian clubs came in pairs and were usually from 24 to 28 inches long and weighed between 4 and 20 pounds each. The purpose of the clubs was to build muscle tone and strength and they were used much as barbells are today. Although both men and women did the same exercises, ladies used lighter weight clubs. Exercises began with simple lifts and progressed to more complex ones. In his 1866 book, *The Indian Club Exercises*, S. D. Kehoe wrote that there was nothing more suitable and simple for ladies than the Indian clubs. He touted the exercises as both pleasing and beneficial and advocated their use to promote the natural development of a graceful form and movement. Proper dress required clothing that permitted one's chest to expand as well as freedom of arm movement (Green 1983, 151–52).

Outdoor Camping

Camping outdoors became a popular vacation activity particularly after the publication of W.H.H. Murray's *Adventures in the Wilderness* in 1869. The book was so popular that it inspired huge numbers of people to travel to areas such as the Catskills, Adirondacks and White Mountains to camp. This mania was termed by contemporaries as Murray's Rush. While rustic by nineteenth-century standards, the camping experience afforded a number of conveniences. For a party of six or eight, which was thought to be an ideal number, there would be several tents. One would be designated as the dining and drawing room and the others for sleeping. Campers slept on cots or on beds made by stuffing empty mattress ticking with boughs and whatever other material was available. They were advised to bring blue, red, or gray blankets, which would not show dust and a two or three yard strip of old carpet, which could be used to cover the ground in the center of the tent. Additional comforts included camp chairs, steamer chairs, and hammocks. Not to be denied the civility of home, campers brought plated eating utensils and earthenware dishes. Washbasins and pitchers were often made of an inexpensive pressed paper material called fibre-ware. Equipment was packed in boxes and flat trunks that could be used as washstands, cupboards, tables, and, if necessary, additional seating.

Some campers hunted and fished for their food, but others had the local country butcher deliver fresh meat and vegetables to the campsite two or three times a week. Butter, milk and eggs were available from neighboring farmhouses. Cooking was done either on an oil stove, sheet metal army oven, or the campfire.

Women's fashion magazines advised wearing one's old clothes, provided that they were stylish. Wool or flannel dresses in any color but black were recommended for cold weather camping, and seersucker was touted for summer trips. For lounging or to rest in the heat of a summer day, it was suggested that women bring a loose gingham or flannel wrapper. A rubber outfit was required in the event of wet weather. Linen or celluloid collars and cuffs and silk handkerchiefs tucked inside the neckline helped to keep dresses from soiling during the excursion where extensive cleaning was impractical. Fashionable ladies accessorized their camping outfits with a tam-o'-shanter or peaked red, white, or blue felt hat; dark stockings and low-heeled boots or shoes with thick soles. Fashion magazines also advised taking a more stylish traveling dress for trips into town.

In camp women's activities paralleled those of their home. They were responsible for the housekeeping and the kitchen although the men probably cleaned whatever fish or game they provided. *Godey's Lady's Book* advised women that with a constant round of systemized work and play they would find that they had no idle hours in camp (Green 1983, 156–58).

Games

With mass production and brilliantly colored boxes created by chromolithography, the board game came into mass popularity during the second half of the nineteenth century. Small producers like W. & S. S. Ives, R. Bliss Manufacturing Company, J. H. Singer, W. S. Reed, and H. B. Chaffee created enduring games and played an important role in the industry, but the big four companies that molded the new game industry were the McLoughlin Brothers (1858), Milton Bradley (1860), Selchow & Righter (1867), and Parker Brothers (1888). Each had a niche. Milton Bradley made games mainly for children, while Parker Brothers created many of its games for adults. Selchow & Righter's most famous and enduring game was Parcheesi, based on the very popular Pachisi from India, which was introduced in 1867. In 1874 Selchow & Righter trademarked Parcheesi, one of the first trademarked names in the early game industry (Shrock 2004, 122).

The Circus

The last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth are known as the "Golden Age of the Circus." At least 40 traveling circuses wound their way through the United States playing large cities as well as isolated rural locations. Though circuses had long traveled by horse-drawn wagons, major circuses were quick to see the advantages rail travel provided. Dan Castello's Circus and Menagerie made its way west by rail just two months after the transcontinental railroad was competed in 1869. The showman P. T. Barnum was already well known for his museums and concerts when he formed his first traveling circus in 1871. Over time Barnum's Circus grew in size and scope. Its 1873 incarnation took the unwieldy title of "P. T. Barnum's Great Traveling World's Fair Consisting of Museum, Menagerie, Caravan, Hippodrome, Gallery of Statuary and Fine Arts, Polytechnic Institute, Zoological Garden, and 1,000,000 Curiosities, Combined with Dan Castello's Sig. Sebastian and Mr. D'Atelie's Grand Triple Equestrian and Hippodromatic Exposition." It is worth noting that the word circus is not mentioned in this title. For many in the middle class, circus had connotations of immorality. In an effort to appeal to a family audience, Barnum initially claimed that his extravaganza was not a circus, and he included educationally focused exhibits designed to assuage moralists.

Barnum's Circus, like many, provided a grab bag of attractions designed to appeal across generations, genders, and classes. The circus business was highly competitive, and new novelties were constantly introduced in an effort to draw in customers. Though clowns, animals, and acrobats were to be found in most circuses, one of the features Barnum was known for was exhibiting people who were either physically malformed or who were from exotic locations and cultures. Nonwhite people were displayed in their primitive states, cast in a role designed to contrast as much as possible with that of white audience members.

When major circuses began traveling by rail and bypassing small towns, scaled down circuses, called dog-and-pony shows, sprang up to fill the void. Regardless of the size, when the circus came to town, it usually held a parade down the main street in an effort to drum up business for that day's performance. Animals and performers, accompanied by music, would march through town, stopping traffic and business in its wake. The success and scope of the circus set the standard for other traveling shows of the period (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 191–93).

Beer Gardens

Beer gardens came to America with German immigrants. The beer garden to them was more than a place in which to drink beer. It was a social establishment that embodied friends, family, and camaraderie. Nestled under shady trees and on sprawling lawns it was a pleasant place to while away the hours of a scorching afternoon and the perfect setting for the whole family. There was music, dancing, sports, and leisure. For patrons who were mostly working class and often immigrants, the beer garden provided a welcomed oasis from workaday life. There was barely an American town at mid-century that did not boast one or more beer gardens.

Milwaukee was the undisputed leader in the number of beer gardens found in cities. Competition between the city's dozens of gardens was intense, and they went to great extremes to attract patrons. Lueddemann's Garden once featured a female performer who set herself on fire before plunging 40 feet into the river below. Gardens owned by the larger beer companies were the most extravagant and featured the most popular attractions. Pabst Park was an eight-acre resort that boasted a 15,000-foot-long roller coaster and a funhouse. Wild West Shows were held there on a regular basis, and live orchestras performed daily all through the summer.

In 1879, the Schlitz Brewery bought a local beer garden and turned it into a magnificent resort, which it renamed Schlitz Park. The large garden featured a concert pavilion, a dance hall, a bowling alley, and refreshment parlors. The management featured tightrope walkers and other circus-style entertainers to attract patrons. In the center of the park was a hill topped by a three-story pagoda-like structure that offered a panoramic view of the city. At night, 250 gas globes illuminated the garden. The park was also a popular spot for political gatherings. Grover Cleveland, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Jennings Bryan all made speeches at Schlitz Park.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Ladies' Crafts

Victorian women were avid crafters who sought to decorate their homes with handmade items. Industrialization freed upper- and middle-class women from many time-consuming homemaking tasks. Women became less involved in making the necessities of life and more concerned about creating a proper home atmosphere. Ladies magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Peterson's Magazine* reinforced the idea that the home was a sanctuary, where all must be serene and beautiful and it was the homemaker's job to make it that way. Decorating the home with the myriad objects found in the pages of these magazines became a primary preoccupation of women of the upper and middle classes. It didn't matter that the typical parlor was already filled with decorations and textiles; contemporary style dictated that more was better.

Cardboard was a popular medium for crafters, and they used it to create all types of containers that they covered with a wide variety of materials that included paint, decorative stitching, and chromolithographed pictures. Decalomanie, invented in 1864, provided pictures that could be directly applied to virtually any object (Shrock 2004, 136–37).

A woman's skill at needlework had always been considered one of her most important accomplishments. With highly decorated handmade items at the height of fashion, needlework skills took on an even greater importance. Needlework skills, however, shifted from plain sewing, which produced essential linens and basic garments to fancywork, which, as the name implies, was done for decoration. Women used a variety of different kinds of techniques including patchwork, embroidery, tatting, crocheting, knitting, drawnwork, and Berlin work. A woman was expected to furnish her home with everything from quilts to doilies. Women turned to books like *The Ladies' Handbook of Fancy Needlework and Embroidery* (six volumes), *The Ladies' Handbook of Fancy and Ornamental Work*, *Dainty Work for Pleasure and Profit*, and *The Lady's Manual of Fancy Work* for inspiration to make doilies, antimacassars, beaded elbow cushions, mantel drapery, whisk-broom holders, mats, screens, ottomans, and footstools. Handmade knickknacks were scattered everywhere in the well-appointed home. Chairs, sofas, and rockers all required additional decoration.

Needle and Brush: Useful and Decorative provided instructions on how to cover an upholstered rocker with a long velvet scarf trimmed with thick cord, bullion fringe, bullion tassels, and wide ribbons. One particularly popular item of décor was the wall pocket. Made in a great variety of shapes and sizes and heavily decorated, wall pockets were meant to keep papers, magazines, combs and brushes, or other necessities of daily life handy but neatly tucked away. Some resembled portfolios with covers held in place by chains, cords, or ribbons. Others were pouch-like (Weissman and Lavitt 1987, 133–36).

In addition to items for the home, personal accessories for both men and women were also popular. All of these were also highly decorated. Patterns for gentlemen's suspenders, house slippers, scarves, and smoking hats abounded. For ladies there were workbags for sewing, needle cases, pincushions, penwipers, foot muffs, coin purses, and hair ornaments.

Crocheting gained tremendous popularity during the mid-nineteenth century. The first American booklets featuring crochet patterns appeared in 1845. Within just a few years it had become one of the most favored kinds of fancywork, prompting a Vermont magazine in 1875 to editorialize that when you found a housewife crocheting a tidy while sitting in the midst of dirt, you just wanted to shake some sense into her. Many of the ladies' magazines like *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Peterson's* devoted one or two pages each month to crochet patterns. Crocheted purses made the front page of *Harper's Bazaar* in 1868 and 1870. In addition to common projects like jackets, capes, purses, bedspreads, and doilies, patterns appeared for such unique items as a handle for a riding whip, a jacket for a greyhound, and window-blind tassel. Crocheted edging was added to pillowcases, tablecloths, and undergarments.

Hooking rugs was also fashionable. The craft began in the 1840s but took off when jute began to be imported from Asia and was used to make burlap bags. Women discovered that when the bags were slit open they proved to be the perfect size for area rugs. The wide, loose weave of the burlap grain sacks also made the hooking faster and easier. Rug hooking received another boost during the 1860s with the introduction of pre-stenciled patterns on the burlap, which proved to be the inspiration for large numbers of women to take up the craft. Hooked rugs, like quilts, appealed to many women because it enabled them to use up scraps of fabric and pieces of worn clothing to create something to beautify their home. Household economy was a valued quality throughout the Victorian period. Women who could create a well-appointed home without incurring great expense were admired for their thrift. These undertakings also provided women with a creative outlet in a time when many of their expressions were repressed by social prohibitions.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

THEATER

One of the most famous plays from the period was *Our American Cousin*, a farcical comedy written by Tom Taylor in 1858. The plot revolved around the introduction of an awkward, boorish American to his English relatives. This play was being performed at Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C., on the night of April 14, 1865, and in the presidential box were Abraham Lincoln, his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln, and several guests including a military physician. Half way through Act III, at a point where one of the play's funniest lines was given, John Wilkes Booth (not a member of the cast) fired a single pistol shot to the rear of the president's head and then jumped on to the stage to make his escape. The doctor sprang to the president's aid, but Lincoln—unconscious throughout the efforts to save his life—died later that night in a house across the street from the theater. Booth was killed several days later in a barn in Maryland. Nearly simultaneous attacks on the Secretary of State (William Seward) and the Vice President (Andrew Johnson) failed, or failed to materialize. The assassination plot destroyed the plans proposed by Lincoln for Reconstruction: a peaceful reincorporation of the former Confederate states into the Union and a just settlement of the problems posed by emancipation.

The play itself was noteworthy before its association with the assassination. It was one of the first long run productions (seven years) in American theater history. Opening in New York in 1858, its popularity forced the development of new procedures for ticketing and new protocols for the long-term employment of actors. The play also made a number of cultural impacts before its association with Lincoln and Booth in 1865. The character of Lord Dundreary, a dimwitted aristocrat, produced two of these that were closely associated with his name. Dundrearyisms were twisted aphorisms in the style of the character as in "A bird in the hand, gathers no moss;" and a style of facial hair—long, bushy sideburns—named for those worn by the actors who played the role became known as dundrearies.

Edward Askew Sothern established his stardom playing the part of Lord Dundreary, which he expanded considerably by impromptu additions to the scenes during his performances. Joseph Jefferson (as Asa Trenchard, the title character) and Laura Keene (as Florence Trenchard) also established themselves during the New York run of the play. None of these were in the cast on the night of the assassination in Washington. Keene was one of several female players made famous during the nineteenth century. Others included Fanny Kemble, Mary Ann Duff, and Anna Mowatt. Keene is also noteworthy as one of the best-known females to manage a players' company during the period. Jefferson was best known for his stage characterization of Rip Van Winkle, a role he played almost continuously for 38 years. The British author Charles Dickens insisted on seeing Jefferson perform when he visited America in 1842, and he considered Jefferson the greatest living actor of his day. Had Dickens visited America in 1859 rather than 1842, he might have seen a 21-year-old John Wilkes Booth in a minor supporting role in *Beauty and the Beast* at the Marshall Theater for which the future assassin received $20 a week.

John Wilkes Booth was a member of a family of fine actors headed by his British-born father, Junius Brutus Booth. In his acting, Junius had seemingly swept all restraints aside, and made the emotions of hate, jealousy, ambition, and anger overpoweringly real for his audiences. He was the founder of America's first great acting family. John Wilkes's elder brother, Edwin, was considered one of the finest actors on the American stage. Edwin was greatly embarrassed by his brother's involvement in the assassination, but he weathered the public relations storm, receiving the support and sympathy of his fans among the theater-going public.

—*James M. Volo*

HOLIDAYS, CELEBRATIONS, AND FESTIVALS

New Year's Calling

New Year's Day calling grew from the colonial New York custom of open houses. The doors were open for the young men of the city to visit, and the callers wandered from home to home making brief visits. There were no official invitations, and the only requirement for entry was a calling card. Many young women saw the quality of the calling card an indicator of the young man's social position. With this in mind many young men sought a typeface and cardstock that would make a good impression. December was a busy month for printers who were deluged with orders. Sample cases displayed cards that ranged from the simple, but distinguished block letters on white background to cards printed with crimson capitals filigreed with gold. Elaborate novelty cards were adorned with ribbons. Some had an accordion fold that caused the card to spring open.

In large cities during the 1870s it was quite fashionable for bachelors to make endless numbers of visits to eligible young ladies. Newspapers printed lists of homes that would be open and the times when visitors would be received. Open house was generally held from noon to six. The day caused great stress for many young women who feared that they would not receive any visitors, and there was great relief when finally the sound of footsteps on the stairs or sleigh bells stopping at the house were heard. Many young ladies collected the calling cards as though they were trophies.

When the caller or callers appeared, as some men traveled in groups, the head of the house, usually the father, welcomed him. The young man would place his card on the card tray or bowl and visit with the young ladies of the household. Embossed New Year's cakes, which were made by pressing a cookie-like dough into carved wooden boards decorated with flora and fauna, were a New York specialty throughout the nineteenth century. These cakes were considered a delicacy most peculiar to New York and the Hudson Valley, but professional bakers in many other east coast cities advertised these cakes as the custom of calling on New Year's Day spread.

Jennie June's American Cookery Book, published in 1870, devoted an entire chapter to "New Year's Tables, Parties, Etc." The author, Jane Cunningham Croly noted that the custom had become so very general outside of New York that she felt obliged to include a few hints about setting the table in her work. She reminded her readers that it was the taste of gentlemen, not ladies, which needed to be considered on that day and therefore sweets, cake, and the like should be subordinated to chicken salad, pickled oysters, potted salmon, sardines, and the like, which gentlemen generally greatly preferred. In addition she suggested small sandwiches made from biscuits enclosing tongue, ham, or potted veal. Other recommended table items included fruit, jellies, and baskets of mixed cakes or cookies. Croly advised that cherry, old Bourbon, and claret punch were in great demand (Williams 2006, 178–79).

The two or three days after New Year's Day were the ladies' days for calling. Young ladies would discuss the new acquaintances they made among the visitors while enjoying simple refreshments. Surely some boasted about the number of callers they had.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Mardi Gras

The custom of masquerading on Mardi Gras (Shrove Tuesday) was popular in many Gulf Coast cities especially New Orleans and Mobile as early as the 1830s. By the 1850s, Mardi Gras was marked by gangs of rowdy revelers who bombarded maskers and spectators with quicklime, dirt, and more. In 1857, in response to newspaper editorials decrying the deterioration of the tradition, an organization was formed to present a parade with floats and torch lights. The organization called itself "The Mystic Krewe of Comus" and presented the first formal masked parade. It consisted of just two floats. One carried a king and the other showed Satan in a blazing hell.

Many present-day Mardi Gras traditions date back to 1872 when a group of businessmen and civic leaders wanted to capitalize on Mardi Gras to provide a tonic for a South still weary from the Civil War and to help to lure visitors back to the city. As part of their plan, they introduced the Carnival colors of purple, green, and gold, which were later designated to signify justice, faith, and power, respectively. They also invented a king of Carnival, Rex, The Lord of Misrule. Carnival plans were energized when it was discovered that Russian Grand Duke Alexis Romanov would be visiting New Orleans during Mardi Gras. An official holiday was created and another krewe, the Knights of Momus, was added. The unaffiliated masked revelers who had been informally parading were asked to form a united procession. A Carnival throne was erected at City Hall in honor of the Grand Duke. When Alexis arrived, the band played *If Ever I Should Cease to Love,* a song that was known to be his favorite. The song has continued to be an integral part of Mardi Gras.

After Reconstruction, members of a handful of elite Carnival societies came to dominate the social and power structure of New Orleans. The krewes adhered to a strict code of secrecy wherein nobody could ever reveal who was behind the masks at the parades or balls. The selection of the king and the queen of each of the krewes was a serious issue. The queen was selected from among the debutantes amid great tension and anticipation. Family traditions, social standing, and political obligations governed the selection. If a candidate's mother had been queen, it was generally accepted that she would be queen in her turn. The debutante queens were featured in newspaper society columns along with the rest of their make-believe courts. The king was more likely to be much older.

The carnival season and Mardi Gras was celebrated in other Gulf Coast communities extending to Galveston, Texas. What might be called the first celebration in Galveston took place in 1867 when a dramatic presentation of a scene from *King*

Henry IV was presented and a masked ball was held. It wasn't until 1871 that the Mardi Gras became a more widespread event. The celebration included two parades, the presentation of several tableaux, and a grand ball. The pageantry of these events increased to the point that in the late-1880s the grand street processions were abandoned for financial reasons. A secret organization called the Forty Funny Fellows managed to fill the void by staging impromptu street parades that attracted large numbers of masked revelers during the gala season. By 1900 these too were discontinued (Cohen and Coffin 1987, 77–82).

St. Patrick's Day

St. Patrick's Day parades are an American invention. Irish immigrants to the United States began publicly observing St. Patrick's Day as far back as 1737 when Boston held its first St. Patrick's Day parade. Among the most renowned of the parades is the New York City parade, which officially dates to March 17, 1766, and was organized by Irish soldiers serving in His Majesty's service. Over the years many large cities followed suit. The Savannah, Georgia, parade dates to 1824, and there has been a St. Patrick's Day parade in Pittsburgh since 1869. The Irish presence in America increased dramatically in the 1840s, a result of Ireland's potato famine of 1845–1849, which left more than a million people dead from starvation and disease. Newspapers of the day portrayed the Irish as lazy drunkards. As a group the Irish were further disparaged for their role in the draft riots during the Civil War. The parade began to serve as a means for the Irish to show their strength and political power in the United States and the number of marchers in the parades increased dramatically.

The New York press described the burgeoning parades with increased detail. Thirty thousand men marched in the 1870 parade. The line of march started with a platoon of policemen followed by the famous Sixty-Ninth Regiment, an Irish regiment that distinguished itself in the Civil War, the Legion of St. Patrick, the Men of Tipperary, 21 divisions of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, numerous parish benevolent societies, and total abstinence units. The parades sometimes drew criticism. In 1868, the *Irish Citizen* complained that too many German bands were hired to play. Acknowledging that there were only a few Irish bands in the city, it proffered that virtually every participant would prefer to march to "stirring airs" from the "old land" even if only played by fife and drum. The parade usually concluded with speeches balancing tales of persecution and suffering with those of humorous anecdotes (Cohen and Coffin 1987, 109–10).

Easter

Easter was not widely celebrated in early America. Puritans regarded it as popish, and the population of Catholics and others for whom it was an important religious festival was small. By the later nineteenth century, however, Easter had become a celebration of spring and the Christian resurrection. Easter church services were supplemented with Easter parades where families displayed their springtime finery.

The Easter Bunny, a descendant of the German "Oschter Haws" or Easter Hare, delivered colored eggs and confections. *Jennie June's American Cookery Book* (1870) instructed readers to use a tallow candle to inscribe the names or dates on the eggs before dyeing. Eggs could also be painted or decorated with etching with a steel pen and India ink. For color, Jane Cunningham Croly suggested using traditional dye agents such as onionskin for brown or indigo for blue.

Molded chocolate eggs, as well as bunnies, chicks, and lambs began to appear in the 1870s. All of these forms were strongly associated not only with Easter but also with themes of rebirth and spring. The English firm of Cadbury & Company produced their first cream-filled chocolate Easter egg in 1875 (Williams 2006, 180).

Derby Day

Colonel Meriwether Lewis Clark organized the first Kentucky Derby, which took place on May 17, 1875, and was won by Aristides. It was modeled after England's Epsom Derby and was originally a one-and-a-half mile race for three-year-old thoroughbreds. The colonel wanted the race to be a festive occasion. He gave a special breakfast for his friends prior to the first running. This turned out to be the beginning of a tradition that continues today, and it is considered good form to take one's guests to breakfast or lunch even today. The festivities surrounding the event expanded to include dances and other social gatherings (Cohen and Coffin 1987, 177–78).

Decoration Day

Women's groups in both the North and the South began decorating graves before the end of the Civil War. Local springtime tributes to the Civil War dead became common in many places. In 1865 Cassandra Oliver Moncure, a woman of French extraction and leader of the Virginia women's movement, organized the activities of several groups into a combined ceremony held on May 30. It is said that she picked that day because it corresponded to the Day of Ashes in France, a solemn day that commemorated the return of the remains of Napoleon Bonaparte to France from St. Helena.

Henry C. Welles, a druggist in Waterloo, New York, also began promoting the idea of decorating the graves of Civil War veterans. Supported by General John B. Murray, a local country clerk, he formed a committee to make wreaths, crosses, and bouquets for each veteran's grave and to plan a ceremony. On May 5, 1866, the village was decorated with evergreen boughs and black mourning streamers and flags were lowered to half-mast. A procession accompanied by martial music and led by war veterans visited each of three cemeteries, where the graves were decorated and speeches honoring the fallen soldiers were made by General Murray and local clergymen.

While small, local activities such as these were taking place in many villages and towns, the first official Decoration Day occurred in 1868 when General John A. Logan, first commander of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), an organization of Union veterans, issued General Order #11 designating May 30 as a special day to honor fallen Union soldiers and to decorate the graves of the war dead with flowers. It is believed that date was chosen because, by that time of the year, flowers would be in bloom across the nation. General Logan's order directed his posts to decorate graves "with the choicest flowers of springtime" and urged that their graves be guarded with sacred vigilance. Special ceremonies took place at Arlington National Cemetery. Various Washington officials, including General and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, presided over the ceremonies. After the speeches on the mourning-draped veranda of the mansion, children from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphan Home and members of the GAR walked through the cemetery, strewing flowers on both Union and Confederate graves while reciting prayers and singing hymns. An estimated 5,000 people helped to decorate the graves of the more than 20,000 Union and Confederate soldiers buried in the cemetery.

The first state to officially recognize the holiday was New York in 1873. By 1890 it was recognized by all of the Northern states. Southern states refused to acknowledge the day. They honored their dead on separate days until after World War I when the holiday changed from honoring just those who died fighting in the Civil War to remembering Americans who died fighting in any war.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Independence Day

Decoration Day had come to eclipse Independence Day after the Civil War but for 1876, the year of the Centennial, Americans resolved to have an old-fashioned Fourth of July. There were hymns, prayers, songs, patriotic odes, and orations. There were 13-gun salutes at sunrise and 38-gun salutes at noon. Bells rang, bands played, fireworks lit up the sky, and there was a parade on every Main Street in every city and town.

Philadelphia became the focus of the festivity. Stores and businesses were closed for five days beginning Saturday, July 1st, when the first celebratory events were held. The Monday night torchlight parade to Independence Square drew tens of thousands of Philadelphians and visitors alike. At midnight the new Liberty Bell, which had been made from four Civil War cannons to replace the original one that had cracked, was rung 13 times. The mayor raised a ceremonial flag, a replica of Washington's battle flag, and fireworks illuminated the night sky.

In an attempt at reconciliation, Southern military units and Southern dignitaries were invited to participate in Philadelphia's exercises on the Fourth. President Grant was criticized for failing to attend the ceremony, but many generals and other public figures did. One of the highlights of the program came when the grandson and namesake of the Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress, Richard Henry Lee, read the Declaration of Independence. President Grant allowed the original manuscript to be returned to the room in which it was first signed in observance of the Centennial celebrations. Just as his reading concluded, five women, who had been denied participation in the official program, led by Susan B. Anthony approached the podium and presented a copy of the "Woman's Declaration of Rights." The startled master of ceremonies, Senator Thomas Ferry, accepted it with a bow and the ladies returned to their seats (Appelbaum 1989, 109, 113).

The 1876 Centennial Exposition celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. In the interim America had grown into a modern industrial giant, had thrown a telegraph line and a railroad across the continent, and had filled out the common borders of the contiguous United States.

The Centennial International Exhibition of 1876, the first official world's fair in the United States, was held in Philadelphia. The celebration was held in Fairmont Park along the Schuylkill River. There were more than 200 buildings constructed within Exposition's grounds, which was surrounded by a fence nearly three miles long. Almost 10 million persons visited the exposition.

—*James* M. *Volo*

Jousting Tournaments

A romantic movement, which emphasized feeling, imagination, and nature, swept the South between 1760 and 1860. It embraced the past drawing strongly on the styles and ways of ancient Greece and medieval times. Southerners read Sir Walter Scott's books such as *Ivanhoe* (1820) and his other Waverly novels as well as writers such as Yeats, Byron, and Shelley who glamorized romantic and chivalric notions. This furthered the development of a Southern code of chivalry that was expressed in ornate dress, excessive politeness, fancy speech, protection of women and a strong sense of personal and regional honor. The revival of the medieval joust as a test of skill flowed naturally from these ideals, especially in a region with a long-standing interest in horses and horsemanship. While accounts of jousting date to the first quarter of the century, the custom really flourished after William Gilmor hosted the most elaborate quintain tournament ever held on American soil in 1840. After that tournaments could be found in every state south of the Mason-Dixon Line as far west as Texas. During the Civil War events were interrupted, though there is an account of a tournament hosted by an Alabama cavalry regiment at their winter quarters along the Potomac, where they rode in rags and barefoot, but with great enthusiasm. There is also a report of a tournament held on the lawn at Monticello in the fall of 1863. After the war the practice was revived.

The tournament was rich with pageantry and pomp. Participants wore elaborate costumes of silk and velvet. The competitors were called knights and often adopted names expressive of the locality from which they hailed. Winners honored their ladies with a token. An 1877 newspaper account described the practice as suggestive of a bright period in history that was sleeping amid the centuries.

Competition in the tournament involved a tilt for prize rings. The tournament course was 200 yards long in a straight line and marked by 3 posts, each 50 yards apart, the first one being 50 yards from the starting point. The posts were 10-feet high and atop each post was a horizontal beam that projected 3 or 4 feet on to the track. Suspended from each of these beams was a hook, which held a ring generally 2 inches in diameter. The ring of either brass or steel was generally wrapped to make it more visible. The competitor was mounted on horseback and carried a wooden cue or lance approximately eight feet in length and an inch or more around at its base and tapering to a fine point. Approximately three feet from the base of the cue was a protective guard to protect the hand of the competitor. The course was ridden at a dead run and a time limit was imposed to exclude slow riders. The rider held his cue in his right hand and guided his mount with his left. Each entrant was permitted three passes down the course. The object of the event was for the jouster to capture as many rings as possible with a maximum of nine. Sometimes hurdles were added to make the course more difficult. Prizes were presented with appropriate ceremony following the competition. The day's activities typically concluded with a picnic or barbecue for participants and spectators as well. Many also had a dance that night.

Tournaments continued as a favorite Southern pastime into the twentieth century, although they began to decline during the late 1890s. Some competitors took the events very seriously. One young man from Texas, who participated in the events during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, boasted having a tournament course on his ranch and reported a neighbor having one as well (Cohen and Coffin 1987, 265–66).

Thanksgiving

After dinner many families fell into traditional patterns. Elders talked or napped while younger family members player parlor games like charades, board games, cards and the like. Young children might recite a poem or bit of prose. Many homes had parlor pianos and virtually every young lady could play. Families would gather around the piano and what might first begin as solo performances by young people might well evolve into family sing-alongs of popular songs and hymns.

Many cities held military parades on Thanksgiving. The parades dated prior to the Civil War, but the tradition gained popularity following the conflict. Companies were made up of Civil War veterans and militia units. Some city parades included military clubs composed of young gentlemen, who drilled their members in horsemanship, military protocol, and target shooting. On Thanksgiving and other holidays these young men marched up fashionable avenues in spiffy uniforms (Appelbaum 1984, 194–95).

Christmas

By the 1870s Christmas was widely celebrated in many households and had become a holiday that centered on family celebration, gift giving, the indulgence of children, and excessive eating. Food permeated all of the Victorian Christmas rituals. Even many Christmas tree decorations were edible. One traveler described branches that were bedecked with cherries, plums, strawberries, peaches, and gilded eggcups filled with comfits, lozenges, and barley sugar.

The food served on Christmas day was rich, varied, frivolous, delicious, and appealing to the tastes of children and adults alike. Catherine Bragdon recorded her family's Christmas menu of 1867. It included oyster soup, fried and raw oysters, chickens, fried cakes, coffee, tea, apple, raspberry, cherry and squash pies, pickles, peaches, chestnuts, walnuts, apples, and cider. Plum pudding was a traditional finale of any Victorian Christmas table (Williams 2006, 186–87).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Appelbaum, Diana Karter. *The Glorious Fourth: An American Holiday, An American History.* New York: Facts On File Publications, 1989.

———. *Thanksgiving: An American Holiday, An American History.* New York: Facts On File Publications, 1984.

Beard, Daniel Carter. *The American Boy's Handbook.* Boston, MA: David R. Godine, 1882.

Bellinger, Martha Fletcher. *A Short History of the Theater.* New York: Henry Holt, 1927.

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Camp, Walter. *American Football.* New York: Arno Press, 1974 (c.1891).

———. *Football Facts and Figures. A Symposium of Expert Opinions on the Game's Place in American Athletics.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894.

Cohen, Hennig, and Tristram Potter Coffin, eds. *The Folklore of American Holidays.* Detroit, MI: Gale Research Company, 1987.

Elliott, Jock. *Inventing Christmas: How Our Holiday Came to Be.* New York: Abrams, 2002.

Green, Harvey. *The Light of the Home.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Gross, Linda P., and Theresa R. Snyder. *Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition.* Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005.

Harvard Boat Club. *Principles of Rowing at Harvard. By the Executive Committee of the Harvard Boat-Club for the Year Ending 1873.* Cambridge, MA: Welch, Bigelow, and Company, 1873.

Hayward, John. *Gazetteer of the United States.* Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffant and Co., 1853.

Hazen, Margaret Hindle, and Robert M. Hazen, *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America, 1800–1920.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987.

Hechtlinger, Adelaide. *American Quilts, Quilting and Patchwork.* Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1974.

Hewitt, Barnard. *Theater, USA: 1668 to 1957.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Lane, Rose Wilder. *Woman's Day Book of American Needlework.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962.

Lovell, John. *Black Song: The Forge and the Flame; The Story of How the Afro-American Spiritual Was Hammered Out.* New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Mendenhall, Thomas C. *A Short History of American Rowing.* Boston, MA: Charles River Books, 1980.

O'Neil, Sunny. *The Gift of Christmas Past, A Return to Victorian Traditions.* Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1981.

Rader, Benjamin. *American Sports: From the Age of the Folk Games to the Age of the Spectators.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

Sablosky, Irving. *What They Heard: Music in America 1852–1881, from the Pages of Dwight's Journal of Music.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986.

Schabas, Ezra. *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Sorg, Eric V. "Annie Oakley." *Wild West,* February 2001.

Toll, Robert. *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wechsberg, Joseph. *The Lost World of the Great Spas.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979.
Weissman, Judith Reiter, and Wendy Lavitt. *Labors of Love: American Textiles and Needlework, 1650–1930.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.
Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States, 1820s–1890.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Religious Life

MORALITY

Religious Intolerance

During the nineteenth-century religious intolerance often colored the functioning of government as well as the social, economic, and cultural order of America. During the colonial period religious hostilities had dominated much of the thinking and politics of Americans. Much of the emotionalism of the religious and theological controversies raised by the Protestant Reformation of previous centuries had been transplanted to America, and many Protestants retained antipathetic feelings toward other sects and toward Catholics of all nationalities. In the nineteenth century Americans were still overwhelmingly Protestant, but the majority of these Protestants belonged to the many denominations that served different segments of the American population.

Irish Catholic immigrants experienced severe prejudice at the hands of the Protestant majority throughout the century, but as the century progressed beyond the Civil War, the Irish—as an ethnic group—gained some standing in the community because of the great bravery they exhibited on the battlefield (especially at Fredericksburg). Nonetheless, Catholics remained suspect among many Protestants, and Roman Catholicism remained "an evil fiercely to be hated, deeply to be feared, and unremittingly to be fought" (Nye 1960, 198). Incredibly poor, the Irish were the first truly urban population in American history. They were largely confined to the poorest areas of the cities, and lived in slums and tenements without any reasonable expectations of gainful employment or advancement beyond menial jobs.

—James M. Volo

Bridal Pregnancy

Although almost all cultures prescribe that sexual intercourse take place within marriage, behavior has not always conformed to this moral norm. Rightly or wrongly, the adherence of young persons to this norm is often used as a measure of moral strength in a society. Historic demography, however, suggests that the level of premarital intercourse in the past may be directly related to the extent of social estrangement perceived by young folks in that part of their life cycle between family-dependent adolescence and self-dependent adulthood (Smith and Hindus 1979, 124–25).

The American premarital intercourse record, as measured by the number of seven- and eight-month first babies after the nuptials, is particularly cyclical showing patterns of high and low incidence since colonial times. The incidence of prenuptial pregnancy in the nineteenth century was much lower than in the time periods before or after it. High points, or peaks in premarital pregnancies, are found in the second half of the eighteenth century and the present time (both between 25 and 30 percent of first births). Low points, or troughs, are found in seventeenth-century colonial America and the middle of the nineteenth century (both about 10%). The proportion of bridal pregnancies follows a similar cyclical pattern found in Western European data (Smith and Hindus 1979, 124–25).

Researchers have not been able to explain this distinct cycle in simple terms. Effective and available means of contraception and abortion since the end of the Second World War (about the 1950s) has done little to change the high levels of illegitimacy and prenuptial birth in modern times. It has come to be a statistical feature of poor, minority populations where up to 85 percent of children are being conceived or born out of wedlock in some poverty-stricken communities. This suggests a strong association with a number of modern socioeconomic factors beyond simple adherence to a moral standard.

The most persuasive explanation of the premarital pregnancy cycle seems to involve the way morality and religious tenets were viewed by families. The transition period between early colonial times and the nineteenth century, which included the unsettled social and economic environments of the American Revolution and the early years of the Republic, seems to have lacked both effective external and internal controls on sexual activity. The Puritans of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries valued external controls on moral behavior, dealing with fornication and prenuptial pregnancy as crimes and responding to their occurrence with physical punishments and fines levied by magistrates and town fathers. The revolutionaries of the eighteenth century believed in political liberty, but they were not the vanguard of a sexually liberated America. The acceptance of certain sexual practices both evolves and retrenches over time. Victorian Americans, unlike the bawdy and boisterous forbearers of 1776, had an exaggerated aversion to sexual contact of any kind before marriage, but they tended toward internal controls and self-restraint based on socialization strategies rather than on the deterrent qualities of fines and punishment threatened by their Puritan ancestors. This change from reliance on external controls toward internal ones seems to have reflected a retreat from a moral behavior based on the Calvinist predeterminism of colonial times and toward a wider acceptance of the free-will doctrines related to nineteenth-century religious revival. Although revivalist denominations differed in social base and religious style, the regulation of individual morality remained a central concern, and sexual restraint through religion rested on the centrality of autonomy and individual choice.

Researchers have noted that "the reappearance of premarital sexual restraint in the nineteenth century [seems to be] based on the autonomy of the young adult and the incorporation of the groups tending toward premarital pregnancy into a new social order" (Smith and Hindus 1979, 126–27). Among the applicable changes in the social position of young people were the economic shift from forced apprenticeship to wage labor, the transition from informal to formal education, the substitution of boarding or lodging for traditional familial living arrangements for independent young adults, the extension of political rights and enfranchisement to a greater number of young men, and the more active part given to young women in nineteenth-century churches and reform movements. An acceptance of a *place* in the social order for young persons of sexually active age seems to have bolstered their closer adherence to the community's moral norms because they felt themselves a part of it.

The community of respectable matrons was the ultimate source of intergenerational attitudes toward premarital pregnancy—determining what was considered acceptable moral behavior before marriage and passing it from mother to daughter and grandmother to granddaughter. Historical demographers often use the level of official church membership to determine the level of adherence to religious principles among such a population, and they have made the following observations in this regard. Church membership among young women tripled during the antebellum period. "With younger conversion, religion could have an effective impact on premarital sexual choices. The concomitant splintering of American Protestantism meant that each stratum [of the social order] had one or more denominations tailored to its particular conditions and needs." Although females did not dominate these religions, the new sects and churches generally incorporated them into their organization to a far greater extent than previously. Their newfound role provided "an important outlet for a wide range of female needs, and young women absorbed the message of sexual restraint more completely" (Smith and Hindus 1979, 127).

Victorian-style morality was more than a functional system for preventing unwanted or inconvenient pregnancies. Any type of activity with sexual overtones was strongly discouraged, if not prohibited. Such a strict morality was also relevant to the immediate needs of both young men and women as they entered adult life. People were made independent of their parents at a younger age than ever before in the nineteenth century. A young man was expected to prepare for marriage by accumulating capital and by entering into a stable career. These were the prerequisites for a proper marriage and a successful business life, and few young men would risk an early marriage precipitated by an unfortunate pregnancy that might impede their chances at success. Nor would a young women risk her social position and eligibility as a marriage partner for a tryst with an uncommitted consort. Alexis de Tocqueville emphasized the importance of appearing chaste among the different classes of American women, "No girl . . . believes that she cannot become the wife of a man who loves her, and this renders all breaches of morality before marriage very uncommon." Commonly held views condemning immorality of any sort before marriage, even between engaged couples, "raised the price of [premarital] sex and thus substantially increased the bargaining power of both single and married women" with respect to the course of any sexual relationship and the promise of matrimony (Smith and Hindus 1979, 128).

This may help to explain the decrease during the middle of the century in the number of short term 8 1/2-month first births after marriage (17.7 to 9.6%) and the 6-month shotgun wedding births (10.3 to 5.8%), the latter being the stronger indicator of premarital intercourse when compared to 9-month wedding night conceptions (23.7 to 12.6%). From 1801 to 1880 all three categories decreased, but the strongest decline was among the last and most committed couples (more than an 11% decrease in 9-month births). This may have indicated the strength of opinion that it was simply wrong for people to have sex before marriage regardless of the proximity of the wedding date. By way of comparison between 1880 and 1910 the number of wedding night conceptions returned to their former high level, and the other categories rebounded beyond their former number to some of the highest rates in more than two centuries (Smith and Hindus 1979, 137).

It should be noted that throughout the course of American history fully two-thirds of all women were not pregnant at the time of their marriage. This suggests a continuity in the efficacy of control with respect to sexual mores. Yet the magnitude of the fluctuations from one historical period to another is compelling. Today premarital intercourse and pregnancy is considered a mild form of deviancy, but it seems to some researchers to have been "a manifestation of a collision between an unchanging and increasingly antiquated family structure and a pattern of individual behavior which is more a part of the past than a harbinger of the future." Neither the old institutional pattern of control nor the rebellion against it could predict "the subsequent sexual behavior of the young" (Smith and Hindus 1979, 129).

—*James M. Volo*

RELIGION: AN IMMENSE NUMBER OF CHURCHES

During Reconstruction religion remained a constant to many Americans amid the otherwise rapid changes in everyday life. Americans were overwhelmingly Christian, with nearly 70,000 churches in all parts of the nation by 1870. "The first thing almost which strikes a newly arrived traveler in the United States," observed an English visitor, "is the immense number of churches.... The country is dotted over with wooden steeples, whose white painted sides, I must own, sparkle in the bright sunlight uncommonly like marble" (Sutherland 2000, 79). Protestants formed the largest number of religious communities, led in numbers by Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. Roman Catholics grew rapidly in strength, with four million members, although largely concentrated in Northern cities. Joining white churchgoers, Southern blacks established the Colored Primitive Baptist Church and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church by 1870. These two independent churches later joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) and the Zion Church, both previously established by African Americans in the North.

Despite an impressive presence in American life, the Christian churches came under mounting criticism following the conclusion of the Civil War. Some dissent came from inside the faith, where less well-to-do church members felt alienated by the social displays made by their more wealthy peers. "[H]ow can I afford to be a Christian," one frustrated churchgoer asked, "and hire a pew and dress up my family in such a style on Sunday that they won't be snubbed for their shabby appearance by genteel Christians?" (Sutherland 2000, 87).

Other attacks came from outside the faith, where proponents of evolution questioned religious teachings on the creation of both the universe and human life. Both scientific Darwinism and social Darwinism received attention from a significant minority of the population. The debate between science and religion raged throughout the postwar era, marred more often than not by intense hostility and bitterness. The criticisms of the practices and teachings of the Christianity marked one of many transitions of American life during the late nineteenth century (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 17–18).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Ahlstrom, Sydney A. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972.

Beaumont, Gustave de. "On Marriage in America: Beaumont's letter to his family." http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/FEM/beaumont.htm (accessed May 2007).

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Hennesey, James. *American Catholics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Nye, Russell B. *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830*. New York: Harper & Row, 1960.

Smith, Daniel Scott, and Michael S. Hindus. "Premarital Pregnancy in America." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Sweet, Leonard I. *The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelism*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. "Letter to his sister, describing courtship and marriage habits of the Americans." http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/FEM/tocqueville.htm (accessed May 2007).

4

THE PERIOD OF EXPLOITATION

Overview

MANIFEST DESTINY

In July 1845, New York newspaperman John L. O'Sullivan wrote in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* that it was the nation's "manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole continent, which Providence has given for the development of the great experiment of liberty and self-government." The phrase, *Manifest Destiny*, caught the imagination of the country and came, thereafter, to stand for the entire expansive movement to the West. Yet the slogan also coalesced a number of hazy images Americans already held concerning themselves, and it provided the nation with a solid purpose that carried it through civil war and reconstruction to the end of the century. *Manifest Destiny* was the one idea about the American nation on which all the sections and citizens could agree.

Nonetheless, the exploration and domination of the North American Continent was no haphazard series of fortuitous ramblings and random discoveries, but a careful process initiated by Thomas Jefferson in 1803 and programmed thereafter from the urban centers of the East and Midwest, particularly Washington, D.C., and St. Louis. Politicians, land speculators, and businessmen formulated specific instructions and sent explorers, traders, artists, photographers, and soldiers into the unfenced expanses of grass, the towering mountains, and the formidable deserts to gather information that would further the nation's plans for the development of the continent. Jefferson had accumulated information regarding the Trans-Mississippi West during his five years (1784–1789) of diplomatic service in France. In 1806 Meriwether Lewis and William Clark returned from a two-year long exploration of the Louisiana Purchase. Their maps, drawings, and descriptions of the territory fired the imagination of the nation concerning the west.

As early as 1784, geographer Thomas Hutchins had noted, "If we want it, I warrant it will be ours." He viewed Americans as the inhabitants of a potential world empire who had it "in their power to engross the whole commerce of it, and to reign, not only as lords of America, but to possess, in the utmost security, the dominion of the sea throughout the world" (Smith 1973, 9). The practical difficulties of overruling the North American Continent from the Eastern to the Western oceans and from the Mexican Gulf in the South to the frozen lakes of the Canadian North were of minor consequence. Mexico, Britain, and even Russia stood in the way no less than the vast prairies, towering mountains, and indigenous native population. The power of Manifest Destiny lay in the national imagination. It was a drama enacted on a corporate level by all the American people.

In 1846 the United States went to war with Mexico over the annexation of Texas. Not only did the country gain the entire area of Texas from Mexico, but in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) also added most of California, Arizona, and New Mexico to the United States. Also in 1846 the British made a concession to America of any pretensions to the Old Northwest Territory (of the Great Lakes) to cement a boundary line with British Canada that set the northern boundary of the Oregon Territory at the 49th parallel. The boundary merely recorded the fact that American emigration and American style agriculture had pushed out to Oregon and occupied it. The United States lost any claim to most of British Columbia but gained undisputed possession of present-day Washington, Idaho, and parts of Utah, Nevada, and Montana. In 1853, exactly half a century after the Louisiana Purchase, a supplementary treaty with Mexico known as the Gadsden Purchase filled out the common contiguous borders of the country.

Some historians consider the Gadsden Purchase the end of the era of expansion. Others understand that such events also shape the future, and their inevitable consequences lend a radically different perspective to all that preceded them. The era of expansion simply gave way to an equally vibrant era of exploitation. Nor does the end of expansion in mid-century explain the purchase of Alaska in 1867, the annexation of Hawaii in 1898, or the submission of Cuba and the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippines at the end of the Spanish American War 50 years later.

While the United States gained legal possession of all these territories, except Cuba, its people had not yet taken personal possession of them. The discovery of gold in California drew thousands of persons to the Pacific, and the Oregon Trail was worn deep by immigrants. Yet the vast intervening empty spaces of the American heartland were slow to fill.

Many families from the 1840s to the 1870s responded to political and economic adversity or changes in their family circumstances by pulling up stakes and moving further west, but they always relied upon the prospect of ultimately mapping, cultivating, and domesticating the unmanaged wilderness. Free immigrants often sought to re-create themselves physically, economically, and socially by moving beyond the limits of civilization. Family strategies like these and the underlying expectations that they included can be seen at work again and again among the writings of early travelers and settlers in the wilderness.

This common attitude toward geographical movement was formulated as part of the frontier thesis of historian Frederick Jackson Turner (1893), who saw the availability of western land as a political and economic safety valve for the growing

American republic as well as a formative ingredient in the American character. Westward movement was essential to the continued existence of the nation. Turner's original work dealt primarily with the settlement of the Mississippi Valley from 1830 to 1850 and the controversy over the extension of slavery that it engendered. Nonetheless, his thesis, although more than a century old today, remains useful in formulating an understanding of the period of national expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century as well.

Individual families are not normally considered powerful agents of nation building. Surely it is armies, speculators, industrialists, railway magnets, and other economic and political powers that are the impetus of national expansion. Yet this was not always the case in nineteenth-century America, and many of these forces tended to follow families rather than to lead them west.

Calling themselves settlers and immigrants, families from across the states began a march into the vaguely empty space west of the Appalachian Mountains as soon as the Revolutionary War had ended. The immigrants then moved to the farmlands of the Midwest and the dark soils of the Southeast. The simplest maps of the unknown interior spurred thousands of Americans to relocate to towns that existed nowhere except on land office surveys. With them, in many cases, came their slaves, forced to emigrate sometimes in ways that forever broke black family ties. Before them stood the Indians with their own families, aboriginal inheritors of the land, poised to be swept aside and ultimately to be dispossessed of their heritage.

The Ohio River and its tributaries initially provided the most direct route to the lands of the Midwest. The movement of immigrants usually paralleled the valleys of the Ohio or the Tennessee Rivers. Early pioneer families floated or poled their way down these waterways and their tributaries on a wide assortment of rafts, barges, and keelboats. Others moved west on overland courses parallel to the rivers where the going was easier and the topography more gently changing. The rivers wore gaps in the mountains that made their passage feasible. The Cumberland Gap is the best known of these. Formed by an ancient creek that was later redirected by geologic forces into the Cumberland River, the gap was used for centuries by native Americans to cross the mountains. Daniel Boone was credited with opening the gap to white settlers entering Kentucky and Tennessee, and the foot trail through it was later widened to accommodate wagons.

A large area of Ohio known as the "Firelands," was quickly settled by families from coastal Connecticut who had been given government land to replace their homes burned by the British in the Revolutionary War. The Midwestern territories of Indiana and Illinois were initially settled by Southerners coming through Kentucky. Those sympathetic to the Southern way of life were quickly overwhelmed by others with Northern opinions and by immigrants with European sentiments. The Midwest attracted a significant increase in population during the 1840s from among Germans, Swedes, and other working-class Europeans who bypassed the slaveholding South to settle there.

By the Centennial Year of 1876, America had changed from a backwater set of fragmented British colonies hanging onto the fringe of the Atlantic coastline into a modern multi-ocean international power favored with the greatest industrial base in world history. Following its manifest destiny, the nation brought half a continent—some say the most valuable half—under its control. Only the cold wilderness expanses of Canada and the dry wastelands of Mexico remained outside its direct control, yet some Americans covetously spied even these. Nonetheless, the nation was still to experience a number of setbacks such as the Plains Indian Wars and the Apache Wars of the final quarter of the century.

Nonetheless, the Indians had been driven from their native lands almost everywhere, and they had been killed or confined to reservations by the 1890. By the turn of the century a number of island possessions had been acquired: Hawaii in 1893; Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines in 1898; and Wake Island in 1899. The nation, initially isolated on a thin strip of land along the Atlantic coast, had attained its *Manifest Destiny* by stretching from sea to sea in little more than a single century, and it had become in the process a multi-ocean colonial power.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bartlett, Richard A. *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776–1890*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Era of Expansion, 1800–1848*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969.

Goetzmann, William H. *Exploration and Empire, The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. New York: The History Book Club, 1966.

Jones, Mary Ellen. *Daily Life on the Nineteenth-Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Quay, Sara E. *Westward Expansion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land, The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Domestic Life

KINSHIP SYSTEMS: FAMILIES ON THE MOVE

In a mobile nineteenth-century world, emigration and resettlement were common. In a wildly expanding nation, the call of cheap land, personal freedom, or stirring adventure caused many young men and women to leave the confines of their parental homes and stretch the bonds of family support. Those who left the sanctuary of the kinship community, as did many of the families that chose to immigrate to the American West, exchanged the support of family and friends for exposure to possible economic ruin, moral temptation, or physical danger.

Nineteenth-century society endowed men with considerable power within this family setting, and their principal duty was to bind together the household whether they be merchants, mechanics, farmers, or professional men. The concept of the urban home as an enclosure or a sacred center made most families remarkably nuclear in composition. Commonly, only the parents and their children lived under a common roof in middle- to upper-class families. Although the family group was often surrounded by unrelated domestic help, these were commonly ignored as persons and treated more like animated household furnishings.

Extended family structures were much less common in the nineteenth century than in colonial times, but they did exist, mainly on the frontiers, in the South, or in immigrant enclaves. Through the machinery of a vastly improved communications network (mail, telegraph, railroads, etc.), the kinship community living outside the immediate familial home in settled areas could still provide support, and uncles, aunts, grandparents, and cousins were available for daily counsel, economic assistance, and emotional underpinning in times of trouble.

Moving to a sparsely settled frontier region heightened a parent's concern for personal and family safety. Added to the very real threat of attacks by Indians, bushwhackers, bandits, or venomous snakes were common farm accidents, indispositions, nutritional deficiencies, bad water, and bad weather—all capable of striking without warning, but still a part of the fabric of ordinary life. Common sicknesses and difficult childbirths were made more threatening by distance from friends, kin, and established patterns of care. Warnings about these dangers fill the period guidebooks, military reports, physicians' articles, and private letters of the period (Valencius 2002, 4–5).

Possibly for this reason many immigrants traveled in extended family groups, uprooting married sons, daughters, and grandchildren when making a move. It was not unusual for a single kinship group to occupy a dozen separate wagons in the same emigrant train. Barring such unanimity of choice, many families chose to immigrate in sequence. Known as a serial migration, one small part of a family might lead the way to a new region where it became established to be followed later by other waves of migrating kinfolk. In this manner the family maintained its support structure and put down new roots in a predictable and orderly manner.

—*James M. Volo*

FAMILY LIFE

Household Structure

In part because they provided extra hands on the farm, children were welcome and families were often large. "Our poor man counts each one of his half dozen or half score a blessing . . . stout hands and active heads are the very thing we need," editorialized one newspaper (Bartlett 1974, 361). With infant mortality rates as high as 25–30 percent and epidemics of measles, scarlet fever, or influenza wiping out whole families, a woman had to have been pregnant more than half-dozen times to produce these large families. Some men, like Old Jules in Mari Sandoz's account of her family, believed that "women got to have children to keep healthy" (Sandoz 1978, 110). Some women thus practiced rudimentary birth control—hoping the rhythm method would work, utilizing pessaries for contraception, and nursing their babies as long as possible in the belief they could not then conceive. By word of mouth women passed on contraceptive techniques: the use of Vaseline—"a greased egg wouldn't hatch"; rock salt—though most avoided this because "it affected the mind"; and a concoction of cocoa butter and boric acid (Jameson 1987, 152). Grace Fairchild reflected on her own fecundity: "To have six children in less than eight years is something of a record. You would have thought I was in a race to see how fast we could get that new country settled. I decided to call a halt" (Wyman 1972, 29).

Women—whether they were wives, schoolteachers, immigrant girls fresh off the boat, or prostitutes—were valued. When the bylaws of Yellowstone City, Montana, were written during the winter of 1884–1885, there were only 15 women and 300 men in the camp. Hanging was established as the penalty for "murder, thieving or insulting a woman" (Bartlett 1974, 249). Mollie Dorsey received so many proposals that she sighed, "We do not see a woman at all. All men, single or bachelors, and one gets tired of them" (Sanford 1959, 39).

There was also a surprising sexual frankness. Though there was occasional premarital sex between couples (Stewart 1914, 82–84), it was not really condoned. Marriages were opportunities for great celebration. Usually a jolly, rambunctious charivari (shivaree) or party was held after the wedding: "The newly married couple occupied a wagon for sleeping apartments. Then the fun began. Such a banging of cans, shooting of guns and every noise conceivable.... The disturbance was kept up until midnight, when the crowd dispersed, leaving the happy couple on the prairie to rest undisturbed till morning, when they came [out] amid cheers and congratulation" (Luchetti 1982, 30).

Although much research suggests that one effect of the predominantly male society was respect for and joyful pursuit of women, an opposite, darker phenomenon also existed. Some men believed that they had the right to "dominate women and coerce compliance with their wishes" (Graulich 1987, 113). Though such spousal abuse did occur on the frontier, some women stood up to their men. After receiving a beating from her husband, one woman threw him out of the house and thenceforth supported herself by doing laundry and running a boarding house (Jameson 1987, 154; Jones 1998, 202–4).

Vital Statistics

Nowhere was the role of the rural population more important than in its effect on fertility and birth rates. The level of American fertility in the eighteenth century was one of the highest in human history, a fact used to entice immigration from Europe, which had a lower rate during the same period. However, in the early part of the nineteenth century there was an unmistakable downturn in American fertility driven largely by the effect of the rural population. By the end of the century (1900) the fertility of the white rural population was fully 60 percent of that a century earlier. The decline was nationwide, occurred in all geographic sections of the country, and cannot presently be explained in terms of ethnicity. Researchers are also at a loss to convincingly explain the downturn other than to note that farm wives in the Eastern and older-settled regions deliberately started their families later and terminated their childbearing earlier than those in the frontier West. At this time "the methods of deliberate fertility control cannot be determined" (Easterlin 1978, 65).

Among both farm and nonfarm families, there was an unmistakable difference in the child-woman ratio when the level of settlement was taken as a factor. The child-woman ratio is a measure of the number of children under five years of age per woman of reproductive age usually calculated from published state data. A high ratio might suggest that women were somewhat tied to the household by childcare considerations and consequently unavailable for income producing labor. The data suggest that in this period the child-woman ratio in the older and more settled states was perhaps 25 percent lower than that in the newer and less settled ones. This measure of fertility rose consistently as one moved from older to newer settlements. There was one exception to this in the frontier townships. While the numbers were higher on the leading edges of settlement than in the oldest areas, they were 5 to 10 percent lower than in the areas slightly behind the frontier. This was where 20 to 40 percent of the land was improved. Confounding the situation somewhat is the probability that among families on the spearhead of settlement at least some of the children were born elsewhere, possibly in the older settlements. These data may also reflect minor differences in the proportion of married persons in the population and the age distribution of its reproductive females (Easterlin 1978, 60–61).

Generally, in the decades of the 1880s and 1890s the typical white, native-born women had 5 or 6 pregnancies during her childbearing years, and raised 3 or 4 children with the former decade averaging 3.6 and the later decade averaging only 2.9. Nationally where data is available, women seem to have married at a median age of 21 or 22 years, and given birth to their first child within 1 or 2 years. In the 1890s, the median period of childbearing rose from 10 years in 1880 to about 11 years. Foreign-born women continued to have higher fertility rates than native-born women, and second-generation foreign-born women were somewhere in between (Wells 1979, 524).

Blacks (from data beginning in 1850) sustained decreasing, but still higher, fertility and birth rates (in both 1880 and 1890, they had 9 or 10 pregnancies and 6 to 7 children) than their white counterparts throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. In fact, the data for these parameters among black women in 1890 were almost equal to the white rates in 1800, with the black decreases lagging almost a century behind those of whites demographically. Many early studies of black fertility were handicapped by their focus on determining a cause for the perceived variations in birth rates among native-born whites, foreign-born whites, and blacks. "There was a widespread fear in some circles that the higher birth rates of foreign-born and black women would diminish the numerical and political importance of the native white population in the United States" (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 12).

Recent research suggests that the decline in white reproduction may have been affected by the growing feminist (women's rights) movement with women taking greater control over their reproductive lives—a luxury not afforded to black women of childbearing years who were either enslaved or newly freed during much of the period. Some researchers have also suggested that declining birth rates may be related to land availability, increasing industrialization, the education of women, or the pressure of elderly dependents in the home (Easterlin 1978, 65–73).

The data also suggest that white working women were more likely to limit their family size than those who were not gainfully employed outside the home. However, it cannot be determined with any precision whether women with fewer children were more likely to enter the workforce, or if those who were working were more likely to curtail their family size. Both factors may have been in operation. These findings are also confounded by the tendency of unwed mothers to quietly place their children in the homes of relatives while living and working elsewhere possibly as domestics or as boarders with manufacturing jobs (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 91). Further analysis suggests that "the opportunity to work outside the home . . . was more likely to influence the curtailment of fertility through the postponement of marriage than through direct family limitation." In any case, working seems to have had a minimal effect on the absolute fertility of individual women, and the overall decline in family size took place in both urban and rural environments (Hareven and Vinovskis 1978, 125; Volo and Volo 2007, 29–32).

MEN

Nowhere was a man's character more important or more sorely tested, than on the emigrant trails to the West. Good judgment, integrity of purpose, and practical application thereof were indispensable to the harmony of the wagon train and the successful completion of the journey. Captain Randolph B. Marcy, a popular advisor to prairie travelers, advised in 1859, "On long and arduous expeditions men are apt to become irritable and ill-natured, and oftentimes fancy they have more labor imposed upon them then their comrades. . . . That man who exercises the greatest forbearance under such circumstances, who is cheerful, slow to take up quarrels, and endeavors to reconcile difficulties among his companions, is deserving of all praise, and will, no doubt, contribute largely to the success and comfort of an expedition" (Marcy 1993/1859, 24).

T. L. Haines and Levi Yaggy advised that "deportment, honesty, caution, and a desire to do right" were the truth of human character. Surely the truest criterion of a man's character and conduct was to be found in the "opinion of his nearest relations" who had daily and hourly opportunities to form a judgment of him within the privacy of the home (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 115). J. Clinton Ransom noted, "As men act in the home, so they will act in society, so will they act in the capacity of citizens" (Ransom 1889, 315). Young men, as they start in life, "should regard character as a capital, unaffected by panics and failures, fruitful when all other investments lie dormant, having as certain promise in the present life as in that which is to come" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 113). For Haines and Yaggy character was closely associated with masculinity and gender identification. They considered business, law, and government—the so-called higher walks of life—treacherous, dangerous, and filled with obstacles. Overcoming these "trying and perilous circumstances" required that an "upright man" be brave and filled with confidence (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 112–13).

On the American Western frontier, men were more closely defined by their work than in any other part of the nation. Among the most common men in opening the West were prospectors, miners, mountain trappers, emigrant train guides, and soldiers. Sometimes solitary, sometimes traveling in bands of a hundred, these were arguably the first persons to open the mountains and plateaus to exploitation, and it was their tales and their trails that led the emigrant trains westward.

Although the wagon train is thought to have been the quintessential mode of transportation west, steamboating was equally important and also filled with danger. William J. Petersen, nineteenth-century scholar and steamboat devotee, noted of immigrants during the 1870s, "Spurred on by hopes, enthusiasms, and ambitions that would not brook denial, the rugged pioneers trekked westward. Grim tragedy stalked them every mile of the way. Some who died of cholera on steamboats were flung into the muddy river or left to rot in shallow graves along the bank. Others sprinkled the desert with their bleached bones—a mute but somber warning to those who followed. Not infrequently the spring thaws disclosed the congealed bodies of pioneers who had been caught the previous winter in some snow-clad mountain pass." Only strong, resourceful, and self-reliant men were destined to survive (Petersen 1968/1937, 296).

The mountain man, epitomized for many by trappers like Kit Carson, Tom Fitzpatrick, and Jim Bridger, was the proudest of all the Americans who lived their lives out beyond the settlements. The free trappers, who worked alone or in small groups, owed no allegiance to any particular company, and sold their furs to the highest bidder, were a unique American type. Even Francis Parkman, who came to consider Henry Chatillon not only the mountain man par excellence but also a friend, called the profession in general that of half savage men who spent their lives in trapping among the Rocky Mountains.

Another category of mountain man was the Jacksonian man, an expectant capitalist like most other Americans of that time. His primary motive for participating in the fur trade was to accumulate capital rapidly; such capital could then be invested in other ventures. William Ashley, William Sublette, and Robert Campbell were illustrative of such entrepreneurial behavior, with subsequent ventures into banking, politics, coal mining, and stock breeding.

Among those men who followed Lewis and Clark into the wilderness was Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who neither climbed nor named Pike's Peak. However, his name would be memorialized in the motto of a nation restless to go west; "Pikes Peak or Bust" was scrawled on many a covered wagon. Pike and his men set out in September 1806 to explore the southern Great Plains and to explore the source of the Arkansas River. He found the land to be inhospitable and worthless for agriculture, going so far as to predict it would become the American Sahara. However, this could be an advantage, he felt, for the region could become a buffer between Spanish and American territory, serving as a barrier to westward expansion because it could force Americans to limit the extent of their expansion west to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi. In this way the myth of the Great American Desert was born, which would persist until after the Civil War and that was resurrected during the Dustbowl of the 1930s.

Stephen H. Long, of the army's topographical engineers, led five expeditions into the trans-Mississippi West from 1816 to 1823, covering roughly 26,000 miles. Perhaps his greatest contribution was convincing the War Department that scientific data gathering was as important as military mapping and surveying. Thus, scientific professionals were enlisted in exploring the West, an activity that had been the province of enthusiastic amateurs in Jefferson's day. However, after two decades of government-sponsored exploration the fever cooled in the halls of Congress, perhaps due to the unpromising reports of Pike and Long. For most of the rest of the next two decades the region was explored—informally but thoroughly—by fur traders and mountain men. Among them was John Colter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who had decided to remain behind. Seeking new trapping areas for his employer, Manuel Lisa of the Missouri Fur Company, he explored the Tetons, crossed the Continental Divide, and was probably the first white man to see what is now Yellowstone National Park.

Between 1842 and 1853, Colonel John Charles Frémont led five expeditions across the West. Nicknamed "The Pathfinder," he probably covered more territory than any other explorer of his day. On his way to the Pacific in 1843–1844, he essentially followed the established emigrant route. In 1843, 900 settlers arrived in Oregon, augmented the next year by 1,200 more. Thus, Frémont was hardly venturing into the unknown as Lewis and Clark had done. Indeed, he frequently wrote in his journal of sage brush crushed by wagon wheels, of finding a "broad plainly beaten trail" (Frémont 1988, 150), of a remarkable depletion of game, especially buffalo "an occasional buffalo skull and a few wild antelope were all that remained of the abundance which had covered the country with animal life", and its impact on the "miserably poor" Indians who "drew aside their blankets, showing me their lean and bony figures" (Frémont 1988, 143). He describes the Hudson's Bay Company operation at Vancouver and its intricate overland network to Montreal (Frémont 1988, 193–95). He regrets missing Dr. Marcus Whitman, absent from his missionary establishment at Walla Walla, but "an abundant supply of excellent potatoes" from the mission garden "furnished [the expedition] a grateful substitute for bread" (Frémont 1988, 182–83).

Although Frémont rarely forged new trails, his expeditions were far from insignificant. His reports excited America's imagination. Unlike the Lewis and Clark journals, which languished for years before publication, Congress ordered 10,000 copies of Fremont's reports published in 1845. The writing was often vivid. Frémont was a good storyteller, providing real-life adventures that later dime novelists would be hard-pressed to equal. In 1856 he was chosen as the first presidential candidate of the newly formed Republican Party. A remarkably attractive candidate, he nonetheless failed to carry the votes needed to propel the party's antislavery agenda to victory at the polls (Jones 1998, 74–78).

WOMEN

Women on the Emigrant Trail

Life on the journey west was long, slow, and tiresome. The day started at daybreak or earlier, with wheels rolling by 6:00 A.M. Prompt starts were essential for the group's success. Mothers learned it was preferable—to prevent delays—to let their children continue to sleep for a few hours after the wagons were under way. Often wagons that delayed the group's start were required to take a position at the rear of the line, a significant punishment given the dusty conditions. (Normally wagons took turns, day by day, in the lead.) Across the desert, starts were as early as 2:00 A.M., though sometimes the wagons kept rolling all night and stopped during the heat of the day. Early, on the journey, women and children rode in the wagons; later, as the animals grew exhausted, the women walked. They carried their babies, which after a while became exhausting. One tired woman reported that she got so weary of packing the babies that she took a long sack and fixed it so it could be fastened on the ox. She cut a hole on each side, like a pair of saddlebags and placed a baby in each end. The little fellows would ride thus and sleep half their time.

In addition to the many physical dangers of the journey, most of the immigrants experienced psychological stress as well. The majority was fairly provincial and had never ventured far from their homes. Many suffered from homesickness, especially on birthdays and wedding anniversaries. The psychological stresses were even greater for the relatively few women on the Overland Trail. A good many of them had become widows en route—from disease or accident. Unable to turn back they forged ahead, taking on the unfamiliar responsibility of being a single parent, and being unable for the children's sake to reach closure through mourning. The plight of one German emigrant woman whose husband, for some unknown reason, had gone back some distance, sat on the wagon tongue, weeping. Her son was sick in their wagon. With no one to watch over them, her oxen had wandered off. Realistically assessing her future, a diarist observed that the poor woman was in for hard times indeed. The son would probably die. The Indians or immigrants, some of whom were little better than the savages, would carry off their oxen, and finally the husband would be lost.

Even a woman whose future was far less bleak was suddenly shocked by the reality of the experience. Sarah Royce, traveling with her husband, had for months anticipated setting out and looking forward to camping out for the first time in her life. What she noticed, as night was coming on at the end of their first day, was that no house was within sight. Intellectually, of course, she knew that there would be none, but seeing night come on without house or home to shelter them and her baby girl and the recognition that it would be this way for many weeks was a chilling prospect for her. She felt a terrible shrinking from it in her heart. Outwardly brave, she kept it all to herself, but the oppressive sense of homelessness, and an instinct of watchfulness, kept her awake (Jones 1998, 121–25).

Mrs. Margaret Catherine Haun, one of a party from Clinton, Iowa, described how, during the day, the womenfolk visited from wagon to wagon, making congenial friends with whom to walk talking of loved ones left back in the States, sharing dreams for the future, and even whispering a little friendly gossip of emigrant life. In the evening they passed the time tatting, knitting, crocheting, exchanging receipts for cooking beans or dried apples, or swapping food for the sake of variety. She felt it helped to keep them in practice of feminine occupations and diversions. She noted that although most went early to bed, an hour or so around the campfire was relaxing. They listened to readings, storytelling, music, and songs, and the day often ended in laughter and merrymaking.

Perhaps aware of the drinking and coarse behavior among all-male companies, Mrs. Haun wrote that the presence of women and children tended to provide a good influence, reducing aggression and encouraging better care of the teams as well as better sanitation and cleanliness and more regular and better-cooked meals. The results, she argued, were fewer accidents and less sickness and waste. However, she may simply have been a fairly straight-laced, conventional woman. Certainly that was true in matters of dress, for she always wore a dark woolen dress. She never worked without an apron and a three-cornered shoulder kerchief.

Sarah Royce, who had been so unnerved by her first night on the road at seeing no signs of human habitation, forged ahead of her group, sometimes tugging the pack mule up the steepest places, eager for her first glimpse of California. One mid-October day, with weather so cold that water froze in the pans, she looked down from the last mountain, to her, the Sacramento Valley seemed to send up a "smile of welcome." Writing years later, Royce remembered the moment vividly. She recalled that however brave a face she might have put on most of the time, she knew her coward heart was yearning all the while for a home-nest and a welcome California, land of sunny skies (Jones 1998, 129–31).

A Scarcity of Women

One striking feature of the mining camps and frontier was the virtual absence of women. The harbormaster at San Francisco in 1850 counted 35,333 men arriving as opposed to 1,248 women. For the Overland immigrants that year, the count at Fort Laramie was 39,560 men, 2,421 women, and 609 children. Most women arriving by sea stayed in San Francisco or settled in Sacramento; few went to the mines. In September 1849 a miner in Yuba City reported glumly that in the town of 2,000 there were only about a dozen women. Sarah Royce reported that the first time she attended church in San Francisco, there were only six or eight women in the whole congregation. At church, and in the mining camps where she and her husband lived for several months, she was treated with extreme courtesy.

Many women who were widowed on the Overland trip but had continued on had multiple proposals of marriage soon after their arrival. John Banks, reflecting on this scarcity of women, remembered the early myth of the Amazons. He said that they may have gotten along well enough without men but Californians were trying the opposite experiment and he pronounced it a complete failure.

Though respectable women were treated with respect, a good living could be made by their fallen sisters. Like so many other commodities in California, their value reflected economic laws of supply and demand. When there were few other women, prostitutes were in demand. Some writers reflected outrage, but their censure in no way affected the business. A shocked John Banks, reflecting on the moral decadence of miners whose only love was gold, forecast a far more awful state of society in the next five years. Abandoned women seemed necessary to make men fiends. In San Francisco 50 to $100 would buy one. Some of these prostitutes donned men's clothes to ride horseback from camp to camp. One celebrated character of this kind said she had made $50,000 and regretted that she had not doubled the capacity for increasing her gains. William Perkins mused that those lost women were once innocent children, the joy and pride of happy mothers, pure virtuous girls, many of them once happy wives. Perkins, however, remained pragmatic, observing that they had to lay aside some strait-laced ideas and accommodate themselves to this extraordinary scene in which they found themselves actors. Not only did the gold seekers sometimes redefine themselves, they allowed social conventions to mutate.

This may be seen in variations on the institution of marriage. In Sonora, Perkins reported that some adventuresses attached themselves to men on a semipermanent basis, paying a nominal tribute to virtue by claiming that they are married. Perkins questioned why anyone needed to know the truth. Instead, as in so many other aspects of gold rush society, he observed that each one strives to cover the nakedness of reality with the mantle of illusion. Franklin A. Buck, however, could not ignore reality. He was called in 1859 to serve on a jury in a divorce court that had all the salacious details of a modern soap opera, details so embarrassing that one woman witness asked that the courtroom be closed before she'd testify.

Most women, however, maintained moral and social conventions. At the same time, many found ways to profit in California's booming economy. Few women actually mined. Many ran boarding houses, took in laundry, and baked. They worked hard and often amassed small fortunes, illustrating the larger truth that it was not the miners themselves, but those who supplied the goods and services to them who made the expected bonanza.

Women could earn \$50–\$60 a day doing laundry; at cooking, \$30 a day. In October 1849 one woman from Maine wrote home that 10 boarders brought in \$189 a week, or \$75 clear after expenses had been paid. She admitted that she had to work very hard, baking all her bread in a Dutch oven and doing the rest of her cooking at a small fireplace. She also took in ironing, making \$7 in as many hours. However, she had absolutely no social life. She reported that she not been in the street since she began to keep the boarding house. She knew that she'd been caught up in the mercenary drive of many Forty-Niners and remarked that there was nothing but gold there and she wanted to get her part. Another woman seemed almost ebullient despite her hard work. She reported that she had made about \$18,000 worth of pies, about one-third of which was clear profit. She boasted that she dragged the wood for her fires off the mountain and chopped it herself, with never the smallest bit of help. She baked about 1,200 pies per month and cleared \$200. She intended to quit work that coming spring, and give her business to her sister-in-law (Jones 1998, 151–53).

The unrelenting work was made more difficult by the harsh conditions of frontier life. Across the open plains the wind was omnipresent and often nerve-racking. Mary Clark wrote to her parents from her South Dakota claim that the wind was fierce and awful and it hardly ever stopped. It actually blew the feathers off the chickens' backs. She complained that she couldn't put up many pictures and things because every time the door opened they all blew off the wall. She noted that it was so funny when they noticed how terrible loud everyone talks out there and now they find ourselves just shouting away at the top of our voices. They discovered that it must have been the wind, and unless you yelled, you couldn't be heard at all.

If a windstorm hit on washday, everyone rushed outside to get the clothes before they blew away. Buckets, pails, and lightweight tools might be blown for miles if they didn't first catch on fences. The same winds, blowing over sun-baked land, produced dust storms, clouds of soil hundreds of feet high that blotted out the sun, filled the house with dust, almost smothered cattle in the stable, exposed the roots of young wheat, causing it to wither and die, and sent homesteaders into dull, despairing rage.

Bad as summer winds were, winter blizzards were worse. The Ammons sisters, returning from school, saw a blizzard coming "like white smoke," and before they got home they could not see their hands before their faces. With the thermometer at –30° F and the snow blowing at 80 miles per hour, it seemed as if the sun had been wholly blotted out and that the world would never again be warm. Homesteaders rigged ropes between house and barn so they wouldn't get lost going to feed the animals. Dr. Bessie Rehwinkel, returning from a house call, was caught in a sudden Wyoming snowstorm. Driving blindly, her horses becoming more exhausted by the minute, she recalled that her whole body was becoming numb, and she began to feel an almost irresistible drowsiness creeping upon her. Finally, miraculously, she saw a light through the gloom, and covered from head to foot with an icy sheet of snow that had frozen into a crust so that she had become a human icicle. She was welcomed into that very house she had left three hours earlier.

Another hazard, the rattlesnake, was mentioned so often by diarists as to be commonplace. Miriam Davis Colt remembered seeing rattlers crawling or hanging over sills near her front door. At night she'd hear peculiar noises under the floor, which at first she thought were rats. Instead they were snakes, and her husband kept a stout hickory stick near their bed to drive the snakes away. Mollie Sanford, in her bare feet, heard the tell-tale sound, killed a snake, and hung its 11 rattles on a tree as a trophy. The snakes did not fear people but slithered into homes, barns, and cellars (Jones 1998, 187–89).

Many popular ballads bemoaned the early death of young women. In the safe territories of Dakota, Nebraska, Utah, and Washington, women's death rates in 1859–1860 were 22 percent higher than those of men, even after taking into account violent deaths, whereas in the Eastern states the death rate was about the same for both sexes. Puerperal fever frequently resulted from unsanitary conditions during childbirth, and even when there were no fatal complications, if the child presented in breech position there was little anyone could do. Sometimes, to speed up a slow delivery, attendants held a quill of snuff to the mother's nose, the paroxysms of sneezing bringing forth the child.

Though the homesteaders' frontier had far more Euro-American women than any other, men still outnumbered women. In 1870, when the sex ratio was about even throughout the country, there were 247 men for every 100 women in the West; as the area became more settled, the ratio decreased, but by the turn of the century it was still 128:100 (Underwood 1987, 20). In 1880 Colorado had 129,131 men to 65,196 women; Montana Territory, 28,177 to 10,792; and Wyoming Territory, 14,152 to 6,637. This resulted in two almost antithetical responses to women: respect and domination.

The first was respect, codified if need be. Women, whether they were wives, schoolteachers, immigrant girls fresh off the boat, or prostitutes, were valued. When the bylaws of Yellowstone City, Montana, were written during the winter of 1884–1885, there were only 15 women and 300 men in the camp. Hanging was established as the penalty for murder, thieving or insulting a woman. Mollie Dorsey received so many proposals that she sighed saying that she did not see a woman at all. There were only men, single or bachelors, and she admitted that one gets tired of them (Jones 1998, 202–3).

CHILDREN

To be a child during the period of westward expansion was to be defined by competing characteristics. On one hand, children who grew up with the country were introduced to the harsh realities of disease, death, natural disasters and hard labor at an early age. At the same time, memoirs and diaries of frontier childhoods are awash with descriptions of exploration, wonder, and play, all standard aspects of American youth (Quay 2002, 25).

While popular attitudes toward children seem to have mixed the practical facts of daily existence with the emotions surrounding birth and death, a unique frontier phenomenon appeared in the idealization of youth. Different from the sentimental culture that defined middle-class children during the nineteenth century, the idealization of youngsters originated in the fact that their were so few children present in the West, especially in mining towns and other communities settled primarily by men. Determined to head West, to get rich quickly, and to return home as soon as possible, men in mining towns and other locations found themselves in male company more often, and for longer periods of time than they had ever anticipated. As a result, when children would appear in such a town, attention would be lavished upon them. Songs were sung in their honor, gifts were given to them, and they were ogled in amazement. One reason for this might be that, in comparison to the hardships of Western life, children reminded the immigrants of the lives they had left behind. At the same time children stood for the future, and therefore were symbols of westward expansion itself (Quay 2002, 27).

Childbirth was a remarkably unsentimental experience during the trip west. Far away from doctors, midwives and sometimes even other women, mothers-to-be endured labor and childbirth as they did other difficult aspects of the journey west. Diarists wrote only briefly about the experience, and while they did so with words of joy and happiness, just as frequently they commented about how the birth of a child had the unfortunate consequence of delaying the journey a day or two while the mother recovered enough strength to continue. The straightforward records of childbirth on the trail underscored the fact that newborns, while loved and cared for, were also just another part of the experience.

Once a child was delivered, the threats to survival were far from over. One diarist described how children on the way west were in danger virtually all the time. Children were trampled by animals, burned in campfires, and drowned during river crossings. Some were lost on the prairie while gathering food, and others tumbled off wagons and were run over by heavy wheels. While upsetting to the parents, these events were so common that their occurrences were also viewed as an inevitable part of the trip, another hardship suffered in settling the frontier (Quay 2002, 27).

Once settled, dangers continued. Children were lost in farm accidents, prairie fires, and to snakebite. Snakes did not fear people and they slithered into homes, barns, and cellars. Children playing in the yard were their most frequent victims, though adults and livestock also died of snakebite. Nearly everyone carried a hoe to kill any rattlers they might encounter (Jones 1998, 189).

The demands placed on children registered larger cultural agendas about westward expansion, including the desire to find self-sufficiency, independence, and financial success in the new West. Rather than defining children as individuals who needed to develop the skills and to acquire the knowledge necessary to become adults, Westerners viewed the young as people capable of taking on the same type of work and responsibilities completed by grown men and women. Pioneer children were given substantial responsibilities and learned at an early age how to cope with draughts, grasshopper plagues, and fires. If families were to be successful on the frontier, they depended on contributions of every member of the family unit (Quay 2002, 26). Homesteaders welcomed children, and many had large families, in part, because they provided extra hands on the farm. One newspaper editorialized that a "poor man counts each one of his half dozen or half score a blessing . . . stout hands and active heads are the very thing we need" (Jones 1998, 202).

Frontier life often blurred labor's age and gender distinctions. Children cared for the livestock, hunted, fished, hauled water, collected wood and buffalo chips, cooked, cared for the sick, and attended their younger siblings. They were impressed into service as soon as they could handle the task. One Kansas father bragged that his two-year-old son could fetch the cows out of the stock fields, carry in stove wood, and feed the hogs (Volo and Volo 2007, 319).

Sometimes children worked off their homestead. Parents controlled their children's labor, and a father could claim his son's wages until he was 21. Fourteen-year-old Frank O'Brien was hired out to work on a farm seven miles away. After having walked there, he found his quarters to be in the attic, which he shared with seed corn, dried pumpkins, and field mice. His work included washing dishes, helping with the threshing, churning butter, turning the grindstone as his employer sharpened tools, and cleaning the hay mow. Farmers, especially widowers, often advertised for hired girls (Jones 1998, 192–93).

Children who lived near Western mining towns found there were many opportunities to earn money for the family. Enterprising youngsters sold butter, bacon, and wild game. Others offered their services cooking, cleaning, and doing odd jobs but most hired out to do the same types of farm chores that they expected to do for their own family.

Laura Ingalls Wilder's popular "Little House on the Prairie" (1932–1943) books recount her childhood on the frontier. As a young child she helped with housework, cared for her siblings, tended the animals and helped with the crops. As she got older she sewed shirts in town to bring cash into the family. She also took employment as a waitress and maid in a hotel in town, and when only 15 she began teaching school (Volo and Volo 2007, 319).

In his fictionalized account of his western childhood, *Boy Life on the Prairie* (1899), Hamlin Garland commented several times that he and his young friends "looked exactly like diminutive men." The phrase was made in reference to the clothing they wore, the work that they did, and the attitudes they adopted (Quay 2002, 26). He remembered trying to be a "good little soldier" and live up to the expectations of his father, a Civil War veteran. Early on he and his brother had the responsibilities of grown men. They chopped wood, hunted cattle that had wandered off, and harrowed and cross-harrowed the fields until "tears of rebellious rage" creased the dust on their faces. At age 10 he had been taught to handle bundles of thoroughly dried barley shocks; at age 14 he was one of five men on a crew binding straw after the reaper had passed. Kept out of school during October and November, he first plowed and then husked corn. His father was not unkind, giving him the freedom to do what he wanted and go where he liked on Sunday as long as he was back in time for milking (Jones 1998, 192).

Children's work was not always voluntary. On at least one occasion a farmer, with too many mouths to feed, agreed to indenture two of his children to another man looking for "draft animals." The agreement was that the employer would buy them each a pair of shoes if they worked out. Their mother, who had not originally been consulted, so harassed her husband that a week later they rescued their children sick, terrified, bewildered, and maltreated (Jones 1998, 193).

Pioneer children had few toys. Often they were little more than simple items made from scraps of fabric and wood by loving parents. Imaginative children often made their own playthings from found objects. A little girl growing up on the frontier remembered weaving blades of long grass to fashion a doll hammock. One young boy recalled how he and his brother played "ranching." Corn kernels were sheep, peanuts were cattle, and marbles were horses. The brothers traded livestock and even "killed" a few sheep (McClary 1997, 8). Eleanore Stewart remembered her daughter calling a block of wood her "dear baby," a spoke from a wagon wheel "little Margaret," and a barrel stave "bad little Johnny" (Jones 1998, 192). As the century progressed and towns were established, even frontier families were able to order toys from mail-order catalogs.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

THE ORPHAN TRAINS

In 1853, a group of ministers looking for a better way to help orphaned or destitute urban youth formed the Children's Aid Society. Chief among these was Charles Loring Brace, a minister from Connecticut working in the tenement neighborhoods of

New York City. In 1851, Brace had worked at the Ladies' Methodist Home Missionary Society founded in 1848 in the city's Five Points neighborhood. This was one of the poorest and most crime-ridden areas of the city, and it was filled with an immense number of boys and girls floating and drifting about in the streets with no occupation other than petty crime, prostitution, and gang membership; and no assignable home or guiding parents.

Brace and his comrades in the Children's Aid Society understood that children needed a secure loving home free from the filth of the city and its corrupting influences. The board of the Society decided that part of the solution to the problem was to remove orphans from the urban environment and find homes for them in the country where they would have enough to eat, warm beds and clothing, and fresh air and a cleaner environment. The Society began in 1853 to place children with willing families in central New York and in New England. In 1854 they expanded their program by rounding up 46 children between the ages of 7 and 15 from the slums and sending them by train to the Midwest. Here the children were put on display at a church meeting so that farm families could choose among them.

The so-called Orphan Train was very successful, and two more were established in 1855. In return for a home in the rural countryside the children were expected to do the same work that was expected of the natural progeny of farm parents. However, the foster parents were not screened in any way. Their willingness to take a child was their only qualification, and no follow-up was done by the Society to find out if the children were thriving in their adoptive homes or being abused. Yet the society had great difficulty in placing children under 10 years old, who were seen as less able to do a full day's work. Black children were particularly difficult to place with white families, and the Society made no concerted effort to find willing black families to provide foster homes.

By 1860, the Children's Aid Society had placed approximately 5,000 children. The exact number is unknown because the Society kept only fragmentary or contradictory records. Children's Aid Societies in other eastern cities—particularly Boston and Philadelphia—also sent out orphans by train including many of the so-called Soldiers' Orphans of the Civil War. By 1884, Brace was able to claim 60,000 successful placements by means of the Orphan Trains. Brace served as president of the Children's Aid Society of New York for 40 years.

—James M. Volo

SERVANTS AND SLAVES

The redistribution of wealth due to industrialization, the availability of wage-paying nondomestic employment for women, and the resulting growth of the middle classes caused a great decrease in the number of young women from good families who were willing to take up domestic service. Frances Trollope, a British visitor to America, wrote, "The greatest difficulty in organizing a family establishment in Ohio, is getting servants, or, as it is there called, 'getting help,' for it is more than petty treason to the Republic, to call a free citizen a servant. The whole class of young women, whose bread depends on their labor, are taught to believe that the most abject poverty is preferable to domestic service. Hundreds of half-naked girls work in the paper mills, or in any other manufactory, for less than half the wages they would receive in service; but they think their equality is compromised by the latter, and nothing but the wish to obtain some particular article of finery will ever induce them to submit to it" (Trollope 2003, 32).

Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe made the following remarkable notion concerning their own class of women just four years after the close of the Civil War. "Domestic service is the great problem of life here in America: the happiness of families, their thrift, well-being, and comfort, are more affected by this than by any one thing else. The modern girls, as they have been brought up, can not perform the labor of their own families as in those simpler, old-fashioned days: and what is worse, they have no practical skill with which to instruct servants, who come to us, as a class, raw and untrained" (Beecher and Stowe 2002, 235).

American-born, nonimmigrant women particularly resented working as domestics. "A sore, angry and even wakeful pride . . . seemed to torment [them]. In many of them it was so excessive, that all feeling of displeasure, or even of ridicule, was lost in pity," noted Trollope. "One of these was a pretty girl, whose natural disposition must have been gentle and kind; but her good feelings were soured, and her gentleness turned to morbid sensitiveness, by having heard a thousand and a thousand times that she was as good as any lady, that all men were equal, and women too, and that it was a sin and a shame for a free-born American to be treated like a servant" (Trollope 2003, 33). Beecher and Stowe noted the story of "an energetic matron" who refused to allow her daughters to serve as domestics in the summer vacation household of her neighbor saying, "If you hadn't daughters of your own, may be I would; but my girls are not going to work so that your girls may live in idleness" (Beecher and Stowe 2002, 236).

Although it had been shown that young women could be successfully integrated into a work setting outside the home, the general employment of women in the male-dominated surroundings of factories and office buildings remained controversial and redeployed an army of young women from domestic service to the business sector. Factories that successfully attracted women employees were often run like corporate convents to reassure parents that their daughters' reputations would be safe. Such male condensation was not so much a contempt for the ability or value of women as workers, but rather a proclamation of men's own strongly felt social duty to support their wives, daughter, mothers, and sisters and protect them from exploitation. Even those men with liberal attitudes toward the rights of labor spoke of "being sickened by the spectacle of wives and daughters—and, even worse, single girls—leaving their preordained positions as homemakers" to take jobs outside the "cult of domesticity." The duties performed while in domestic service were considered to be among the normal womanly obligations surrounding home care, even if they were carried out in someone else's home. The picture of women cleaning and cooking for others seemingly relieved some of the cultural distress associated with females working among machines, drive belts, and smokestacks (Wilentz 1984, 249).

The quickening tempo of trade and finance during the nineteenth century greatly enlarged the number of white-collar jobs available to Americans, and the resultant increase in middle-class status and wealth widened the demand for domestic servants. Although many women expressed a desire to go to work, few wished to fill positions as servants. As an example, a Brooklyn gentleman advertised for a lady copyist at a salary of $7 a week, and his wife advertised for a cook at $10. Although the wages offered were close to the average expected for such work, they were much higher than those paid for factory work—then at about $5. Yet there was "only one applicant for the cook's place, while 456 ladies were anxious to secure the post of copyist" (Tinling 1993, 122).

Such a result may evidence an aversion for domestic service and the attraction of more tasteful and less degrading employment among young women. "No honest work was as derogatory as idleness," but service as a domestic was never considered "a reasonable channel for the employment of educated ladies." Some nineteenth-century social observers considered domestic service appropriate only for "redundant women" or those without husbands or families with the means to support them (Wilentz 1984, 249). Many men feared that "once out of the household, women were subject to the whims of greedy and, sometimes literally rapacious overseers and masters, who would treat them like slaves" (Wilentz 1984, 249). A female supporter of maintaining the gender distinctions among the classes of society noted, "Who would not smile if the proposition were advanced of clergymen's and physicians' sons going out as valets, footman, and butlers? Classes and sexes must sink or swim together; that which is impossible for the man can not be made available—speaking for the class point of view—for the woman" (Tinling 1993, 122).

Ultimately, such thinking caused society to turn more and more for domestic service to women who would not have been considered appropriate as help in the 1790s. These included blacks and immigrant women (predominantly Asians in the West after 1850, and the Irish in the East after 1820). Black house slaves, both male and female, had sufficed as domestics for generations on Southern plantations, and they continued to do so right through the Civil War and up to the end of the century. Even the Presidential Mansion proudly employed an army of black domestics as butlers, doormen, servers, and maids. Chinese men and women in the West worked for negligible wages as cooks and laundresses; and many established American families hired the Irish even though they viewed them only in prejudicial terms. At the end of the century, a study of domestics found that 60 percent were foreign born, 17 percent black, and 24 percent native-born whites (Strasser 1982, 165).

The Irish came to be the group most closely associated with urban domestics outside the South. In 1825 in New York, 59 percent of women employed through the Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Domestic Servants were identified as Irish. Yet the Irish as a group were not only the victims of social and religious prejudice, they were also accused of voting illegally, of selling their votes to unscrupulous politicians, of undermining the wages and employment opportunities of other Americans, and of engendering crime and immorality. Irish servants were hotly derided in a series of cartoons that appeared in *Harper's* in 1856 and 1857 under the title of "The Miseries of Mistresses." However, the Irish, being white, were less visibly offensive to the social and political sensibilities of the sometimes hypocritical upper-class Protestant households that employed domestics but did not want to interact with persons of another race. Even if the Irish were mostly Catholics, Catholicism didn't show through a service uniform; and the Irish, unlike other immigrant groups, could speak and take directions in English. Nonetheless, some of the discrimination toward domestics came to be identified with "Bridget" and her Irish sisters, who became characters in popular discussions of the "servant problem" (Strasser 1982, 166).

It has been pointed out that "Irish culture fostered female self-assertion and social independence." By way of contrast to other European women who usually came as part of family groups where the men were the primary wage earners, many single Irish women came to America alone or in small groups of females. This was part of a desperate economic strategy that required that they send money home to their starving relatives still in Ireland. The tendency toward delayed marriage or nonmarriage among Irish women under these circumstances made them prime candidates for domestic service, and in Eastern cities such employment paid fairly well—sometimes nearly twice that of factory work. It has been estimated that the Irish in New York City alone sent home over $20 million to their families in the single decade before the Civil War (West 1992, 4; Volo and Volo 2007, 352–55).

PETS: PETS AS WORKMATES

As people immigrated west, they often took dogs with them. Never thought of as pets in the pampered sense, these canines served as companions who worked side by side with their masters sharing their hardships and adventures. Wagon trains were frequently accompanied by dogs. They served as guards that warned of attacks by Indians and predatory animals and helped hunt for game. Their companionship also provided some relief from the pressures of the journey and acted as a reminder of the home they left behind. Some caravans forbade them, citing the fact that dogs sometimes stole food and killed livestock. They also were concerned that the barking and howling of the canines responding to the sounds of the prairie night sometimes caused the teams to break free from the stockades and stampede into the darkness.

Cowboys kept dogs and used them to manage some livestock but did not bring them on cattle drives, fearing that they would spook the cattle and cause a stampede. It was the sheepherder who made the greatest use of dogs. It was said that it took seven horsemen to drive 1,000 head of cattle yet a single sheepherder with one good dog could control the same number of sheep. Initially sheepdogs were of mixed breeds but increasing numbers of Scottish shepherds immigrated to the West bringing highland collies with them. Many young Scots left their homeland with a trained collie and a letter of introduction to an established sheep rancher. The young men worked the summer and in the fall were paid in various combinations of sheep, land, and cash enabling them to start out on their own.

A miner's lot was lonely, hard, and dangerous. Many miners enjoyed the companionship of a dog that also provided some security against claim jumpers and wild animals. Some dogs made additional contributions to the mining process by hauling sledges or carts. Sled dogs were often used in the snowy northern regions for transportation. The brutality that often pervaded mining camps made cruel use of animals as well. Dogs were used for badger baiting, a vicious sport where a badger was tied up in a ring and left to fight against a series of dogs. As each combatant entered the ring new wagers were placed. Fighting between dogs was even more common and was often the object of high stakes gambling. Many of the dogs lost their lives as well as the fight. Those who lost the fight but survived were often left to die from their wounds. The winners received considerable notoriety but were constantly faced by challenges from the owner of every tough cur thought to be fierce enough to dethrone them.

Stray dogs were a problem in all cities both in the East and the West, and they were hunted and condemned. Bummer and Lazarus, however, were two San Francisco bar-begging street dogs who achieved considerable fame. Bummer was a black-and-white Newfoundland mix. Lazarus' genealogy was less evident. Newspapermen, including Mark Twain, regularly reported on their exploits in at least four different California newspapers beginning in 1860. The pair were portrayed as the opposed symbols of human virtue and deceit.

The citizens of San Francisco petitioned city supervisors asking the prodigious rat killers be declared city property so that they could roam the city unmolested. Lazarus was believed to have been poisoned in 1863 by a man whose son had been bitten by him. Obituaries and eulogies abounded for days following Bummer's death in 1865, and they were published in papers as far away as Virginia City. The pair were stuffed and displayed for years as a tribute to devotion and friendship (Deer 2004, 147–49).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Armitage, Susan, and Elizabeth Jameson, eds. *The Women's West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Bartlett, Richard A. *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776–1890*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Bash, Wendell H. "Differential Fertility in Madison County New York, 1865." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Beecher, Catherine E., and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Brown, Dee. *The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West*. New York: Bantam, 1958.

Deer, Mark. *A Dog's History of America: How Our Best Friend Explored, Conquered, and Settled a Continent*. New York: North Point Press, 2004.

Easterlin, Richard A., George Alter, and Gretchen A. Condran. "Farms and Farm Families in Old and New Areas: The Northern States in 1860." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America*, ed. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Farragher, John Mack. *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Frémont, John C. *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.

Garland, Hamlin. *Boy Life on the Prairie*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1959.

Graulich, Melody. "Violence against Women: Power Dynamics in Literature of the Western Family." In *The Women's West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, 111–26.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Haines, T. L., and Levi W. Yaggy. *The Royal Path of Life: Or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness*. Chicago, IL: Western Publishing House, 1876.

Hareven, Tamara K., and Maris A. Vinovskis. *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Jameson, Elizabeth. "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West." In *The Women's West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, 145–64.

Jones, Mary Ellen. *Daily Life on the Nineteenth Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Luchetti, Cathy. *Women of the West*. In collaboration with Carol Olwell. St. George, UT: Antelope Valley Press, 1982.

Marcy, Randolph B. *The Prairie Traveler, A Hand-book for Overland Expeditions*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1993. Reprint of the 1859 edition.

McClary, Andrew M. *Toys with Nine Lives: A Social History of American Toys*. North Haven, CT: Linnet Books, 1997.

Megquier, Mary Jane. *Apron Full of Gold: The Letters of Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1849–1856*. Edited by Robert Glass Cleland. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1949.

Myres, Sandra L. *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

Petersen, William J. *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*. New York: Dover Publications, 1968. Reprint of the 1937 edition.

Ransom, J. Clinton. *The Successful Man in His Manifold Relation with Life*. New York: J. A. Hill & Co., 1889.

Reef, Catherine. *Alone in the World, Orphans and Orphanages in America*. New York: Clarion Books, 2005.

Riley, Glenda. *Frontierswomen: The Iowa Experience*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981.

Royce, Sarah. *A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California*. Edited by Ralph Henry Gabriel. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1932.

Sandoz, Mari. *The Beaver Men, Spearheads of Empire*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978.

Sanford, Mollie Dorsey. *Mollie: The Journal of Mollie Dorsey Sanford in Nebraska and Colorado Territories, 1857–1866*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959.

Schlissel, Lillian. *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*. New York: Schocken Books, 1982.

Schlissel, Lillian, Byrd Gibbons, and Elizabeth Hampsten. *Far from Home: Families of the Westward Journey*. New York: Schocken Books, 1989.

Stewart, Elinore Pruitt. *Letters of a Woman Homesteader*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1914.

Strasser, Susan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1982.

Tinling, Marion, ed. *With Women's Eyes: Visitors to the New World, 1775–1918*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Underwood, Kathleen. *Town Building on the Colorado Frontier*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Valencius, Conevery Bolton. *The Health of the Country, How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*. New York: Perseus Books Group, 2002.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Wells, Robert V. "Demographic Change and the Life Cycle of American Families." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

West, Elliot. *Growing Up with the Country*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

West, Elliot, and Paula Petrik, eds. *Small Worlds: Children and Adolescents in America, 1850–1950*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

West, Patricia. "Irish Immigrant Workers in Antebellum New York: The Experience of Domestic Servants at Van Buren's Lindenwald." *The Hudson Valley Regional Review: A Journal of Regional Studies* 9, no. 2 (September 1992): 9.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Wyman, Walker D. *Frontier Woman: The Life of a Woman Homesteader on the Dakota Frontier*. River Falls: University of Wisconsin–River Falls Press, 1972.

THE PERIOD OF EXPLOITATION

OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Economic Life

NATURE OF WORK

The Development of the Leisure Class

Chief among the changes that affected America in the second half of the nineteenth century was the development of a leisure class funded largely through the exploitation of the nature resources of the nation including its teeming masses of willing workers. Gold and silver mines, stands of timber, fertile soil, herds of livestock, seams of coal, and fields of oil produced undreamt of riches for the few men that had the vision to chase their dreams of wealth.

The constant influx of immigrants, who were willing to take on the most onerous and lowest paid jobs, effectively drove the native working classes to middle-class status; and as an incoming tide raises all boats, the American middle class found itself raised to a social level undreamed of in the previous century. Nonetheless, entry into the upper classes in America required both money and the acceptance of those already considered the social elite. Many families were barred, therefore, from further upward mobility, and the middle class consequently expanded.

Thorstein Veblen, the American-born child of Norwegian immigrant parents, examined an American working class that aspired to a life of leisure and social prominence. Veblen's first and best-known work was *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). It is a generally biting commentary on American culture during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Herein he identified a number of forces that led his fellow citizens to want to emulate the materialistic economics of the rich. Veblen coined the popular term "conspicuous consumption" and less repeated phrases such as "pecuniary emulation" and "conspicuous leisure" in this study. He exposed the emptiness of many of the cherished standards of upper-class taste, dress, and culture. For Veblen, the shallowness and superficiality of American society resulted from a growing faith in the accumulation of ostentatious wealth and the universal approbation of one's social class.

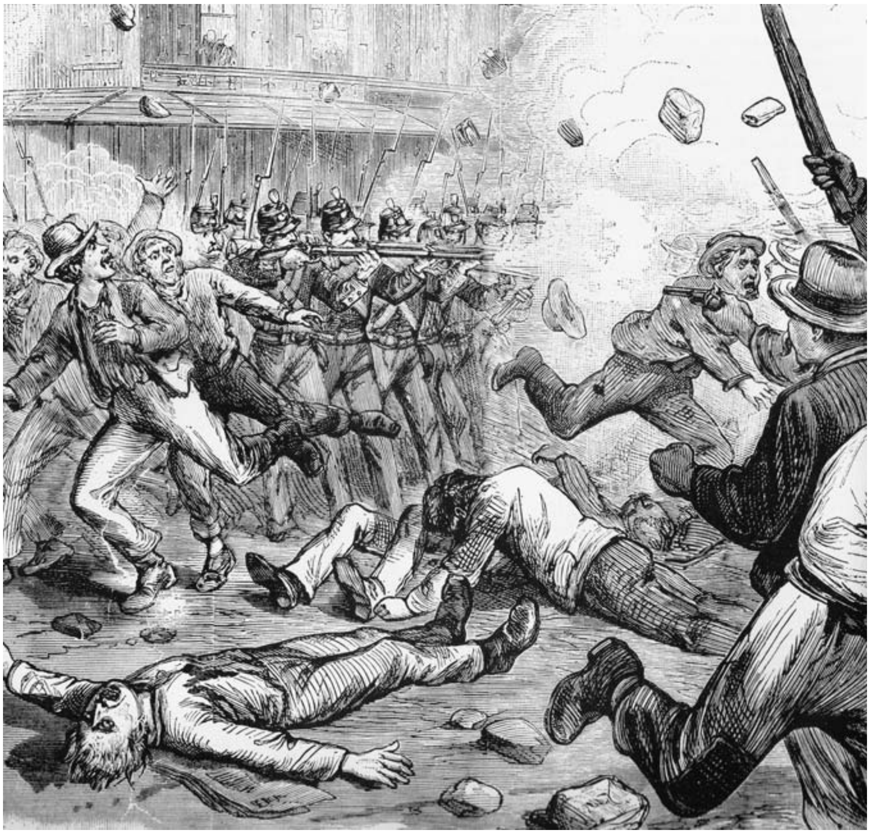
It has been charged that the upper classes extracted their wealth not only through the exploitation of the nation's natural resources, but also through the exploitation of its working class. He charged that the leisure class sheltered itself in great measure from the stresses it created in the economic and industrial community that affected the lower classes every day. The wealthy, he charged, do not yield to the demands for social reform as readily as others because they were not constrained to do so (Veblan 1994, 123).

—James M. Volo

Miners

Mining was one of the extraction trades. Although gold and silver stole the spotlight with rushes of nugget gatherers to spectacular strikes and miners towns popping up at the diggings, the majority of miners were professionals who worked in settled communities or company towns taking coal, iron, and other base metals from the ground. Men of Irish and Welsh ancestry initially brought hard-rock mining techniques from Europe to the United States, and they dominated the Eastern industry in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Irish Catholics, in particular, attempted to maintain their ethnic and religious integrity in the mining communities. They built churches, established community parishes, and demanded priests from the diocese. Second only to the Irish in their cohesion were the Welsh Cornishmen. This helped them to create a remarkable unity, and late in the century they used it to form unions and fight the mining companies for wages, safety standards, working, and living conditions. However, the mine workforce of the second half of the century became increasingly populated with foreign-speaking immigrants. The newcomers to the eastern mines were Poles, Italians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Lithuanians who found it difficult to work in cooperation with the established miners and often served as scabs and strikebreakers for the companies.

Striking miners and their families were often confronted by sheriff's posses, Pinkerton guards, or immigrant strikebreakers outside their company-owned homes.



Unions are commonplace today, and the right to strike is generally accepted by the American population. This was not always the case. In the nineteenth century unions were often feared or considered illegal. State militias and federal troops were sometimes brought in to break up labor demonstrations, and more than once soldiers fired into the crowds. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Besides the houses, the companies owned the minions of the law and usually controlled the local schools, stores, and the utilities. The miners were not allowed to purchase items outside the company towns, and the debts that they accumulated reduced the workers to utter subservience.

Described as a "500-square mile triangle of low mountains, deep valleys, and sharp outcroppings of rock," northeastern Pennsylvania boasted nearly all the hard coal (anthracite) that heated the homes and offices or ran the factories and engines along the Atlantic seacoast. Places like Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Shamokin, Mount Carmel, and Shenandoah were made prosperous by the extraction of hard coal. Soft coal mining (bituminous) was actually more widespread. While 10,000 miners worked the hard coal, tens of thousands—possibly 150,000—worked the soft coal deposits of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Virginia, North Carolina, and elsewhere. These mines were tightly controlled by a few coal-carrying railway lines that shipped the fuel to Eastern cities and iron foundries. Ironically, while early locomotives all burned wood, only Northern railways had changed over to coal before the Civil War.

The men and boys who worked these mines were generally considered hard rock miners because they pried the valuable substances from the surrounding igneous and metamorphic rock layers. Much of what they removed from surface seams and underground galleries was useless silica rock, shale, or slate. For this reason a miner's ton—the basis on which many miners were paid—was set at 3,360 pounds per ton, and sometimes higher. This was thought to render a standard ton (2,000 pounds) of useful or valuable product. The iron and steel company towns, and the coal fields and iron mines that fed the furnaces, were the domain of industrial giants like Henry Clay Frick and Andrew Carnegie.

The grip of these companies was tight, and they squeezed hard. If the price of coal fell at market, the mine might close, and many miners worked as few as 200 days a year leaving each miner with continuing bills that he could not pay. As an example, after an entire month's work, one miner—a boy of 14, the eldest child in his family—brought home only a demand for money due to the company of $396, the current balance on the family's rented two-room house unpaid since the death of his father (Reynolds 1960, 58).

Mining contracts usually restricted the workers' ability to purchase items outside the community, if they were available at the company store. An average miner made $8 to $12 a week, but he realized a profit of only about $300 per year. In the copper mining town of Clifton, Michigan, the local school teacher, Henry Hobart, noted in his diary, "A good assortment of goods, but they are very dear. A common suit of clothes cost $33.00 . . . an everyday coat . . . $26.00. If this is the way things are selling, men must receive more wages. Miners have to pay $13.00 for board now. Everything is going up except wages and I think that they will go up soon. Some miners are making $50.00 per month" (Mason 1991, 146).

Most boys from mining families followed their fathers into the mines in easy stages, beginning usually at the breakers where slate and rock was picked out from among the coal by boys as young as 8 or 10. The little boys might make 35 cents a day. If all went well, and he did not die from an accident or the inhalation of dust, an adolescent might work his way through a series of jobs in the mines. At 12 he might become a trapper boy, opening and closing the underground mine-shaft doors to let the mule-drawn mine trucks go by, or he might run buckets back and forth between the work face and the cars. Ultimately he would become a contract miner, or he might specialize as a powder monkey, a blaster, or a blaster's devil (assistant) working with long chisels, fuses, and black powder to blow out the seams from the work face.

The work was grueling and dangerous but, as one observer noted, "The miner is constantly exposed to danger; still . . . they do accustom themselves to the work that they would never work on the surface" (Mason 1991, 171). Another journalist described the tasks facing the hard-rock miner, "It was up to the miner to fire the shots, to use the most delicately exact skill in placing the (supporting) timber. The work required an alert mind and great physical strength. . . . Sometimes erect, sometimes on his knees, sometimes on his side or back, the miner worked in an endless night, a soft black velvet darkness, with only the light of his miners lamp to see by." Injury and death threatened from many directions: a quick death from a sudden rock fall or a premature explosion; a slow death from carbon monoxide or methane; a hacking and coughing death while spitting up bloody coal dust from one's lungs. Deep mining made for poor ventilation, damp conditions from seep water, and, in deep mines, high underground temperatures. In 1869 a mine fire in Avondale, Pennsylvania, killed an entire shift leaving 59 widows and 109 orphans (Reynolds 1960, 57).

Schoolmaster Henry Hobart noted how even simple tasks could prove deadly, "There was a sad accident in the mine today. A man coming up from the 120-fathom level [720 feet] in a shaft he was helping to sink; when he arrived at the 110-fathom level on the top of the ladder his hand missed the top round and he fell backwards to the bottom, a distance of seventy-five feet striking his head on the solid rocks. His skull was broke in pieces and he was brought up senseless and is still living though very little hopes are had for his recovery." The man died within three hours with his wife and three small children in attendance (Mason 1991, 171). An old cemetery stone in coal country reads as follows:

> Forty years I worked with pick and drill,
> Down in the mines against my will.
> The Coal King's slave but now its passed,
> Thanks to God I am free at last. (Reynolds 1960, 56)

Safety was always a concern in the mines, but safety measures were few. The descending ladders were usually wet and sometimes frozen. Steam engines were harnessed to pump water from the mines and power-bellows were added for ventilation. "The pump extends down the shaft on one side for drawing the water out of the mine. It is a foot in diameter and goes to the bottom. On the other side of the shaft separated from the Pump and Main Ladder by a partition is the place where the Bucket draws up the copper and rock" (Mason 1991, 82). Hobart, who was fond of recording disasters both small and large, also noted. "Mr. Phillips, driving the pumping engine, had his little finger taken off by putting it in a hole in the feed pump to remove some dirt when the plunger came down and took it off. It was a very careless trick, and he has lost his finger by doing so." Hobart also noted, "Two miners got into a quarrel about a hammer underground and one struck the other a heavy blow on the head with the hammer breaking his hat cap [a hard hat] and a piece of it cut his head severely. The other is now in jail. A hat cap will stand a heavy blow before it will injure the head and I suppose he struck as if he was striking a drill. They are to have a law suit about the affair." Not all the dangers that Hobart recorded were underground. "All of the buildings at the Amygdaloid Mine except the store were burnt the other day. It was very windy and the fire caught from the bush and all the men in the mine could not control it. The place was all in ashes in less than three hours" (Mason 1991, 163).

One of the greatest feats of mine engineering during the period was that of Adolf Sutro who began a 3.8 mile long tunnel to drain water by gravity from the Savage Mine in California. The project, originally resisted by banking and railroad forces, was spurred forward by the disastrous Yellow Jack Mine fire of 1869 that killed scores of miners. Sutro argued successfully that given the money and permission to build the tunnel, not only could he drain water from the mine, but also ventilate it and provide an emergency exit. The Sutro Tunnel, completed in 1878, was a mine-engineering wonder, but it was found to be higher than the work face (which had been dug lower during nearly 10 years of construction), but it did provide a smaller lift through which to pump the 150+ degree water.

When a mining community formed, one of the necessities of life became sufficient drinking water for the population. Rich ore deposits and pure drinking water were not always available together, and mine water with its dissolved heavy metals was unhealthy or even poisonous. Hermann Schussler, formerly Chief Hydraulic Engineer for the growing city of San Francisco, formulated a method of moving clear mountain water from Marlette Lake high in the Sierra Nevadas to Virginia City. The pipe, which Schussler envisioned as early as 1864 and others rejected as impractical, had to handle a perpendicular drop of 1,720 feet from the mountains with an end-point pressure of over 800 pounds per square inch. This required a thick-walled rolled iron pipe (5/16 inch of metal) to withstand bursting under the pressure. On the east-west run of the pipe, Schussler progressively decreased the thickness of metal down to 1/16 inch thereby increasing the capacity and rate of flow of the pipe while decreasing the internal pressure. When completed in 1873 the pipe could deliver more than two million gallons of pure mountain water every day. Two more pipes were installed in 1875 and 1887, respectively. Virginia City still uses drinking water from these pipes (McDonald 1982, 23).

Breaking mineral wealth from the working face of nature's outcrops or from the seams underground was tiring and difficult. Accomplished by the application of miner's picks, chisels, sledge hammers, and explosions, there was, nonetheless, little room for a full-fledged swing and tons of waste rock needed to be moved to create working space. The introduction of pneumatic drills that could work at almost any angle was initially viewed as a great laborsaving device that promised to increase the miners' productivity and wages. However, the dry dust produced by the drill quickly filled the air and accumulated in the lungs causing a serious medical crisis among the workers called silicosis. The introduction of a wet driller that took waste dust from the drill hole in a stream of water relieved the problem somewhat.

Sudden failure of a rock wall or ceiling was a dreaded threat, and a new type of timber framing was conceived in the mines of Nevada to replace the inevitably weak post and beam bracing then used to prevent collapse. Philip Deidesheimer, a German mining engineer working in America, devised a bracing method that utilized square sets of timbers arranged in cubes. The cubes of four, five, or six feet per side provided shoring in all directions, not just from above, and they could be stacked vertically or added to horizontally to follow the mineral seams. Miners could walk to the work face and ore could be tracked back through the cubes. The open sides allowed for lateral tunnels and elevators. The system increased safety manyfold, but it required a remarkable amount of timber to complete. Whole mountainsides were denuded to provide the bracing for a single local mine. For the good of all miners, Deidesheimer refused to patent his innovation (Volo and Volo 2007, 99–102).

Gold Mining

The people who participated in the rushes—miners, businessmen, traders, and gamblers—were generally below middle age both because the venture appealed to younger men and because the arduous life of the goldfields could be endured by no others. The labor was physically hard, the weather and environment unremitting, and the diet unbalanced or even unhealthy. The mining camps were notorious for outbreaks of dysentery, diarrhea, scurvy, typhoid, and fevers. Violence was the primary outcome of most disagreements. Other than prostitutes, there were very few women in the camps. In their freedom from the remonstrance of mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts, the miners let their appearance deteriorate into a stereotypical form that has come to describe all miners in the period. "An unkempt beard and long hair, weather beaten face, flannel shirts, shapeless pants, high boots, an

Gold rushers were an uncouth lot armed with shovels, picks, and cradle like rocker sluices for separating the gold from the gravel and dirt. Courtesy Library of Congress.

old hat, perhaps an old coat that had seen its last service . . . in the Mexican War." A pair of blankets, a firearm, knife, mining tools, and cooking utensils usually filled out their kit (Paul 1963, 26).

Gold strikes often proved more beneficial to industrial miners than to the individual dust panners and nugget pickers who stampeded after every golden find. Benjamin W. Ryan, age 38, left Illinois, his wife and his family for the goldfields in Montana. He kept a detailed journal of his trip and the man-days and profits from working a claim with his partners. In one case, eight men ran the sluices all day for only $11 dollars. On another day they took out $66. The following Sunday Ryan received $100 for a whole week's work. On their best day seven men took out $178, but the small payoffs outnumbered the large ones. Ryan could have made at least $5 a day working in a factory, and after a year in the goldfields he admitted that he "had not noticeably improved his condition by daring the perils of the wilderness and fighting Indians" (Johnson 1971, 133–34).

Ryan's experience was not atypical of most men who entered the gold fields with shovel in hand. Certainly some men became millionaires overnight, and others made their money by selling liquor, food, entertainment, and mining supplies at exorbitant prices. The Montana strike of 1864, like many other finds, never produced the level of wealth of the strike in California in 1849. A favorite song of "Banjo Dick" Brown, a popular entertainer in the mining towns of the West, summed up the national fascination with gold as follows:

For my heart is filled with grief and woe,
And oft I do repine,
For the days of old,
The days of gold,
The days of Forty-Nine. (Paul 1963, 179)

Placer mining is an open form of mining that requires no tunneling. It can be used to extract many metals, but it is most closely associated with gold mining. Excavation is usually accomplished by the application of water to mineral-rich gravel and sandbank alluvial deposits that represent old or ancient streambeds. The name derives from the Spanish word, placer, meaning sandbank. The deposits were usually too loose to safely tunnel into, and the metal, having been deposited by moving water over centuries, was usually some distance from the parent vein and in very small quantities.

The simplest form of placer mining was nugget picking. Active streambeds often uncover nuggets, grains, flakes, or ribbons of pure metal (native metal) that can be picked up with the fingers or scooped up in a shovel. The initial discovery of gold in California in 1848 by James Marshall was accomplished in this manner when a nugget of gold was discovered in a mill-race at Coloma. Nonetheless, large pieces of pure copper and iron pyrite (fool's gold) could also be collected in this way. Other metals rarely formed in pure native deposits. American Indians had used this method to collect metal for use in decorations and jewelry for generations.

Panning was a slightly more sophisticated form of placer mining. Some of the sediment was placed in a large pan with water and agitated so that the silica and lightweight debris overflowed the side. The heavier metal, usually flakes or a fine dust of gold, remained in the bottom of the pan. The same principle was more commonly employed using a sluice box made with barriers along the bottom to slow the movement of metal particles. Impelled by running water the grains and flakes of metal were captured along the perpendicular edges of the barriers while the sand, mud, and other debris wash over them. The idea was not new. Ancient Greek miners were thought to have placed sheepskins in fast flowing streams where gold particles attached to the strands of wool in a similar manner; hence the stories of the Golden Fleece may have had a basis in fact.

Geological theory at the time suggested that metal concentrations should increase in density as the depth of the alluvial deposit increased. Miners often processed gravels from 50 to 100 feet below the waterline of nearby streams to recover a few ounces of gold. Working on this concept in 1853, Edward E. Mattson invented a hydraulic water cannon that used the power of pressurized water to power wash gold bearing deposits of sand and gravel into giant sluices where the metal could be recovered. The water cannon required a rudimentary penstock (reservoir) of water with sufficient head to provide the pressure, and fabric hose (much like fire hoses) were used to connect the two. Mattson used the cannon with great success to reclaim gold at Gold Run and the Malakoff Diggings in California. Unfortunately the process resulted in massive amounts of river siltation, and the dam caused extensive, if temporary, land flooding. In 1884, these water cannons were outlawed in California in one of the nation's first acts of environmental protection.

The romantic images that dominated nineteenth-century mining were almost always associated with the California Gold Rush of 1849–1852. Yet most of those men following the rush were dust panners, nugget pickers, or placer miners, not underground workers. In the incomplete census of 1850 two-thirds of the 30,000 who described themselves as miners in the California goldfields were Americans but the Irish, French Canadian, Spanish American, and Chinese were all part of the gold rush workforce. Because of the nature of the mining claims, an almost universal antagonism and hostility were often the first things that greeted newcomers. Soon, however, those of like nationality or like ethnicity joined together to better work their claims, and they generally directed their antipathy toward other groups. Mexicans, Indians, and African Americans were all popular targets of prejudice in the mining camps. When the Chinese began to arrive on the California coast in 1851 and 1852, the Irish Catholics, themselves targets of nativist prejudice on the Atlantic seaboard, often sided against the Chinese and with the nativist Americans, who would not have given them the time of day had they been in the East (Paul 1963, 25).

A great number of the rush miners were Westerners, those who had lived a majority of their lives on the lands drained by the Missouri, the Mississippi, or the Ohio Rivers. A surprisingly large number were from New England, New York, or Pennsylvania, some of the latter experienced hard-rock miners who had abandoned the coal works. A remarkably small number in proportion were self-identified as Southerners. Many rushers were former city dwellers, clerks, farm boys, and soldiers discharged after the Mexican War. So great was the allure of the goldfields that many sailors jumped ship after reaching California, leaving the harbor at San Francisco a forest of masts as the useless and undermanned clipper ships piled up in the bay (Volo and Volo 2007, 105–7).

Lumberjacks

Early loggers and sawmill owners cut down forests with little thought for sustained timber production or for the future of the environment. Consequently, the overharvesting of prime stands of trees caused the industry to move from region to region with a remarkable regularity during the century—first from New England to the Midwest lake states, and then from the Midwest to the South. Though the federal government sold land for as little as $1.25 an acre, and state and private lands sold for little more, many lumbermen simply stole the timber from the land neither asking nor receiving permission to strip the forests of their produce. As time passed, however, the value of timber increased and the landowners and government agents became more vigilant. This made trespass relatively infrequent thereafter, and the buying and selling of timber rights became more common. The South sought to revitalize its industrial base somewhat after the Civil War through lumbering, but it allowed much of its forest land to come into the control of just a few individuals. Under legislation passed in the 1870s and 1880s more than 46 million acres of existing timber was controlled by less than 1,000 individuals. The South reached its peak of timber production in the 1920s at which time the industry leadership moved to the Pacific Northwest.

Lumbering had flourished in the forests of New England since colonial times with fuel, building materials, flooring, planking, and ship's masts being the major commercial products. A large number of men found their living in the lumbering trades. These included axe men, sawyers, river drivers, teamsters, rafters, and sawmill operators. The census data from 1840, however, suggest that lumbering operations were very small, with mills seemingly operated by a single person or on a part-time basis by local farmers. There were 31,000 sawmills in the United States in 1840, but only 22,000 workers identified themselves as sawmill employees. This leaves historians with the impression that lumbering remained a facet of agriculture rather than a separate industry until the 1850s when data shows a vast increase in the number of sawmills with 20 to 100 workers. A sideline of the timber trade was the production of oak staves and headings for watertight barrels for the beer and liquor industry. Spruce and hemlock were used to make cheap dry-freight barrels for shipping items like flour, China, salt, shoes, nails, and fertilizer. Pitch and turpentine were also by-products of the lumbering trade.

Both Maine and New Hampshire were particularly noted for their production of timber products during the colonial period. Maine supplanted its neighbor around 1810. New York took the lead in 1840, but the New England states as a group were still responsible for about 63 percent of all forest products produced in the United States up to mid-century when the timber stands of upper Midwest states like Wisconsin and Michigan began to come into production. J. M. Holley, writing a history of lumbering for the *La Crosse Wisconsin Chronicle* (1906), noted that in the 1830s no mention had yet been made of the great pine forests of the Midwestern lake states. Holley concluded that it seemed "quite probable that at that time they had not attracted special attention" (Holley 1906, 52).

About 1800 some Southern states showed an ability to produce forest products. Georgia, the Carolinas, and later Alabama supplied excellent building materials such as cedar, yellow pine, and live oak, which grew in abundance. Yellow pine was particularly valuable as a flooring material. At the time Virginia and Maryland had more facilities for the production of naval stores than any combination of two Northern states that normally prided themselves on their production. Turpentine and pitch were manufactured in large quantities as a sideline to lumbering, especially in North Carolina where an entire industry flourished well into the twentieth century.

Maine was particularly noted for the quantity of the hardwoods it possessed. Hardwoods such as elm and oak were particularly prized as shipbuilding materials. Yellow and white birch, beech, white and red oak, ash, and several types of maple were found in the forests of Maine. One observer noted that in 1854 between 50 and 100 loads of hardwoods passed through his village toward the Kennebeck River every week during the spring and summer.

Nonetheless, it was pine that was the prince of the forests and the most valuable commercial timber during the period of the Civil War. White, red (Norway), pitch, and Jack pines could grow in almost any soil, and because the evergreen trees cut off most of the light that reached the ground, they grew in huge groves of pure straight pine timbers. Tamarack pine was highly prized by shipbuilders for use as ships knees and other structural parts because it was coarse and durable. The pine lumber industry initially produced mostly masts and spars for shipbuilding. Pine trees 6 to 7 feet in diameter and 250 feet tall were reported to have grown in Maine. Huge masts 36 yards long and 36 inches in diameter were commonly floated down the rivers of Maine for both domestic use and for export to other maritime nations. Both Portland and Falmouth were noted for the production of masts. The advent of steam-powered navigation caused the masting industry to decline somewhat in the middle decades of the century. Yet in 1850 a single giant mast containing 6,500 board feet was hauled by 14 oxen into the town of Belfast where the remarkable specimen sold for $250.

Shifts in the availability of forest resources combined with changes in technology continually changed the face of the timber industry. Lack of conservation affected local industry. As pine production in the East declined, for instance, spruce and hemlock took its place as a commercial product. In 1850 spruce had supplanted pine in terms of the volume of logs removed from the forests of Maine for the first time. Hemlock, meanwhile, had gained a reputation for its use in the leather tanning industry, and from 1830 to 1840 the Washington County and Franklin County region of Maine became a center for the leather tanning industry. By 1880 only 20 percent of the lumber coming from Maine was pine.

After 1850 a pine lumber industry flourished in the north woods of the Great Lakes region. The Panic of 1857 caused a severe depression in the lumber trades, but their revival was a speedy one mainly because of the war. By 1870 the Great Lakes states were in full timber production. A vast number of logs were removed from the north woods of Wisconsin through Chippewa Falls, Eau Claire, La Crosse, Black River Falls, and St. Croix. The industry that centered around Eau Claire, Wisconsin, (for which there are good records) can serve as an example of the development of lumbering in general during the middle decades of the century.

Although a steam powered chain saw had been invented by P. P. Quimby in 1826, most trees were felled by ax and made into manageable lengths with cross-cut saws during the late fall and early winter. They were dragged over the snow by draft horses to the banks of local rivers and streams where they were stacked on roll-a-ways parallel to the flow. The logging roads to the riverbanks could be five or six miles long, and it was not uncommon for loggers to build long water-carrying flumes that moved the logs while bypassing the logging roads. By the 1880s small logging railroads had begun to appear with their small but powerful donkey steam engines.

Upon the arrival of the spring flood, the supporting stakes on the roll-a-ways were undermined, releasing the logs into the water. Using poles and pikes the lumbermen (known as drivers), riding in boats or on the logs themselves would attempt to keep the timbers aligned and moving freely in midstream. In 1858 Joseph Peavey, a Maine blacksmith, patented an improved long-handled pike for controlling logs (known even today as a Peavey). Logjams often developed, however, and some of them were several miles long. The drivers attempted in these cases to find the key logs that had caused the jam and remove them. This was dangerous work that sometimes required the driver to stand in waist-deep water where, if they were hit by a moving log, they could be killed or drowned. Occasionally explosives were used to free the jam.

The logs were usually made into dimensional lumber at local sawmills. Water-powered single-blade reciprocal saws (up and down motion) had been in use since colonial times. These had largely been replaced by rotary circular saws in the 1850s, and by more efficient band saws thereafter. Band saws created much less sawdust and friction than other types. Gang saws with more than one blade acting at the same time, allowed one log to be cut into many boards in a single pass. The first steam-powered sawmill opened in the shipbuilding town of Bath, Maine, in 1821. This began a shift to power mill work of many kinds. In 1826 Oliver Goddard introduced a shingle-making machine, and in the same year, Job White invented a machine for cutting a continuous veneer from a single tree (like paper on a roll). By 1860 there were more than 50 such establishments for power sawing and wood milling in Maine alone.

From the sawmills the rough cut green lumber was made up into rafts approximately 16 by 32 feet, with a depth of about 18 inches. These could be fastened together and floated or towed downriver. Using oars for steering the rafters helped to guide the rafts in the channel. A bow boat—a small boat placed across the bow of the raft at right angles to the current—allowed the raft to be pushed to starboard or port as the steamer might require to make turns in the river. The rafters cooked and ate on the rafts using a small cookstove and tent erected for the purpose. In 1839 Henry Merrill was the first to successfully raft lumber from Portage, Wisconsin, to St. Louis. At one time upward of 100 men and boys were employed in this work on the Upper Missouri River. By the 1870s, however, most lumber was shipped directly from the sawmills to market by railroad (Holley 1906, 55).

Much of the lumber harvested in the United States was used domestically, but there was a significant export business. Maine was responsible for three-quarters of this trade. Lumber was shipped from Northern American ports to the South as part of the coastwise trade, and also to the West Indies where it was exchanged for gold, molasses, and rum. Cuba alone imported 40 million board feet of lumber annually in midcentury, an amount approximately equal to all the lumber used in the city of Boston.

Hardwoods were preferred for fuel because they burned hotter, produced less creosote, and could be made more easily into charcoal for use by founders and blacksmiths than resinous woods. River steamers everywhere favored wood as a source of fuel, and they could be seen periodically nosing up to great piles of firewood left on the riverbank by local landowners to take on fuel. The landowners would also sign contracts to supply fuel along the railroad right-of-way. Without exception every Southern locomotive burned wood as a fuel in the antebellum period. Northern railroads were much more likely to switch to coal. Invariably, behind the engine came the tender, which held as much as 1,000 gallons of fresh water and had space for firewood. The large smokestacks on period engines were needed to divert wood smoke and produce a draft large enough to maintain a satisfactory head of steam. Cordwood was stacked at intervals along every line, and the best and cleanest burning firewood was reserved for passenger traffic. A cord of wood was a stack four feet by four feet by eight feet. Depending on the engine, load, and topography, an engine averaged between 50 and 60 miles per cord of wood requiring long delays every few hours to reload the tender (Volo and Volo 2007, 107–11).

Petroleum Workers

The farmers of Venango County in western Pennsylvania had a problem. Every time a farmer dug a well, turned a ditch, or pulled a deeply rooted tree stump, a thick black ooze of oil would seep into the hole along with the ground water. So persistent was this phenomenon—it had been recognized by the local Native Americans and recorded by whites as early as 1832—that the local watercourse near Titusville was known as Oil Creek. Farmers who read the *Spectator*, the only newspaper in Venango County, had read that the personable but slightly eccentric Colonel Edwin Drake from Vermont had begun drilling for oil in 1858. They were amazed, however, when their own paper reprinted a story in 1859 from Horace Greeley's *Tribune* in faraway

New York excitedly proclaiming the discovery of oil in nearby Titusville. How could anyone not find oil in the 20-mile-long Oil Creek valley?

The editor of the *Spectator* knew that the farmers of western Pennsylvania were more interested in the Black Frost that was attacking oats, wheat, rye, and potatoes than in Drake's drilling. This affected their economy more than petroleum. A normal crop harvested in time for the market could yield a cash profit of $250 to $300, more than enough to bring the average farm family some personal comforts or a special household furnishing. In the off-season, these farmers could hunt and trap, split out shingles, or bring logs to the lumber mill in Pittsburgh in giant rafts floated down the Allegheny River for extra money. When Colonel Drake began to buy sawn lumber in 1858 to erect a weird-looking wooden structure he called an oil derrick and hired workers at a dollar a day, people looked at him gravely and shook their heads in disbelief.

Drake was a nice enough man, friendly and gregarious with the locals, but he was gaunt, thin, and pallid. His neuralgia was bad, and he was constantly short of funds—both for the drilling project and for the needs of his wife and family. He had to buy his tools and casing pipe in three different towns, and he lost the first three master drillers he hired, finally settling on a part-time driller and full-time blacksmith named William "Uncle Billy" Smith to run the operation. Smith moved his wife, son, and daughter into the pine-timbered shed attached to the derrick where the $500 steam engine would power the walking beam that would rhythmically send the drilling tools up and down cracking the bedrock at the bottom of the bore. The derrick was used to lift the tools and lower additional lengths of pipe that kept the earth from caving in and filling the bore. This innovative idea belonged to Drake, and it literally allowed the job to continue—three feet a day, six days a week.

Sam Kier, a local opportunist, had touted petroleum as a cure-all or natural remedy and had sold it in half-pint bottles since 1850. Locals had found that the black ooze (the unrefined forerunner of modern petroleum jelly) softened and helped heal sore hands. By hawking his balm from huge, hand-painted wagons that were like traveling sales posters, Kier had been able to get rid of all the oil he could produce with a bucket and a strainer at home. The smell was foul, but true believers rubbed it into their sore joints and throbbing backs and put it on their draft animals to increase the shine in their coats and keep away insects. Kier opened a refining plant to make his product more acceptable to the public at Seventh Avenue and Grand Street in Pittsburgh and was bottling the pale gold petroleum distillate (kerosene) as Carbon Oil. It cost 50 cents to gather and refine, and sold for $1.50 a gallon. Kier advised his customers to take up to three teaspoons-full a day to ward off personal illness and calm upset stomachs.

Nonetheless, Kier could not unload enough of the stuff on a skeptical public to get rid of all the oil that turned up. He, therefore, decided to market the kerosene as a substitute for the newly invented and dirty coal oil or the prohibitively expensive whale oil presently used in lamps. Kier's kerosene was a superior fuel for lighting. It was this truth that had driven Drake to drill for oil—a truth that was large enough in the days before electric lights to stimulate the interest of newspapers many hundreds of miles to the east.

A Scotsman named John Young had developed oil from coal for lighting, and a new type of lamp had been invented to burn it. Americans had clung to whale oil mainly because it burned cleanly in its double-wicked lamps. They would continue to use it as a fine lubricant for machinery. Drake had now discovered a practical way to drill for oil, pump it from the ground in vast quantities, and couple his supply with an advanced refining method (developed by Dr. Benjamin Silliman, a noted chemist from Yale University) to make kerosene fuel for lighting lamps (Volo and Volo 2007, 98). The entire process was a technological advance the importance of which can hardly be fathomed by persons living in modern times with electric lights a fingertip away.

The kerosene lamp was first constructed by Polish inventor Ignacy Łukasiewicz in 1853, and he had devised a system for making kerosene from seep oil in 1856. Widely known in Britain as a paraffin lamp, any type of lighting device that uses kerosene (also known as paraffin oil) as a fuel fits into the category of a kerosene lamp. There are two main types of kerosene lamps that work in different ways, the earlier wick lamp that used the capillary action of the wick to draw the fuel up to the flame and the later pressure lamp that needs to be pumped to supply a spray of fuel to the point of ignition.

The widespread availability of cheaper kerosene was the principal factor in the precipitous decline in the U.S. whaling industry in the nineteenth century. The leading product of whaling was oil for lamps, and it was expensive and smelly. Kerosene proved to be a superior fuel for lighting, and Łukasiewicz's lamp was a wonder remaining in common use for household lighting in rural areas of America into the 1940s. A contemporary newspaper account noted, "The lamp burning the Venango Oil [kerosene] will give a light equal to seven candles [a unit of illuminance], while the lamp burning Coal Oil gives a light equal to only five candles" (Dolson 1959, 61). Thomas Gale, correspondent for the *Tribune* noted, "Its light is no moonshine.... In other words, rock oil [kerosene] emits a dainty light; the brightest and the cheapist in the world; a light fit for Kings and Royalists, and not unsuitable for Republicans and Democrats. It is a light withal, for ladies who are ladies indeed, and so are neither afraid nor ashamed to sew or read in the evening...by this light, they can thread their needles the first time and every time they try." Another commentator wrote, "[Kerosene's] glow will leap like magic from coast to coast, illuminating cities, villages, railroad cars, farmhouses—a golden web woven over all the land" (Dolson 1959, 85).

Beyond the hyperbole, the superiority of kerosene as a lighting fuel was considerable and the government immediately began switching to kerosene lamps in all its lighthouses on the East Coast. A Pennsylvania merchant advertised the economy and efficiency of kerosene, "A lamp holding 1/2 a pint, will burn in our dwellings at this season of the year, every evening till 10 o'clock for a week. We judge the cost to be about 1/2 a cent per hour. Some of our customers...say a lamp will burn with a full head of blaze, without cessation and without smoke [a common problem with coal oil], through 14 hours" (Dolson 1959, 85).

The demand for kerosene was immediate and immense. However, Kier had the only operating oil refinery making kerosene lamp fuel in America at the time. Drake had arranged for Kier to refine his oil at 60 cents a gallon for sale at between $1.50

and $2.00 depending on transportation costs. This represented a remarkable 200 to 300 percent profit on virtually thousands of gallons every day. Within a year, the four or five dozen refineries that had been set up in the Northeast to produce coal oil switched to the new petroleum as a raw material.

Crude oil was selling for $14 to $20 per 40 gallon barrel (later standardized at 42 gallons), and that included up to $3 for the barrel. One lawyer-speculator, George Bissell, recognized the need, and bought up the future production of barrels from all the local coopers in Cleveland thereby insuring a tidy profit. Fortunes were being made in many directions. By 1865, oil exports to Europe alone amounted to almost $16 million. One oil driller predicted that if a new well brought up nuggets of gold, the owners would throw them aside and continue drilling for oil (Dolson 1959, 28, 52).

The first week after the announcement of the strike, astonished farmers were offered small fortunes for leases to drill for oil on their land by hungry speculators. As with the gold strike of 1848, it was those who held the leases to the mineral rights, not the Gold Rush miners of 1849, who made the greatest fortunes. One farm wife refused $40,000 for a lease on her 200 acres until a new silk dress was added to the deal (Dolson 1959, 25). Others wisely fought for shares in the output of the wells—1/4 was being offered by most speculators. Yet some among the unsophisticated west Pennsylvania landowners held out for a 1/8 or 1/12 because it sounded larger. It took a highly intelligent and sophisticated farmer to understand what a lawyer meant by a 47/50 share of 2/5 of a property lease for $60,000. Nonetheless, one 1/12 share in a single well proved to be worth $30,000, a tremendous sum of money in mid-century. Regardless of what the landowners were paid, it was the speculators and those who held on to their land that became the most wealthy.

On the day after the strike Jonathan Watson, a local lumberman, went up and down the 20-mile-long Oil Creek buying up leases. He would become the nation's first oil millionaire. He built a great mansion with a fish pond 190 feet long and a formal garden that kept 12 gardeners busy. James Tarr, the local sawmill owner who had supplied Drake with planks and boards, owned 200 acres of poor farmland along Oil Creek but he kept his mineral rights and within three years had made $2 million from leases and outright sales of his land, as well as another $1 million in secondary royalties. When Tarr took his young daughter to the Olome Institute for Young Ladies in Canonsburg to enroll her at the cost of $56.50 a term, he was told by the headmistress that the girl did not have the capacity for her academy. Tarr pulled out a roll of money, peeled off several greenbacks, and told the women to buy her some (Dolson 1959, 26).

James Evans owned a farm near the town of Franklin, but he made a living for his wife, son, and four daughters as a blacksmith. With the news of Drake's well bringing in oil, Evans thought of his own oily tasting water at home. Borrowing some money for raw materials from William Phelps, the local hardware store owner, Evans hammered out a set of his own drilling tools and set up a hickory spring pole and stirrup for drilling in lieu of an engine. His was a two-man operation. His son Henry pressed the stirrup down freeing the tools to fall and the spring pole lifted them back up. All the while James guided the drill. It was hard work, but it was a good cheap way to drill that had been used locally to bore for water and brine wells for many years. Up and down, they drilled for 73 feet, and finally struck an ooze of rich, black, heavy oil. This was certainly not the more liquid product found near Titusville, but it proved to be the first of the heavy petroleum types that would prove to be the best lubricating oil in the world.

The Evans strike was made famous by Edmund Morris, a crack reporter for the *Tribune*, who incorporated the story of Evans's eldest daughter Anna into the story. Anna was described as blond, blue-eyed, and delectable, as lean and handsome as her father without the sinewy muscles. When the Evans well came in, the news spread throughout the town. At the courthouse across the town square, the whoops and hollers of the youngsters brought the lawyers and clerks out into the street to see what was the matter. One of these was a recent beau of the pretty Anna, and when she saw him she screamed, "Dad's struck ile [oil]!" The whole crowd picked up the phrase, and when the newly rich oil heiress turned down the proposal of marriage from the lawyer some days later, Morris worked the scene into his story with emphasis on the line "Dad's Struck ile!"

Morris wrote, "We had the pleasure of seeing the young lady whose independence was secured by 'Dad's struck ile!' and can assure the reader that, from appearance, the unlucky suitor not only lost a fortune in oil, but a treasure in herself, in being rejected by the lady; for she seems a sweet-tempered and obliging blue-eyed village belle, an oil princess par excellence." Anna ultimately married a local furniture maker, but she was pestered for many years about the truth of the line. At least three popular songs were written with "Dad's struck ile!" or the more poetic "Pa has struck ile!" in them. James Evans made an equally quotable remark on the occasion of a wealthy lumberman who had rushed to Pennsylvania with an offer to buy him out for $40,000. Evans is reported to have responded, "This is my well. If you want one, go dig your own" (Dolson 1959, 47–48).

Drake, who was the architect of the petroleum industry, was a simple man. After the strike, he bought a new suit of clothes and a secondhand horse, and went fishing. One night a local preacher approached Drake on the streets of Titusville and told him to stop taking the oil from the ground. The oilman was taken aback. Most of the people in the area had profited from the burgeoning oil business as property owners, lessees, or field workers. Drillers' apprentices made $2 to $3 a day for just a 12-hour shift, and the drillers made $5. The preacher explained that the oil fueled the fires of Hell in the bowls of the earth, and when exhausted its absence would interfere with the plan that the Almighty had for the universe by letting the sinful go unpunished (Dolson 1959, 27). Drake's response to the man of the cloth is unrecorded.

—James M. Volo

THE GROWTH OF UNIONS

During the eighteenth century combining against an employer (a euphemism for forming a union or striking) was a crime drawing fines, jail time, or even corporal punishment. The army of workers that populated industrial America in the nineteenth century knew little of submitting a list of grievances, negotiating group contracts, or receiving just wages and workmen's compensation for injuries on the job. Management generally ignored individual workers with a grievance even if it was well-founded. The right to strike was first established in America by the Massachusetts State Court in 1842 when a group of mill girls in Lowell refused to return to work at their looms because of long working hours (up to 14 hours, 6 days a week). The eight-hour workday was the Holy Grail of organized labor throughout the nineteenth century, but it was not to be realized for decades.

Wages—or rather the hourly or daily rate of pay—were a secondary consideration that gained prominence as a labor issue slowly. As early as 1860, female workers from the shoemaking factory in Lynn, Massachusetts, went on strike for higher wages. Up to 800 women took to the streets dressed in their best hoopskirts and carrying parasols in an early March snowstorm. The strike lasted more than two weeks, and the results were somewhat ambiguous with the shop manager being thrown into a pond.

In the growing processing and manufacturing industries the American worker could hardly be organized with the same speed that the well-financed industrialists had shown in marshaling their own interests. Employers were always ready to undercut wage earners by expanding hours, lowering hourly rates, or bringing in scabs to challenge the position of their regular workers.

People hired to replace striking workers were often derogatively termed *scabs* by those in favor of the strike. The terms *strikebreaker, blackleg*, and *scab labor* were also used. Trade unionists also used the epithet scab to refer to workers who were willing to accept terms that union workers had rejected or who interfered with the strike action in other ways. Some say that the word comes from an old-fashioned English insult. An older word, blackleg was to be found in the old English folk song, *Blackleg Miner*, sung by many labor groups.

It's in the evening after dark,
When the blackleg miner creeps to work,
With his moleskin pants and dirty shirt,
There goes the blackleg miner!

Well he grabs his duds and down he goes
To hew the coal that lies below,
There's not a woman in this town-row
Will look at the blackleg miner. . . .

So join the union while you may.
Don't wait till your dying day,
For that may not be far away,
You dirty blackleg miner! (Gregory 1997, On-line)

Ironically, many Americans felt that to join a union was to betray the tradition that the nation was a land of equal opportunity. Unionism implied that America was no longer a classless society and that there were social and economic prejudices that put into question the certainty that a free American could rise to success and prosperity by the strength of his back and his character. Among the many millionaires that populated American society were men like Andrew Carnegie, generally self-made former poor boys "trained in that sternest but most efficient of all schools—poverty." Carnegie felt that those who failed to bridge the gap between worker and employer, poverty and riches, did so because of their own shortcomings. "Unemployment itself," said one politician from Massachusetts, "was to all intents an act of God" (Davidson 1951, 556).

A strike—known as the Great Strike—may have been the pivotal event of the struggle between wage earners and employers. The work stoppage against the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1877 was precipitated by a unilateral cut in wages of 10 percent. The Maryland militia was called out, and it fired on the strikers killing 12 people. The strike spread to Pennsylvania where 57 strikers, soldiers, and rioters were killed in virtually pitched battles. President Rutherford B. Hayes ended the violence by deploying federal troops to several states including Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, and Missouri. Millions of dollars in railroad property, including 126 locomotives, was destroyed in the bloodiest labor disturbances ever to affect the United States. The level of violence, and the response to it, polarized the nation and left little middle ground for public opinion regarding labor issues. Both sides had seemingly overstepped the bounds of commonly accepted behavior.

Remarkably several unions grew at a phenomenal rate after the Great Strike. The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor sought to gather all American workers into one big union, and the organization grew to 700,000 members by the 1880s when it forced railroad manipulator Jay Gould to come to terms in a strike against his western system. The American Federation of Labor was formed in 1881 representing 250,000 craft-unionists. Left-wing socialist organizations also appeared, and employers used the radical ideas put forward by these organizations as justifications for their antiunion activities.

—James M. Volo

FINANCE: GOLD AS MONEY

Gold and silver mining were the king and queen of the extraction trades, and the series of precious metal strikes between 1848 and 1880 underwrote the nation during the many economic panics of mid-century. They also brought the first permanent settlers to much of the far West provided a rationale for the Pony Express and the extension of the telegraph and made financial support for the transcontinental railways possible. "Each new discovery was followed by an inevitable rush—into Nevada and Arizona; over the Inland Empire of Washington, Idaho, Montana; to the Pike's Peak country and out over the sprawling Rocky Mountains; and into the Black Hills of South Dakota." Moreover, wherever the miners went, the shopkeepers, traders, lawyers, ministers, saloon operators, gamblers, prostitutes, and all the other appurtenances of civilization followed. The infusion of precious metals into a cash-starved economy helped to lift it out of depression by spurring consumerism and propping up under-capitalized financial institutions (Paul 1963, viii).

Under the influence of the gold coming from California in 1849 and 1850, for instance, the economy regained much of the prosperity lost in the prolonged depression following 1837. The economy again experienced minor downturns in 1854 and 1857, but silver and gold discovered in the Washoe area of the Sierra Nevada's in 1859 (known as the Comstock Lode or Nevada Bonanza) relieved the distress somewhat. Development and exploitation of existing mines was particularly important during the Civil War years as both North and South tried to fill their war chests by mining precious metals.

Most postwar strikes were in silver instead of gold, and copper and lead mining came into prominence to answer the needs of the military for bullets and brass cartridge casings and for the wants of business for copper telegraph and telephone wire. Thereafter the region from the eastern Rockies to the Pacific remained an ever promising but elusive attraction for prospectors seeking additional discoveries. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874, sparked in part by the assurances of George Armstrong Custer, began a rush of miners to the Dakotas provoked an Indian war on the Great Plains and promised to relieve the effects of the Panic of 1873. Overall the discovery of precious metals—California gold in 1849, Colorado gold and Nevada silver in 1859, and Dakota gold in 1874—all tended to shake the economy out of its periodic malaise. Gold was also discovered in the Klondike in 1896, but it was very low grade requiring massive amounts of ore to make it profitable to mine (Sutherland 2000, 149).

The flow of precious metals to the financial and banking centers of the East stimulated the business of the entire country. Gateway ports and towns were overwhelmed by word of a nearby precious metals strike. "There were not enough wagons or mules to keep the stampede moving. The hills above town [Virginia City] were piled high with boxes of merchandise while their owners vainly offered fantastic freight fees for hauling them. . . . Stagecoaches and mule trains were booked up days in advance, streets and hotels, saloons and restaurants, were thronged with a noisy crowd of expectant millionaires" (Nadeau 1959, 37).

Yet no gold strike was as effective in sparking the economy as the first rush in 1849. Since the big strike at Sutter's Mill in California, prospectors had focused on looking almost solely for gold, which might turn a profit of $1,000 per ton of ore. The breathless spirit of the California mines marched from golden strike to golden strike, and those who hiked or rode along the rutted trails to the mining camps were often forced to jump out of the way to avoid being run down by freight wagons or mule trains. Many of the young miners of the 1874 rush, as yet unborn or in diapers in 1849, proclaimed that it was "Forty-Nine all over again." Some miners were so mesmerized by the yellow metal that they unknowingly discarded waste materials containing other valuable but less obvious metals like silver, platinum, copper, chromium, lead, and zinc. These sometimes assayed out at up to three times the value of the gold that had been extracted (Nadeau 1959, 37).

In the gold fields a fortunate man could lay up in a month more from even a modest claim than he could accumulate in an entire year elsewhere. During the rush years California alone may have produced upwards of $200 million worth of gold. In 1852 alone $81 million was taken from the ground and rivers. Yet this was to be the greatest year of the American mining frontier during the nineteenth century. There were few men that made significant fortunes, and many were fated to return home penniless. Others continued the quest moving from rush-to-rush and strike-to-strike (Paul 1963, 26–27).

—*James* M. *Volo*

COST OF LIVING/WEALTH

Standard of Living

As industrial activity displaced mere agricultural subsistence in the everyday life of the community and in the thoughts of those earning a living, the accumulation of money, property, and possessions became the conventional means of measuring success. The accumulation of goods quickly became the "accepted badge of efficiency," and the possession of wealth assumed "the character of an independent and definitive basis of esteem." In 1899, Thorstein Veblen noted the emergence of a new *leisure class* among the American population. "The possession of goods, whether acquired aggressively by one's own exertion or passively by transmission through inheritance from others, becomes a conventional basis of reputability. The possession of wealth, which was at the outset valued simply as an evidence of efficiency, becomes, by popular apprehension, itself a meritorious act. Wealth is now itself intrinsically honorable and confers honor on its possessor.... Prowess and exploit may still remain the basis of award of the highest popular esteem, although the possession of wealth has become the basis of commonplace reputability and of a blameless social standing" (Veblen 1994, 19).

According to the general population, the highest social honors available in the final decades of the nineteenth century remained those attained on the battlefield or through uncommon statecraft but "for the purposes of a commonplace decent standing in the community these means of repute have been replaced by the acquisition and accumulation of goods." According to Veblen, to stand well-placed in the community those of the leisure class required a certain, yet somewhat indefinite, standard of wealth. Those who fell below this standard, regardless of birth or family connection, were diminished in the esteem of their neighbors and in their own self-respect. The tendency in such a case was to make one's wealth conspicuous through a constant series of new purchases of property, goods, or clothing. "But as fast as a person makes new acquisitions, and becomes accustomed to the resulting new standard of wealth, the new standard forthwith ceases to afford appreciably greater satisfaction than the earlier standard did.... giving rise... to a new standard... of one's self as compared with one's neighbors.... Besides this, the power conferred by wealth also affords a motive to [its] accumulation" (Veblen 1994, 20–21).

Veblen considered the desire to accumulate wealth in emulation of one's neighbors the "strongest and most alert and most persistent of economic motives." In an industrial economy the constant need to conspicuously consume was virtually equivalent to a form of conspicuous waste that absorbed the increase in the community's industrial efficiency or output of goods at a rate too rapid for an individual's wealth to keep abreast of it. Veblen noted, "As increased industrial efficiency makes it possible to procure the means of livelihood with less labor, the energies of the industrious members of the community are bent to the compassing of a higher result in conspicuous expenditure, rather than slackened to a more comfortable pace." Such attitudes drove some of the most successful men in nineteenth century America (Veblen 1994, 68).

The standard of living in a community was closely tied to the social class of its citizens. In an industrialized community, one's neighbors in a geographical sense were often not one's equals financially or socially. This had generally not been the case in former decades where sparsely settled agrarian communities featured residents of comparatively equal means; but expanding industry and growing population densities were rapidly changing the face of many towns and cities widening the differences among the have's, have-not's, and the have-more's. The line between upper class and middle class was becoming hazy as wealth rather than family dictated social status. For this reason it was also thought to be necessary to impress one's social position on transient observers. "In the modern community" wrote Veblen, "there is also a more frequent attendance at large gatherings of people to whom one's everyday life is unknown; in such places as churches, theaters, ballrooms, hotels, parks, shops, and the like." This need often changed serviceable consumption into the conspicuous variety and prudent expenditures into indulgent ones (Veblen 1994, 54).

The accepted standard of expenditure in the community and the class to which a family belonged largely determined what their standard of living was to be. For all but the lowest classes "the popular insistence on conformity to the accepted scale of expenditure" was a matter of propriety to be violated "under pain of disesteem and ostracism." To accept and practice a certain standard of living thought to be in vogue for one's class was an expedient "indispensable to personal comfort and to success in life." The standard of living of any class in the nineteenth century, so far as it concerned conspicuous consumption, was commonly held to be as high as the earning capacity of that class would permit. Yet there was a constant tendency and pressure to move the standard upward. "The effect upon the serious activities of men is therefore to direct them with great singleness of purpose to the largest possible acquisition of wealth, and to discountenance work that brings no pecuniary gain" (Veblen 1994, 68–69).

For example, among that class of people following the pursuits of teaching, writing, government, law, ministry, or other scholarly fields of endeavor, the requirements of maintaining a higher than average social position while realizing a smaller than average income left an exceptionally narrow margin of disposable income for other purposes. Veblen noted, "The expectations of the community in the way of pecuniary decency among the learned are excessively high—as measured by the prevalent degree of opulence and earning capacity of the class, relative to the non-scholarly classes whose social equals they nominally are." In nineteenth-century communities there was no monopoly on scholarly pursuits, but those who practiced them as a profession were unavoidably thrown into social contact with managers, bankers, financiers, merchants, and other persons who were their financial superiors.

Veblen found that no other class in the community than the scholarly one spent a larger proportion of its income in conspicuous waste (Veblen 1994, 69–70).

—*James* M. *Volo*

The Family Budget

Although many family budgets were less than precisely detailed documents, those that survive from this period were done with sufficient care to allow researchers to outline the structure of average family expenditures with some confidence. While the levels of spending on certain budgetary items might be less than accurate in many surviving documents, the absence or presence of certain categories of consumption or expense can be very useful.

Basic subsistence needs like food, shelter, and fuel were common to all families. Among the significant expenditures for New England working families in the 1880s, however, are included repeated references to the cost of life insurance, dues to labor unions, and payments to other business organizations (known as *prudent expenditures*) that were unknown in the period of the Civil War. These were among a series of *discretionary expenditures* made after the basic budgetary necessities were covered. Discretionary items included *indulgent expenditures* like alcohol, tobacco, books, newspapers, or private schooling; and *expressive expenditures* like amusements and vacations, charity donations and church contributions, and more than purely functional clothing (such as fancy dresses or business clothing). That charity and religion should be included in the latter group is suggestive of the power that the reform movements and religious revivals of mid-century had on many families (Modell 1979, 215–16).

For both native-born and immigrant families most expenditures increased as the father's income increased, but American families were less likely than their immigrant counterparts to increase their expenditures based solely on increased income from supplemental sources. Americans seem to have been reluctant to spend the income of wives and children on frivolities. They chose instead to put additional cash into their savings. Overall, larger native-born working-class families tended to purchase fewer indulgent items than did small American families, but the opposite seems to have been true among immigrant families living in the same community. "In contrast to the Americans, larger immigrant families were more likely to allocate their resources on almost all expenditure items than were small families" (Modell 1979, 224).

Rent (housing cost) and food were always the largest portions of any family budget, but among the fastest growing consumer categories were the demands made by labor organizations and expenditures for amusements, vacations, and alcohol. As head-of-household income rises to similar dollar levels, both native and immigrant spending become nearly parallel in all categories other than alcohol.

It has been suggested that the emphasis placed on alcoholic consumption by immigrants was a nonrationalized response to the demands and pressures of an industrialized and urbanized environment. It is much more likely however that it served as a verification of the continued cultural use of alcoholic beverages among Western European groups since colonial times. In the 1770s, for example, Anglo-Americans from

New England alone had consumed more than two million gallons of rum annually, and anyone over the age of 12 could purchase beer in a tavern. Both the Irish and the Germans maintained positive attitudes toward the consumption of beer and other alcoholic beverages, and each became the target of temperance reformers because of their continued dedication to the use of wine and spirits as part of their daily lives.

On the other hand, expenditures for amusements, theaters, and vacations by many foreign-born persons have been regarded as "noncommunal forms of meaningful adaptation to industrial life." This view helps to explain the increased expenditures in these areas by all segments of society, not just foreign-born ones (Modell 1979, 214). Many southern cities saw a dynamic growth in professional theaters, and most northern urban areas supported theater groups. In most communities acting in the legitimate theater was a respectable profession, and the American stage was filled with excellent actors and actresses. Yet, when a group of players tried to open a theater in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1833 they were arrested and put in jail for not "pursuing an honorable and lawful profession" (Lupiano and Sayers 1994, 67).

During this period several of Cooper's novels were adapted for the Northern stage, and thereafter a number of distinctive American characters appeared such as the rural Yankee, the noble savage, or the tough-fisted, tenement-dwelling Bowery Bhoy. However, some critics found the theater vulgar, coarse, and in bad taste. Clearly many stock performances were routine, tedious, or slipshod. Walt Whitman wrote in 1847 that they were becoming "beyond all toleration" (Hewitt 1959, 144). Washington Irving noted, however, that "the Theater . . . is the polite lounge, where the idle and curious resort, to pick up the news of the fashionable world, to meet their acquaintances, and to show themselves off to advantage" (Hewitt 1959, 65).

—James M. Volo

URBAN-RURAL ECONOMY: SCIENTIFIC FARMING

Technological advances like the mechanical reaper and the steam-powered thresher were not the only factors contributing to the giant steps made in agriculture in nineteenth-century America. The realization, dawning more slowly on some than others, that science might be profitable when applied to agricultural methods led to gains in farming efficiency and output. Many of these ideas concerning the role of science in agricultural progress were written, circulated, and published in farmer's almanacs, journals, and handbooks. Farming periodicals dedicated much of their space to scientific farming and the application of technological advances to agriculture.

One of the earliest of these, the *Farmer's Register* published monthly in 1839, emphasized the use of farm machinery, and another, the *Prairie Farmer* first published in 1841, concentrated on the need for a common school education for farmers as well as a substantial investment in mechanical devices. A typical example comes from Jesse Buel's *The Farmers Companion: or, Essays on the Principles and Practices of American Husbandry*, published in 1840. Buel was a successful editor and printer who left his career to immerse himself in a quest to create the model farm outside Albany, New

York. He spent the rest of his life creating his ideal farm and working as a spokesman for enlightened farming in America. He firmly believed that the more agriculture was enlightened by science, the more abundant would be its produce. Buel's notion that the gentleman farmer could subjugate nature with his knowledge of science had a powerful influence in America.

Granted that the typical farmer [tenant, sharecropper, or yeoman] did not adhere to, and probably was not interested in, the extremes to which Buel went in maintaining a model farm; however, the idea that agricultural practices could be improved with knowledge and applications of science found its way into the very fabric of American agricultural practice in the nineteenth century (Timmons 2005, 87–88).

The role of chemistry—and of science in general—in American agriculture was somewhat ambiguous when seen again in the contributions made by mechanical inventions. The American scientific community realized the importance of basic chemical research for the growth and advancement of agricultural and industrial concerns. The scientists insisted that agriculture be made rational and logical, but they lacked the strong support of many farmers mired in the traditional way of doing things. As the century progressed, many scientific principles were adopted by politicians who lent their support to the funding and organization of chemical research, and by the farmers, to a lesser extent, whose support was necessary if chemical research was to have a positive effect on agriculture.

There remained, however, a large gap between the producer of scientific theories and the consumer of its ideas. The desire of the scientist to engage in basic research often conflicted with the insistence of the public to realize immediate practical results. Other farmers disdained book farming just as artisans and others without scientific training often questioned the utility of basic scientific research.

One of the earliest practical contributions made by chemists to farming was in the area of soil analysis. Chemists slowly began to realize that the simplistic approach of analyzing a soil sample to determine the chemicals needed for replenishment was not a magic wand. Commercial chemical fertilizers were on the market by mid-century, but many farmers continued to rely on the practice of regenerating their fields by the application of animal manure, which had only become common practice in the previous century. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Americans were using almost two million tons of commercial fertilizer annually. Although chemists made continual advances in the science of soil analysis and restoration throughout the century, these advances were made at a pace that failed to satisfy the farmer who wanted fertile fields *this* season (Timmons 2005, 89–90).

FARMING/HUSBANDRY: THE GRASSHOPPER PLAGUE

Along with the expansion of agriculture into the Plains and Midwest, came growing risks and uncertainties. In the nineteenth century the avoidance of economic risk and exposure to environmental disaster was difficult and costly. After the Civil War farmers became more dependent on creditors, merchants, bankers, and railroad operators. The relationships the farmer formed with these people allowed him to move beyond simply subsistence farming to an early form of profit-producing agribusiness. The opportunity for economic gain, however, brought with it new obligations, hardships, and risks that many farmers did not welcome. This was especially true of the competition they found on the European grain market—a destination for their produce that American farmers had virtually owned prior to the war.

Agriculture had expanded to the semiarid regions of Nebraska, Kansas, and the Dakotas and unusual periods of drought had caused undue hardship. In the middle of the period, just as the Panic of 1873 hit, the upper Midwest farming region was also plagued by grasshoppers. Several states were grievously affected, including Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, and particularly Minnesota. The Dakota Territory and the Canadian province of Manitoba were also hard hit. The magnitude of the plague was catastrophic. Seemingly overnight Minnesota alone lost 16 percent of its wheat crop, 18 percent of its oats, and 15 percent of its corn. The grasshoppers returned annually from 1873 until 1877 to these same regions, and they also appeared sporadically during these years in other areas such as Texas, Arkansas, Idaho, Montana, Utah, New Mexico, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, Oklahoma, and in additional parts of the Canada plains. The total loss to the agricultural economy of the United States in this period of devastation may have exceeded $200 million annually.

When threatened by the swarming masses from the sky, farmers set smoky smudge pots in their orchards, in their vineyards, and in their wheat fields in an attempt to drive them off, but the pests—carried from place to place on the winds and leaving their eggs behind for each subsequent year—could not be scared away, writhing on the ground like a windblown shallow sea. Whole families could be seen in the fields shoveling the insects from the earth and into bonfires set for the purpose. A grasshopper-killing machine, called the hopperdozer, was invented to deal more efficiently with the problem. It required a piece of metal, shaped into a shallow pan and coated with tar or any sticky substance that was dragged through the fields behind a team of draft animals. The forward motion of the team forced the grasshoppers into the pan, which, when full, was emptied into the fire. In one county in Minnesota over 600 hopperdozers were built or bought in a single year, but the grasshoppers usually did their damage faster than the efforts of the farmers could kill them. Nonetheless, in some places these efforts may have thinned out the subsequent populations of insect pests by destroying the bugs before their peak period of egg production (Atkins 1984, 30–31).

The devastation was felt at different levels by farmers in different areas. Some farmers escaped damage altogether or were hurt only once or twice while their neighbors had their fields stripped during each successive year. There was no clear-cut pattern to the destruction. "Damage varied from crop to crop, from farm to farm, and from year to year." One farmer in 1875 lost 15 acres of wheat, 500 cabbages, all of his cucumbers, beans, onions, carrots, parsnips, and beets, most of his nursery stock, and most of his 4,000 strawberry and raspberry vines. He saved part or all of his oats, corn, potatoes, melons, and apple trees. Instead of a seasonal profit of $300 dollars, he made just $22 dollars; and he needed to borrow $5,000 to undo the damage, replant, and restock. This was financial ruin at its maximum, and there was little prospect for improvement as the pests returned in each successive year (Atkins 1984, 30–31).

In response to the threat, some farmers altered their planting patterns. Wheat was thought to be particularly susceptible to attack, and farmers planted corn, peas, beans, and other crops that were thought less vulnerable to replace it. Potatoes, as ground tubers, were hardly touched at all, but they were planted for domestic consumption rather than for the market. In one Minnesota county in 1873 wheat had made up 64 percent of the crop and corn just 8 percent. Five years later the proportions had reversed only to return again to their original ratios when the threat was no longer imminent. Other farmers turned more effort to livestock production rather than to grains. Pigs became a safe harbor because they were hardy and self-reliant, but fewer chickens were raised because eggs laid by chickens that fed on grasshoppers tasted bad. Vines and orchards put out of production by the insects were pruned, or replanted, or abandoned. Many farmers hard pressed for cash just planted less, falling back to subsistence-level farming and abandoning any hope of bringing a crop to market. In some regions the total acreage under production fell by half and did not recover until after 1878 when the grasshopper threat finally lifted up "in a body clouding the sunshine and left for parts unknown never to return" (Atkins 1984, 38–39).

Meanwhile the effects of the plague continued even after the insects had gone. Many farmers had mortgaged their farms to weather the crisis, and some began to pay interest on the interest incurred as the plagues continued and money was needed to provide the necessities of life. It must be remembered that taking loans against real property was not as common as it is today. Acquiring debt of this sort was considered by many to be an admission of failure, and putting up the farm as collateral was a drastic step. Some farmers used their savings, gave up their newspaper and other luxuries, sold their prized livestock, let go their hired help, or hitched up the farm wagon, loaded their remaining possessions, and moved on "east or west, it did not matter so long as there were no grasshoppers." Real estate values in the ravaged region plummeted. Many hard-hit counties underwent a decline in population, "a nearly unheard-of occurrence in a frontier area." Yet it was not the outpouring of residents but the diminished flow of new migrants into the region to replace them that was most dramatic (Atkins 1984, 33–34).

"Some people, finding human remedies futile, turned to spiritual assistance. They prayed." If God had sent this plague of Biblical proportions, then only God could lift it. They asked for the forgiveness of their sins; pledged themselves to lead more moral lives; and promised to build chapels and churches if the scourge were lifted. Some asked their neighbors for Christian charity, and vowed to show themselves worthy of God's mercy as they had when they joined together to wage God's war against slavery. When the pests returned year after year an entire values system was threatened, and the frontier was no longer viewed as a promised land (Atkins 1984, 39).

In a few communities farmers joined together to weather the storm, forming committees and relief efforts among themselves. Others turned to the state government for help—many asked, others begged, and some demanded a part of America's untouched abundance. Many farmers, however, were critical of governmental help drawing a clear line between those worthy of aid because they were victims of events beyond their control such as tornadoes, floods, droughts, or grasshoppers, and those who were paupers—a permanent under class whose poverty was considered self-inflicted because of a weakness in their moral fiber. A contemporary observer noted, "There were many families who are heroically enduring this loss.... Taking every pain to conceal their real condition they will not consent to receive any assistance till they approach the verge of starvation [and] then disgrace themselves, and the community in which they live, by applying for relief, and appearing before the world as mendicants... hundreds are ashamed to beg or acknowledge their destitution [because of] their repugnance to the reception of charity" (Atkins 1984, 41–42).

Historians have studied the five consecutive years of grasshopper plagues in the hardest hit region, and they have determined that the plagues had a profound impact on the community of farmers nationwide. Although grasshopper plagues had appeared before, the consistent reappearance of these pests at a time of economic distress may have changed how Americans viewed the frontier environment as a possible stage for financial success. Moreover, the plagues and the government's response to them may have reshaped the politics of the West and Midwest in the later nineteenth century (Atkins 1984, 4).

In March 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes established the U.S. Entomological Commission to identify the most practical methods of preventing any further recurrences of the plague. By 1880 the commission had collected, analyzed, and published its findings, but the grasshoppers were already gone. Although the government responded to the grasshopper crisis with aid, relief, and even generosity, it did not generally display the massive reaction to agricultural devastation that was later seen in the New Deal policies of the 1930s. If the farmers of the 1870s valued the help of the government, and there is some evidence that many did not, then they were equally disappointed by government policies in the late 1880s and 1890s when government agencies, and the American people, were even less sympathetic in responding to drought and agricultural depressions (Volo and Volo 2007, 86–89).

INTERNATIONAL TRADE: MARITIME DECLINE

While the American nation had been understandably obsessed with an internecine conflict, the British had become fairly well entrenched as the world's foremost carriers of ocean trade—almost solely at the expense of American shippers. An article in the *New York Times*, January 29, 1867, claimed that Britain had "designedly availed of our rebellion to destroy our commerce, and the regular and long-established channels of our trade were broken, especially those by which our cotton grain and other production of the country were extensively shipped abroad." American sailing ships had indeed enjoyed a prominence in the Transatlantic cotton and grain carrying trade, but the war, poor crops from the grasslands, and the financial panic of 1873 adversely affected American shippers.

In 1863, British shipbuilders quietly launched the *Star of India*, an all-iron-frame, iron-hull windjammer—often considered the first of its kind. The use of iron and steel structural components (later in combination with steam propulsion) was a great technological advance that American shipbuilders failed to appreciate at the time. Moreover, much of the available investment capital that remained in the United States after the war was being steered toward projects like railroads, gasworks, and telegraph systems rather than into new and expensive technologies for metal shipbuilding. Postwar wooden shipbuilding yards were essentially obsolete but the capital required to refit them was simply not available, and potential investors were not interested. Ultimately, this lack of foresight gravely disadvantaged the American merchant marine.

The cotton trade was lost to American shippers during the wartime collapse of the industry, and it did not recover to prewar levels until 1879 at which time it was found that British-owned steamers had taken the lion's share of the traffic. Moreover, the emigrants from Europe, who were used as a profit-producing human cargo in lieu of vessels returning in ballast, had abandoned the long sailing crossing for the quicker steamers of Britain and Germany. Chief among these was the Britain's Cunard Line that ran a fleet of steamers between Liverpool and Boston or New York. The decline in passenger traffic on American vessels had begun before the Civil War when they were described as "damned plague ships and swimming coffins." The American windships quickly lost most of the emigrant trade to the steamers of the Hamburg, Bremen, and Liverpool lines (Cable 1960, 75).

It was the almost universal desire of American shippers to drive Cunard off the oceans. One means of supporting the American shippers and shipbuilders and of reducing the effects of the changes in the international trade economy was for the government to enact subsidies on certain routes. The American foreign trade industry had long sought such subsidies. Congress enacted a subsidy for the Collins Line on the transatlantic route in the 1840s, which it renewed in the 1850s. With the help of subsidies, Collins launched four super-steamships for the transatlantic run: *Atlantic, Pacific, Arctic*, and *Baltic*. Swarms of well-to-do Americans took passage with Collins, but the line burned up all hope of profit by attempting record passages of the Atlantic. In 1854, while hurrying to New York, *Arctic* struck another ship and sank with the loss of 318 passengers. In 1856, the *Pacific* disappeared without a trace. Two successive steamship disasters were more than the steamship-riding public was willing to bear. In 1858, Congressional sectionalism caused the subsidy to be canceled, and the troubled Collins Line subsequently failed.

In 1864, the Pacific Mail Company received a subsidy to carry the mail to the Orient. The Pacific Mail Steamers, with their obsolete walking beam engines became a common sight in the western ocean and remained in successful operation for many decades suggesting that the congressional committee's recommendation was well-founded. However, Pacific Mail used low-wage, foreign seamen from China and Indonesia and had little competition for passengers as its vessels crowded Chinese workers aboard on return trips to the West Coast of the United States to make ends meet. In 1869 a minority committee in Congress suggested subsidies for mail service contracts to help compensate shipowners for the lack of traffic and the high costs of operation on some routes. Republican forces in Congress—failing to enact additional subsidies—pledged to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding during the 1872 national election. The Republicans won the reelection of Ulysses S. Grant, but failed to follow through on their election promises.

—James M. Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Allin, Lawrence C. "The Civil War and the Period of Decline, 1861–1913." In *America's Maritime Legacy: A History of the U.S. Merchant Marine and Shipbuilding Industry since Colonial Times*, ed. Robert A Kolmarx. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979.

Atkins, Annette. *Harvest of Grief: Grasshopper Plagues and Public Assistance in Minnesota, 1873–1878*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984.

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Cable, Mary. "Damned Plague Ships and Swimming Coffins." *American Heritage* (August 1960).

Davidson, Marshall B. *Life in America*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951.

Dolson, Hildegarde. *The Great Oildorado: The Gaudy and Turbulent Years of the First Oil Rush: Pennsylvania, 1859–1880*. New York: Random House, 1959.

Gregory, E. David. "A. L. Lloyd and the English Folk Song Revival, 1934–44." *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* (1997). http://cjtm.icaap.org/content/25/v25art2.html (accessed July 2007).

Hewitt, Barnard. *Theater USA, 1668 to 1957*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959.

Holley, J. M. "History of the Lumber Industry," *La Crosse Wisconsin Chronicle* (October 21, 1906).

Johnson, Dorothy M. *The Bloody Bozeman*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971.

Lupiano, Vincent DePaul, and Ken W. Sayers. *It Was a Very Good Year: A Cultural History of the United States from 1776 to the Present*. Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams, 1994.

Mason, Philip P., ed. *Copper Country Journal: The Diary of Schoolmaster Henry Hobart, 1863–1864*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

McDonald, Douglas. *Virginia City and the Silver Region of the Comstock Lode*. Carson City: Nevada Publications, 1982.

Modell, John, "Family and Fertility on the Indiana Frontier, 1820." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Nadeau, Remi. "Go it, Washoe!" *American Heritage* X, no. 3 (April 1959): 37.

Paul, Rodman Wilson. *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848–1880*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963.

Reynolds, Robert L. "The Coal Kings Come to Judgment." *American Heritage* XI, no 3 (April 1960).

Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.
Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wik, Reynold M. "Science and American Agriculture." In *Science and Society in the United States*, eds. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Intellectual Life

SCIENCE: UNIVERSITY SCIENCE

Postsecondary education grew slowly prior to 1880. Professions such as teaching, law, and even medicine were often taught in a manner similar to an apprenticeship and remained open to people who had not completed college. College studies were heavily classical in their content. Students read Latin and Greek from Livy, Cicero, Homer, Plato, and others. As with primary instruction, recitation was the most common form of instruction. Rhetoric students studied composition as well as public speaking and formal oratory. Other studies includes philosophy and formal logic.

Work in the sciences, which covered physics and astronomy with some chemistry and geology in those days, consisted mostly of lectures with occasional laboratory demonstrations. Mathematics explored geometry, trigonometry, and calculus and encompassed memorization of rules with some effort to apply them to practical problems. The last quarter of the century saw some expansion of college offerings to include economics, history, literature, and modern language. Entrance requirements became more rigorous, and graduate schools first appeared.

Formerly only the men in the so-called learned professions (doctor, lawyer, or minister) were thought to require a formal education. Other occupations were thought of as mere trades, the preparation for which consisted of a period of hands-on practice and manual dexterity acquired through a period of apprenticeship. In 1847 Yale College established a new Department of Philosophy and the Arts whose purpose was to address the mechanical arts and applied sciences such as engineering. The School of Applied Chemistry was regrouped in 1854 with other areas of study into the Yale Sheffield Scientific School named in honor of John Earl Sheffield who donated more than one million dollars for its establishment. Seizing upon the funds made available by the Morrill Act of 1862, Daniel Coit Gilman reorganized the school of science to reflect a more modern format.

The construction and maintenance of railroad roadbeds and bridges involved a small army of specialized mechanics. Accidents and other incidents that caused the loss of life on railways and steamships had a chilling effect on their operations and engendered a good deal of technological rethinking throughout the country. This brought the professional college-trained engineer to the forefront of science and technology.

Many short route roadbeds were built on wooden pilings driven into the swampy ground across low lying regions. Initially constructed for only light traffic, the roadbeds of even the newest lines soon began to fail under increased use. The lack of an adequate bridging technology was also an obstacle to railway construction throughout the country. The development of north-south lines in the Atlantic coastal region was made more difficult because of the need to bridge the numerous eastward flowing rivers of New England and the Middle states.

American engineers and schools of engineering immediately attacked the problem. The first all-wood truss bridge design capable of holding the weight of a locomotive was patented by Lieutenant Colonel Stephen H. Long of the U.S. Engineers in 1839. In 1840 William Howe designed a wood and iron composite truss, which was adapted by Thomas and Caleb Pratt and became the standard for American railroad bridges. The Pratt truss is still in use today. Meanwhile, all iron designs were developed by a number of engineers including Squire Whipple who took out the first all iron patent in 1841. James Millholland built an all iron truss for the B & O Railroad in 1850, and Frederich Horbach did another in the same year for the Boston and Albany line near Pittsfield, Mass. On April 26, 1856, the first bridge to span the wide Mississippi River was completed from Rock Island on the Illinois side to Davenport on the Iowa side. This was a steel truss railroad bridge built by the Chicago and Rock Island line.

By the late 1850s, American railroad bridge technology had reached such a state of maturity that Europeans were carefully copying American truss designs. However, not all the railroad bridge designs developed in this period were successful. In 1850 an all-iron truss designed by Nathaniel Rider for the Erie Railroad failed with some loss of life. His design was similar to that patented by Squire Whipple a decade earlier. When an iron Whipple design also failed over the Dee River in England, there was a great public outcry concerning the safety of travel by rail. Ultimately, all the Rider and Whipple types in America were inspected for defects, and they were scheduled to be taken down and replaced by iron and wood composite types. In December 1876, a composite Howe truss failed plunging an entire train into a frozen stream 30 feet below. More than 90 people were killed in the subsequent fire and steam explosion. Fearing the ill will of the riding public, all Howe trusses in America were removed with great dispatch and replaced with Pratt designs made with structural steel.

American industries in the second half of the nineteenth century also found an ever-increasing need for chemistry and trained chemists in their businesses. Chemists helped produce products as wide-ranging as fertilizers, explosives, industrial dyes, and some of the earliest plastics, as well as chemicals for the photographic and petroleum industries. The process of integrating chemistry into industry was slow, but inevitable and the United States was moving toward parity with the more advanced chemical industries in countries such as Germany.

In the early part of the century, trained chemists served as consultants or were hired by firms to analyze raw materials like gold, silver, or other ores; or to help control processes such as those used in making steel, coke, or other alloys. As American industry grew in the second half of the century, chemists began to exercise some technical independence and initiative, and by the end of the century, most plants had a chemist or two on staff and a small laboratory of sorts on the premises. Without contributions from chemists and the science of chemistry, many of the products that Americans enjoyed in their daily life would not have been possible (Timmons 2005, 88–89).

—James M. Volo

EDUCATION: FRONTIER EDUCATION

The quality of frontier education varied from location to location, but the similarities were indeed significant. Most schools were taught by women who arrived in the West to educate the children of pioneers. The trend of women becoming teachers began around 1840 when Horace Mann claimed that the tendency of women to be kinder and gentler than men made them more like children and, therefore, better cut out for teaching. Catharine Beecher's widely read 1845 work, *The Duty of American Women to Their Country*, further encouraged women to fill their country's need for educators, especially on the frontier where the shortage of teachers to meet the region's fast paced growth was a problem. Many women were inspired by this call and applied to be frontier teachers. The shortage of male teachers during the Civil War further increased the number of females who taught school and when school districts realized that they could be hired for less money than men, the hiring of women became commonplace, eventually established teaching as a mainly female occupation. Prior to the 1880s, these women were mainly from the East. They were willing to move to remote areas of the West where they taught in schools that varied from tiny dugouts barely able to house a handful of students, to large wooden structures with glass windows. Women did so for a variety of reasons, including a fascination with the frontier, a desire for independence, and a genuine love of teaching.

By some accounts, school boards hired and fired teachers on a regular basis, not because they were poor teachers, but to keep salaries low by hiring the newest teachers who were also the lowest paid. When daughters of pioneers passed the required eighth grade comprehensive exams, they too could become teachers. However, with the passing of teacher certification laws, they often had to take additional exams before reentering the classroom. Once there, teachers were responsible not only for the education of students, but for the cleanliness of the school itself, the discipline of the classroom, and the rapid response to crisis, including snakebites, injuries, and storms.

Given the range of responsibilities of frontier teachers, combined with their prominence in the community and their female gender, it is not surprising that the schoolmarm was among the most idealized western figures. An unmarried woman who arrived in an unpopulated town to hold a visible position that directly impacted the town's children inevitably became the object of much fascination, not only to those she taught, but also to the men and women of the community. The fact that the teacher's contract might depend upon her remaining unmarried only increased the romance around her. At the same time, the amount of attention a female teacher could receive in a town where women were scarce meant that romantic attachments were extremely common. Some couples kept their relationships a secret from the community for the woman to remain in her job.

To the children who attended the one-room schoolhouse, the teacher represented a combination of a cultured role model, firm disciplinarian, and comforting caregiver. Her position in the community, as well as her position in the classroom, made the teacher something of an idol and teachers reported that they tried to support this image by dressing as well as they could and by upholding the values of the nation and the town. Part and parcel of this role was the fact that the teacher had to keep a wide range of children occupied and learning throughout the school day, a task that was especially challenging given the limited resources available and the sporadic attendance of the students. Children in the first grade had to have work while the teacher instructed those in the fifth grade. Older boys had to be kept on task while younger children were the focus of attention, and the impulse of youths who spent much of the year working outdoors had to be contained. Teachers, at this time, relied on oral forms of instruction and memory, including rhymes and sayings, as much as they depended on students writing information down and studying the material (Quay 2002, 29–32).

Keeping the schoolroom warm was an almost universal problem. Firewood, cut, split, and stacked for a season, was an expensive commodity that reflected the labor required to produce it. Teachers, ministers, and other public servants were often paid in quantities of seasoned firewood, usually measured out in cords. Nonetheless, the community was not always willing to provide appropriate fuel for the schoolhouse stove. A school superintendent reported finding the teacher and pupils huddled together, shivering with cold, and striving to warm themselves by the little heat generated from a quantity of green wood in the stove. One teacher, Elizabeth Blackwell, noted that at times she had to wear gloves, a blanket shawl, and a hood over her head. A young teacher in Iowa recorded a schoolroom incident when trying to make a fire with only wet and unchopped wood. As she puffed away to make the wet mass burn, she found herself suddenly crying like a child in desperation (Volo and Volo 2007, 282–83).

Schoolbooks were a rare commodity in the West and just about every available text from *McGuffey's Primer* to the Bible, almanacs, hymnbooks, and songsters were employed in the service of frontier education. A typical school library was composed of contributions from the homes of community members, an assortment of children's magazines, and a few appropriate books such as the works of Louisa May Alcott. One teacher recalled how the books were read aloud and the different characters were assumed by the pupils, who often played them out as they called it, at recess. Children's magazines such as *Chatterbox*, *Harper's Young People* and *Youth's Companion* were tremendously popular at this time. The stories, informational articles, pictures, and puzzles from these publications furnished recreation for all ages.

While learning occurred in the schoolhouse, the schoolyard was a site for physical activity, including games that began before the morning school bell and continued during recess. It was not unusual for the boys to arrive early to get in an hour of play prior to the beginning of class. Recess provided a needed outlet for all children, who played popular games like Anty Over, Red Rover, and Capture the Flag. Serving as a counterpart to exercising the mind in the classroom, recess was considered a time to exercise the body and teachers let children find their own methods of entertainment during the recess hour. Intervention was sometimes necessary, however, when boys engaged in fights or squabbles broke out. The teacher's dual role as educator and disciplinarian was clear. Given the fact that some female teachers were scarcely older than the students they taught, not to mention physically weaker than the bigger boys they taught, the demands on the teacher to keep order in the school are even more striking.

Teachers also found that their jobs included dealing with other aspects of their students' personal lives. Physical ailments were common and the teacher was often the first person to note illness and other problems. Some of these impacted the classroom itself, as with childbains, a painful itching that resulted from feet that were cold from a long walk to school in inclement weather. One student recalled that everyone had chilblains and that the banging and scuffling of feet as students pounded their heels and kicked their toes against the seats was so loud and incessant at times that the recitations were interrupted. Bad weather could also cause problems that teachers were expected to solve. The dangers of being caught in a storm either during the journey to or from school, or while in the school itself, were so common a part of the frontier experience that when children were snowbound in schools throughout the Midwest during the blizzard of 1888, the event was referred to as the "Schoolchildren's Blizzard." The courage of Nebraska teacher, Minnie Freeman, during the storm was further memorialized in a popular song called, "Thirteen Were Saved, or Nebraska's Fearless Maid."

The frontier teacher was also a social coordinator, helping to organize events for the town's children and adults. Spelling bees were a popular pastime that involved competition between different age groups. Webster's *The Elementary Spelling Book*, familiarly called the "Blue-Back Speller" had a printing of 35 million copies between 1855 and 1890. Not a single definition was given for any of the words on the 174 pages. While the children learned how to spell the words they really did not know the meaning of the words that they were studying. Other events the teacher helped to coordinate included box lunch socials and dances, many of which took place on the school grounds or in the school if the structure was able to serve in that capacity (Quay 2002, 32–34).

—*Dorothy Denneen Volo*

LITERATURE

Novels

A literate American public was a reading public, and it demanded access to literature at a low price. Technological improvements in typesetting, printing, and binding were initially made in the 1830s, but their application was largely limited to newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets. In the 1840s, they were applied to the fantastically popular hardcover novels causing the per copy price of the genre to fall from several dollars to as little as a quarter of a dollar. The remarkable steam-powered rotary press, invented in 1847, made paperbound publishing, in particular, remarkably inexpensive. Paperbound editions fell to less than 7 cents a copy. Deluxe-bound British novels costing $10, pirated by the American cheap press, sold for 10 cents in paperback.

Popular writing often promoted mythical images like those of James Fenimore Cooper's frontier that established a Western genre. When first published, Cooper's works were also avidly read in Europe, fueling a foreign interest in frontier adventure novels. Cooper's settings were rarely taken outside the regions of the eastern state of New York, but it was not the geography that was the focus of such tales. It was rather the frontier self-reliance of the hero and the male bonding of the characters that superseded any romantic attachments that the protagonist had for female characters that made the novels rugged. The action always centered on the border between civilization and wilderness, which for Cooper had its western terminus at the Great Lakes. This male-dominated universe was crucial to the frontier genre, and it drifted west with the waves of settlers and immigrants. Throughout, the story lines focused on frontiersmen who found meaningful and lasting companionship, not to mention rivalry, among themselves rather than with women. On the frontier, the hero forgoes interpersonal relationships, preferring a solitary life to a married one and finding his best companions in other loners who populated the fictional West (Quay 2002, 153, 155).

Cooper was criticized for his inaccurate descriptions of locations, his writing style, and his depiction of Native Americans that were deemed too sympathetic by his contemporaries. In 1837, author Robert Montgomery Bird responded to Cooper's view of the Indians in his own best-selling novel entitled *Nick of the Woods*. Bird's main character, Nick, also known as Jibbenainosay, is a superhuman figure who violently murders Native Americans. The novel was notably different from Cooper's works in its creation of savage Indians and a wilderness filled with frightening spirits and gruesome experiences. The contrast between the two authors marks a division in the cultural attitudes toward Indians held by the American reading public, yet it was Cooper's vision that superseded Bird's as the foundation for future works in the Western genre. Cooper's representations of the complex relationship between Native Americans and whites, the cultivation and exploitation of the land, and the anxiety surrounding domestic life on the frontier have continued to make his books relevant to today's readers. Cooper remains a staple of American literary classics and the grandfather of frontier fiction (Quay 2002, 155–56).

The sea also served as a vast frontier for the adventure novelist. Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851) was widely read and is an excellent example of the whaling novel, a part of the popular maritime adventure genre of the period. Lesser known today than Melville was Joseph Holt Ingraham, the most prolific and popular author of his day to capture the romance and energy of the sea. Ingraham's *The Pirate of the Gulf* (1836), based on the real pirate Jean Lafitte, was the first of more than a hundred of his novels. Edgar Allan Poe, who knew him, called Ingraham's work overly minute in its many detailed descriptions. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, feeling the sting of upper-class sarcasm for having Ingraham's first novel dedicated to him by the admiring author, called the author the worst novelist who ever lived. Nonetheless, Ingraham was both prolific and successful, producing story lines in many settings. His *Prince of the House of David* (1855) sold hundreds of thousands of copies (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 104). Ingraham's son, Prentiss, later became one of Irwin Beadle's dime novel authors.

Mayne Reid was a close friend of Edgar Allan Poe, and his novels were mainly adventure stories. Beginning in 1850, he published *The Rifle Rangers: Adventures of an Officer in Southern Mexico*, which was based on his own service in the 1846 war; *The Scalp Hunters* (1851); *The War Trail* (1857); and *Forest Exiles* (1854). In 1853 Reid wrote a novel inspired by his own 15-year-old spouse, appropriately titled *The Child Wife*, and in 1856 he wrote a play called *The Quadroon*. A federal officer, author, and Civil War correspondent, Captain John W. De Forest, considered himself "a tolerably instructed man, having read *The Book of the Indians*, all of Cooper's novels, and some of the works of Captain Mayne Reid" (Volo and Volo 1998, 208).

Mary Anne Sadlier (1820–1903), an Irish-American immigrant, wrote 60 volumes of work—from domestic novels to historical romances to children's catechisms. While largely forgotten today, Sadlier's work stands as an important part of American literary history. She was one of the first fiction writers to address the effects of the Irish Famine. In addition, Sadlier's novels narrate that other great journey west across the frontier especially the transatlantic voyage of millions of immigrants in the person of an 18-year-old domestic servant named Bessy Conway. Her novels force the reader to redefine somewhat the one-gender-only concept of the rugged frontiersman lighting out for the territories.

It was from the development of inexpensive book publishing that the genre known as the Dime Novel proceeded. Introduced in the 1850s, these cheap paperbacks enjoyed tremendous popularity for the remainder of the century. They provided the reading public with literally thousands of story lines, mostly of dubious quality. The American West and stories of the Indian Wars were popular subjects. At first grinding out adventures based on real-life characters like Buffalo Bill Cody, Kit Carson, or Daniel Boone, authors soon found that they had to invent characters to fill the demands of their readers. Some of these had wonderfully suggestive names such as Deadwood Dick, Deadshot Dave, and Rattlesnake Ned. The plots were in the realm of sheer fantasy with difficulties always overcome and evil always vanquished (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 105–6).

The popularity of the dime novel, and the low level of quality demanded by its audience, opened a whole new arena of professional and semiprofessional authorship. The output of some authors was prodigious. Colonel Prentice Ingraham wrote 700 dime novels, 200 of them about his friend William "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Edward Z. C. Judson wrote between 300 and 400 dime novels under a dozen pen names including that of the famous Ned Buntline. Such staggering production did not insure fame, however. The titles of dime novels, or main characters of the series, were often more closely followed by the reading public than any particular author.

The name of publisher Irwin Beadle is most closely associated with dime novels. Beadle, his brother Erasmus and partner Robert Adams, had an early success with

Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter (1860) by Ann Sophia Stephens. The book sold 65,000 copies in just a few months. Beadle, thereafter, hired Edward S. Ellis to write the novel *Seth Jones: Or the Captive of the Frontier* (1860). The Beadle's soon developed a formula for the dime novel and stuck with it. A complete, adventurous, and sometimes shockingly violent story of about 100 pages sporting a sensational illustrated cover printed on yellow-tan paper sold for only a dime. They urged their authors to rework the same basic, but successful plots, with new characters and backgrounds, hiring writers to flesh out story lines to 30,000 to 50,000 words for between $50 and $250, depending on the length and expectation of sales.

Success bred imitation, and a host of dime novel publishers entered the market producing thousands of these stories for the reading public including George Munro (1863), Robert De Will (1867), Norman Munro (1870), Frank Tousey (1878), and Street and Smith (1889). Several of these publishers had apprenticed in the traditional printing trades as young men only to find their professions de-skilled and forever changed by mechanization. Erastas Beadle, Robert Bonner, Frederick Gleason, George Munro, Theophilus Beasley Peterson, and Francis Smith left their failing printing trades and went into publishing story papers and dime novels (Shrock 2004, 169–70).

Although dime novels were part of the cheap press and focused on adventure and fantasy, the Beadle's aimed for the highest standards of public morality in their publications. Their directions to their authors prohibited "all things offensive to good taste . . . subjects or characters that carry an immoral taint . . . and what cannot be read with satisfaction by every right-minded person, young and old alike" (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 106). However, by the 1880s the overall quality and moral tone of the genre had markedly deteriorated (Shrock 2004, 170).

The popularity of dime novels actually rose during poor economic times like the Panic of 1873. Cheap libraries, which today are often conflated with dime novels, emerged in 1875. These were series of 16–32 page pamphlets for a nickel. Beadle and Adams issued a *Fireside Library*, George Munro a *Seaside Library*, and Norman Munro a *Riverside Library*. Street and Smith offered a number of series such as the *Log Cabin Library* and *Nick Carter Library*; and Frank Tousey sold a *Five Cent Weekly Library* and the *New York Detective Library*. The last sold full-length books rather than the 16- to 32-page (comic book length) pamphlets.

The Beadle's also published the *Dime Library*, which offered instruction materials on a wide range of topics from etiquette to popular sports. The *Beadle Dime Series* published 631 titles; its *Pocket Novel Series*, 272; its *Dime Library*, 1,103; the *Half-Dime Library*, 1,168; Tousey's *Five-Foot-Wide Library*, 1,353; and his *Wild West Series*, 1,294 (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 108).

Dime novels were sold at every newsstand and in all but the most elite bookshops, and their availability was advertised in both the newspapers and magazines. They were usually printed in press runs of 60,000 to 70,000 copies, a remarkable number for the period. The more successful titles went through several printings. The usual price was 10 cents, but some series sold for as little as a nickel and as much as a quarter. The popularity of the dime novel endured when literally millions of copies went into circulation during the nineteenth century. As late as the 1890s new dime novel publishers, like the successful firm of Street and Smith, were still entering the cheap press business.

More respectable than the dime novels, though less popular, were the story papers that utilized the same money-saving publishing techniques. Some dime novel publishers began to issue these in the post-Civil War era. They included George Munro's *Fireside Companion* (1866–1907), *Beadle's Banner* (1872–1892), and George Munro's *Family Story Paper* (1873–1921). The most popular story paper was the *New York Ledger*, edited by Robert Bonner in the 1850s. Rather than being exploitive of the reading audience, many of these story papers were intended for family readership with a content that was nonsectarian, apolitical, and "welcome in domestic circles" (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 108).

—*James* M. *Volo*

Juvenile Literature

With the change from rural to urban living affecting the lives of so many children, parents looked for a way for them to keep abreast of all the things they needed to know while entertaining them at the same time. While adults had clearly been the target of adventure literature in the form of both hardcover and dime novels, older children read much of the same material.

A number of nineteenth-century how-to books were designed for young persons to provide directions for do-it-yourself handicrafts. Dan Beard—later National Scout Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of America—believed that handcrafting had a value above all other children's leisure activities. The art of making things could grow into a lifetime hobby, and the manual skills developed by working with wood and other materials were valuable, as were the resourcefulness and self-control that came from mastering a difficult project.

The idea of employing reading as a route to handcrafting was not new. In the 1830s William Clarke had included handcraft projects in the *Boy's Own Book* (1829), and Lydia Maria Child had done so in the *Girl's Own Book* (1833). Because parents often helped their children in handicraft work, adult magazines such as *Scientific American* and *Ladies' Home Journal* were sometimes utilized. These often carried articles about handicrafts that might interest children. One type of reading material specifically designed for this purpose was toy making.

In 1882, Beard collected the best of his own writing and put it into a book called *What to Do and How to Do It: The American Boy's Handbook* in an attempt to preserve the best of that which American children had loved in the past. His two sisters, Adelia and Lina, who were writers of handicraft articles for magazines, wrote a parallel book in 1887 called *How to Amuse Yourself and Others: The American Girl's Handbook*. Both works became classics, and much of their content later appeared in the Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks of the twentieth century (McClary 1997, 41–42).

During the last four decades of the nineteenth century (1867–1899), Horatio Alger wrote hundreds of novels for young boys. His purpose was to teach his readers the merits of honesty, hard work, and cheerfulness in the face of adversity. His work also appealed to parents because of its unvarnished espousal of the Protestant work ethic and middle-class values. Alger produced an average of three works per year, and he was often accused of relying on formula writing. One critic, reviewing Alger's 90th novel, complained that the only new thing therein was the names of the characters.

Nonetheless, Alger filled a void in the spectrum of American literature. At one extreme was the conduct manual that stressed formal manners; at the other extreme was the action-packed dime novels. The popular market for reading was also swamped with romances that aimed at adolescent girls and frivolous adults, and favored settings in the Old South or on the Western frontier. These appealed to readers with a liking for sentimentality, and though they included vulnerable and weepy children as characters, real boys—manly, straightforward, and self-reliant—were rarely the principals in the story.

Alger aimed his stories directly at the underappreciated audience of young males, but he stayed away from themes such as the "Boy Bandit," the "Boy Gunfighter," or the "Boy Pirate." Parents, ministers, librarians, and Alger, himself, appreciated that such works could do incalculable mischief with the young mind. Alger favored urban settings and realistic (if somewhat contrived) everyday situations. Besides, he continued to sell books. Even in the final decade of his life, his work had lost little momentum, and his rags to riches themes continued to compete successfully with other forms of juvenile literature. The early twentieth century turned his work into a literary craze, and hundreds of thousands of copies were sold in the pre–World War I period.

—James M. Volo

Periodicals

Magazines and newspapers published much of the output of American authors in the nineteenth century. It has been estimated that there were 575 magazines and almost 3,000 newspapers in publication in the postwar decade. *Harper's Weekly*, with a monthly circulation of 500,000 copies, and *Atlantic Monthly* were the two most prestigious literary and political magazines of the period. New York publisher Frank Leslie had produced amazingly moving woodcut illustrations for his *Illustrated Newspaper* from 1861 through 1865. His use of graphics and terse prose to interpret ongoing news events was a new concept in the American newspaper business that was quickly adopted by other news agencies. In a day when a partisan press was the rule, Leslie's stood apart. Except for tolerating anti-Irish sentiment and portraying Negroes in a stereotypical and condescending manner, Leslie's condoned little that was political (Volo and Volo 1998, 211–12).

Within a few years two independent graphic news weeklies were launched in competition with Leslie's newspaper empire: *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Illustrated News*. Fletcher Harper, the well-financed publisher from Harper and Brothers, actively tried to recruit Leslie's artists and engravers, and aggressively tried to exceed Leslie's circulation. Reporting from the battlefield was exacting and dangerous work. Many artists fell ill with the same maladies that afflicted the troops, and several were captured or killed on the battlefield. Leslie provided poor and erratic pay for his artists, many of whom he lost to competitors. By the opening of the war the two newspapers were within 10,000 copies of one another, with the *New York Illustrated News* a distant third (Volo and Volo 1998, 212).

Frank Leslie introduced a number of illustrated newspapers to American readers: the *Illustrated Zeitung*, a German language edition aimed at the German immigrant population of the North; the *Budget of Fun*, a whimsical publication featuring cheap fiction; the *Ten Cent Monthly*; the *Lady's Illustrated Almanac;* and the *Lady's Magazine and Gazette of Fashion*. All of these bore his name: Frank Leslie's.

The distinction between high and low literature was not so clear in the public's mind as it would become later in the century, and the popular magazines were neither high nor low in their content or audience, tending to hold a middle ground. Short stories and serializations of novels (published in their entirety afterward as books) were featured in the leading magazines, notably *Harper's Weekly, Atlantic Monthly*, and *Godey's Lady's Book*. *Harper's* preferred a sentimental formula of separated lovers, of which the most successful practitioners were Louise Chandler Moulton, Elizabeth B. Stoddard, Mary Abigail Dodge, Helen W. Pierson, and Nora Perry. The authors featured in *Godey's* tended toward the sentimental, while those in the *Atlantic* were more realistic in their content. These included Rebecca Harding Davis and Louisa May Alcott (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 104, 109).

—James M. Volo

Poetry

Making its appearance soon after the end of the Civil War, impromptu poetry became a staple of Western ranch life, providing a creative outlet for ranchers and other land and livestock workers. Composed and recited primarily by livestock wranglers, this type, called cowboy poetry, focused on the Western way of life, including the unique environment of the open range. Such verse was originally published in local newspapers beginning around 1870, and it could be found in magazines, repeated in western stories and novels, and even collected into bound volumes and books. Despite the use of the print media to circulate cowboy poetry, it was most frequently spoken, in the tradition of oral poets. As a result, numerous variations of a single poem have been known to exist, the words changing from one recitation to the next. While some of these changes may have been the natural result of faulty memorization, others are clearly deliberate attempts to adapt a poem to a new situation. The flexibility of such verse is key, for cowboy poems by their nature draw as often on classical writers like Shakespeare and Biblical references as on parodies of the way cowboy life is mythologized in folklore, stories, and modern films.

Despite their various origins and formats, cowboy poems can usually be recognized by their catchy rhythm, traditional rhyme scheme, and task-specific subject matter. Cowboy poems like "The Creak of Leather," by Bruce Kiskaddon, are marked by a rhythm that tends to be like that of a ballad, in which the last word rhymes in every two lines or every other line. The result is a song-like verse that strengthens the alliance between the poems and songs of open-range wranglers. The language of the stanza is also significant because it includes informal words like "mornin'" for morning, "jest" for just, "hoss" for horse, and "doggie," for cattle to convey the image of cowboy-ness. This refusal to adhere to the tenets of standard English gives cowboy poetry a local and personal flavor that creates powerful images for the reader and listener alike.

In addition to structure and language, the subject matter of cowboy poetry is predictable. The celebration of life on the land, including its challenges and changing culture, are common topics, as are the hardships of the trail: important events such as death, marriage, and birth; as well as nature, the seasons, bravery, and love. These subjects arose from the fact that cowboy poems were often composed during the day's work. As the cowboy performed his duties, he was able to create poems in his mind that could then be recited when he was in the company of other men, around the campfire or at the chuck wagon. Using the world around him as his muse, the cowboy poet captured and recorded some of the most descriptive images of frontier life that are available to modern readers.

The widespread popularity of cowboy poets and poetry has waxed and waned since the end of the nineteenth century. Some of the early cowboy poems have made their way into the campfire repertoire of the modern day verging on the edge of being included among the nighttime ghost stories or warnings to listeners about the "Strange things done in the midnight sun / By the men who moil for gold." Indeed the tradition of telling stories, repeating rhymes, and singing songs on the range lives on in the campfires of hundreds of summer camps and scouting events around the United States (Quay 2002, 162–64).

Regional Literature: Westerns

While there were several forms of American literature upon which later western fiction was based, there was also reading material made popular by those who journeyed west and settled the land during and after the gold rush. These books, papers, journals, and magazines both encouraged migration and brought Eastern ideals into the mining communities, boomtowns, and isolated immigrant trains and prairie homes that characterized the era of expansion and exploitation. Among these was *The Oregon Trail* (1849), Francis Parkman's travel narrative of his visit to the West in 1846. Such publications appearing during the period of expansion were seen as personal travelogues and advertisements to move west.

At the same time, there were a number of purpose-written guidebooks containing an array of information that immigrants consulted before and during their Overland journeys. These bore such names as *A Journey to California* (1841), the *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (1845), and *The Gold Regions of California* (1845). One of the best was *The Prairie Traveler, A Hand-book for Overland Expeditions* (1859) by Captain Randolph B. Marcy. These guidebooks described what supplies to take—including clothing, furniture, animals, firearms, and food—what routes were the most direct, and where to stop along the way. Typically authored by a single individual—who may or may not have actually traveled the routes being described—hundreds of guidebooks were published, some only a few pages in length. Inaccuracies were numerous especially concerning the maps the guidebooks contained and the amount of supplies needed to successfully complete the journey. Some immigrants, relying on a guidebook, found that they were overstocked with arms and ammunition but ran out of food before reaching their destination. Nonetheless, readers were tantalized by the descriptions of the sights they would see on the trails, and the gold or fertile, well-watered lands that they would find on arrival. By some accounts immigrant guidebooks were the best advertisements available for westward expansion, and they can be credited with inducing many pioneers to travel west.

The frontier West produced both a Western regional fiction and a cadre of frontier authors. The literary roots of many authors were in the West. Among these were Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Hamlin Garland, and Stephen Crane. Harte's poems and short stories made him well known in the Western literary circle centered on San Francisco, and he became the editor of *The Overland Monthly*. His reputation flourished with the publication of short stories like "The Luck of the Roaring Camp." He spent close to two decades living and working in California capturing the local color in sketches such as "A Night in Wingdam," "The Legend of Devil's Point," "A Legend of the Cliff House," and "Early California Superstitions." Known for his depictions of gamblers, prospectors, ranchers, wranglers, and frontier women, Harte significantly impacted the image of the West and Western literature through his ability to capture the essence of the frontier with language.

Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) also made his literary reputation by writing in and about the West. During his time as a reporter for the *Territorial Enterprise*, the local newspaper for the Nevada Territory town of Virginia City, Clemens first adopted his pen name. In 1862, while working for the paper, he published a hoax about finding a petrified man on the plains, which was reprinted by newspapers in San Francisco. Other frontier articles by Clemens included "My Bloody Massacre," "Information for the Million," and "Buck Fanshaw's Funeral." His best-known work from this period was "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" (also known as "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County") printed in 1865 and reissued in 1875. The short story was a humorous parody of the traditional tale that earned Clemens wider recognition in both the East and the West. Clemens used his Western experiences as a newspaper man and prospector in the satiric fictional work *Roughing It* (1872), a comic autobiography. His most popular fiction centered on his own upbringing along the Mississippi River, however. *Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) developed from his expertise gained by capturing the richness of life in the West.

—*James M. Volo*

COMMUNICATIONS: THE MARKET TICKER SERVICE

After passing through a chaotic period of expansion and wasteful competition, the telegraph industry found a degree of stability under a cartel of six major companies in the 1860s. Over the next few years these were absorbed by Western Union. In 1866, Western Union bought out the last of its rivals in the electric telegraphy business and the Associated Press (AP) secured its place in news reporting, forming a monopoly in this area of communications. The two companies remained under separate ownership and management, but they formed an alliance that gave them nearly complete control over the flow of news and information. Western Union gave the Associated

Press preferential discounts on its dispatches, and the AP pledged to give all of its business to the telegraphic giant. Many Americans regarded this double-headed monopoly as a menace to key republican institutions, specifically the independence of the press and the well-informed electorate. Many feared that the arrangement would cut off the independent news sources or put Western Union in a position to dictate the editorial stance of newspapers and other information media.

Between 1866 and 1900 reformers repeatedly called upon the government to establish a postal telegraph network to compete with Western Union. The more radical called for Congress to nationalize the telegraph industry completely. They hoped to defeat the high rates charged to private citizens using the telegraph for social and personal messages, and noted that the present rate structure made the telegraph primarily a medium for press and business correspondence. Congress considered over 70 reform bills in this period, but failed to keep the alliance of the Associated Press and Western Union from becoming what may be called the nation's first industrial monopoly.

Although reformers failed to reach their ultimate goal of ending Western Union's monopoly over telegraphic communications, they achieved some lasting success. By the 1890s, their efforts had helped to establish government regulation as an important middle ground between state ownership of an important networked technology and its operation by untrammeled private capitalists. Regulation was a pervasive and persistent notion that Progressives—both the political party and social progressives—relied upon to work out the proper economic role of the federal government after the turn of the century, especially in the communications, transportation, and electrical power sectors.

By the outbreak of the Civil War, the telegraph network had also helped to set in motion an unmistakable trend toward the centralization of commodities trading on the floors of the large boards of trade. The introduction of the telegraphic market ticker in 1868 dramatically accelerated this trend. The ticker—an invention patented by Thomas Edison—provided brokers across the country with a printed transcript of trades on exchange floors almost immediately after they had happened, and allowed them to react in a matter of minutes to price movements occurring hundreds of miles away. In this way the telegraphic network and the ticker may have abetted the rise of speculation and finance capitalism during the so-called Gilded Age. The ticker actuated a latent demand for real-time news and financial information, a major growth market of the telegraph industry in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. By the 1880s several thousand bankers and brokers across the country subscribed to Western Union's ticker service, which broadcast up-to-the-minute stock, gold, grain, cotton, and oil quotations as well as financial and political news.

Western Union's ticker service was in many ways the first mass news and entertainment broadcast medium. Not only did the ticker carry financial information, but it also had intimate connections to other economic activities, especially gambling. After the mid-1870s Western Union transmitted sporting news of all varieties, including the results of horse races, rowing matches, boxing bouts, and baseball games. Many subscribers to these services were establishments of questionable morality or legality, like saloons and betting parlors, located in working-class neighborhoods of the large cities. By the turn of the century, the many tickers carried play-by-play or blow-by-blow coverage of sports events, and Western Union paid generously for their exclusive broadcast rights. Although its designers originally intended it as a tool for speculators, market traders, and financiers, the ticker also played an important role in the formation of urban working-class mass culture in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century (Hochfelder 2006, 310–13).

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Germs and Vaccines

Louis Pasteur's discovery that germs existed and caused infection was to reform medicine and health care. Pasteur was a research chemist and Dean of the School of Science at the University of Lille in 1856 when he was asked to investigate the souring of beer at one of the many local breweries. Using a microscope to analyze samples taken from the vats, Pasteur found them teeming with thousands of tiny microorganisms. He continued his studies using milk, wine, and vinegar, and he became convinced that the organisms were the cause rather than the result of the souring. This idea ran counter to the accepted theory of putrefaction (souring, infection, etc.), which held that the organisms were the result of the process having been spontaneously generated from within the substance. Pasteur believed the organisms were airborne.

Although the scientific community generally ridiculed his theory, Pasteur was appointed Director of Scientific Studies at the Ecôle Normale in Paris in 1857. Continuing and refining his research, in 1864 Pasteur explained his beliefs before a gathering of scientists at the University of Paris. In his lecture he did a creditable job of laying out his case for outside infection, and even some in the audience who had refused to believe him thereafter came away convinced that germs and other invading microorganisms were the active agents of many biological processes—both good and bad.

Pasteur's work in the laboratory led to his process, known as pasteurization, for ridding milk of bacteria though quick heating and cooling; but the process was also applied to the preservation of wine and beer, and the production of distinct types of cheese. In 1865, Pasteur was asked to investigate the cause of a disease in silkworms, which he also determined to be a microorganism. From this investigation he came to believe that epidemic diseases such as typhoid and cholera could be spread by germs. He knew of the work of Edward Jenner with respect to the prevention of smallpox by vaccination (the variolation process explained hereafter), and he hoped to do the same with other diseases for which he could find a pathogen (infecting organism). Pasteur had lost two of his own children to typhoid; and he attempted, but failed, to isolate the infectious agent that caused an outbreak of cholera in Marseilles in 1865. He firmly believed nonetheless that a vaccine could be found for all diseases.

Jenner's work had involved the observation that those having survived a serious disease seemed to have acquired an immunity from further infection. Jenner found that persons afflicted with a weak strain of smallpox known as cow pox seldom died of the more serious disease. He therefore reasoned that exposure to the dried pus of smallpox lesions would create an immunity to the more virulent form of the disease. By 1840, Jenner's methods were well-established and the only ones recognized by the British government. Jenner's process of variolation had many forms. One of these consisted of removing pus and fluid from a smallpox lesion and placing it under the skin of the person to be vaccinated with a series of needle pricks (scarification). Another was to have the person inhale the dried and pulverized scab material through the nose—an early form of inhalant that worked because the nose is rich in blood-carrying tissues; and finally there was the introduction of fluid directly into the vein through injection with a hypodermic needle. The process of vaccination (the terms vaccination and vaccine come from the Latin "vacca" for cow) had various effects ranging from mild illness to death, but across the treated population mortality and sickness from the disease decreased markedly.

Pasteur was initially disappointed that he had made no further progress toward identifying the agents of human disease during the decade of the 1870s, but a chance meeting with the German biologist Robert Koch in 1880 led Pasteur to establish a team of research scientists (as Koch had done) to attack the problem. Pasteur had often worked alone, but he now added his efforts to those of Dr. Emile Roux and Dr. Charles Chamberland who brought a great deal of recent medical knowledge to the team that Pasteur lacked as a chemist. Almost immediately the team developed a series of vaccines for chicken cholera, anthrax, and rabies.

The mechanism by which vaccines worked was generally misunderstood or unknown at the time of their discovery. However, modern science recognizes that infectious organisms carry proteins called antigens that stimulate an immune response in patient. This brings on an initial feeling of illness before the disease takes hold. The immune response is multistage and includes the time-consuming synthesis of proteins in the afflicted person known as antibodies. The antibodies attack and kill the invading germs with varying degrees of success. If the patient is strong the antibodies have the time and the numbers to defeat the invaders; if not, the invaders destroy the host organism and the patient succumbs. Vaccination with weakened strains of disease-causing organisms stimulates the production of antibodies in the vaccinated patient as well as creating so-called memory cells that remain in the blood stream ready to fight off specific infections, sometimes for the life span of the patient. So quick is the body's response through the memory cells that the symptoms of infection are often prevented and even weak patients (the very young and very old) can summon the strength to survive. It was the production of these memory cells in those initially surviving attacks of smallpox and other diseases that explained their naturally acquired immunity.

Some immunity can be transferred to infants through mother's milk, but only for those disease antibodies present therein to which the mother has been exposed. Infections such as Asiatic influenza (the flu) or the common cold (a rhinovirus) come in many distinct types making naturally acquired immunity against all of them difficult if not impossible. Native American populations—never exposed to European style measles or poxes—were often wiped out as epidemics swept their villages because they had no natural immunity.

A little more must be said of Dr. Robert Koch, who had begun a quest to defeat disease in a small laboratory in his physician's office in Berlin in 1872. The first disease he attacked was anthrax in sheep for which he found a long-lived spore to be the infectious agent. In 1878, he moved on to human diseases identifying the germs that caused blood poisoning (septicemia, or bacterial infection of the blood stream) and tuberculosis by 1882. It was not until 1893 that Koch isolated the largely waterborne bacterial cause of cholera, *Vibrio cholerae asiatica*, which enters the body through the mouth in contaminated drinking water and causes an infection in the intestine. Contaminated water does not necessarily appear unclean to the naked eye. Death results (often within a few hours of the first signs of illness) from dehydration caused by diarrhea and vomiting.

Koch's most meaningful work, however, was in the area of laboratory technique. He devised a method for staining organisms with methyl violet dye so that they could be better studied under a microscope. He perfected a medium for growing research samples of microorganisms made from potato starch and gelatin; and he developed a protocol for proving which of several organisms present in patients actually caused their disease. By 1900, Koch and his team had identified 21 disease-causing germs in as many years.

—*James M. Volo*

Infant Mortality and Milk

Prior to the Civil War, women who could not breast-feed or who shunned the idea or expense of hiring a wet nurse, fed their children straight cow's milk or put together formulas based on contemporary assumptions of what constituted a healthy diet for infants. When fresh milk was not available, there were two forms of patented canned milk available after 1856: plain condensed milk and a sweetened variety. The sweetened types had a lower protein value, and physicians recommended adding cod liver oil or meat broth to formulas made with it. A new industry developed providing formulas for upper- and middle-class mothers and their children through a system of processing centers and daily distribution networks. Commercially produced infant formulas were advertised as scientifically calculated and healthful for child and mother; but they were mostly expensive and generally no more healthful than those that parents could formulate at home.

During the later part of the nineteenth century many working-class mothers gave up breast-feeding and adopted the practice of feeding their infants cow's milk because it freed them to take employment outside the home. Unfortunately, clean, inexpensive milk was not easily available in the tenements and poorer urban neighborhoods. Nonetheless, poor and immigrant mothers often shared the fashionable knowledge that cow's milk based formulas were a better source of nutrition than that which nature provided, and it seemingly helped their children gain weight and grow faster.

The advent of refrigerated railroad cars allowed milk from the hinterland to be transported to city centers where it was processed in large factories. Unfortunately, not all of these concerns were run by upstanding men. It was not unusual for the milk to be adulterated with ground chalk and mixed with water to expand its volume. While this was dishonest, the chalk and water rarely posed an imminent health risk to children other than it might lead mothers to unknowingly undernourish their children.

However, there was inherent in this system a silent and hidden killer. Contaminated milk was truly a danger to the infants who were given it and was likely a contributing factor to the astounding infant mortality rates of cities such as Boston's 43 percent in 1830 and New York's 50 percent in 1839. Prior to the work of Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch connecting illness to bacteria, diseases such as marasmus (protein deficiency in infants) or scrofula (a form of tuberculosis) were thought to arise from a fundamental weakness of the body or through an inherited predisposition such as weak lungs or a frail constitution. Unfortunately, urban and suburban dairy farmers short of grazing for their cows often used distillery waste (mash left over from the production of beer and alcohol) and slaughterhouse waste (collectively known as swill) as a feed supplement for their cows. These dairy cows often contracted diseases—particularly a type of bovine tuberculosis—that could infect humans who drank the so-called swill milk.

Most of these bacteria could be killed by pasteurization, but prior to 1882 the milk supply was generally not tested, and much of it remained unpasteurized. Moreover, even if the milk were unadulterated and germfree, it was often handled in a haphazard and unsafe manner by well-meaning, but careless merchants and consumers unaware of the health consequences. They often stored the milk in open vats or reused containers and bottles between customers without first scalding or sterilizing them. Diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, and other communicable diseases might be unknowingly spread in this manner through whole neighborhoods served by a single dealer.

Infants were particularly vulnerable to such diseases, especially diarrhea that caused chronic dehydration. In 1861, the New York Sanitary Association pointed out the apparent connection between milk quality and infant death, but nothing was done largely because the owners of the milk plants were major contributors to the political machine known as Tammany Hall. In 1866, New York City recognized the wider problem of adulterated and unsanitary foods and beverages, and formed the Metropolitan Board of Health to regulate the manufacturers. The board recognized not only the problems posed by milk, but also the risks inherent in livestock manure and slaughterhouse refuse contaminating the water supply in highly urbanized areas. Although political corruption continued to limit the effectiveness of the Board of Health, in 1869, a sanitary code was put in place that banned the presence of livestock and slaughterhouses from densely populated areas of Manhattan (generally below present-day Times Square at 42nd Street). The code also provided for the inspection of butcher shops and milk dealers who did business in the city with regard to their adherence to proper sanitary procedures.

James M. Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Casper, Scott E., Joan Chaison, and Jeffery D. Groves, eds. *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Duffy, John. *A History of Public Health in New York City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968.

Hochfelder, David. "The Communications Revolution." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education, A Documentary History*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Jefferson, Dorothy L. "Child Feeding in the United States in the 19th Century." In *Award Essays: A Compilation of Essays*, ed. Lydia J. Roberts. Chicago, IL: American Dietetic Association, 1968.

Johnson, Clifton. *Old-Time Schools and School-books*. New York: Dover Publications, 1963.

Kelley, R. Gordon, ed. *Children's Periodicals of the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Marcy, Randolph B. *The Prairie Traveler, A Hand-book for Overland Expeditions*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1993. Reprint of the 1859 edition.

Mason, Philip P., ed. *Copper Country Journal: The Diary of Schoolmaster Henry Hobart, 1863–1864*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

McClary, Andrew. *Toys with Nine Lives, A Social History of American Toys*. North Haven, CT: Linnet Books, 1997.

Mondale, Sarah, and Sarah B. Patton, eds. *School: The Story of American Public Education*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines*. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930–1968.

Parkman, Francis. *The Oregon Trail*. New York: Lancer Books, 1968. Reprint of the 1849 edition.

Quay, Sara E. *Westward Expansion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Tebbel, John, and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Weisberger, Bernard A. *The LIFE History of the United States: Steel and Steam, Volume 7: 1877–1890*. New York: Time Life Books, 1975.

Wood, Alice L. "The History of Artificial Feeding of Infants." In *Award Essays: A Compilation of Essays*, ed. Lydia J. Roberts. Chicago, IL: American Dietetic Association, 1968.

Material Life

FOOD

On the Immigrant Trail

The need to properly provision oneself and one's family for a transcontinental journey was almost overwhelming in terms of its possible consequences—deprivation, starvation, or even death. The food that was taken, prepared, and consumed along the immigrant trails of the West was both familiar and inventive, combining the best kind of tried-and-true recipes with the need for creativity based on the availability of unfamiliar local ingredients. Whether the meal was meant to feed a family of pioneers who had stopped along their journey or a cowboy getting ready to move his cattle northward, food along the trail consisted of available ingredients cooked with the most rudimentary utensils.

When immigrants set out for the West, they carried with them supplies that would ostensibly last for the duration of the journey. Guidebooks like Joseph E. Ware's *The Emigrant's Guide to California* (1849) stated that for each traveler the following food should be packed: "a barrel of flour or 180 lbs of ship biscuit that is kiln dried, 150 to 180 lbs of bacon, 25 lbs. coffee, 40 lbs sugar, 25 lbs. rice, 60 lbs. beans or peas, a keg of clear cooked beef . . . a keg of lard, 30 to 40 lbs. of dried peaches or apples, also some molasses and vinegar." Food for the journey was stored carefully in the wagon, and pioneers prudently planned to store enough food to last for several months of the arduous trip. Midway through her journey, Sallie Hester recorded that they lived on bacon, ham, rice, dried fruits, molasses, packed butter, bread, coffee and tea, and as they had their own cows, milk. She noted that occasionally, some of the men killed an antelope and they would then have a feast. Fish was sometimes eaten on Sundays. During the journey the immigrants were forced to adopt new ways of cooking and eating. One diarist noted that although there was not much to cook, there was a good deal of difficulty and inconvenience in doing it. The problem was that by the time one had squatted around the fire and cooked bread and bacon having made several trips to and from the wagon, washed the dishes with no place to drain them, and gotten things ready for an early morning breakfast, some of the others had already had their night caps on and it was time to go to bed.

Cooking and eating outdoors was a challenge, but immigrants became accustomed to living within the confines of their wagons, and to eating only what they had brought with them or what they could find along the way. They found effective ways to make the most of what was available. During the daily lunchtime stop, called nooning, animals were given a break from walking, men were given the chance to hunt for fresh meat or fish, and women and children quickly learned the value of collecting buffalo chips. Euphemistically called chips, buffalo dung was commonly used along the trail as fuel. Collecting buffalo chips became a daily activity that helped pioneers cope with the lack of wood necessary to create a fire over which to cook and around which to keep warm. Buffalo chips caused an unpleasant odor and sometimes affected the taste of the food. In dry weather they made a hot fire, but they burned quickly. When wet, they hardly burned at all and had to be fanned to keep the fire burning.

Immigrants found other creative ways to combine the experience of traveling with the necessity of eating. In an effort to have fresh butter throughout the trip, for instance, many immigrants took advantage of the rocking motion of the wagon to create a natural type of butter churn. One traveler wrote that milk was carried in a can that was swung from the wagon bows overhead. By noon there was a ball of butter the size of a hickory nut and innumerable little ones like shot.

While much of the trip westward was long and tiring, food became part of the celebrations that broke up the journey, bringing relief to the monotony of the crossing. Many travelers aimed to arrive at Independence Rock on the Fourth of July, thereby being able to celebrate the holiday at one of the landmark sites of the voyage. Special foods were saved for this day, part and parcel of the trend among Westerners to observe Independence Day with enthusiasm and joy. Toward the end, pioneers prepared special meals and desserts, using what they had to turn an ordinary day and meal into an extraordinary marker of their pursuit of a new life in the West.

Natural resources, including wild fruits and vegetables, provided another form of easy-to-come-by fare for hungry travelers. At least in the early years of immigration, before the land had been depleted, fruits, berries, and herbs could be picked from the trees or pulled from the ground along the way. Indeed, the move to Western settlements was promoted in part by the promise that the unsettled regions of the continent contained an abundance of natural resources that could be used as food. Meat was also available in the course of the journey. Antelope, prairie dogs, and buffalo could be killed and served for the evening meal. In places like Death Valley, salt could be picked up in great lumps in the sand while in other regions freshly caught fish could be incorporated into the pioneer diet. Minnie Miller recounted that prairie chickens and sage hens were plentiful.

Efficiency was a concern of most travelers, for food supplies tended to dwindle long before the trip was over and fatigue made the daily effort of cooking difficult. Time-saving strategies were common. Beans, for instance, were a mainstay of most immigrant parties as they could be cooked all night, mixed with meat scraps and eaten at lunch and dinner the following day. Equally popular were portable foods such as pemmican (a mixture of meat and fruit) and jerked meat. Pocket soup was stock made from veal or pig's feet, dried to the consistency of solid glue that could be stored for years then reconstituted when dissolved in hot water. Canned goods were welcomed, once they became available, as was anything that could help nourish immigrants who were far from places where basic foods could be quickly and easily replenished.

The need to keep food on hand throughout the lengthy journey was aided by trading posts that were located sporadically along the major travel routes and that provided travelers with the opportunity to restock essential supplies. Settlers who were already established in cabins, dugouts, and adobe buildings along the way shared what they could with passersby. Along the trail, pioneers also described how sharing cooking supplies and ideas helped them form new connections and relationships during the long journey, relieving some of the anxiety and isolation that accompanied the departure from family members, towns, and homes in the East (Quay 2002, 111–14).

Settlers' Food

Settlers were resourceful and used what they had. Vegetable gardens were planted as soon as possible. In summer, what fresh produce might be had was supplemented by wild greens such as sheep sorrel and buffalo peas. Children subject to a diet containing few fresh fruits and vegetables sometimes developed scurvy. Those who settled near wooded areas found wild honey, berries, plums, persimmons, pokeweed, dandelions, and lamb's quarters. Crushed green hickory nuts produced a buttery substance, which tasted good on cornbread. Stored root vegetables were all that was available in winter. The sap from hickory logs was saved for the children, who called it hickory goody. Many different kinds of bread, from streusel and crumpets to cracklin' bread, were made from the same basic recipe. While most bread started with cornmeal, rye, wheat, or acorn, flour might also be added. Lack of verdant pasture during the winter usually caused the cows to go dry, leaving the homesteader without milk. Eggs were preserved by immersing them in a combination of water and potassium silicate or sodium silicate and keeping them covered in a cool location. The availability of game on the prairie decreased as time passed and by the 1870s buffalo, once abundant, was scarce. All parts of what meat was available were used. Meat was soaked overnight to remove the gamey taste. Very tough cuts were soaked for several days in a mixture of vinegar, water, and spices. For those who settled near water, fish became an important source of protein. Settlers also harvested such wild birds as the prairie hen, duck, and wild turkey. Fuel was scarce on the prairie. Sod house cooking was done with the help of a hot box, a covered wooden box large enough to hold a boiling pot and keep its heat so that it continued to cook while conserving fuel.

Pioneer cooking required great creativity to deal with the limited ingredients. Sometimes even the sorghum molasses used in place of sugar was unavailable and settlers turned to pumpkin or watermelon juice boiled into syrup instead. Lacking lemons, pioneer women baked mock lemon pie using vinegar instead of lemon juice. Poor farmers who could not give up their coffee used coffee substitutes such as parched barley, rye, or wheat, okra seeds, dried carrots, or coffee essence—a mixture of squash and pumpkin baked very dark and put in the pot and boiled for 15 minutes. Hot beverages and medicines were brewed from roots, barks, and leaves such as sassafras and mint. The poor also found meals monotonous. *The Nebraska Farmer* of January 1862 printed 33 different ways of cooking corn (Better Homes and Gardens 1974, 179, 182–88).

With no refrigerators or even iceboxes, food had to be preserved. Fruits were gathered fully ripe and placed in handy containers such as barrels, tubs, or jars, and covered with pure spring water. The scum that formed on the surface functioned like the paraffin of jam makers. Everything that could be dried was, including beans, corn, rhubarb, berries, even pumpkins. Home canning was not common on the frontier, so fresh tomatoes were put in barrels with strong brine and kept submerged by weighted boards. Some fruits were preserved by boiling sweets, though sugar was rare, and was usually replaced by molasses or honey. A Kansas homesteader, Howard Ruede, complained that he had a hard time with meat flies and reported having taken thousands of eggs off the ham. Lacking a smoky place to keep the ham, the flies would get inside the paper in which the ham was wrapped. After the Civil War canned goods made their way on to the Plains. One observer noted that bachelor huts were always surrounded by a rusting pile of cans. Where there was a woman to do the cooking, there were fewer cans as most farm wives considered canned goods unthrifty.

Settlers' meals, like everything else in their life, were functional. They needed to fuel the body with enough calories for an arduous day's work. Hamlin Garland described harvest work punctuated by meals—breakfast of flapjacks, sausages, and coffee; a midmorning lunch of milk, cheese and fresh fried-cakes, brought to the fields by his sister; a noon dinner of boiled beef and potatoes and supper at six. The Garlands were fortunate, however, for many families lived on the edge of starvation, especially in bad crop years (Jones 1998, 199–200).

Chuck Wagons and Cowboy Cooks

Some of the best food of the westward expansion period was prepared by the cowboys and chuck wagon cooks who created meals on the open prairie. Cowboy cooks were especially popular at the height of trail drives during which herds of cattle were moved from Texas to northern destinations where they could be sold at market. While the setting was simple, and the ingredients basic, the cowboy meal was known for its flavor and heartiness. Consisting of coffee, meat in the form of beef, salt pork, or bacon (also called overland trout), bread, and possibly a sweet dessert, cowboy cuisine was a cultural phenomenon in its own right complete with dialect, customs, and characters.

The cook, whose skill determined the success of the daily menu and the satisfaction of the cowhands who depended on him for their meals, was a central figure and distinct personality in the life of a cowboy camp. Among the rugged cowboys, the cook provided an interesting combination of manly camaraderie and domestic ability. Indeed, in a type of role reversal that appeared across the frontier in various forms, the male cook was known for a culinary expertise that overshadowed the domestic skills of many frontier women.

Part and parcel of the cook's stereotypical image was the process by which he completed his tasks. While early cooks prepared meals over open fire, in the 1860s the iconic chuck wagon came into existence. The chuck wagon began as a sort of cupboard on wheels and evolved into a more elaborate system that included fold-down tables and enough cubbies and hangers to hold the pots, spices, utensils, and other materials needed to feed the cowhands. Chuck wagons could be personalized with pictures and other decorations, but the vehicles were primarily functional. Market demand in the mid-1880s led the Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Company of South Bend, Indiana, to produce the Round-up Wagon, especially designed for feeding hungry cowboys in the field. Priced at $200, the sturdy 1888 model was equipped with zinc-lined mess boxes front and rear.

The culture of the chuck wagon, with its cook and its food, was unique and in keeping with the overall rugged existence of the cowboy. Meals were offered three times a day. The call to mealtime, or grub, took the form of ditties, loud sounds, and no-nonsense words. The cook might clange lids together or shoute out calls of "Grub!" and "Roll out and bite the biscuit" (Quay 2002, 114–16).

Despite the fact that these meals were unceremoniously served in the rugged outdoors, there was a definite etiquette. No one would ever tie up his horse to the chuck wagon. Horsehair was an unwelcome addition even on the plains. No one was allowed to use the cook's workbench. Cowboys used their lap, bedroll, or a convenient rock for a table. No food was dished out until the cook called chow. Hands served themselves taking all they could eat at the first helping. Second helpings came only after everyone had gotten their first. Care was taken that the lid to any pot never touched the dirt, and the cowhand would make sure to stand downwind lest he kick up dust on someone else's food (Better Homes and Gardens 1974, 198).

Typical fare included meat that, if not fresh, was salted or dried as jerky. Beans, usually the red pinto beans known as frijoles, were boiled or fried in the tradition of Mexican cuisine. Bread could take the form of biscuits, corn bread, or sourdough bread. Sample menus included beans, roast beef, boiled potatoes, short ribs with onions, and a stew made of the marrow from beef bones sautéed in hot grease, then boiled with potatoes. Charlie Siringo remembered one of his favorite meals was calf ribs broiled by the campfire and a large Dutch oven full of loin, sweetbread and heart, all smothered in flour gravy. Desserts might include stewed fruit, spice cake made without eggs or butter or simmered rice and raisins. More simply it might be lick, molasses or Karo syrup drizzled over canned tomatoes and leftover biscuits, or yellow cling peaches in syrup straight from the can. Pickles were a real treat in a diet noticeably lacking in fresh vegetables and depending heavily on prairie strawberries—beans (Jones 1998, 175–76). As with other examples of the frontier fondness for expressive names, popular meals were given colorful titles such as "Sun-of-a-Gun Stew," "Spotted Pup Rice Pudding," "Six-shooter Coffee," and "Pigeons in Disguise" (Quay 2002, 116).

Meals were cooked using Dutch ovens and cast-iron skillets that, by the 1890s could be ordered by mail from catalogs like that of Sears, Roebuck. Every meal was prepared using the same set of utensils with the bread mixed up in the dishpan. Recipes were simple. One cook recalled a biscuit recipe that was written, "Flr, Wt, bk s, mix well, cook over a fair fire till done." Measurements used such vague amounts as a handful, a scoop, a dipper, a smidgen, a bit, and a pinch (Quay 2002, 116).

If there was one crucial part of the cowboy meal, it was the coffee that was consumed in large quantities at virtually all cowboy spreads. Large pots of coffee were kept hot on the fire throughout the day and cowboys refilled their cups as often as they desired. If a man got up to refill his cup, another hand might call out man at the pot and the thirsty man would then be obliged to refill all the cups that were held out to him. The coffee was known for being strong and black, and a handful of ground coffee per cup was not an unusual recipe to ensure the drink's strength (Quay 2002, 116). Most cowboys did not drink their coffee straight. As white sugar was rarely available, granulated brown sugar was used, or a cook might sweeten the brew with molasses. The granulated brown sugar often became so hard in its barrel that it had to be chipped free and then run through a meat grinder before it could be used. On the range the coffee was often brewed with water collected from bogs, where streams had been dammed up for cattle to drink (Jones 1998, 176).

Some cooks roasted their own beans, but as factory-roasted beans became more available, the purchase of ready-to-use coffee became a more common practice. Manufacturers, recognizing a strong market for coffee products in the West, took advantage of the demand by creating brands especially geared for those consumers who lived on the trail (Quay 2002, 116).

Arbuckle Brothers Company of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, became the leading coffee provider to the West by creating fresh, easy-to-use coffee products with strong brand recognition. The 1873 trademark for the brand that Arbuckle targeted in the West, Ariosa, featured a flying angel. Toward the end of the century Arbuckle's included a stick of peppermint candy in each package, and in 1893, collector's trading cards featuring animals, countries of the world, U.S. states, and recipes. Two years later they began to offer coupons redeemable for any dozens of premiums, ranging from lace curtains and wedding rings to Torrey razors and small caliber revolvers. During the 1890s the company exchanged 108 million coupons annually for some 4 million premiums, including 100,000 wedding rings, 819,000 handkerchiefs, and 186,000 razors. Coffee was such an important staple in the cowboy diet, and the Arbuckle's did such a good job of promoting their product, that the coupons became widely recognized by Westerners, and were even used on occasion as a form of currency at local stores (Pierce 1995, 121).

Besides the cowboy who worked on the trail, there were also cooks who fed the cowhands on large ranches. Here, just as on the trail, the cook reigned supreme over his cooking facilities. The big advantage was that he had much better circumstances in which to prepare the food. In addition to more and better equipment, he did not have to worry about the dust, dirt, and rain. During the meal, eating was the main activity and there was generally little conversation. After dinner, if the cook permitted, the men would hang around for storytelling and perhaps some music (Better Homes and Gardens 1974, 204).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Eating Out

While life on the trail demanded creativity and patience in the planning, preparation, and consumption of meals, eating establishments known for providing Westerners with excellent food and drink were an important part of frontier life. Even the most makeshift town had at least one local saloon in which miners and townspeople gathered to drink and eat. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad, new opportunities arose to feed Westerners and to develop uniquely western cuisine. Such trends made their mark on the western landscape and set the stage for continuing patterns in the popular culture of frontier foods.

The local saloon was the central meeting place for most Western towns, especially in the early years of expansion following the gold rush. The saloon was a site of socializing, eating, and, most importantly, drinking. Whiskey was the drink of choice and was made from a wide range of ingredients, sometimes whatever was at hand. The shot glass itself had its origins in the frontier saloon, where it was used as a vehicle for quickly consuming the alcoholic beverage of one's choice.

While saloon owners were not at a loss for customers, they did find ways to entice passersby into one bar rather than another, by offering a free lunch or entertainment. One period chronicler reported that it was commonplace to find a free lunch and a free supper in the more important California ballrooms where anyone could walk in and take luncheon or supper gratis. He certified the viands were of good quality, were well cooked, and served by attentive waiters. There were several courses from which to choose, or the patron could take a portion of each. Soup, fish, made-dishes, joints, and vegetables were all on the bill of fare of the free lunch. At the free supper the variety was equally great. Although there was no charge for the food, it was understood that anyone who partook of the meals would drink afterward (Quay 2002, 118–19).

Ironically, fine dining on the frontier turned out to be very different than in more settled parts of the country. Elite restaurants popped up quickly in frontier areas such as Tombstone, Arizona, Virginia City, Nevada, and Georgetown, Colorado. Fine restaurants serving French haute cuisine on the frontier soon came to rely on the business of the average miner who was more likely to spend money on expensive dinners than most working-class Americans due to their boomtown, get-rich-quick mentality. When precious metal reserves ran out, some of the first businesses to close were fine dining establishments (Shrock 2004, 112–13).

With the rare exception, early westward travel was known for the paucity of good food available during the trip. One traveler reported that from Red River to El Paso there were few accommodations for eating beyond what were afforded by the company stations to their own employees. He suggested that travelers carry with them as much durable food as possible. As train travel became increasingly popular, the problem of good food became one that entrepreneurial Westerners sought to solve. Prior to the invention to the Pullman sleeping and dining cars, travelers would stop at predetermined places along the railroad line and eat their meals at restaurants that served the area. While some of these services provided fine food with equally fine service, they were inconsistent, and unpredictable, and cost travelers time from their journey. Two developments met different aspects of these problems, namely the Pullman dining car and the Harvey restaurant chain.

The dining car was revolutionary in several ways. First, it allowed passengers to take their meals while the train continued to move, thereby saving them from having to stop several times a day on the lengthy journey across the country. Second, the opportunity to eat on the train in a car specially designed for the purpose provided travelers with a pleasant diversion from the monotony of the cross-continental trip. Travelers found much to celebrate in the ritual of having three prepared meals a day, served in style in the dining car as the scenery rushed by outside the window.

In 1876, 41-year-old Fred Harvey changed the face of Western restaurants and travel fare when he opened the first of his popular Harvey lunchrooms along the Sante Fe Railroad line. Harvey's mission was to provide travelers with good food served at modest prices in pleasant environments. Train conductors wired ahead to let the cooks know how many meals to prepare, and the food was hot and waiting when passengers disembarked. The lunchrooms were well designed, and the meat was first-rate, acquired from the best Western stockyards and cooked by the best chefs available.

The setting and the food helped to seal the success of Harvey's restaurant, as did the well-run service that featured the popular Harvey Girls as waitresses. Harvey Girls were well-paid employees, easily recognized by the crisp black uniforms that distinguished them from the customers. Harvey asked the waitresses to sign a contract stating that they would uphold the rules of the establishment, not get married for at least a year, and live in the housing provided by the business. Not only were the waitresses held to high standards, but the customers were as well. For instance, Harvey required men to wear coats before being served in the restaurant. He expected his customers to act in appropriate fashion for a public eating place. As Harvey's restaurants gained name recognition and critical approval, new franchises were opened on different parts of the railroad's cross-country route, making Fred Harvey's name nearly synonymous with Western travel. By promoting the enjoyment of eating, Harvey restaurants became destinations in and of themselves and provided a model for other chain restaurants that would develop across the country (Quay 2002, 119–21).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Eating in Town

The process by which towns developed during the westward expansion depended to a great extent on where immigrants settled and whether or not they remained there. During the gold rush, these factors were determined by where gold was discovered and how long it could be successfully mined. In these cases food would be brought to the town and sold in boomtown establishments that could disappear overnight. For pioneer families, the homestead might be miles from the nearest store and, as a result, trips to town to shop became focal points of the family outing. In either case, food was not as easy to come by as it had been in the East, and patterns of purchasing, storing, cooking, and consuming food developed in response to the new challenges of frontier life.

Western settlements depended on their own resources such as farm-raised crops and animals for much of their food. Whether supplies were brought to the farm, or whether the family went to town and brought items back to the home, the general store was the center of food shopping in the Old West. If the general store did not have the desired products, the mail-order catalog served as a useful alternative.

Providing consumers with access to food that was not always easy to find at the local market, catalogs allowed pioneers to have products delivered by mail to remote locations. One pioneer woman claimed that when you lived more than 90 miles from town, a Montgomery Ward or Sears Roebuck catalog got read more than the Bible or Shakespeare.

If Westerners could find what they needed to make appetizing meals in the local store or mail-order catalog, they could not always afford to buy them. Inflation was a rampant problem in the West, leading to wildly different prices from town-to-town and from day-to-day. Because of the effort to bring food to remote locations, the difficulty involved in keeping it fresh, and the desire to make a profit from a captive audience, the high price of food was a regular topic of conversation among early Westerners. Reflecting the gold rush mentality of feast or famine, immigrants paid the exorbitant prices when they could, often spending all of their daily earnings and more on basic necessities of food and drink (Quay 2002, 121–23).

Recipes

While most vegetables, meats, and grains were purchased or picked fresh from Western farms, the tin can became a convenient way to serve food that would be impossible to keep fresh in other forms. Immigrants, miners, cowboys, and other participants in the process of westward expansion found tin cans useful, and canned products became so common that everyone lived out of cans. You could see great heaps of them outside of every little shack. Cans became so ubiquitous on the California mining frontier that tin dumps made their first appearance in the 1850s.

Recipes quickly became the focal point of western cooks. Pioneers shared recipes with one another, borrowing ideas and culinary tips that helped them produce the best food they could in a setting that lacked the resources Easterners were used to having at their disposal. Recipes were handed down from generation to generation, and cookbooks from the states were the source of many a successful—if slightly adapted—meal. Newspapers, too, provided information about the most popular recipes, the newest ingredients, and the best cooking methods (Quay 2002, 123–24).

Community Eating

Food was an important focus of Western communities and was frequently incorporated into social gatherings and public events. Barn raising, quilting, corn husking, and other work-related activities, known commonly as bees, were designed to combine work with socializing. Townspeople would gather to collectively finish a task and then join together for a celebratory meal.

Few congregations could afford to pay their ministers very well and the church social proved to be an enjoyable and effective way to generate funds and to augment the meager salary of the frontier minister. Church members prepared and donated food. There was always an abundance of fried chicken, steaming vegetables, home-canned pickles and fruits, and delicious desserts. The meal was served family style on plank tables, outside in the summer and in the church basement in the winter. The cost was affordable, usually $.25 for adults and $.10 for children for the all-you-can-eat meal. Although it was a community event, there was often a social order to the division of labor. Matrons of higher social status often served at the dessert table while members with less social clout washed the dishes and served at the tables.

During the wheat harvest, threshing crews, which consisted of the men who ran the machinery plus neighborhood farmers who traded work, sometimes numbered as many as 50 people. Feeding so many was a monumental task for the women. Plank boards were laid across chairs to make sufficient tables. Platters of meat, potatoes, vegetables, bread, and jams were laid out. Workers often ate in shifts, and as one man finished, another took his place.

Stack cake became a traditional pioneer wedding cake. Guests brought a single layer of cake to the wedding, and the cake was assembled there with an applesauce made from either fresh or dried apples spread between each layer. It was said that the number of layers of cake was an indication of a bride's popularity. Guests were likely to bring a variety of different cakes, and the layers of the final stack were often variegated and flavored differently (Better Homes and Gardens 1974, 193, 188, 194).

Picnics were another food-centered event. Western picnics, while sometimes held on the open prairie or at local sites, were just as often held at a specific destination of interest, such as, among the redwood trees of California. Other social events that focused around food included the candy pull and the box lunch, both of which involved eating to encourage romance. The candy pull required men and women to work as partners, pulling the stretchy candy until it was smooth. They could also each put an end of the candy string into their mouths, eating their way toward one another along the length of the candy. Similarly, the box lunch was a form of fundraising that allowed men to bid on lunches made by the townswomen (Quay 2002, 125–26).

International Influences

The presence of pioneers and travelers from a multitude of countries resulted in an eclectic mix of ingredients, recipes, and foods across the American West. The local eating establishments, which sprang up quickly in the West, reflected the melting pot of ethnic groups that had immigrated there. One Westerner reported an array of eateries that he found everywhere including the American tavern, French restaurant, the Spanish fonday and the Chinese chow-chow. Immigrants craved familiar cuisine in the new land. Western restaurants met the needs of more than just people seeking food from their countries of origin. They also introduced Westerners to a wide range of cuisines.

The impact of Mexican cuisine on frontier diets cannot be underestimated. Not only did the cowboys, pioneers, and miners who traveled through the Southwest inevitably come into contact with Mexican cooking, but they borrowed from the ingredients and recipes of the Mexicans with whom they interacted. Life in the Southwest meant an introduction to the taste and use of common Mexican ingredients like chilis and tortillas, as well as to dishes like colache, made from vegetables (Quay 2002, 119–27).

HOUSING: FRONTIER HOMES

The first home for most farmers arriving on the plains frontier was either a tar paper shack or a dugout. Most were small, only large enough to meet government requirements under legislation like the Homestead Act that demanded a minimum 10-foot by 12-foot structure. Such shacks were easy to build, requiring minimal materials: some cheap lumber for framing, a couple of rolls of tar paper, and some nails. They were flimsy, however, and if not anchored down might fly away in a high wind. To keep them warmer in winter, settlers often lined them with red or blue building paper, the color indicating the quality. The inferior red paper was thinner, costing $3 a roll, whereas the blue was twice as expensive. As further winter insulation, farmers often banked these structures with manure from the barn. During the summer the tar paper shacks were unbearably hot, as the black exterior absorbed the sun's rays.

Some people built an aboveground addition to the dugout, using its walls as a foundation for a sod house, or soddy. Most started from scratch. Often neighbors would gather for a house-raising bee and erect a house in a day. First, the sod was cut—2 1/2 inches was an ideal thickness—in strips 12 inches wide; these were then cut into 18-inch lengths with a spade. The best time for breaking sod for a house was when the ground was soaked from rain or snow. Like large, flat bricks, the sod was laid layer after layer in the desired dimensions, though seven feet to the square was the rule, as the walls were likely to settle a good deal, especially if the sod was very wet when laid. Generally the door and windows were set in place first, and the sod walls built around them. Forks of a tree were then placed at each end of the house and a ridgepole laid between them. Rails of any available material—sorghum stalks, willow switches—were then laid from the ridge pole to the walls. Atop them, more sod was placed for the roof.

Sometimes an especially heavy rainfall would leak through the roof, muddying clothes hung from the wall or even dripping onto the beds, thus adding to the housewife's chores. Many diarists remember various sorts of vermin (especially fleas, mice, and bedbugs) that infested these houses. One woman recalled helping her grandmother take down the canvas tacked over their ceiling each spring and fall to get rid of dirt and vermin that had fallen from the roof. The problem with bugs was minimized when settlers plastered interior walls with a mixture of clay, water, and ashes.

In most areas of the Plains frontier, a frame or brick house was seen as a status symbol, indicating that the farmer had achieved a degree of success. The social stratification was even more apparent in town. However, in part because the margin between success and failure was so narrow for farmers in this region, depending largely on vagaries of climate, there was in the country a kind of pure democracy. Though a family might live in a shack, no one looked down on them (Jones 1998, 195–97).

CLOTHING

Women's Fashion

Women were especially challenged by Western life, in part because the clothes they brought with them from the East were so unsuitable for the frontier. Long skirts that collected dirt and dust took a long time to dry, were difficult to clean, and were exceptionally incompatible with the harsh conditions under which pioneer women lived. In an effort to make the most of their existing clothes, which did, after all, retain the hallmark of fashion left behind, the women tried to adapt their Eastern apparel to Western life through unusual inventions. One solution was known as the instant dress elevator. The device allowed the wearer to raise their skirt while passing a muddy place and then let it fall or let it keep the skirt raised to keep it from filth. Advertisements claimed that it could be changed from one dress to another in less than two minutes. Many women, however, simply shortened their dresses, thereby creating a trend in skirt length. Skirt width, however, was another problem, as the wind would easily blow more voluminous skirts in all directions. Women reportedly tackled the problem by sewing bars of lead and rocks into their skirt hems to keep the fabric weighted down.

Small alterations sometimes did the trick, but whole new outfits were also created to solve the problem of frontier women's wear. The wrapper or prairie dress, also called the Mother Hubbard, was a loose fitting dress that had no structured waist but was gathered by a belt or tie. It caused quite a bit of controversy, despite its obvious benefits. The garment was comfortable, could be worn over layers of undergarments in the cold months, was loose fitting and cool in the warmer weather, and was suitable for wear throughout a woman's pregnancy. The shapeless style stood in stark contrast to the clothes common in Eastern fashion, and women did not have to wear corsets underneath the wrapper. It was, however, considered especially unattractive and even hazardous by at least one town, whose city fathers passed an ordinance outlawing the Mother Hubbard unless it was worn tightly belted.

Other adaptations to female dress included the Bloomer costume. Bloomers, which were made of a short, tunic-length dress and a pair of loose-fitting pants were, perhaps, the best-known nineteenth-century dress reform creation, receiving attention in the popular press in part because of their association with the early women's rights movement. For women traveling across the continent, the bloomer costume, named after its inventor, Amelia Bloomer, was particularly useful. Not only did the outfit do away with the problem of long skirts that collected dirt and remained wet for uncomfortable periods of time, but also the use of pants permitted women more physical movement. One woman immigrant remarked that bloomers better enabled women to walk through the sagebrush. In contrast, others found bloomers unfeminine and refused to adopt them.

The Mormon community created its own version of practical women's dress in what was known as the Deseret Costume. Based on the bloomer, which Mormon women often wore in their own westward travel, the Deseret was designed by Brigham Young. The outfit consisted of the bloomer-style pants over which a loose tunic was worn. An eight-inch-high hat covered the woman's head, which was partially shaded by the hat's rigid brim. Meant to be functional, as well as to symbolize Mormon society, the Deseret Costume, like other reformed outfits, existed only as a passing trend in frontier fashion.

The more conventional calico dress, later replaced with Eastern fashions that arrived as Western towns, became more established, and remained the most common apparel for pioneer women. The impact of these alternative women's clothing styles paved the way for women who wore pants, donned cowgirl outfits, and experimented with practical, durable clothing that defied stereotypes of female dress.

There were times when men and women would do their best to dress up, especially for holidays like the Fourth of July, events like balls, and for those living on remote properties—the trip to town. For these and similar occasions, attention to dress was taken seriously, although that often meant donning a shirt or dress that was slightly less worn than any other. The Fourth of July, Christmas, dances, and church services were particular favorites, and Westerners celebrated in as much style as they could muster. The simplicity of dress during these occasions reflected the interest Westerners had in popular fashion, yet, the limited means they had to adopt every passing fad. Women's best outfits would be worn on trips to homesteads into town, another event that received special attention.

While many pioneers were less concerned with fashion than with daily survival, others felt that clothing marked a symbolic connection to the Eastern lives they had left behind. In particular, fashionable clothes reminded them of the more refined aspects of Eastern culture and the personal connections that had been disrupted by the sheer distance of Western immigration. Many pioneer women remained keenly interested in the styles popularized in magazines like *Godey's Lady's Book* and recorded their desires to stay abreast of current fashion in letters to eastern friends. When Easterners visited their Western friends, the clothing they brought with them and wore became the source of much discussion. Local newspapers imported Eastern ideas about fashion to the frontier. Mail-order catalogs and magazines devoted exclusively to fashion brought images of stylish apparel to the West, and as towns became more established, and families became more prosperous, the emphasis on fashion increased.

One of the most popular fashions to make its way across the continent was the hoopskirt. It was prominently displayed in fashion magazines and eventually in Western shops. The skirt's impractical nature drew many detractors who found the trend impossible to adopt. Despite the challenges inherent in adopting hoopskirts on the westward journey or in frontier life, the style was in much demand among Western women. In fact, the hoopskirt made as much of a splash with these women that those who could not purchase the garment found ways to adapt their own skirts to the trendy style. In one town, women managed to improvise their own hoops by stitching clothesline and grape vine into their petticoats (Quay 2002, 93–99).

Dresses were made out of simple fabrics such as calico, gingham, denim, wagon canvas, and even converted flour sacks. For many women the plain Mother Hubbard dress served as the main work dress. The rather shapeless, long-sleeved, full-length gown had no waist to speak of and a yoke. The style became very popular for girls in an ankle length (Shrock 2004, 87).

Men's Fashion

The single garment most identified with the West is the blue jean. Levi Straus owned a dry goods business. He had canvas made into waist overalls. Miners liked the pants, but complained that they tended to chafe. Levi Strauss substituted a twilled cotton cloth from France. The fabric later became known as denim and the pants were nicknamed blue jeans. In 1872 Straus received a letter from Nevada tailor, Jacob Davis, who purchased bolts of cloth from Straus to make denim work pants. In this letter, Davis told Straus about the interesting way in which he made pants for his customers, placing metal rivets at the points of strain such as pocket corners and on the base of the fly. Davis did not have the money to patent his process and suggested that they could take out the patent together, if Levi would pay for the paperwork. The following year Strauss and Davis received a U.S. patent for using copper rivets to strengthen the pockets of denim work pants. Levi Strauss & Co. began manufacturing the first of the famous Levi's brand of jeans in San Francisco.

Distinctive garb depended on the occupation and region. Cowboys in the West wore the distinctive Stetson, cowboy boots, a neckerchief, and a standard town suit when not working. Loggers in the upper Midwest or Northwest might wear flannel shirts, woolen trousers or denim pants, and wool jackets. Mail-order catalogs provided a variety of clothing for working men. The *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* offered overalls in brown, blue, and white denim, Kentucky jean pants, heavy indigo shirts of cotton and wool, duck coats, and a complete brown duck suit lined with plaid Mackinaw flannel, durable work boots, mining boots, and plow shoes. A wide range of underwear in cotton and wool were also available.

Men who could not afford mail-order clothes often made due with what was at hand. Women often used whatever cloth they had to make pants. Pioneer families often used grain sacks to make shirts and pants and linsey-woolsey homespun continued throughout the century (Shrock 2004, 83–84).

Children's Fashion: The Immigrant Trail

Children generally wore the same functional style of clothing on the immigrant trail that many farm children wore at home. The maintenance and replacement of children's clothing was always a time-consuming task for their mother. On the immigrant trail and in the frontier settlements it became a source of great frustration. Immigrants were not free to carry large amounts of extra clothes, nor could they conveniently find sources of fabric, thread, or yarn on the edge of civilization for the construction of new items.

Missionary Narcissa Whitman traveling to Oregon in the 1840s had carefully packed her trunk with extra clothing items, but in crossing the Snake River her husband, Marcus, was forced to lighten the load of their wagon by dropping off her clothes trunk on the bank of the river. "Poor little trunk," she wrote in her diary, "I am sorry to leave thee, thou must abide here alone" (Time Life Books 1974, 61). Keeping the children's remaining clothes clean was also difficult, and Eliza Spalding, traveling with the Whitmans, reported that they were able to do laundry only three times during the six-month journey. The state of the garments, worn day after day after so long a period, can only be imagined.

Immigrant children were generally provided an initial supply of clothing beyond that on their backs. This included linen, cotton, or woolen trousers or skirts; linen, cotton, or cotton flannel shirts or blouses; Brogan-style (ankle-top) work shoes for both boys and girls; cotton or woolen socks; cotton dresses, smocks, and aprons; wool sack coats (a loose-fitting style of jacket, not clothing made from sacks); a rubberized or painted canvass raincoat; a pair of mittens or gloves; and a felt hat or sunbonnet. Such clothing items were considered the minimum for an attempt at crossing the continent.

Jesse Applegate, remembering his years as a youngster in Oregon, noted that clothing remained a problem even after the Overland journey had ended. No cotton grew in Oregon, and there were, in the early years, no flocks of sheep to be sheared for wool. This made cloth scare or if it could be had, prohibitively costly. Applegate remembered that his Aunt Melinda attempted to spin yarn from the hair of wolves and coyotes, but it was difficult to kill enough of them to weave a single garment. Most settlers quickly put in a small patch of flax for linen, but cleared land was at a premium and usually dedicated to food crops.

More commonly, early settlers cut up the tents and canvass wagon covers to make overcoats, or lined them with skins and rags to make smallclothes. The frontier standby was buckskin, but this was often less than ideal in the damp Oregon climate. Applegate noted, "Trousers [of buckskin] after frequent wettings and dryings would assume a fixed shape that admitted of no reformation." While the leather was tough and long wearing, for growing children this characteristic was a definite disadvantage (Applegate 1934, 28).

Immigrant children generally went barefoot once their footwear proved beyond repair. During the first week without shoes, their feet were very sore, but thereafter they generally hardened to most impediments on the ground save for thorns, which remained a problem. Parents sometimes tried to fashion shoes from canvass or rawhide, but the former did not last and the latter needed to be soaked in water every night to keep them soft and pliable enough to wear throughout the day.

—James M. Volo

TECHNOLOGY: STATIONARY ENGINES AND POWER STATIONS

The use of steam power took a sharp upward surge in America after the Civil War. Stationary steam power, as opposed to that used in steamboats or locomotives, moved from the fringes to the center of the industrial scene. By 1900, steam power had reduced direct-drive waterpower to a minor and steadily declining part in American manufacturing, persisting only in small-scale, traditional mill sites. Before the Civil War, steam power had been identified chiefly with transportation, and it was through steam navigation and railways that it helped effect the conversion of a pioneer subsistence economy to one in which regional specialization and commercial interchange were the dynamic elements. However, steam power also became a central factor in the industrialization of the American economy in what was, in effect, a sequel to the transportation revolution of the preceding decades.

It was in response to the needs of the small but growing segment of large-scale manufacturing that a significant innovation in stationary engines, the automatic variable cutoff engine, made an appearance about mid-century. This engine marked the first major advance in stationary steam engineering since the general adoption of the high-pressure noncondensing engine and the beginnings of expansive innovation some 40 years earlier. Yet credit for the practical development and commercial application of the type is traditionally and properly assigned to George H. Corliss of Providence, Rhode Island, who brought together a number of mechanical elements—some old and familiar, some novel but little used conceptions of others, and some ingenious contrivances of his own—and combined them into a highly effective working whole.

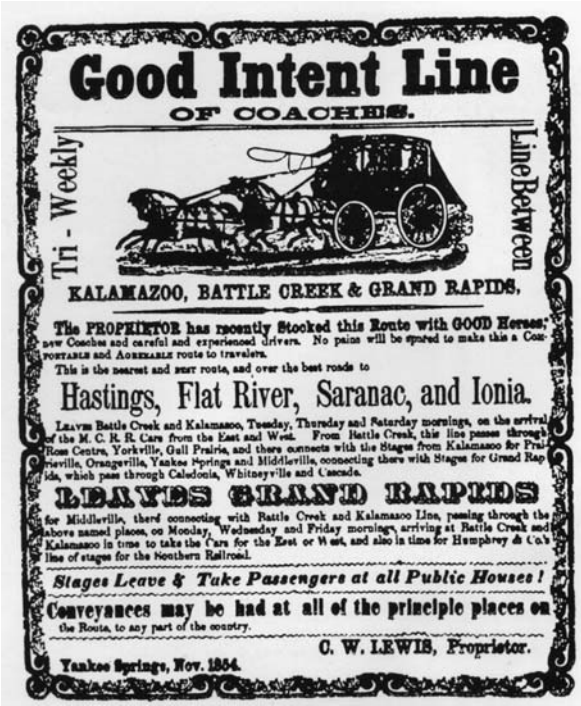
The Corliss steam engine was the centerpiece of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, supplying energy for a large array of other machine on display. The Corliss engine was self-adjusting, meaning that it could automatically increase or decrease the amount of steam going to the engine cylinder based on changing demands. Other American inventors and engineers, most notably Charles T. Porter and John F. Allen, contributed important improvements to steam engines. Oliver Evans, often neglected in the history of steam, had designed a high-pressure steam engine for industrial use in mills, manufactories, and waterworks before mid-century.

Moreover, a great divide in the history of industrial power was reached in the final decades of the century with regard to the transmission of power from the old-style direct-drive prime movers, steam engines, and waterwheels using shafts, countershafts, pulleys, belts, and gears to a new form. This innovation was the use of a central power station or urban power plant of great generating capacity to make electricity, which was then transmitted through a vast network of transmission lines and local distribution points to electric motors. These reached out to an ever-growing number of power consumers—industrial, commercial, and, in time, domestic. Under the central station system, power was to be generated, sold, and delivered to factory, mill, mine, and workshop like any other raw material or service required to aid production (Hunter 1979, 251–54, 433–34).

TRANSPORTATION

The Stagecoach

The female gentry, both North and South, traveled mostly by carriage or chaise. Adult females of good breeding used saddle horses only in association with a sport, such as fox



Stagecoach lines carried passengers between towns, between railroad lines, and between rail and steamboat connections. This kept them in service throughout much of the era. They also moved the mail, delivered small packages, and transported light freight where railways did not exist or steamboats could not reach. Courtesy Editor's Collection.

hunting, or as a form of recreation. Southern roads, composed in large part of lesser used lanes between plantations, proved too narrow and overhung with branches to make the formal British-style coach practicable. This made high-wheeled carts and chariots more popular. Nonetheless, well-heeled city dwellers sometimes supported a formal coach as a sign of their affluence even though they never left the urban districts in it. The gentry would go into debt to maintain their own carriage and team; and great pride was taken in being seen in a fine conveyance, pulled by matched horses, and manned by a properly attired driver and footman.

Although closely associated with the western regions of the nation by Hollywood movie producers of the twentieth century, systems of public conveyances—commonly known as stagecoaches—were well established in many regions of the country before the invasion of the Wild West. These coaches passed in stages between stops at inns, taverns, or town centers that were approximately 20 miles apart—hence the term stagecoach. At these stops the team of horses would be changed, and the passengers allowed to refresh themselves. Each stage took approximately four hours to traverse depending on the topography of the intervening countryside. Muddy roads, swollen creeks, and steep grades slowed the progress of the stagecoach and passengers were often asked to get out and walk to spare the horses. A number of towns have the word middle in their names (as in Middleburg, Middletown, or Midvale) because they were half way between two major destinations a day's travel (40 miles) apart.

Fanny Kemble, a celebrated English actress journeying from New York City to Utica by steamboat and stagecoach, found the steamboat very large, commodious, and well-appointed; but she disliked her experience in the stagecoach. She could not conceive of a "more clumsy or wretched conveyance" as she was "bumped, thumped, jolted, shaken, tossed, and tumbled over the wickedest roads cut through bogs and marshes and over ruts, roots, and protruding stumps with the over hanging branches scratching at the windows." Oddly, her American companions on the coach, including several young women, seemed quite unaffected by these inconveniences laughing and talking at the very top of their voices incessantly (Volo and Volo 2004, 306–7).

Movers and Freight Wagons

As the nation expanded, itinerant Americans developed a large four-wheeled farm wagon known as a *mover*. This quickly became the common farm wagon for moving produce to the city markets. The mover came in two sizes, light and heavy. The light wagon was usually pulled by a single pair of horses or mules, while the heavy type required four of either animal. Immigrant families would pack all their worldly possessions into their movers to travel from Pennsylvania to Missouri or from the Carolinas to Mississippi in search of a better homestead or richer soils. For those traveling across the seas of grass on the Great Plains the four-up mover came to be called a *prairie schooner* (Stewart 1962, 7).

These movers should not be confused with the very large commercial freight wagons known as *Conestogas* that were developed in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century for the movement of goods and freight. These had a boat-shaped bed, a high prow and back, and sloping sides that gave them a swaybacked appearance along their overhanging canvas covers. Capable of carrying almost two tons of goods, these huge wagons required six horses or oxen to pull them at a slow pace along improved roads. Hundreds of freight and express companies operated with Conestogas in the middle states and in the North during the nineteenth century, and stagecoach passengers passed many lumbering Conestogas on the roads while themselves going at comparatively breakneck speeds.

The Conestoga cargo wagon was also the principal means of transporting freight along the Santa Fe, California, and Oregon trails, but it was not generally used by immigrant trains because it was just too large and heavy for their purposes. Wagons hauled by 20 mules (the 20-mule-team made famous in TV advertisements by Ronald Reagan in the 1950s before he entered politics) were sometimes used to move ore, borax, and salt in the arid regions of the Southwest. Among the earliest professional freight haulers was Alvin Adams, who by the 1850s had turned his pioneering efforts into a nationwide business. Experienced express men like Henry Wells and John Butterfield, who began the American Express Company, joined with William Fargo in 1852 to form Wells Fargo and Company to handle the freight business west of the Mississippi. Butterfield later began a prominent stagecoach line, the Overland Express that served the American West (Volo and Volo 2004, 306–8).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Applegate, Jesse. *A Day with the Cow Column in 1843*. Chicago, IL: Caxton Club, 1934.

Better Homes and Gardens. *Heritage Cookbook*. Des Moines, IA: Meredith Corporation, 1974.

Black, Brian. *Nature and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century American Life*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Collins, Joseph. *Bacon, Beans and Galantines: Food and Foodways on the Western Mining Frontier*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986.

Coy, Owen Cochran. *The Great Trek*. Los Angeles, CA: Powell Publishing Company, 1931.

Holmes, Kenneth L., ed. *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell. *Stagecoach East: Stagecoach Days in the East from the Colonial Period to the Civil War*. Edited by Peter T. Rohrbach. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780–1930*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Jones, Mary Ellen. *Daily Life on the 19th-Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Luchetti, Cathy. *Home on the Range: A Culinary History of the American West*. New York: Villard Books, 1993.

Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Myres, Sandra L., ed. *Ho for California! Woman's Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1980.

Pierce, B. Byron. *National Cowboy Hall of Fame Chuck Wagon Cookbook*. New York: Hearst Books, 1995.

Quay, Sara E. *Westward Expansion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Rae, W. F. *Westward by Rail*. New York: Promontory Press, 1974.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Smith, Merritt Roe, and Leo Marx, eds. *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994.

Stewart, George R. "The Prairie Schooner Got Them There." *American Heritage* XIII, no. 2 (February 1962).

Time Life Books. *The Pioneers*. New York: Time, Inc., 1974.

Van Hoesen, Walter H. *Early Taverns and Stagecoach Days in New Jersey*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Ware, Joseph E. *The Emigrants' Guide to California*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972. Reprinted from the 1849 edition.

Woodward, George E. *Victorian City and Country Houses: Plans and Designs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1996.

———. *Woodward's Architecture and Rural Art*. New York: Privately printed, 1868.

———. *Woodward's National Architect*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Zanger, Mark H. *The American History Cookbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

THE PERIOD OF EXPLOITATION

OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Political Life

GOVERNMENT: JUDICIAL REVIEW AND CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

Citizenship is a rather amorphous concept, and the rights and immunities that it confers upon a person are sometimes equally vague. In ancient Rome citizenship was endowed upon only a few—generally the sons of the high-born or those who earned it through service in the legions. In Greece citizenship was the natural right of every free-born man. Although the American form of citizenship was based on Greco-Roman ideals, treating people as independent units benefiting equally from their private citizenship rights has not always been characteristic of the United States government.

The relationship between Americans and their government with regard to citizenship emerged through the development of a national identity during the post–Civil War years. Legal developments—particularly those derived from precedent-setting Supreme Court decisions and landmark congressional legislation—paved the way for the growth of a capitalistic Republican system that contrasted well with those more elitist forms of capitalistic governance developed elsewhere in the nineteenth century, especially with regard to the status of the individual American citizen. The superiority of the American system was not always obvious, however; and many contemporary observers dreaded its implications and fought its implementation.

The period following the Civil War was one of incredible activity and creativity, a golden age that reflected the social, economic, and political organization of the nineteenth century and gave birth to a modern form of American culture. Nonetheless, many historians view the jurisprudence of the period as pedestrian, overly formal, and prejudiced. Legal outcomes were seemingly preordained by precedents friendly to the upper classes and exploitive of workers and the poor with the law serving as an obstacle to equal rights, social reform, and economic justice. Judges and lawmakers seemingly made decisions based on an unrelieved series of economic calculations and social paradigms—largely favorable to industry, expansion, and wealth—that distorted the social, economic, and cultural reality faced by the rest of the population.

The Constitution of the United States (and its amendments) was the bulwark of revolutionary liberty—the guarantor of personal and political freedom, the sanctity of property, religious toleration, and free speech at least by the federal government. Yet this was not always so. For example, the simple egalitarian concept found in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" was violated in law by institutionalized race-based slavery for eight decades after its passage; by black codes, Jim Crow laws, and poll taxes for another century.

Also unresolved in the Constitution were the relationships among the states; between the several states and the federal government; and between the various governments and the people, individuals, groups of individuals, or simply persons. That the process of sorting out these issues is ongoing, generally without overt violence, and seemingly without end, may be among the outstanding positive qualities of the American form of constitutional government.

Traditional battles between those who read the words of the Constitution narrowly (strict construction) and those who read them more loosely (broad construction) assumed, respectively, that the meaning of the words was limited to the dictates of the Founding Fathers or that the indeterminacy of all text was to be left to judicial interpreters who held the responsibility for determining what obligations the readings commanded and what rights they endowed. (Semonche 2006, 75–76).

The existence in the antebellum period of a dual set of citizenships—one federal and one state—was a weakness of the early American constitutional and governmental system unanticipated by the Founders. The absence of a citizenship clause in the Constitution meant that federal citizenship was generally thought to be derived from state citizenship and was subservient to it. This was one of the corner stones supporting the arguments for the legality of secession. Certainly the potential of the Constitution, through the Supreme Court, to nationalize its citizenship provisions and protections had not been fully realized in the antebellum period largely because the majority of justices feared that they would interfere with the peculiar institution of slavery.

The Court of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (served 1836–1864) and his colleagues supported the primacy of the states in many areas of law but departed from their support with respect to state laws that restricted the property rights of slaveholders. In *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), the Court held that the Constitution prohibited state laws that would emancipate any person held to service in another state. A Maryland man was allowed to seize his property (a former slave and her child) and take them back to Maryland without seeking an order from the Pennsylvania courts. His rights as an American citizen (rather than a citizen of Maryland) overruled the power of the state of Pennsylvania to enforce its antislavery regulations. The Taney Court extended this concept in *Moore v. Illinois* (1852) making void any state law or regulation that denied the right of an owner to the immediate possession of his slave in any jurisdiction. Five years later, Taney wrote the decision for the Court in the *Dred Scott* case (1857) that declared any restrictions imposed by Congress on the spread of slavery into the territories, such as those found in the Missouri Compromise, were also unconstitutional.

Almost without exception, the Court decided chattel property cases brought before it in favor of slave owners. Despite its support for slavery before the Civil War, however, the court also provided a forceful defense of the perpetual nature of the federal union, extended the central government's jurisdiction over maritime trade and coastal monopolies, promoted a uniform set of interstate commerce laws, set the foundations for a nationwide economic market, and allowed for the uniform development of corporations within the federal system. Once the issue of slavery became moot—with the ratification of the 13th Amendment—the economic, cultural, and social foundations upon which the court's previous jurisprudence had been built had to be modified significantly, especially with regard to the concept of citizenship (Semonche 2006, 79–80).

The ratification of the 14th Amendment addressed this problem by conferring citizenship by birth within the United States to all persons including blacks rather than deriving it solely from the states. The rights implied by federal citizenship imposed new limits upon the states in that they could no longer abridge the privileges and immunities enjoyed by citizens of the United States nor deny to persons the equal protection of the law, or of their life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Federal citizenship thereafter embraced all the important individual rights and immunities claimed in the Bill of Rights, and seemingly precluded their evasion by the states.

Yet the Supreme Court rejected arguments that were raised asking the federal government to reach out with the power of the 14th Amendment to impose its protections in cases of discriminatory conduct in the absence of direct state action, as in the precedent-setting *Slaughterhouse Cases* of 1873. This series of cases was considered pivotal to the potential extension of government powers over the individual. In 1869, the Louisiana State Legislature passed a law that allowed the city of New Orleans to create a corporation that centralized all slaughterhouse operations in the city. The stated purpose of the new arrangement was to restrict the dumping of remains and waste in waterways and to provide a single place for animals to be kept while awaiting slaughter. Critics—among them a number of black independent butchers—called the plan a legal monopoly founded on political patronage and designed to shut down the independents.

The Supreme Court rejected the claim, virtually nullifying the privileges and immunities clauses that seemed to promise full citizenship to the lower classes, especially black freedmen in their new status. The majority reading of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* would continue to prevail in future cases in which the court was asked to protect property interests against hostile state laws. However, the Court also interpreted the amendment more narrowly to invalidate the first public accommodations law (*Civil Rights Cases*, 1883) and to uphold the practice of racial segregation (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). The most meaningful of individual rights promised by the 14th Amendment were thereby once again left to the sole protection of the states, some of which were ill disposed to defend them. The narrow reading of the 14th Amendment protected only those privileges or immunities conferred by virtue of national rather than state citizenship.

Increasing legislation at the state level, affecting the industrialization of American society and the expansion of business, soon caused both capitalists and farmers to seek federal intervention on their side. In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the Court rejected a broad ban on the regulation of property issues, saying that property affecting the public interest was within the purview of state regulation and reinforcing the concept of eminent domain as a due process of law. Efforts to show in many cases that the public had no interest and the states no right to regulate property generally failed to sway the court. However, in 1890, the justices ruled that a state's failure to provide access to a judicial hearing on the question of whether a railroad rate was confiscatory (*Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway v. Minnesota*) denied due process under the 14th Amendment. By the end of the decade, the court had invalidated such rates (*Smyth v. Ames*, 1898) under a new, broader reading of the due process concept that recognized the rights of groups of persons—in this case Midwestern farmers (Semonche 2006, 81). This construction of a *group rights* consciousness posed a challenge to the *individual rights* basis that strict constructionists saw as a foundation of American constitutionalism, and seemingly viewed the idea of unbridgeable individual rights as an obstacle to the creation of a just and comfortable society in which the community's welfare was emphasized.

—James M. Volo

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

Violent Crime

Whenever large groups of unattached males—miners, cowhands, or railroad laborers—had time on their hands, violence could erupt. Harried small town officials in the West often hired armed marshals or constables to keep order. The old West was thought to be particularly wild, but most of what happened was of the barroom brawl type. However, even in a cattle town, the murder rate was much lower than in most modern American cities. The three cow towns of Abilene, Ellsworth, and Wichita in Kansas had a total homicide rate of only 1.5 per year, and this was attributable to all types of murders including beating, bludgeoning, and shooting. "The fact that each person carried a six-shooter meant that each had a relatively equal amount of power. That minimized violence." Recent estimates suggest that there were fewer than a dozen bank robberies in the entire period from 1859 through 1900 in all the frontier West (Hill 2007, 2).

Some historians take a slightly different view of crime in the Old West with respect to the availability of guns and gun violence. The gun culture that emerged during the nineteenth century was so widespread and accepted that a religious magazine in 1879 gave away a gun with every new subscription. The equally common disregard for the poor and the systemic discrimination toward racial and ethnic groups have also been shown to lead to violent crime. Moreover, Eastern cities, where guns were equally available and were present in larger absolute numbers, had lower rates of murder by comparison to those of the West. These facts tend to confound the historic correlation between gun availability and violence somewhat.

The massive expansion of inexpensive firearms in the United States in the nineteenth century may have made violent crime, particularly murders using guns, increase dramatically. A sporting goods catalog from 1895 offered 30 pages of firearms for sale including 53 shotguns ranging in price from $5 to $95 for an ornate hammerless model, 4 types of muzzleloaders, 26 different rifles, and 43 different pistols in different grips, barrel lengths, calibers, and finishes. An obsolete but lethal seven-shot cap-and-ball pistol could be had for as little as 74 cents, and a hammerless, double-action .32 caliber S&W in a nickel-plated finish with a 3-inch barrel was $7.50 (Shrock 2004, 12).

With small, relatively cheap revolvers readily available, homicide levels grew alarmingly in cities as well as frontier areas, sparking fears of a national murder crisis. Just after the end of the Civil War in 1865 violent crimes of all types rose by 60 percent. Yet, for all the fears of a homicide crisis caused by guns, most murders still occurred where large numbers of single men gathered in dangerous and physically demanding occupations. Western miners and cowboys, as well as the floating army of men who tramped around the country hopping from industrial jobs to wheat harvest, lived in a highly volatile bachelor subculture filled with alcohol and guns.

Mining towns were particularly murderous places. Bodie, California, boasted a homicide rate of 116 per 100,000 people between 1878 and 1882 and Leadville, Colorado, in 1880 was nearly as high with 105. Cattle towns frequented by cowboys fresh off the range on long cattle drives from Texas were nearly as deadly. The Kansas cattle towns averaged a mere 1.5 homicides annually, but given their small populations this was equivalent to 50 murders per 100,000. Dodge City boasted a murder rate of 116 per 100,000. Fort Griffin, Texas, had to be one of the deadliest places in the United States, claiming a murder rate of 229 per 100,000 in the 1870s. Eastern cities like Boston and Philadelphia paled in comparison to the frontier regions with 5.8 and 3.2 homicides per 100,000 people, respectively, from 1860 to 1880.

Even though frontier crime rates leveled off by the 1870s, criminal behavior appeared more public and troublesome than ever. Crimes seemed to be more daring and intelligent as demonstrated by thieves who stole $1.2 million from the Wall Street offices of Lord Bond. Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid and numerous others like the James, Dalton, and Younger families robbed trains and banks throughout the West. Lawlessness seemed rampant as industrial workers engaged in large-scale strikes such as the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, the Haymarket Riot in 1886, the Homestead Strike in 1892, and the Pullman Strike of 1896 where strikers fought with hired strikebreakers and even troops (Shrock 2004, 12).

—*James* M. *Volo*

Law Enforcement: Vigilantes and Lawmen

Wherever the law was weakly enforced or nonexistent, vigilantes often took the enforcement of community moral and legal codes into their own hands. Vigilante groups often formed where the legitimate system of law was seen as corrupt, ineffective, or run by the criminal elements. The term *vigilante* stems from its Spanish equivalent meaning a private security agent. Vigilantes were common in mining camps, but they were also found in cow towns and farming settlements. Most often, these groups formed before any formal law and order existed in a new settlement. Enforcement often took the form of intimidation and an invitation to leave the area, and justice was often found at the end of a whip or the end of a rope.

Many times vigilantes were viewed in a favorable light by the wider community who saw them as a necessary stopgap to increasing disorder and rising crime. Although extra-legal in every sense, they were often seen as heroes and supported by law-abiding citizens. Nonetheless, vigilantes could get out of hand wielding too much power or becoming corrupt themselves. Moreover, mobs sometimes declared themselves ad hoc vigilante committees to mask their own ruthless intent or find some color of law under which to carry out particularly heinous activities such as the beating or lynching of blacks, Asians, foreigners, or Indians.

Vigilantes were fairly common in the gold and silver mining camps, and one of the earliest groups formed in America was the San Francisco Vigilantes of 1851. This committee spent most of a year rooting out, from the camps, Australian ne'er-do-wells. These were viewed with suspicion because Australia had been colonized through the forced transportation of criminals from Britain in the late eighteenth century. The vigilantes hanged four men and invited another 30 to leave town before disbanding. In 1856, the committee was reconstituted due to a spate of high profile shootings. More than 6,000 people joined the vigilante movement because it was felt that the city government was complicit in the crime epidemic. The mob hanged several suspects, and then turned to political activity to remove the offending officials.

There were literally hundreds of such organizations formed in the American West and many did not identify themselves as *vigilantes*, using other terms in an attempt to avoid any negative connotations associated with vigilante. Among these were the Atchison County Protective Association; the Skagway, Alaska, Committee of 101; the Shelby County, Texas, Regulators; the Fierce Missouri Bald Knobbers; and the Tin Hat Brigade.

Citizens' committees often hired marshals to enforce the community standards. These were often noted gunmen used to keep other gunmen and assorted bad actors in line through intimidation. Others were former army officers or members of the Texas Rangers who did service on the Mexican border rounding up rustlers, robbers, and smugglers, or tracking down fence cutters during the range wars of the 1880s. There were a number of superb lawmen among these, and not all of the best made the pages of the *National Police Gazette* or dime novels, which romanticized both the sordid lives of badmen and the rather mundane policing activities of town law keepers.

Many lawmen saw no reason to make an arrest at gunpoint or to have a Hollywood-style six-gun standoff in the street. Most found that a large bore (10 or 12 gauge) double-barrel shotgun loaded with buckshot (up to a dozen .32 caliber lead balls per shot) had more effect as a medium of intimidation than a single-action .44–40 Colt *Frontier Six-Shooter* or .45 Long Colt *Peacemaker*. More importantly it need only to be aimed in the general direction of an opponent to score a hit while not carrying so far as to endanger bystanders. Facing down gunmen in the streets, barrooms, or brothels was more a matter of keeping a cool head than aiming straight in any case, and a single shotgun blast could take down more than one miscreant in a confined space. It was for these reasons that shotguns were carried by many stagecoach and prison guards.

Although the *Peacemake*r caught the imagination of the press at the time, the .44–40 WCF (Winchester Center Fire) *Frontier Pistol* became a favorite of lawmen and ranchers because the ammunition was cross-compatible with the Winchester lever-action repeating rifle with its seven-shot tube-fed magazine that became available in 1873. The so-called *Winchester '73* became one of the most famous long-guns of the century. The Colt factory offered pistols in a variety of calibers for both civilian and foreign military sales. By 1895, a double-action (self-cocking) Frontier "Bull Dog" revolver in .44 WCF was available for home protection for under $4 with postage extra (Shrock 2004, 51).

In the most famous gunfight in Wild West history at the O. K. Corral in Tombstone, Arizona in 1881, the Earp brothers (Wyatt, Morgan, and Virgil) and Doc Holiday armed themselves with shotguns and revolvers as did their opponents the Clantons and the McLaurys of whom three were killed and one wounded. A fifth man, Ike Clanton, survived unscathed only by diving into an open doorway to avoid Holiday's shotgun blast.

A decade later John Slaughter, former Texas Ranger, was made the Sheriff of Cochise County, Arizona. A small man and a crack shot, he gave weight to his authority by carrying a 10-gauge shotgun loaded with buckshot. Slaughter issued an ultimatum to the outlaws operating in his jurisdiction, "Get out or get shot." After several desperadoes who tangled with him wound up dead, the rest got out (Barnard 1977, 297).

—*James M. Volo*

Cow Town Justice

In most cow towns, saloons outnumbered other establishments by as much as two to one. There and in gambling houses the cowboys played poker, keno, faro, and monte, often encouraged by bar girls or soiled doves (prostitutes like Squirrel Tooth

Annie of Dodge City, who carried a pet squirrel and eventually quit her profession to get married). Another especially colorful lady of the night was Connie the Cowboy Queen, who wore a $250 dress embroidered with the brands of every ranch from the Yellowstone to the Platte. Dusty streets, sometimes lined with wooden sidewalks, were bordered with the town's business establishments—dry goods and grocery stores, photography studios, theaters, sometimes a roller-skating rink or bowling alley, billiard parlors and pool halls, dancehalls, barbershops, and hotels. Dodge City in 1884 was the busiest trailhead town with 19 saloons, a lush casino, and a seasonal population of up to two thousand. There a beef broker could seal a $20,000 deal on a handshake, and the cowboy, released briefly from his work, could get a bath, a woman, and a bottle of whiskey for a silver dollar.

Into such towns the cowboys swarmed when they were paid off. Generally the tone was live and let live—literally—and as long as the cowboys respected the town's etiquette, they were left alone. After all, they brought an influx of money. Alfred Henry Lewis remembered that there were only four things a cowboy must not do: he must not insult a woman; he must not shoot his pistol in a store or barroom; he must not ride his pony into those places; and he must not ride his pony on the sidewalks.

Sometimes, however, there was too much temptation. Charlie Siringo remembered one Fourth of July in Dodge City when he and a buddy got drunk in the Lone Star Dance Hall, then run by Bat Masterson; they picked a fight with some old-time buffalo hunters. Siringo's friend was stabbed, but the two buddies eluded the law. He later wrote: "This incident illustrates what fools some young cowboys were after long drives up the Chisholm Trail and after filling their hides full of the poison liquors manufactured to put the red-shirted Irish rail-road builders to sleep, so that the toughs could 'roll' them and get their 'wads.' Instead of putting a cowboy to sleep it stirred up the devil in his make-up, and made him a wide-awake hyena" (Siringo 1919, 64–65). Besides the usual horseplay and too much liquor, Teddy Blue suggests another reason trail hands often had trouble with the law in cow towns. Most of the Texas cowboys had served in the Confederate army, and most of the marshals were Northerners. Though "down home one Texas ranger could arrest the lot of them . . . up north you'd have to kill them first" (Abbott and Smith 1939, 28).

There was a schizophrenic quality to these cow towns. On the one hand, many were, at least at first, populated largely by profiteering seasonal operators—representatives of Northern meat packers and Midwestern feedlot owners, gamblers from Mississippi riverboats, and prostitutes who went back to Memphis, St. Louis, or New Orleans when the cowboys returned to ranch or trail. Consequently Theodore Roosevelt, who generally admired and respected the cowboy, called cow towns "wretched [places] in which drinking and gambling are the only recognized forms of amusement, and where pleasure and vice are considered synonymous terms" (Roosevelt 1977, 92). In an official publication of the National Livestock Association, the cow towns were described as products of existing conditions. "Civilization was pushing its way . . . [west] with the irresistible force . . . of glaciers . . . [and, like glaciers], shoving ahead a morainic mass—a conglomeration of human debris" (National Livestock Association [NLA] 1959, 551). Abilene in 1870 was perceived by some as "the wickedest and most God-forsaken place on the continent" (NLA 1959, 507). With a permanent population of 500, it had 32 licensed saloons (Jones 1998, 178–81).

Detectives and Badmen

Allan Pinkerton was a man of great courage and powers of observation. Founder of the first official Secret Service, Pinkerton is credited with preventing at least one assassination attempt on Abraham Lincoln and with gathering meaningful (if not always precise) intelligence from behind Confederate lines during the Civil War. Pinkerton is best known for his activities in the postwar period when he rode with lawmen along the Old Frontier pursuing the James Gang or the Reno Brothers. The history of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency is the story of American crime. At a time when most cities and towns had their own law enforcement agencies, Pinkerton agents took on the most difficult assignments.

At the end of the Civil War, Allan Pinkerton returned to the home office of his agency in Chicago. His subordinates, George Bangs and Francis Warner, had managed and expanded the agency while Pinkerton had worked for the government, opening offices in New York and Philadelphia. The agency was rededicated to eradicating the swindlers, cheats, and confidence men that plagued the big cities in the second half of the nineteenth century. Ably assisted by his sons William and Robert, Pinkerton developed his agency into the nineteenth century equivalent of a database of criminal activity. Agents carefully recorded a compendium of crimes and criminals as word of their nefarious activities surfaced in the newspapers or across the wire services. Newspaper clippings and handwritten reports filled individual files that were kept in a central location until the crime was solved or the criminal was dead.

Pinkerton was so organized that many metropolitan law enforcement agencies copied his methods. Among these was the use of mug shots, photo lineups, photographic wanted posters, and undercover agents. By the 1870s the Pinkertons had the largest collection of criminal mug shots in the world. The agency compiled a glossary of crime-related terms, many of which have come into common use. These included among many others the term bull for a law enforcement officer or guard, cannon or rod for a revolver, and mouthpiece for a lawyer. The agency made the pursuit of criminals and the prevention of crime a professional business, and it consulted with the business public, offering advice to banks, shipping offices, mail services and other commercial enterprises that handled or moved money. It distributed wanted posters, felon's identification cards, and pamphlets exposing common confidence schemes. Many large city law enforcement bureaus held Pinkerton's agency in awe.

With a growing reputation in the Eastern cities, Pinkerton opened offices to the west from Kansas to California and from Texas to the Canadian border. Wherever holdup men robbed a bank, stopped a train, or removed an express box from a stagecoach, Pinkerton detectives responded. While Allan Pinkerton was slowing with age, his son William willingly set himself to fieldwork. William led a number of posses pursuing, if not catching, the James Gang, the Younger Brothers, the Reno Brothers, and the Hole-in-the-Wall Gang. The Pinkerton strategy was to apply an unremitting and constant pressure to the criminals they followed never giving them a moments rest or peace. A reformed safecracker wrote in 1895 that men of his profession were constantly being interrupted by one or more Pinkerton men popping up. It was dangerous for a crook when a Pinkerton was on his trail.

Unfortunately, the Pinkerton Agency allowed itself to be involved in a number of antilabor, antistrike confrontations, and the Pinkerton agents came to be associated with the violent suppression of union activities, sometimes when they weren't even present. The most historically significant of these confrontations was at Homestead, a mining town just outside Pittsburgh and the site of one of Andrew Carnegie's principal steel plants run by Henry Clay Frick.

In 1892, a confrontation between Frick and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers seemingly could not be avoided. Frick called in the Pinkerton agency to act as strike breakers. A total of 316 men were collected—mostly unemployed, drifters, or hoodlums collected in the streets of New York and Chicago. These were typical of mine-company guards, but they were formed around a hard core of trained Pinkerton regulars. The steelworkers' association totaled less than 800 members. The Pinkerton men were told, "You men are hired to watch the property of a certain corporation, to prevent it from harm. The element of danger which is usually found in such expeditions will here be entirely lacking. A few brickbats will be thrown at you, you may be called names or sworn at, but that is no reason for you to shoot." This proved to be an overly optimistic assessment of the situation at Homestead (Wolff 1965, 89).

The Pinkerton men, although armed with .45–70 Winchester repeating rifles and revolvers, were met by the strikers and hundreds of their supporters, many of whom were armed with a wide variety of firearms, some dating back to the Civil War. Scores of men were killed or wounded over the next days on both sides, and the Pinkerton men were ultimately forced to submit to a negotiated ceasefire rather than undergo a further murderous encounter at close range. Their uniform jackets were removed, their pistols thrown in the river, and their Winchester rifles nailed up in crates for shipment to the agency. A few of the younger men were seen to be weeping as they were marched to the nearby railroad depot to ride the cars home in defeat.

Frick was a man of strong antiunion sentiment; and with the help of federal and state forces (and the Pinkerton agency), he ultimately prevailed over the steelworkers crushing their efforts to retain a union many times, especially in 1911. Not until World War II were the steelworkers able to organize successfully.

—James M. Volo

INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

Gunboat Diplomacy

The mid-nineteenth century period was noted for the series of treaties between the European powers and East Asian governments, particularly China and Japan.

These treaties were generally forced upon the Asian governments and kingdoms through simple demonstrations of naval power known as *gunboat diplomacy*. A number of imperial nations—Britain, Germany, and France, in particular—had projected their force capabilities on the Asian governments in this way to establish naval bases and coaling stations or to arrange economically advantageous relationships for their traders around the world.

Aside from absolute military conquest, gunboat diplomacy was the dominant form used to establish new trade partnerships with nations that were not particularly willing to establish them. A so-called running out of the guns and rigging for combat was often enough to change the direction of difficult negotiations. Those nations without large naval resources or advanced technologies found their resistance dismantled in the face of such pressures. These agreements are commonly known as *unequal treaties* because they are thought to have benefited the foreign powers to a much greater extent than the Asian governments. It would be an error, however, to think that the Asians were not also utilizing their own political strategies in these circumstances.

—James M. Volo

Opening China

Rare spices and unusual fragrances could be found in most up-scale markets in the West, and many wealthy Europeans and Americans had collections of Chinese porcelain, lacquered ware, and various other Oriental items like rugs, draperies, and wallpaper arranged in special rooms *à la Chinoise*. The so-called China Trade actually involved about a half dozen major trading destinations other than China in the Far East. These included—besides mainland China and Formosa—India, the East Indies (Spice Islands), the Siamese and Malay Peninsulas, Java, Borneo, Japan, and the Philippines. Traders also visited hundreds of small ports and isolated islands in their quest to complete a cargo of rare goods. The profits realized from spices and authentic Chinese or other Oriental products drove the China Trade throughout the nineteenth century, and American skippers lined up to get command of trading vessels destined for the South China Sea.

China was a trading nation. For centuries Chinese junks had carried goods all over the Far East to the Philippines, Malaysia, Sumatra, and India, and brought back produce and raw materials to their homeports. The Chinese merchants advertised their wares in their shops with bright red characters as they had for hundreds of years. The government was largely unconcerned about regulating the trade of its own people, but became concerned when the first European vessels arrived in the early sixteenth century. Virtually every imperial edict regarding foreign traders described them in derogatory terms.

Although they remained suspicious of all foreigners, the Manchu's who ruled the Chinese government (Qing Dynasty) adopted the idea of expanding its foreign trade, and initially the ships of many countries were encouraged to tie up at Chinese wharves. The pivotal event in the opening of China to American influence was the First Opium War between Britain and China in 1842. The Americans wisely stood on the sidelines during this conflict leading the Chinese to believe that the Americans might be better trading partners than the British. The American traders had not supported themselves with warships and military guards as had the British.

To this point, Chinese-American relations had been conducted solely through trade; however, the 1844 Treaty of Wangxia put American trade and political influence on a par with that of the British. The China trade was enormously important to Americans. New England traders contributed to the national economic revival and created the first American millionaires. Moreover, the search for furs to trade at Canton opened American minds to the importance of its own West Coast. It strengthened the United States' claim to the area later called the Oregon Territory, and it led to the first American contacts with California. Ships in the China trade called at the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) for water, fresh food, sandalwood, and relaxation, beginning a relationship with islands that eventually resulted in annexation and statehood. Perhaps most importantly, meeting the challenges of the China trade helped to give America a sense of achievement and confidence as an international power. America dominated the China trade throughout much of the nineteenth century increasingly involving itself it internal Chinese affairs and finally joining with other European governments to virtually neuter the traditional government of the Chinese empire (Qing Dynasty) following the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901).

—*James M. Volo*

Opening Japan

Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States Navy had forced a treaty on the Japanese in 1854 through the use of gunboat diplomacy. The so-called Convention of Kanagawa effectively ended Japan's 200-year-long policy of seclusion from Western influence. The treaty opened the ports of Shimoda and Hadodate to American trading vessels, provided for a permanent American consulate in Japan, and ensured the safety of American mariners shipwrecked on Japanese shores. The agreement was made between Perry, as representative of the United States, and Tokugawa Ieyoshi, the Shogun (de-facto ruler) of Japan. No meeting was held with the Japanese emperor who was thought divine and beyond interacting with foreigners.

Townsend Harris, a successful New York merchant and minor politician, was chosen as the first consul to Japan by President Franklin Pierce, and he is generally credited with opening the Japanese Empire to foreign trade and Western culture. Harris's successes came only after two years of hard-fought negotiations marked by deadlock and cultural misunderstandings. The Tokugawa Shogunate was faced with internal divisions over how Japanese trade with the outside world should be handled. Conscious of the events that had occurred in China, one group favored opening Japanese ports immediately to the West while another hoped to expel all foreigners and carry Japanese goods to its trading partners in Japanese vessels without violating the country's seclusion. Harris used this deepening domestic division to pry concessions from the Japanese.

Harris's treaty terms were more demanding than Perry's, however, demanding beyond trading rights at Yedo (Tokyo) and Osaka, consular services in all cities open to trade, the free export of Japanese gold and silver, and free access to Japanese cities for Americans. There was no parallel expectation that Japanese citizens would be welcome in America. The Harris's Treaty (Treaty of Amity and Commerce) also arranged for an exchange of diplomats, extraterritoriality, and a fixed low import-export tariff. The document became a model for similar agreements negotiated with the Japanese by the Russians, French, and British. Throughout the two years of negotiations, Harris remained poised and respectful gaining both respect and influence among the Japanese people. The Shogunate was weakened by its position, however, and regaining national status and renewed strength became a priority for the new imperial government.

—James M. Volo

Purchase and Annexation

In 1728, a Dane named Vitus Bering sailed through the straits that separated Asia from North America and now bears his name. In 1841 Bering, financed and commissioned by the Russians, was the first modern sailor to explore the coast of Alaska, and from this time Russians were active in the area establishing sealing and fishing stations. In 1776, British Captain James Cook made a brief survey of the region, and he was followed in 1792 by Captain George Vancouver, who circumnavigated the island that bears his name. In the following year Alexander Mackenzie reached the coast by land from the east. In 1799 the Russian-American Fur Company was given a 20-year monopoly to trade in the region under the leadership of Alexander Baranov, who founded the settlement of Sitka in 1805, the year before Lewis and Clark returned to Virginia from the Pacific Coast with their report on the Louisiana Purchase.

Despite the exploration, the details of the region that included Alaska and Oregon remained largely unknown with Russia, Britain, and the United States making competing claims for all or part of it based on exploration and mapping. Initially the agricultural richness of the interior region was less important than the coastal areas that supported abundant populations of seals, otters, and fish. In 1821 Russia decreed that all the coastline south to latitude 51° and out 100 miles from shore was forbidden to foreign vessels. Protests from the United States and Britain quickly followed. The matter was settled by treaties between the United States and Russia (1824) and between Britain and Russia (1825) by which Russian sovereignty was recognized north of 54° 40' and west of 141°.

James K. Polk, an otherwise humorless and unexciting candidate for president of the United States, captured the Executive Mansion in the election of 1844 in part under the slogan concerning the Oregon boundary of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." With the outgoing Tyler signing the Texas Annexation Act that likely meant war with Mexico on the southern border, Polk had seemingly dedicated the nation to a second front against Britain. However, the British demurred, and the Oregon treaty line with Canada was permanently settled at the 49th parallel in 1846.

Yet this was not to be the end of the story. The phrase, *Manifest Destiny*, caught the imagination of the country and came, thereafter, to stand for the entire expansive movement to the West. Alaska was added by purchase from Russia in 1867 for $7.2 million. Secretary of State William H. Seward was the major proponent of the purchase, and Alaska was referred to as Seward's Icebox for many years. Eight decades earlier Boston skippers had opened trade with the Northwest Coast of North America. So common were the Boston trading vessels on this coast, thereafter that natives from the region called all whites Boston Men. Having received a stock of furs for Yankee Notions like ribbons, mirrors, beads, needles, knives, and cloth, the Boston Men made for China where the furs were exchanged for teas, silks, and porcelain. Seward understood the value of Alaska as the first cog in the wheel of the China trade. Ships in the trade certainly picked up items available only through Chinese manufacture, but in their world-circling tours they also shipped cloves, nutmeg, and mace from the various islands, pepper from Sumatra, coffee from Arabia, tallow from Madagascar, hemp from Luzon, cotton from Bombay, palm oil from the west coast of Africa, and ivory and gums from Zanzibar. The China trade facilitated a worldwide circulation of wealth.

Due to the need to maintain coaling and watering stations across the Pacific, in 1867 the United States had taken possession of Midway Island. It later acquired coaling rights at Tutuila (with its excellent harbor at Pago Pago) and a protectorate at Samoa in consort with Britain and Germany. In the Far East, problems concerning American sailors shipwrecking on the Pacific coast of Asia caused Rear Admiral John Rodgers to visit Korea with a squadron of five ships in 1871. Nonetheless, it was not until 1882 that a treaty was signed with that nation. Meanwhile, the Samoan Islands had become a hotbed of international intrigue among Britain, Germany, and America with each keeping vessels on station to protect their national interests.

As far back as 1867, Admiral David Porter Sr. had said, "Honolulu is bound to be the principal stopping place between China and California and a point of great importance to American commerce" (Howarth 1991, 241). In an 1872 treaty with the islands, safeguards were agreed to that would prevent Hawaii from falling under foreign domination. In 1887 a clause was added that allowed the United States to set up a fortified base at Pearl Harbor to defend the U.S. West Coast and the approaches to a possible canal at the central American isthmus. In 1893, Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown in a bloodless coup by American businessmen aided by the U.S. Consul John L. Stevens and 150 marines from the USS *Boston*. A short-lived Republican government was formed by Sanford B. Dole and recognized by the United States in 1894. Efforts to restore the queen were wrecked by influential members of Dole's provisional government.

In July 1898, Congress formally annexed Hawaii, partially due to its increased importance as a staging area for war with the Spanish Pacific fleet, and partially to secure from German influence the rich fields of sugar cane and pineapple that had been developed. The German government had caused a great deal of unrest through its pretensions in Samoa fostering a civil war in 1898 between rival claimants to the kingship of the island group. A trilateral agreement among Germany, Britain, and the United States settled the competing claims. In 1900, Hawaii was organized as a territory, but unlike the other island possessions it was required to pays its tariff duties, revenue collections, and income taxes to the federal treasury. Due to a shortage of laborers, the government encouraged emigration from Spain, Portugal, and the Philippines, but initially excluded Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans.

By the turn of the century a number of other island possessions had been acquired: Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines in 1898; and Wake Island in 1899. The American nation, initially isolated on a thin strip of land along the Atlantic coast, had attained its *Manifest Destiny* by stretching from sea to sea in little more than a single century, and it had become in the process a multi-ocean colonial power.

—James M. Volo

DISCRIMINATION: INDIAN RESERVATIONS

Indian policy at the federal level was initially crafted by George Washington's Secretary of War Henry Knox, and it was carried out by most of the administrations that followed. Knox envisioned a policy of civilization and Christianization for the tribes. He sought to teach the Indians to abandon their traditional gender-based communal economy of male hunting and warfare and female agriculture and child-rearing for a Euro-American lifestyle of male-oriented farming and female domesticity that would allow the tribes to prosper on a much smaller land base. This, it was hoped, would open former Native American lands to white settlement without eradicating the Indians. Herein was the genesis of the Indian reservation. Federal agents relentlessly pushed this civilization program, or a near facsimile, throughout the nineteenth century.

During the Creek War (1814–1815), Andrew Jackson led a force composed of militia and allied native warriors, but he came to believe that there was no real distinction between friendly and hostile Indians. In 1828 Jackson won the presidency, and his popular attitudes toward Native Americans were swept into office with him. Ultimately, like some of his predecessors in office, particularly John Adams and James Monroe, President Jackson came to believe that the government should institute an Indian policy known as *forced relocation*, or *removal*. This policy would displace the remaining tribes of the Old Northwest to the great plains of the Dakotas, or to Minnesota, or to the area west of the Mississippi River now known as Oklahoma. Congressional debate between Whigs and Democrats questioned whether this was best for the Indians, but neither side suggested that the Indians retain their homelands or reestablish their former aboriginal lifestyle elsewhere. Realistically, the raids, hunting, and roaming associated with tribal existence in the past could no longer be accommodated within the boundaries of a developing United States.

To achieve peace in the West and to optimize the possibility of successful acculturation of the Indians, General Nelson A. Miles advocated "placing the Indians under some government strong enough to control them and just enough to command their respect" (Miles 1969, 346). The realities of reservation life and the prejudices held by whites toward Indians, however, impeded or compromised the process that Miles envisioned.

The first problem was the choice of site. Because settlers claimed the best land, many reservations were established in bleak, barren, unproductive, even unhealthy places. In 1863 General James H. Carleton ordered Kit Carson to move the Navajos to the Bosque Redondo, a reservation in sun-baked eastern New Mexico. Those who survived the Long Walk joined their traditional enemies, the Mescalero Apaches, in this sandy, barren land. They dug holes and trenches for shelter and slaughtered cows for hides to use as windbreaks and for shade. There were no trees, as the few that had grown in the immediate area had been cut to build Fort Sumner.

Of Fort Sumner and the Bosque Redondo, Eveline Alexander, a cavalry officer's wife, wrote: "I never saw such an undesirable location for a post, and especially for a large Indian reservation" (Alexander 1977, 116). Shocked by the conditions, and aware that "the Navajos in their native country beyond the Rio Grande were a wealthy tribe" (Alexander 1977, 119), she concerned herself more than most army wives with the plight of the Indians (Alexander 1977, 20). She wrote of the 8,000 Navajos living like prisoners of war. Rations were distributed every other day. "The daily ration . . . is three-fourths of a pound of flour and meat and a handful of salt to each Indian, little or big. Not much to support life on, one would think" (Alexander 1977, 117). According to another contemporary account, "the brackish water they drank brought dysentery . . . [and] the reservation, situated on the edge of a treeless expanse of prairie, quickly depleted fuel close at hand. Resources of cedar and mesquite retreated farther and farther . . . until Navajos were traveling twelve to twenty miles for mesquite root, which they carried 'upon their galled and lacerated backs' " (Alexander 1977, 160 n. 24). Although Eveline Alexander observed some Navajos hoeing corn (Alexander 1977, 117), conditions were so bad that "Navajos had to be forced to work at bayonet point" (Alexander 1977, 160).

In a report to Washington, General Carleton called all this "a grand experiment to make civilized human beings out of savages . . . they . . . discard . . . their ways and learn how to be like white men. . . . To gather them together little by little into a reservation away from the haunts and hills and hiding places of their country and there . . . teach the children how to read and write; teach them the art of peace; teach them the truths of Christianity. Soon they will acquire new habits, new ideas, new modes of life" (Josephy 1994, 355).

The Indians perceived this process quite differently. Frederick Peso, whose people, the Mescalero Apaches, shared the Bosque Redondo, declared, "The surest way to kill a race is to kill its religious ideals. Can anybody doubt that the white man attempted to do that? And when the Spirit is killed, what remains?" (Josephy 1994, 355).

The physical impact of the reservation was not unique to the Navajos, of course. Historian Robert M. Utley described the San Carlos reservation as "a terrible place to live" (Utley 1964, 196). Daklugie, Geronimo's nephew, also attempted a description: "The Creator did not make San Carlos. It is older than he. . . . He just left it as a sample of the way they did things before He came along. . . . Take stones and ashes and thorns, and, with some scorpions and rattlesnakes thrown in, dump the outfit on stones, heat the stones red-hot, set the United States Army after the Apaches, and you have San Carlos" (Josephy 1994, 428).

General Miles was aware of the effect of climate as he argued for Indians to be returned to their native lands. "The climate and country of Montana and the Dakotas produced as fine physical specimens of the human race as have ever been found on this continent," he wrote of the Sioux (Miles 1969, 254). "The forcing of strong, hardy mountain Indians from the extreme north to the warmer malarial districts of the South was cruel, and the experiment should never be repeated" (Miles 1969, 347).

Helen Hunt Jackson took up the cause of the Native American in her exposé, *A Century of Dishonor*, a documented attack on the federal government's Indian policy. Describing the plight of the Northern Cheyenne during 1877 and 1878, she recounts how their hunts had been unsuccessful because game was gone, how their pony herd had been decimated, how rations had been reduced, and how malaria raged through the reservation, where the medical supplies were inadequate. She concludes that such a life on the reservation is hardly likely to appeal to the Indians' better nature and lead them to civilization:

> If it is to "appeal to men's better natures" to remove them by force from a healthful Northern climate, which they love and thrive in, to a malarial Southern one, where they are struck down by chills and fever—refuse them medicine . . . and finally starve them—then, indeed [this] might be said to have been most forcible appeals to the "better natures" of those Northern Cheyenne. What might have been predicted followed. (Jackson, quoted in Jones 1994, 69–70)

Indians were literally dying to go home. Outbreaks were inevitable, and though not all were violent, some were, intensifying a cycle of frustration and retribution. Any Indian off the reservations was considered hostile. When a band of the Northern Cheyenne under Dull Knife decided to return north from Indian Territory, they automatically fell into this category. Additionally, by occasionally killing cattle along the way for food, they incensed settlers. Captured again, held at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, and told they would be returned south, they were adamant. "That is not a beautiful country. If we go there, we would all die. . . . We will not go." Said Dull Knife, "You may kill me here; but you cannot make me go back." While General George Crook argued strongly with the Indian Bureau about a better location for them, the commander at Fort Robinson tried to starve them into submission, cutting off their rations and withholding water. The result was an outbreak, though escape was hopeless, with casualties among both soldiers and Indians before the 78 surviving Cheyenne gave up. Ironically, wrote Crook, "Among the Cheyenne Indians were some of the bravest and most efficient of the auxiliaries who had [served with me] in the campaign against the hostile Sioux in 1876 and 1877. . . . I still preserve a grateful remembrance of their distinguished service, which the government seems to have forgotten" (Crook 1960, 223–26).

There is no question that the central purpose of the reservation system was to change Indians' cultures, to Americanize them. As tribal identity began to change, "whole clusters of customs, activities, attitudes, values, and institutions lost reliance and meaning and . . . began to vanish" (Utley 1964, 236). Whereas warfare had once defined a man's honor, provided a congerie of important rituals, and touched on aspects of celebration and mourning, social structure, and individual maturation, it was now proscribed. Whereas the hunt once not only provided most of a tribe's needs but also gave a sense of the rhythm of the year, a calendar organically linked to nature, it was no longer possible. Religion too had once linked man to nature in a profound sense of the Creator's beneficence; these religions were now called pagan and some of them forbidden. As even George A. Custer was aware, this reordering of life was cataclysmic. "The Indian has to sacrifice all that is dear to his heart" (Custer 1962, 21).

Government Indian policy was not flexible enough to make exceptions, in effect illustrating the belief that "once you've seen one Indian, you've seen them all." A corollary to this inability to see Indians as individuals was the pattern, throughout the period of the Plains Indian wars, of indiscriminately punishing one group of Indians for the depredations of another.

The tragedy of the Indian wars and of the reservation life that followed was not in the number of deaths, which was relatively small, but rather in the destruction of a way of life. Francis Paul Prucha, a Catholic priest as well as a scholar on relations between the U.S. government and the Indians, preaches a eulogy for that way of life:

The change was to be made from the nomadic life of a buffalo hunter to the sedentary life of a small farmer, from communal patterns to fiercely individualistic ones, from native religious ceremonials to Christian practices, from Indian languages and oral traditions to spoken and written English. For most of the reservation Indians, the changes were a shattering experience, demoralizing rather than uplifting (Prucha 1986, 222).

From across the cultural divide the Oglala holy man Black Elk wrote, remembering Wounded Knee:

> I did not know then how much had ended. When I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream. . . . The nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead. (Neihardt 1932, 276)

REFORM

Farmers v. Railroads

Farm unrest in the Midwest and elsewhere in the 1870s had profound and lasting political consequences. The changes began during the economic Panic of 1873 and continued through the five years of grasshopper plagues that claimed much of the agricultural lifeblood of the nation from 1873 through 1877. The unrest was closely tied to the belief that the railroad, grain elevator, and warehouse operators were purposely disadvantaging the small farmer through their monopolies and tight money practices. In response to these complaints many Midwestern states enacted laws regulating the prices and practices of these businesses. Called the Granger Laws, these pieces of legislation reversed the longstanding trend of decreasing government regulation of the private sector after the Civil War.

The laws also prompted a series of landmark court cases concerning the regulatory prerogatives of government. In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a challenge to the legality of the Granger Laws affirming that government had the right to regulate any commerce affecting the public interest. The farmers also sought redress from the justices in 1886 in *Wabash, St. Louis, and Pacific Railway v. Illinois*, but the court ruled that only the federal government had the right to regulate commerce between the states. This left many of the concerns of the farmers unresolved to their liking.

In 1887, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission to provide oversight of long distance rail shipping. This legislation was followed by the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, which prohibited monopolies, conspiracies, combinations, and restraints of trade. Midwestern cattle ranchers urged the passage of the act alleging that the meat packing syndicate in Chicago had conspired to keep beef prices artificially low. This legislation marked an increased willingness of government to involve itself in private and corporate economic activity.

—James M. Volo

Taming the West

Civilization pushed its way even to the cow towns, and an increasing number of their permanent residents—shopowners, doctors, lawyers, ministers, and teachers let it be known that cowboys and their violent ways were no longer welcome. Although the wide-open towns had brought a temporary infusion of money, good money was beginning to be made in land speculation and construction. Thus, city governments began to pass ordinances forbidding the bearing of firearms within town limits and appointing marshals and deputies to deal with those who did. Reformers began to levy fines on prostitution and gambling, though cynics felt these were less to curtail sin than to raise local revenue. Nonetheless, changes were in the wind. When one newspaper editor wrote, "People who have money to invest go where they are protected by law" (Forbis 1973, 186), there was the clear suggestion that one era—that of the trail drive and the open range—was closing and a new one—that of farmers and entrepreneurs—was opening. Whether one attributes the change to the completion of more and more branch lines of the railroads, or to the increasing use of barbed wire, or to the disastrous winter of 1886–1887 in which thousands of cattle died frozen on the northern plains, "the life that surrounded [the cattle trails] could not endure. The homes of thousands of settlers have pre-empted the grazing grounds. Railroads are ten times more numerous than were the trails, and like the cavalier, the troubadour, the Puritan, and the 'Forty-Niner,' the cowboy and his attendant life have become but figures in history" (Harger 1892, 742; Jones 1998, 181–82).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Abbott, E. C. ("Teddy Blue"), and Helena Huntington Smith. *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939.

Albion, Robert G., and Jennie B. Pope. *Sealanes in Wartime*. Portland, ME: Archon Books, 1968.

Alexander, Eveline M. *Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866–1867*. Edited by Sandra L. Myres. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977.

Barnard, Edward S. *Reader's Digest Story of the Great American West*. Pleasantville, NY: The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1977.

Barney, William L., ed. *A Companion to 19th-Century America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Crook, George. *General George Crook: His Autobiography*. Edited by Martin F. Schmitt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

Custer, General George Armstrong. *My Life on the Plains: Or, Personal Experiences with Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.

Forbis, William H. *The Old West: The Cowboys*. New York: Time Life Books, 1973.

Goldman, Marion S. *Gold Diggers & Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981.

Harger, Charles Moreau. "Cattle-Trails of the Prairies." *Scribner's Magazine* (June 1892): 732–42.

Harris, Townsend. *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul General and Minister to Japan*. With an introduction by Mario Emilio Cozena. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2007.

Hill, Peter J. "Old West Violence Mostly Myth." *The Arizona Republic* (June 19, 2007).

Hine, Robert V. *Community on the American Frontier: Separate But Not Alone*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Howarth, Stephen. *To Shining Sea, A History of the United States Navy, 1775–1991*. New York: Random House, 1991.

Jones, Mary Ellen, ed. *The American Frontier: Opposing Viewpoints*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1994.

———. *Daily Life on the Nineteenth-Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. *500 Nations: An Illustrated History of North American Indians*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.

Miles, General Nelson A. *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969.

National Livestock Association. *Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry of the United States*. New York: Antiquarian Press, 1904/1959.
Neihardt, John. *Black Elk Speaks*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1932.
Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Abridged ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.
Roosevelt, Theodore. *Memories of the American Frontier*. New York: Westvaco, 1977.
Semonche, John E. "American Law in the Nineteenth Century, 1867–1900." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Siringo, Charles A. *A Lone Star Cowboy*. Santa Fe, NM: n.p., 1919.
Stewart, James. "The Economics of American Farm Unrest, 1865–1900," EH.Net Encyclopedia, edited by Robert Whaples. http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/stewart.farmers (accessed May 2006).
Utley, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964.
Van Dyke, Paul A. *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.
Wolff, Leon. *Lockout: The Story of the Homestead Strike of 1892*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1965.

Recreational Life

SPORTS

Horse Racing

THE PERIOD OF EXPLOITATION
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Horse racing was much favored by the upper classes, and regular courses for its prosecution had been maintained since colonial times. The breeding of racehorses was also very popular among the wealthy. Thoroughbreds (initially three foundation bloodlines, Byerley Turk, Darley Arabian, and Godolphin Arab) running on flat straight or oval tracks had been around since the eighteenth century, and Americans were overjoyed to be seen as doing something so thoroughly British. The great-great-grandson of the Darley Arabian was Eclipse, the sole direct ancestor of all American thoroughbred breeds. Although almost all horse racing experts chart the bloodline of thoroughbreds to one of the foundation sires, the concept is somewhat artificial. Hundreds of Arabians, Barbs (from the Barbary States), Turks, and other stallions were brought into England and the United States before the stud books were so meticulously kept. The bloodline of the Darcy White Turk is often considered as legitimate as that of other thoroughbreds. The line of Lexington, another fine American stallion of the period, unfortunately was allowed to run out, and no descendants of this commendable Kentucky stallion are known to exist. Diomed was the first premiere thoroughbred of the nineteenth century in

America, and when he died, suddenly there was great widespread mourning among the American public.

The exclusivity of horse breeding appealed to the upper classes. President Andrew Jackson won thousands of dollars racing his own horse, Truxton, who sired an entire line of racehorses for his stable. Sundays were favorite times for races, which often ended in near riots when the outcome was in dispute. The greatest sensation of the period was the match race between Henry and Eclipse (not the English sire but a descendant referred to as the American Eclipse). This was held in New York in front of 40,000 spectators, and it was followed in the newspapers by the whole nation (Volo and Volo 2000, 133–34).

Trotting

During most of the nineteenth century horses remained a method of transportation, but many people eschewed the saddle for the use of buggies and wagons with the horse in harness. Human nature and the common spirit of competitiveness often led buggy drivers to race their best horses against those of their neighbors. As such, these harness races were more egalitarian and democratic than thoroughbred racing with its distinctly aristocratic roots. The common competitive spirit was also instrumental in developing specific types of harness horses (either trotters or pacers) and smaller, lighter, and quicker buggies commonly called sulkies. Trotting horses move their diagonal legs in a two-beat gait while pacers move the legs on the same side of their bodies together while trotting. Such horses were not meant to gallop or lope (four-beat gaits) while in harness. Currently in America there are four pacers for every trotter.

Ultimately a bloodline standard was set for trotting and pacing horses, and they came to be called Standardbreds to distinguish them from the thoroughbred race horses. The term comes from the standard length of a one-mile race (eight furlongs). The bloodline charts of the standardbred were first published by J. H. Wallace in 1871 in the *American Trotting Register*. This listing was primarily of thoroughbred horses used as harness racers, but in its eighth edition the horses listed were exclusively considered standardbreds.

Rather than have their citizenry racing about of the local roads, many communities created either driving parks or trotting parks where practice and competition could be controlled along the outer perimeter. From these evolved the first standardbred race courses. Soon local competitors were joined by famous national racers who competed with breeds and horses exclusively raised for racing. The bloodlines of standardbreds soon became as well-known and as well-noted as any among the thoroughbreds. Gambling often drove the competition as it did for other forms of racing, and although there was no pari-mutuel wagering as is known today, there were wagering pools of so-called bookies being operated in the nineteenth century.

Rodeo

Adapted from the Spanish word for a cattle round up, rodeo grew from spontaneous and impromptu contests among cowboys testing their abilities on the range into a national, and international sport. The livestock that was handled by cowboys and ranchers was truly wild. Long-horned cattle, fed and wintered on open range, were particularly dangerous to both horse and rider. The roping and tying of steers and calves for branding was a common spring activity, and roping and tying were the first formal rodeo contests. Barrel racing, bull riding, bareback bronco riding, saddle riding, and steer dogging (wrestling the animal to the ground) were added later.

The exact origins of competitive rodeo are clouded in the cowboy mystique of the so-called Wild West, but the first formal rodeo may have been that sponsored by Colonel George Miller in Kansas in 1882. A candidate for the first professional rodeo may be that held in Prescott, Arizona Territory in 1888. Cash purses were awarded for first ($25) and second ($15) place in a number of categories. This particular competition was not called a rodeo, but a Cowboy Tournament.

The longest running continuous rodeo is the Cheyenne Frontier Days, which began around the end of the nineteenth century. This featured women competitors for the first time. Women had been active in Wild West Shows for many years before they entered competitive rodeo.

—*James M. Volo*

MUSIC

Westward Expansion Music

The miners, loggers, homesteaders, and cowboys who settled the West all contributed to the body of song that developed during the process of westward expansion. Some created songs as a means of dealing with the experience. Others lived the lives that provided inspiration. Songs circulated orally and in the semi-oral format of songsters, broadsides, and newspapers. Songwriters, who were always ready to capitalize on any trend or event that was likely to sell songs, realized the potential of the West as a source of inspiration. Songs like *To the West* (1845) by Henry Russell and Charles McKay were drenched in Victorian values and melodrama, drew a clear line between good and evil, and found virtue in the pioneering way of life.

Another popular song, *Home on the Range* (1872), presents a romanticized image of the cowboy. Its authors, Daniel E. Kelley and Brewster Higley, idealized the West in the most florid terms, depicting it as a land of milk and honey, hope and promise. As living conditions became increasingly congested in the East after the war, the idealized West beckoned more and more strongly, and those people who could not or would not make the trip could use the wings of song to carry them there (Browne and Kreiser 2003, 133).

Making Music

Many immigrants brought instruments with them on their journey, though these were frequently abandoned, along with other extraneous items, when lighter loads were necessary to complete the trip. Whenever possible, instruments, such as fiddles, guitars, mouth organs, harmonicas, bass instruments, drums, and pianos were used to accompany individual and group singers who performed around campfires, in dance halls, at parades, and in private homes. The Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward catalogs offered settlers mail-order access to new instruments, as well as to sheet music, metronomes, and books on how to play anything from the piano and banjo to the mandolin or fife. Ball Room Guides and Call Books, which brought dancers and musicians together in one of the most popular activities in town, the local dance, were also available.

The westward journey, whether completed by boat, by wagon, or by foot, was at once physically rigorous, emotionally draining, and intellectually boring. Music helped immigrants to cope with these different experiences by providing a distraction that was community oriented, words that reflected internal feelings and an activity that was enjoyable. During her journey by sea, Mrs. Jane McDougal wrote that Captain Forbes played the accordion while he and Captain Thomas accompanied with their voices. Familiar songs were used to pass the time and to bring small clusters of travelers together.

For Catherine Haun, another pioneer, songs met an additional need. Describing her fellow traveler with a gift for music, Haun wrote that the familiar tunes he played on his harmonica seemed to soften the groaning and creaking of the wagons and to shorten the long miles of the mountain road. She felt that *Home, Sweet Home, My Old Kentucky Home, Maryland, My Maryland, The Girl I Left Behind Me*, and *One More Ribber to Cross* seemed particularly appropriate and touched many a pensive heart. For Haun, music not only helped to relieve the boredom of the trip but also was an outlet for the emotions that were part and parcel of making such tremendous life changes. The fact that the songs she lists refer to either home or what was being left behind illustrates the mixed emotions experienced by many westbound pioneers. Singing helped to express despondent feelings for one mother who wrote to her son that she felt so bad to be in such a place that she wept and then began singing. She made up a song about going to California and having to run under a bed to shelter from the piercing storm. Putting experiences such as these into song provided an outlet for Westerners to express their feelings and to comfort themselves.

Music was not just used to lighten heavy hearts. In the evenings, when camps had been set up and dinner had been eaten, singing around the campfires was a way to bring the travelers together and to rejuvenate them after a long day.

While music played a role in the journey west, it was also an important part of creating social systems in frontier towns. There were numerous means through which music provided entertainment in Western communities, from formal gatherings in which local musicians met to sing and play instruments, to informal, spontaneous performances. Music also brought people together in private homes. Many people had pianos around which friends and family gathered in the evening to sing songs like *Shall We Gather at the River?* and *Pass Under the Rod.*

Some musical gatherings entertained the entire town. Local bands were a common facet of Western communities, providing music for parades as well as local saloons and dance halls. The Dodge City "Cowboy Band" was an especially well-known group that traveled as far as Washington, D.C., to perform. Each member of the

18-man band wore a large sombrero, a blue flannel shirt with a silk scarf, leather leggings supported by a cartridge belt, a six-shooter, and boots with spurs. If no musical instruments were available at a gathering, spectators would provide their own music by singing, clapping, and stamping their feet to the beat of *Skip to My Lou*, *Weevily Wheat*, *The Girl I Left Behind Me*, and *Old Dan Tucker*.

Frontier musicals were especially popular around army posts where groups of musicians were more likely to be available than anywhere else on the frontier. Favorite pieces included *Tenting Tonight*, *Old Hundred*, *Near My God to Thee*, *Annie Laurie*, and *When Swallows Homeward Fly*. Concert performances by singers like Kate Hays, Lola Montez, and Caroline Chapman were also well attended. Traveling from the stages of cities like San Francisco and Sacramento to remote locations of boom-and-bust mining towns, these performers captured the attention of many Westerners with their singing and dancing routines. While musical performances were welcomed and attendance was high, some Westerners complained about the trend to play music while actors were speaking their lines.

Music was also incorporated into public and private celebrations. The Fourth of July was always well celebrated in the West, with band music and other performances. The Christmas Ball was another annual town event at which music played a key role. On a private level, the tradition of a shivaree, a wedding night celebration, resulted in raucous, but no less enjoyable, music. Music was used to mourn deaths as well, usually with hymns. Deaths during the westward journey, not to mention in the early years of settlement, were extremely common occurrences, but they were no less acknowledged for their frequency. A traveler described the combination of making do with available resources, while adhering to familiar rituals. Hymns in general were a familiar and popular form of music, sung in and out of formal church services.

The music that has recorded the experience of the West has several key characteristics. Tunes were borrowed from familiar pieces of music from the East, as well as from English ballads and Irish folk tunes. The familiarity of a tune like *Pop Goes the Weasel* or *Comin' Through the Rye* made the songs easy to learn and simple to communicate. The words that accompanied the tunes, however, were unique because they humorously parodied the song's original lyrics or because they cleverly represented the new experience of life in the West. The words and stories that comprised the songs of the frontier were taken from newspaper stories or from pamphlets, broadsides, or books. Songs were orally communicated, and as a result, the records of early Western music are somewhat inconsistent, especially in terms of exact words, as these could be altered from one singer to the next. The lyrics tended to rhyme in a structured pattern. The simple rhymes helped people to memorize the songs more easily, encouraging the circulation among the miners, cowboys, and other Westerners.

Collections such as *Put's Original California Songster* (1854), *Put's Golden Songster* (1858), and *Gold Digger's Song Book* (1856) were among the earliest and best-known publications of Western songs and helped to standardize the multiple versions and to further familiarize Westerners with music of the gold rush. When the songs were performed, there were some basic guidelines to which musicians adhered. The fiddle typically accompanied frontier songs and the banjo became increasingly popular over time.

Perhaps the earliest Western music can be found in the songs of the forty-niners, miners who rushed across the continent to make their fortunes in gold. Performed in makeshift theatres and saloons, published in the popular press, and collected in cheaply printed volumes, the songs were constantly changing as new miners in different settings adapted the words to fit their own experiences. *Oh! Susanna* became *Oh! California*. The words were recycled over and over as new waves of immigrants traveled west. Songs like *Seeing the Elephant*, one of the first to be written in the West, were hugely popular as well as those by John A. Stone, also known as "Old Put." Frequently written by minstrel troupes and aimed at capturing in music the essence of mining life, the songs of the forty-niners offer a unique perspective on the rush of westward expansion.

The songs that remain from this era trace the voyage west, by boat and by wagon, and express the longings, expectations, and realities of the gold rush experience. They capture with concrete, often humorous, images and details of mining life. At times, the songs are sentimental as in *I Often think of Writing Home*, which tells the tale of a miner who considers writing home but who rarely does. They also describe the reasons for heading west or make fun of the impact the journey had on relationships. The very popular *Joe Bowers* chronicles a young man's journey to California to establish a homestead for his sweetheart who turns out to be fickle and marries another man. Another version of the love-gone-astray story, *Sweet Betsy from Pike*, describes Betsy and Ike, a young couple who endured endless obstacles during their travels west, only to have their relationship end when they arrive there. Other songs either express a darkly humorous version of the journey or a satirical description of life in the mines. Songs like *California Stage Company, Humbug Steamship Companies*, and *When I Went Off to Prospect* challenged the popular belief that the journey west was an easy one and that life was immediately prosperous upon arrival in California. The humor present in many mining songs may have developed in response to the arduous, continuous and often futile nature of mining itself as a way to endure the challenges of that way of life.

While the forty-niners' songs were often humorous, they were also surprisingly informative. In *Crossing the Plains* the lyrics tell about the number of days, amount of food, and impact on cattle that occurred during the westward journey. More factual than many of the guidebooks upon which emigrants depended to make their trip from the East, early mining songs provided Westerners with an alternative form of communicating the rigors of their trip to the land of gold.

Whereas mining songs were primarily sung for entertainment, cowboys also used music as a way of recording their own experiences, as a companion to their work, and as a way to provide camaraderie during the evenings on the plains. Their work songs not only marked the time during cattle drives, but they also it calmed cattle during long marches and lulled them to sleep at night. While songs were passed among cowboys, specific ranches tended to have their own individual song and set of verses of their own making. One cowboy would lead off composing these verses, which the others would take up, chorusing whenever the song was sung. When a new man joined the outfit, he was expected to sing any new song he might know or new stanzas to an old song and to teach them to the camp. Songs like *The Old Chisolm Trail* grew to interminable length (Quay 2002, 171–77).

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Vacation Destinations

Nineteenth-century vacationers—dedicated to an outdoor life—were drawn to visit the many natural wonders of America like caves, natural arches, unique geological features, and waterfalls. Cave tours were considered agreeable and instructive with a pleasant sensation of refreshing coolness especially in summer. Nonetheless, caving could be physically difficult for some visitors. Mammoth Cave in Kentucky catered to its visitors by supplying "a large and commodious hotel . . . two or three hundred paces from the mouth of the cave . . . with lights, guides, and whatever else may be required for their expeditions." This afforded the visitors to the cave a view of "its vast dimensions, its great heights and depths in different apartments, and of the singularity and beauty of the natural decoration they contain" (Haywood 1853, 650).

The Pavilion Hotel opened in 1883 and served visitors to Howe's Caves in central New York. This was a wonderful cavern first discovered by Lester Howe in 1842 and a great favorite as a touring destination for young adults vacationing in the Northeast. The cave was advertised in a newspaper clipping from June 1883 as one of the most remarkable curiosities in the United States. A description of the new hotel noted, "The rooms are large, well ventilated, handsomely furnished, and en suite or single. It has accommodations for 200 guests. It has all the modern improvements of a First-Class Hotel. Our Patrons will find the Cuisine, style and management unsurpassed. It is located on the brow of the mountain commanding one of the most picturesque and beautiful views to be found in the state; has fine shade trees, and pure water; no mosquitoes or Malaria. There is good livery connected with the Hotel, and the Cobleskill and Schoharie Valleys afford the finest scenery and drives in the country. . . . The Pavilion Hotel [is] 39 miles from Albany, on the Albany and Susquehanna R.R., only five minutes walk from the depot" (Volo and Volo 2007, 343).

Also in this area, made famous as the setting for many of the popular frontier novels of James Fenimore Cooper, were a number of smaller establishments including the Mineral Springs Hotel in Cobleskill, the Parrot House Hotel in Schoharie, the American Hotel and Rose Hotel in Sharon Springs, the fully electrified Sagamore Hotel on Lake George, and the gracious Hotel Fenimore on Lake Otsego in Cooperstown at the headwaters of the Susquehanna River. All boasted the good effects of their sulfated water, moderate summer temperatures, and clean air; and each was located on first-class plank roads serviced by daily stagecoaches that connected to the historical sites from the American Revolution, the natural wonders and rock outcroppings, and the romantic blue-green freshwater lakes of the region.

Tours of the ruins of the French and English forts from the era of the colonial wars at Lake George, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga in New York were very popular and could be reached after a revitalizing steamboat cruise on the lake. Of course, at the time, the sites were just battlefields and outlines in ruin. It would take another century before full-scale recreations of historic places would become common. Yet the ruins had a certain romantic and Gothic quality that fit the period, and the steamboat landings—like the one at Ticonderoga that has survived to the present day—were fitted with Georgian-style gardens, walking paths, and picnicking facilities. From New York City by steamer up the Hudson River and through the Champlain Canal "passengers leave the Champlain boat [at Whitehall, New York] for stage coaches by which they are conveyed over a hilly but romantic road about three miles to Ticonderoga, at the head of Lake George, and thence down the lake, 36 miles, by steamboat, to the Lake House [Hotel], at its southern extremity [Lake George Village, site of Fort William Henry] . . . and from thence to Saratoga Springs" (Haywood 1853, 646).

Natural cataracts like Bellows Falls in Vermont, Catawba Falls in North Carolina, and St. Anthony's Falls on the far away upper Mississippi River were considered great natural wonders. "The river seems to stop for a moment [before] it encounters the fall; then, breaking through every obstacle, it plunges on, its huge billows breaking on the rocks, and throwing a shower of spray [with] great grandeur and beauty." Niagara Falls, the outlet of the fresh water flowing from the Great Lakes was "justly regarded as one of the most sublime and imposing spectacles in nature." The volume of falling water, estimated at over half a million tons per minute, the precipitous heights, and tremendous roar were amazing. "It is the vastness of elements like these, entering into the conception of this stupendous natural phenomenon, which carries the emotions of wonder and sublimity with which it strikes the outward senses to their highest bounds" (Haywood 1853, 657; Volo and Volo 2007, 342–44).

MID-CENTURY TRAVEL DESTINATIONS

Mineral springs, waterfalls, caves, beaches, and other fashionable resorts as identified by *Hayward's Gazetteer,* 1853

Ascutney Mountain, VT	Madison's Cave, VA
Avon Springs, NY	Madison Springs, GA
Ballston Spa, NY	Mammoth Cave, KY
Bellows Falls, VT	Mitchell's Peak, NC
Black Mountain, SC	Monadnock Mountain, NH
Blennerhassett's Island, OH	Montauk Point, NY

Blue Hills, MA
Blue Sulphur Springs, VA
Booth Bay, ME
Brandywine Springs, DE
Burning Springs, NY
Cape Ann, MA
Cape May, NJ
Carrolton Gardens, LA
Catawba Falls, NC
Cohasset Rocks, MA
Cohoes Falls, NY
Coney Island, NY
Crown Point, NY
Dighton Rock, MA
Drennon Springs, KY
Flushing [Bay], NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Franconia Notch, NH
Gingercake Rocks, NC
Guilford Point, CT
Hampton Beach, NH
Harper's Ferry, VA
Harrodsburg Springs, VA
Hoboken, NJ
Hopkins Springs, MA
Hot Springs, AK
Hot Springs, VA
House of Nature, IL
Indian Springs, GA
Isles of Shoals, ME
Latonia Springs, KY
Long Beach, NJ
Lookout Mountain, GA
Montmorency Falls, Canada
Mount Everett, MA
Mount Holyoke, MA
Mount Hope, RI
Mount Vernon. VA
Nahant, MA
Nantasket Beach, MA
Natural Bridge, VA
New Lebanon Springs, NY
Newport, RI
Niagara, Falls, NY
Nickajack Cave, GA
Old Man of the Mountain, NH
Old Orchard Beach, ME
Onondaga Salt Springs, NY
Passaic Falls, NJ
Phillip's Point, MA
Pine Orchard, NY
Pleasant Mountain, ME
Plum Island, MA
Plymouth Rock, MA
Red Sulphur Springs, VA
Richfield Springs, NY
Roan Mountain, NC
Rockaway Beach, NY
Rye Beach, NY
Sachem's Head, CT
Saguenay River, Canada
Salisbury Beach, MA
Salt Sulphur Springs, VA
Saratoga Springs, NY
Saybrook Point, CT
Weir's Cave, VA

SOCIAL EVENTS

The range of social activities available to Westerners was limited only by the imagination. While some events were imported from the East, these were frequently altered to meet the resources available in the place and time they were enjoyed. New types of gatherings were also developed in response to the needs of community members whose lives demanded hard work and attention to daily survival.

Social gatherings were typically planned in advance and celebrated specific events, including birthdays, Christmas, Independence Day, housewarmings, and weddings. Other events were more spontaneous and took place any time of the year. The surprise party, for instance, was a popular fad defined by the unexpected arrival of a group of well-wishers at someone's home. The individual would be surprised by the well-wishers who would bring food and entertainment for all to share throughout the evening.

Other types of gatherings were organized around an activity or a theme. The most common was the bee during which neighbors would gather to build a house, sew a quilt, or complete other tasks that would be more easily done by a group than an individual. Failure to invite a neighbor was considered an indignity. Not only did folks enjoy the camaraderie of the event, they felt a desire to contribute to the general improvement of the community. Both men and women typically attended house or barn raisings and husking and haying bees, while quilting, sewing, and crocheting bees were popular among women only. One woman wrote that if a family was reduced to poverty by fire or sickness or anything else, the neighboring ladies, in good circumstances, immediately gathered together at a central location to sew for them. Whatever the objective, a bee was an occasion during which frontier men and women combined work with friendship, thereby strengthening community connections in the process.

In contrast to the work-oriented nature of bees, events like hug socials, candy pulls, box suppers, and community picnics were arranged to provide the opportunity to socialize with others, primarily those of the opposite sex. Candy pulls required men and women to work as partners to pull a stringy, sugary candy until it broke. Box suppers were prepared by women for men, who were expected to pay or, sometimes, even bid for the dinners that had been put together.

Western-style socialization also provided a place for masculine competition that was expressed and channeled through a range of rugged contests. From logging rivalries, in which the success was measured by the speed and accuracy of wood chopping, to team pulling, which focused on the weight and distance of team animals that could haul a load in a designated time, contests were popular activities. In addition to providing pleasure to the spectators, such games transformed the hard work of the frontier into a measurable expression of expertise. Similar types of contests included challenges centered on mining, drilling, and plowing (Quay 2002, 136–39).

COMMUNITY GAMES

Traditional forms of competitive sports made their way quickly across the frontier and immigrants reported engaging in, watching, and betting on such athletic events as wrestling, boxing, target shooting, and horse racing. These activities centered on the success of one person and emphasized the ruggedness of Western life and the self-reliance that was the basis of survival there. Such events also provided spectators with action-filled rivalry that allowed them to root for one participant over another.

Other frontier games were socially oriented and often played at picnics, holiday gatherings and other social events. Leapfrog games, wheelbarrow competitions, and sack races were played regularly by people of all ages. Warm weather sports included baseball, croquet, and tennis, while in the winter ice skating and sleigh riding were common activities. Horseback riding, a primary form of transportation for many Westerners, was also enjoyed as a form of entertainment. Such group activities fostered a sense of community and built relationships while providing entertainment.

Some sporting activities involved animals. Buffalo hunting was an early pastime that was done more for sport than for food. Dogfights and cockfights were also popular, allowing men to bet on the winners. The bear and bullfight, an event in which a bear was brought to a bullpen and onlookers provoked the animals into fighting, were also common (Quay 2002, 149–50).

GAMES

Board and card games were widely enjoyed. Dominoes and cribbage were typical games played in the West, as was the popular card game, *Authors*. Imported from the states, the games were familiar to Easterners and Westerners alike. By the 1890s board games were being created about life in the West. In 1895, Milton Bradley marketed the *Game of Mail Express or Accommodation*, which included a map of the United States, as it existed in 1894. That same year Parker Brothers Inc. sold *The Little Cowboy Game*, which featured a steer and a cowboy in the center of the board's track. The company also created *Buffalo Hunt* (c. 1890) and *Game of Buffalo Bill* (1898), which included a board with pictures of Native Americans, buffalo, and Buffalo Bill Cody. By 1900, the change in Western transportation was reflected in Milton Bradley's *The Tourist, A Railroad Game* (Quay 2002, 139–40).

TRAIN WATCHING

Some activities were more individualistic. As the transcontinental railroad made its way across the country, it became a focal point for the towns that built up around its stations. Citizens interested in the new form of transportation would head down to the station to watch the arrivals and departures of the trains and travelers. Sightseeing from trains also grew in popularity as travelers began exploring the West for fun from the comfort of a cushioned seat instead of a wagon box. Many trains stopped at well-publicized sites like Yosemite or Yellowstone (even in the days before they were made National Parks). From the earliest days of expansion, local towns boasted a photographer whose shop was a favorite stopping place and whose camera provided pictures of the visitors that could be sent to their relatives and friends back East (Quay 2002, 140).

GAMBLING

While gambling did not originate in the West, it became inextricably linked with the era of westward expansion and the existence of the frontier town. Poker, seven-up, and euchre were card games known and played across the West. In addition to providing entertainment, playing cards provided a common bond between strangers. In a land where familiar faces were few and far between, two people could engage in a game with which they both were familiar even though they had never met one another before they sat down to play. Card games were not always played to a fair end, and cheating was not an uncommon practice. Gambling on the frontier was widespread, and even the most basic mining towns were known to operate gambling tables in some primitive form.

Westerners had mixed feelings about the impact that gambling had on the people who indulged in it and on the towns that supported it as a pastime. Some immigrants saw gambling as a positive influence. One reported that the town had improved very much since the previous month due to the opening of two new gambling saloons. He boasted that one of the establishments rivaled any in New York. Other Westerners were more skeptical, however, and viewed gambling as a problem that went right to the heart of the West. One diarist complained that gambling halls had gold conspicuously piled on tables in open doorways tempting weak men who had earned their money through hard labor.

Throwing dice was another common game of chance that was easy to transport and quick to play. From games of chance like poker, roulette, and faro, to confidence games like monte, the audience for gambling continued to increase as the West became more settled. So prevalent were some of the games, such as seven-up, that they became icons used to brand cattle (Quay 2002, 142–44).

WESTERN MUSIC AND DANCING

Music was a central form of entertainment in the West, and most towns had a band comprised of whatever instruments were available. Town bands played at local community events as well as for holidays such as Independence Day. Cowboys also developed their own form of music and entertainment, singing to pass the time but also to calm or direct their herds. In homes as well, musical instruments were played for the entertainment of the entire family, and visitors would gather to hear the family musician play.

Like music, the performance of plays was a social activity in which many Westerners at a single location could engage. The military was especially adept at producing first-rate performances. In contrast to the community oriented nature of dramatic performance, other hobbies were solitary including reading, crocheting, or sewing. Westerners read a wide range of materials, from popular novels, local newspapers, and national magazines to almanacs and mail-order catalogs.

One of the most enjoyable Western pastimes was dancing. From dances in private homes to balls in public buildings, dancing provided social interaction and required some innovation when the male-female ratio was out of proportion. One early Westerner wrote that the dances held in their living room attracted so many extra boys that some of them would have to tie handkerchiefs around their arms and take the girls' part in square dances. The simplicity of private dances in private homes stood in contrast to the public dances that drew large crowds from a wide geographical area. Formal balls were greatly anticipated events that lasted all night. As Western towns grew in population, and greater numbers of women settled in them, dances and balls became more common and were well attended. Less formal dances, such as the square dance, were also very popular (Quay 2002, 146–48).

TRAVELING SHOWS

Entertainment often came to the West in the form of traveling groups or individuals who made their way from one remote town to another, playing to captive audiences and making names for themselves in the growing cities. Franklin A. Buck reported his experiences with a medium who visited his town. The group sat around a table while the medium beckoned the spirits asking them to manifest themselves by tipping the table. The table tipped in all sorts of ways before tipping over entirely. Not everyone who attended events such as this were believers, but the experience brought a healthy dose of skepticism and wonder to audiences in search of distraction from everyday life. Other traveling performers included musicians, dancers, singers, and even lecturers. Speakers often spoke on the controversial topics of the day and drew large audiences. Minstrel shows were also popular (Quay 2002, 148–49).

MEDICINE SHOWS

In many ways a close relation to the circus, the traveling Medicine Show provided audiences with a combination of theatrical performance, informative lecture, and sales pitch. The goal of the Medicine Show was to attract audiences to sell medicinal products with names like "Dr. Morse's Root Pills" and "Kickapoo Indian Oil." The show began with the distribution of handbills. Once the audience was assembled, the entertainment began. It included performances as diverse as *Uncle*

Tom's Cabin, fortune-tellers, magicians, minstrel shows, ventriloquists, and hypnotists. Free songbooks were distributed to the audience to encourage sing-alongs as well as advertise the product they were about to pitch. After the entertainment came the spiel, during which the medicine man would describe the possible ills members of his audience might be feeling. Once the symptoms were suggested, the Medicine Show concluded by introducing the audience to the products ranging from stomach bitters to painkillers and salves. The shows were immensely popular and remedies sold swiftly, perhaps because of the high alcohol levels they typically contained. As government restrictions on false advertising and alcohol content tightened, Medicine Shows slowly disappeared (Quay 2002, 197).

LADIES' CRAFTS

Quilting was particularly popular for women of the West who worked continually to bring comfort and refinement to their crude homes. Women spent long winter months piecing tops from scraps and outgrown clothing and during the summer months called on their friends and neighbors to help quilt them. The quilting bee was a major social occasion and chance for gossip. The women, who were often separated from other women by great distances, particularly cherished these events and dressed in their best clothing. Some lasted for several days, when people had to travel great distances. It was not unusual for several quilts to be worked at the same bee. Some were held out of doors or in a barn to accommodate the large quilt frames used to secure the quilts. Everyone would be involved. Children would be assigned to keeping the needles threaded. Less skilled quilters gave support by preparing the food. Some quilting bees were held to make quilts for a family that was moving away. Some were held to make a bride's quilt. Traditionally, a bride's quilt would be the 13th quilt a young woman made, and one in which she displayed her finest work. The quilting bee was as much a party as a working occasion. Sometimes the men joined the ladies for a festive supper and perhaps a barn dance at the end of the day.

The names of quilt patterns were often taken from the events and settings of daily life. During the westward expansion, some quilt pattern names were changed to reflect their new environment. The pattern "Rocky Road to Dublin" was also called "Rocky Road to California." "Ducks and Ducklings" came to be called "Corn and Beans." As Texas was settled, "Cactus Rose" became known as "Texas Rose" and "Texas Treasure." "Jobs Tears" became "Texas Tears" and "Kansas Troubles."

Although the invention of knitting machines had relegated knitting to an enjoyable pastime for most women by mid-century, women in rural areas continued to produce necessities for the family that were otherwise difficult to acquire. Many women found that knitting relieved the boredom of the journey west. One Utah woman of the 1870s recalled that the bulk of their winter clothing was received as Christmas gifts and included such items as hand-knitted gaiters, stockings, mittens, waistbands, neckpieces, and fancy scarves.

Once out West, women discovered that their knitting skills were as much in demand as those of cooks and laundresses. Knitted socks were in great demand in mining and lumbering camps. Young girls, who were often able to make a pair of socks in a day, were able to earn money to contribute to the family's support.

—*Dorothy Denneen Volo*

FRONTIER THEATER

From the earliest days of settlement, theaters were an integral to the social fabric of Western towns. Minstrel shows were run by soldiers in the years prior to the gold rush to provide much needed entertainment at frontier forts and other outposts. As pioneers ventured West, and mining towns sprang up, theaters became popular in to the towns. Early performances were held on stages that were part of the local saloon, general store, or hotel. Whatever the facility, the proprietor either made floor space for a makeshift stage or designated a room in the building as the theater. Given the close association between the bar and the stage, performances were attended by rowdy, drunken audiences whose like or dislike of the entertainment was revealed in what they threw onto the stage. Coins and bags of gold indicated they were pleased. Rotten vegetables and other offensive items represented displeasure.

Saloon theaters were also home to other forms of entertainment, including hurdy-gurdy girls, named after the barrel organ that was cranked to produce the music. These women entertained saloon patrons with dancing and singing, local and inexpensive versions of more professional dance shows. Honky-tonk was another predominantly Western form of entertainment. Honky-tonk traditionally took place in a saloon theater, usually with a dance hall attached to it, which featured girls and drinks in equal proportions. The typical Honky-tonk had a number of curtained boxes, where male patrons were visited by the show girls, and it was the duty of the girls to solicit drinks from the occupants.

Despite the hold that saloons had on the realm of performing arts, professional theaters such as the Eagle Theater in Sacramento opened to the public as early as 1849. The first performance held at the Eagle was *The Bandit Chief; or the Forest Spectre*. Other theaters were quickly built, providing entertainment to the miners who flocked west in response to the promise of quick riches. One of the most respectable theaters in the West was in Salt Lake City. Built in 1862, the Salt Lake Theater attracted the most popular acts and record numbers of attendees.

Shows that met with success in the East were often imported to the West and produced in the Salt Lake Theater as well as other, smaller halls. The popular stage rendition of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was performed throughout the West and heralded by parades that included "18 Real Georgia Plantation Shouters, Mlle. Minerva's New Orleans Creole Girls' Fife and Drum Corps, the Original Whangdoodle Pickaninny Band, Eva's $1500 gold chariot, a log cabin" and numerous other spectacles. The tendency to supplement the actual performance with parades and other events was common throughout the period and helped to promote the show through the form of an entertaining advertisement.

Among the most popular performances to be produced in the West were Shakespeare's plays. Westerners flocked to performances of *Othello, King Lear*, and *Hamlet*. Building on the fact that Shakespeare's works were among the most popular reading materials of the nineteenth century, actors performed the plays in traditional and nontraditional ways. Plays were parodied, in what were known as Ethiopian Dramas, performances by African Americans. They were also re-titled and changed to incorporate issues of the day. In 1876, the San Francisco Shakespeare club presented *Hamlet, the Dainty: A Travesty,* incorporating jokes concerning Chinese workers and Native Americans like Sitting Bull and puns based on the Hayes-Tilden presidential election. Whatever the form, Shakespeare's plays were among the most regularly performed and most beloved of shows produced in the developing West.

Women were especially popular in western theaters, most likely in direct relation to their absence from daily life. Kate Hays, a concert singer also referred to as the "Nightingale of Erin" and the "Swan," played to very good houses of men eager to come in contact with a woman. Female performers were so popular that male members of the audience, hungry for female attention, threw them gifts. Lola Montez was an especially popular actress who drew such attention from her audiences. Early in her career she met with limited success until she began performing in San Francisco where she attracted some of the most enthusiastic audiences in the city's history. She was especially known for her controversial dance *la tarantella*, or the tarantula. Considered by some to be inappropriate for a public performance, the dance was characterized by the dancer's provocative movements. The suggestiveness undoubtedly contributed to Lola's popularity, which was so great that a local mountain, Mount Lola, was named for her. It was not until another female performer Caroline Chapman, appeared on the scene that Montez's popularity began to wane.

Chapman came from a family known for its acting ability. The Chapmans had traveled west on what may have been the country's first showboat—a riverboat marketed by a sign simply stating "Theater." Chapman quickly undermined Montez's position as an actress by parodying her in burlesque performances including the famous spider dance. Montez retired from the stage, but she became the mentor to California's next performing sweetheart, Lotta Crabtree. Lotta began her career as a child performer and made her name by appearing in variety shows. Other offshoots of traditional theater included melodrama—sentimental morality plays in which heroes won and villains lost (Quay 2002, 192–95).

HOLIDAYS, CELEBRATIONS, AND FESTIVALS

Rendezvous

Annual community events were also central to the frontier experience, even from the earliest days of the trappers. The rendezvous, known as a trappers' holiday, was an annual event, during which trappers met at a predetermined site at the end of the trapping season. The initial purpose of the rendezvous was to provide trappers with an opportunity to turn in the furs they had successfully collected during the winter and to gather supplies that they would need for another year of trapping. The event developed into a grander affair, however, as the company of others enlivened individual trappers after their long months alone. The combination of whiskey, food, and music made the rendezvous a festive and much anticipated event (Quay 2002, 158).

Independence Day

The Fourth of July was celebrated with great gusto. One immigrant wrote that they tried to celebrate "the glorious Fourth" as though they were back home. They marched to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" with tin pans as drum accompaniment and flags and banners of red flannel. Festivities ranged from picnics and outings to bands and fireworks, which were viewed as especially exciting by holiday participants (Quay 2002, 158).

Travelers on wagon trains took the day off from their travels on July Fourth. While using the day of rest to hunt or wash clothing, they managed to fire off a few rounds in celebration and, in some cases, make a few toasts. One of the earliest celebrations of the Fourth on the journey west was at Independence Rock, named for a fur trader's Fourth of July celebration in 1830. This huge rock 1,900 feet long, 700 feet wide, and 128 feet high in southwestern Wyoming, became one of the most famous of all Oregon Trail landmarks. Immigrants, who started their journey along the Oregon Trail in early spring, hoped to reach Independence Rock by July Fourth. If they had not arrived by then, they knew they were behind schedule.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Miner's Union Day

Of all the celebrations in a miner's life in Butte, Montana, nothing was a big as Miner's Union Day. The annual rally and celebration of Local #1 of the Western Federation of Miners was celebrated on June 13th from 1878 to 1914 to mark the establishment of the Butte Workingmen's Union, an organization that launched an era of unionism that earned Butte the reputation as the "Gibraltar of Unionism." The day was marked by speeches, contests, and picnicking. Competitions involved drilling, mucking (shoveling ore and unwanted rock out of a mine), and tug-of-war. Bull and bear fights continued through 1895 as did cock fighting and dog fighting.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Thanksgiving

Many New Englanders moved to the frontier in groups. In addition to the material items they transported, they brought familiar social institutions and customs. The tradition that a day of Thanksgiving should be celebrated each autumn was almost universal, and a pattern emerged as New Englanders moved westward. As the first autumn arrived in the new settlement, the group would usually designate a day that corresponded to the day proclaimed by the governor of their native state. The transplanted Yankees joined together to celebrate Thanksgiving every November. They introduced the custom to neighbors who were not familiar with it. In time, settlers came to prevail upon the governors of the new states to issue a Thanksgiving proclamation (Appelbaum 1984, 90).

The day was celebrated as a religious holiday with church services in the morning and with family dinner in the afternoon. Hunting wild game for the Thanksgiving meal quickly became a Western tradition. While hunters would settle for prairie chickens, buffalo, or elk, wild turkey was most prized.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Christmas

Christmas heightened the loneliness many immigrants felt being separated from their friends and families, but it was marked by family dinners, gifts, and gatherings that were as celebratory as any Christmas in the East. Some were simple and reflected the roughness of the environment. Men in mining camps banged pans, sang loudly, and held all-male dances. Some were much more reminiscent of Christmas back East (Quay 2002, 158).

By the 1850s even people on the frontier were familiar with the Christmas tree. On the plains where traditional conifers could not be found, sage and cedar brush were decorated with paper chains and nuts silvered with the foil peeled from cigars. On the Texas coast, a sawed-off limb of a live oak sported candles and small presents. Children and adults fashioned decorations for these trees from scraps of cloth, ribbon, paper, wood, and even bits of soap. Items such as straw, seed pods, and acorns also served as natural decorations (Time Life Books 1987, 135). Some settlers were more fortunate. One visitor to Texas reported seeing a richly decorated and illuminated Christmas tree where scarcely two years prior there had been only campfires burning (Time Life Books 1963, 186).

The gifts might have been simpler or less in number; but the spirit was not lost on those who had ventured west in search of a new life. One miner who spent the holiday in a mining camp recalled reaching into his belt and withdrawing two heavy nuggets. He gave one to each of the two other men with him in camp. He noted that gold was such a common commodity, it was a rather poor gift and that the men would have appreciated a hot biscuit much more (Time Life Books 1963, 186–87). In some prairie communities, horse-drawn sleds were used to distribute packages of food and clothing to impoverished families. Generosity extended to farm animals as well. Swedish farmers in Minnesota followed an old tradition of laying out sheaves of unthreshed wheat so that even the birds might feast on the holiday.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bellinger, Martha Fletcher. *A Short History of the Theater*. New York: Henry Holt, 1927.

Brown, Dee. *The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958.

Cohen, Hennig, and Tristram Potter Coffin, eds. *The Folklore of American Holidays*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research Company, 1987.
Dary, David. *Seeking Pleasure in the Old West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.
Dwyer, Richard A. and Richard E. Lingenfelter. *Songs of the Gold Rush*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.
Geers, Edward Franklin. *Ed Geers' Experience with the Trotters and Pacers*. Buffalo: The Matthews-Northrup Company, 1901.
Hayward, John. *Gazetteer of the United States*. Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffant and Co., 1853.
Jenkins, Susan, and Linda Seward. *The American Quilt Story: The How-To and Heritage of a Craft Tradition*. Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1991.
Lingenfelter, Richard, Richard A. Dwyer, and David Cohen, eds. *Songs of the American West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
Nevin, John Williamson. *The Anxious Bench*. Chambersburg, PA: printed at the publication office of the German Reformed Church, 1844.
Quay, Sara E. *Westward Expansion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
Rader, Benjamin. *American Sports: From the Age of the Folk Games to the Age of the Spectators*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.
Safford, Carleton L., and Robert Bishop, *America's Quilts and Coverlets*. New York: Weathervane Books, 1974.
Sandoz, Mari. *The Beaver Men, Spearheads of Empire*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978.
Thorp, N. Howard. *Songs of the Cowboys*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1966.
Time Life Books. *The Glory and Pageantry of Christmas*. Maplewood, NJ: Hammond Incorporated, 1963.
Time Life Books. *Time Life Book of Christmas*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1987.
Travers, Sam. *Christmas in the Old West*. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 2003.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wallace, J. H. *Wallace's American Trotting Register*. New York: G.E. Woodward, 1871–1891.
Wechsberg, Joseph. *The Lost World of the Great Spas*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979.

THE PERIOD OF EXPLOITATION
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religious Life

MORALITY: THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT

Many persons involved in early American Methodism professed a religious experience closely aligned to the ideas of Christian perfection or holiness called sanctification. This experience was thought to have cleansed them from the desire and inclination to sin. Methodists of the nineteenth century continued the interest in Christian Holiness that had been started by their founder, John Wesley at the end of the previous century. They continued to publish and distribute Wesley's works and tracts, including his famous *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* last edited by the author in 1777. In 1837, Methodist Minister Timothy Merritt founded a journal called the *Guide to Christian Perfection* to further promote the Wesleyan message of Christian holiness. The terms *perfection* and *sanctification*, although still used, ultimately gave way to *holiness*, from which an entire morality movement gained its name.

In 1836, a Methodist woman in New York City, Sarah Worrall Lankford, started an organization known as the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness. At first only women attended these meetings, but eventually (1839) male members of the clergy began to attend them. Among the men were Methodist bishops, theologians, and ministers. Some of the bishops who attended were Edmund S. James, Leonidas L. Hamline, Jesse T. Peck, and Matthew Simpson. Their renewed interest in Holiness eventually influenced the Methodist Church nationwide.

The meetings were held in the home of Walter and Phoebe Palmer, Lankford's sister. Phoebe Worrall Palmer experienced what she called entire sanctification and began leading the so-called Tuesday Meeting. She is generally considered a founder of the Holiness Movement in America and of the Higher Life movement in Britain. Although Walter Palmer often spoke at these meetings, his wife was obviously the driving force behind the movement. Palmer and her husband eventually purchased the *Guide to Christian Perfection*, and she became the editor of the periodical, thereafter called the *Guide to Holiness*. In 1859 she published *The Promise of the Father*, in which she argued in favor of women in the religious ministry. This book later influenced Catherine Booth, cofounder with her husband William of the Salvation Army, a movement begun in London in 1865 and formalized in 1878. The practice of ministry by women was common but not universal within the churches of the Holiness Movement.

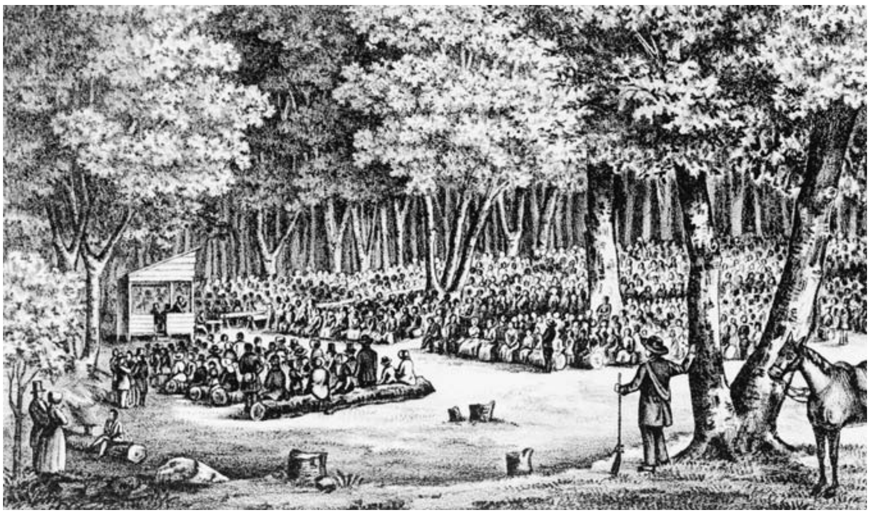
At the Tuesday Meetings, Methodists soon enjoyed fellowship with Christians of different denominations, including the Congregationalist Thomas Upham. His participation in the meetings led him to study mystical experiences, looking to find precursors of holiness teaching in the writings of persons like German Pietist Johann Arndt (1555–1621) or the Roman Catholic mystic Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte-Guyon, commonly known as Madame Guyon (1648–1717). Other non-Methodists soon began contributing to the Holiness Movement. Chief among these was Presbyterian William Boardman, an American pastor and teacher who promoted the idea of holiness through his evangelistic campaigns and through his book *The Higher Christian Life*, which was published in 1858.

Charles Grandison Finney, an evangelist associated with Oberlin College, also promoted the idea of Christian holiness. Oberlin was a hotbed of antislavery and abolitionist activity throughout the nineteenth century. In 1836, Asa Mahan, president of the college, experienced what he called a baptism with the Holy Ghost. Finney believed that this experience might provide a solution to a problem he observed during his evangelistic revivals. Some people claimed to experience conversion, but then slipped back into their old ways of living. Finney, considered by many to be the "father of modern evangelism," believed that the "filling with the Holy Spirit" could help these converts to continue steadfast in their Christian life. To reach as many souls as possible, Finney employed what came to be called new measures, although many had been used by earlier preachers.

These new measures triggered alarm among conservative clergy. Opponents were able to list many objectionable practices, but the most controversial were: public praying of women in mixed-sex audiences, daily services over a series of days, use of colloquial language by the preacher, the anxious bench (praying publicly as a sign of repentance), praying for people by name, and immediate church membership for converts. In *The Anxious Bench* (1844), the Rev. J. W. Nevin wrote, "It is marvelous credulity, to take every excitement in the name of religion, for the work of God's Spirit. It is an enormous demand on our charity, when we are asked in mass, as true and solid, the wholesale conversions that are made in this way" (Nevin 1844, 12).

Hannah Whitall Smith, a Quaker, experienced a profound personal conversion sometime in the 1860s, which she called the secret of the Christian life, devoting one's life wholly to God and God's simultaneous transformation of one's soul. Her husband, Robert Pearsall Smith, had a similar experience at the first holiness camp meeting in Vineland, New Jersey, in 1867 under the leadership of John S. Inskip, John A. Wood, Alfred Cookman, and other Methodist ministers. The gathering attracted as many as 10,000 people on the Sabbath. At the close of the encampment, the ministers formed the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness, and agreed to conduct a similar gathering the next year. Today this organization is commonly known as the National Holiness Association, although the official name is the Christian Holiness Partnership.

The second National Camp Meeting was held at Manheim, Pennsylvania, deep in that region of the state populated by Pietist adherents like Quakers, Mennonites, and the Amish. It drew upward of 25,000 persons from all over the nation. People called it a "Pentecost," and it did not disappoint them. The Pentecostal service on Monday evening has almost become legendary for its spiritual power and influence upon the people. The third National Camp Meeting met at Round Lake, New York. This time the national press attended, and write-ups appeared in numerous papers, including a large two-page pictorial in *Harper's Weekly*. In 1871 the American evangelist Dwight L. Moody had what he called an "endowment with power," as a result of some soul-searching and the prayers of two Methodist women who attended one of his meetings. He did



The camp meeting was a characteristic part of the religious revival of the nineteenth century. During the day nothing appeared unusual, but at night the air was filled with the shouts of the old saints and the rejoicing of the young converts. Many participants shook, jerked, and rolled upon the ground until they fell away in a faint. Courtesy Library of Congress.

not join the Holiness Movement, but certainly advanced some of its ideas, and even voiced his approval of it on at least one occasion.

In some of the early revival meetings of the Holiness Movement there were individuals that shouted, jumped, and jerked. Some went into trances, barked like dogs, or exercised the gift of speaking in tongues (glossolalia), a Christian belief associated with Pentecost as recounted in the New Testament book of Acts. Jesus' apostles were said to be filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke in languages foreign to themselves, but which could be understood by members of the linguistically diverse audience. This miracle was a fulfillment of prophecy and a sign of the end times. Although fanaticism broke out various times during this movement, it did not hinder the progression of the majority of its adherents who were more conservative.

These meetings made instant religious celebrities out of many of the workers including Robert and Hannah Smith. They were among those who took the holiness message to England, and their ministries helped lay the foundation for the now-famous Keswick Convention, a summer religious reunion, lasting one week, which has been held annually at Keswick, England, since 1875. The flow and counterflow of religious ideas between Britain and the United States was important to the development of the Holiness Movement.

Keswick teaching stressed the infilling of the Spirit and the power of faith to claim promised blessings. It promoted practical holiness by means of prayer, discussion, and personal intercourse. It was a visit to the Keswick Convention in 1946 that so affected the ministry of Rev. Billy Graham. This teaching gave Graham the assurance of God's power in his life, which he said in his autobiography came to him as a second blessing, and that has empowered his preaching ever since.

—*James M. Volo*

RELIGION

Religious Freedom

In 1844 Robert Baird, a Presbyterian minister, published a study entitled *Religion in the United States of America*, one of the first interpretive studies on the subject of religious freedom in American history. To illustrate the country's religious vitality, Baird provided an exhaustive study of the nation's churches, but even a man that was trying to illustrate the success of religious freedom in America found it necessary to divide the common denominations into "evangelical" and "unevangelical" categories—the second of which he found to be "a blight on America's religious landscape" (Brekus 2006, 318). Lumping together Roman Catholics, Jews, Shakers, Unitarians, Mormons, Universalists, Deists, and many fringe religious sects, Baird condemned them all for rejecting the true Christianity of the dominant evangelical churches: Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists. It was these religions that he hoped would form a great Protestant empire in America. For Baird, freedom from the imposition of a government-established church was one thing, but acceptance of religious diversity (especially if it strayed too far from orthodox Protestant thought) was too much to tolerate. In particular, he considered Mormons "a body of ignorant dupes," and Roman Catholics heathens who had buried truth "amid a heap of corruptions" (Brekus 2006, 318).

Attitudes in the postwar period were little different. In 1888, Daniel Dorchester published *Christianity in America*, considered one of the most comprehensive surveys of religion in America ever written. Dorchester also used antagonistic language in expressing his view of what he called "divergent religions." Like Baird, Dorchester saved his most damning comments for Mormons and Catholics. He described Mormonism, which had grown substantially since Baird's criticism of it four decades earlier, as a "local ulcer" and a form of "ecclesiastical despotism." Catholicism he viewed as a foreign conspiracy to subvert America. The views of Baird and Dorchester, both respected mainstream religious writers, fed into the negativity of the nativist groups who believed that the flood of Catholic emigrants from Europe were hostile to American ideals. "Real Americans were Protestant," they insisted (Brekus 2006, 320).

As late as the mid-twentieth century, William Warren Sweet—*The Story of Religions in America* (1930)—and Sydney Ahlstrom—*A Religious History of the American People* (1972)—criticized men like Baird and Dorchester for their lack of justice in describing American's pluralistic religious landscape. Yet at the same time, they felt free to describe Mormonism as a strange and unusual cult, its followers as irrational or insane, and Joseph Smith, founder of Mormonism, as a megalomaniac (Brekus 2006, 322–23). Baird, Dorchester, Sweet, and Ahlstrom convincingly demonstrate in immense power that Protestants wielded in shaping American culture and American religious history.

—James M. Volo

A Second Awakening

It was the Christian revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century—generally viewed as the Second Great Awakening—that most affected the religious life of American society. Many writers from the period have recorded an intense devotion to the spiritual part of their lives, and though they might sin with vigor, they repented and atoned with great enthusiasm. This religious revival drew its vitality from the Southern and Western frontiers rather than from New England. Beginning near the Gaspar River Church in Kentucky in July of 1800, the spark of faith was ignited at camp meetings in the Midwest and was proclaimed throughout the nascent frontier settlements by an army of traveling evangelists and self-ordained preachers. Some ministers, having been brought up on "rigid Calvinism" and having been taught to preach "the doctrine of particular election and reprobation" in earlier years, revolted; and having no correct books on the new theology, "plunged into the opposite extreme, namely, universal redemption." This sort of evangelism, with its strong emotional appeal, spirit of optimism, and promise of unconditional salvation to all of mankind, was particularly influential among nineteenth-century Americans (Beston 1937, 299).

Peter Cartwright, a contemporary observer of the process, noted, "Ministers of different denominations came in, and preached through the country: but Methodist preachers were the pioneer messengers of salvation in these ends of the earth. . . . A Methodist preacher in those days, when he felt that God had called him to preach, instead of hunting up a college or Biblical institute, hunted up a hardy pony, or a horse, and some traveling apparatus, and with his library always at hand, namely the Bible, Hymn Book, and Discipline, he started, and with a text that never wore out or grew stale, he cried, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!' In this way he went through storms of wind, hail, snow and rain; climbed hills and mountains; traversed valleys; plunged through swamps; swam swollen streams; lay out all night, or tied to a limb slept with his saddle blanket for a bed, his saddle or saddle bags for his pillow, and his old big coat or blanket, if he had any, for covering" (Beston 1937, 299–300).

During the day nothing appeared unusual in the sprawling and smoke-filled revival camps with their scattering of white tents, knots of canvas-covered wagons, and bands of scurrying children and barking dogs. The occupants followed the same slow-paced routines of cooking, cleaning, and caring for the livestock found in other camps on the immigrant trails. However, nighttime drew the faithful together and transformed them into an army of God. With campfires blazing, a thunderous din of singing, and preachers beseeching the gathering to repent so that they might be saved from the fires of hell, the crowds reached a peak of religious frenzy. A circuit riding preacher, Lorenzo Dow, described a typical camp meeting in his journal, "About three thousand people appeared on the ground, and the rejoicing of old saints, the shouts of the young converts, and the cries of the distressed for mercy, caused the meeting to continue all night." Many shook, jerked, and rolled on the ground until they fell away in a faint (Chase 1966, 211).

Methodists and Baptists reaped a rich harvest of souls at this time. By the 1830s Methodism had become one of the two largest religions in the country, and the Baptists, in particular, had made great inroads into the black population, both free and slave. Under the influence of an evangelical spirit most American Protestants came to believe that the path to salvation lay in placing themselves in a position to receive God's grace if they were worthy. This belief had a profound effect on Civil War soldiers who strove to be worthy of God's protective hand in battle by exhibiting courage and steadiness under fire.

The intense religious environment also spread new religious sects like a wildfire spread embers. Campbellites, Shakers, Rappites, Fourierists, and other minor religions popular in the North espoused theories of associative communism and utopian socialism by making provisions for the correction of inequalities of temporal possessions among their members. Many members gave up all their wealth or placed it at the disposal of the congregation. Unitarians (the followers of which were largely devoted abolitionists), Universalists, and Disciples of Christ splintered away from established churches, while Mormons and Adventists sprang from the soil of America itself. Nonrevivalist churches, especially in the South, trailed behind. Of 891

Unitarian and Universalist churches known to exist in 1850, only 23 existed below the Mason-Dixon Line (Volo and Volo 2007, 117–18).

MORMONS

Those who chose to follow the Mormon religion (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints) may have been among the persons most vigorously persecuted for their religion in the antebellum period. Probably the most important fringe religion of the period, Mormonism was the great catch-all of the evangelical movements. The Mormons were the strongest individual religious presence in the West in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Mormon religion was founded in 1823 by Joseph Smith, who saw himself as a present-day biblical prophet. Smith based the religion on the Book of Mormon, a new scripture translated from golden plates originally written by a person named Mormon who had made his way to the North American Continent with others from Jerusalem. Here Mormon organized certain records that he and his fellows had brought with them from Israel and inscribed them on the plates before his death. The Latter-day Saints believed that Mormon's son, Moroni, hid the plates in the hill of Cumorah near Palmyra, New York, hundreds of years before the discovery of America. The Lord purportedly spoke directly to Joseph Smith revealing their contents. The resulting *Book of Mormon* restored all the ancient orders of the Bible—elders, teachers, apostles, enforcers, and deacons—and all the ancient rights including baptism by immersion and the sacraments. Other doctrines were added from modern-day revelation; but a return to polygamy (taking more than one wife at the same time) was the cause for which the Mormons were most often persecuted.

Brigham Young is most closely associated than Smith with the church leadership in the antebellum period. Young was a convert to Mormonism in 1832. Within months of his conversion, his first wife died leaving him with two small daughters, and he quickly remarried for the sake of the children (he ultimately took 17 wives). Originally from New York State, he traveled the country trying to make converts, and he turned much of his energy to the work of his new religion. He moved to Kirtland, Ohio, at the urging of Joseph Smith who advised that all the Saints do so. Young brought a little knot of converts with him from New York and found that dozens of such groups were pouring into Kirtland. Here, in a form of religious socialism, a good part of the possessions of each newcomer was turned over to the church treasury for its support.

In 1834, Brigham Young was selected as one of the Twelve Apostles who stood next in line to the three man presidency of the church headed by Smith. This group decided to move the church to Missouri to support their brethren who were suffering from burnings and beatings at the hands of the general population. Once in Missouri, Smith and some of his companions were arrested by the territorial governor who officially warned the growing hoard of Mormons to leave the state or face the ire of the territorial militia. Young, who had quite accidentally missed being apprehended, suddenly found himself the only major leader of the group with freedom of movement; but he was now solely responsible for almost 12,000 homeless and frightened people. He made arrangements to purchase land on the banks of the Mississippi River in Illinois in the name of the church, and he moved his charges there.

Meanwhile, Joseph Smith and his companions managed to escape jail in December 1839. Shortly thereafter they joined the Saints in Illinois. Here Smith unfolded his plan for Nauvoo, the beautiful city of the Saints, and began an impressive building project. However, many of the non-Mormon residents in Illinois became fearful of the large, well equipped military force that the Mormons maintained for their own protection. They began to view Joseph Smith as a danger both economically and politically. In 1844 the Mormons decided to run Smith for the U.S. presidency. This decision led almost immediately to Joseph Smith's assassination at the hands of a mob in Carthage, Illinois; the abandonment of Nauvoo; and the removal of the Saints to Iowa. Brigham Young, braving the storm of internal church politics, reassumed the leadership of the Twelve Apostles and became church president in 1847. This series of events put practical control of the Mormon religion in his hands for the next three decades.

Having been persecuted in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, advanced parties of Mormons hurried into the Great Salt Lake Valley of Utah leaving more than 13,000 refugees waiting in Iowa and Nebraska for the signal to move west. Brigham Young and the followers of Joseph Smith then turned west to the great American desert to escape the prejudice and open violence that challenged the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints almost everywhere.

When the main party reached the Great Salt Lake, they found that the advanced parties had already begun clearing land and building a rudimentary system of canals to bring water from the surrounding mountains to the plains. In the formative years of the Great Salt Lake settlement, too few crops had been planted and too few substantial homes had been built. The Mormons found themselves shivering in rude huts and threadbare tents and eating ox hide soup to survive. That winter of 1848–1849 came to be known as the "Starving Time." In the spring the saints were unexpectedly attacked by a plague of crop-destroying grasshoppers (Rocky Mountain locusts) that threatened to end the movement through starvation. One farmer described the onset of the plague, "A person could see a little dark whirlwind here and there which after a while turned into dark clouds [of locusts]...The air grew so thick that the sun could not be seen" (Atkins 1984, 26). The Mormons responded by attempting to beat the pests to death with brooms, blankets, and wet grain bags. The inefficiency of this method was quickly made clear. Miraculously, according to Mormon accounts, a swarm of seagulls followed closely on the heels of the arrival of the grasshoppers, eating them faster than they could eat the crops and saving much of the food supply. For this reason the seagull is used as a symbol of God's approbation by Mormons until this day.

By 1849, Young's vision of a Mormon empire in the West had taken root. Exactly two years after they had entered the valley, the Mormons had built a city with an irrigation system, established themselves across the Great Basin, and entered into treaties of peace with the local native population. They were even issuing their own paper money backed by the promise of livestock. In 1850 the Mormons suffered a setback when Congress rejected Young's plan to establish a state that he called Deseret. Young's Deseret had been planned to extend from present-day Utah to San Diego in southwest California The blow was somewhat softened by Young's appointment as federal governor of the Territory of Utah.

Having had their overtures of peaceful coexistence rejected, the Mormons demanded and maintained their solitude largely out of a sense of self-preservation. In 1853 they raided and burned Jim Bridger's fur trading post and fort on the Oregon Trail, and Bridger returned the compliment by serving as a scout for the U.S. Army expedition that later came to punish them. In 1857, a group of Mormons aided by friendly Indians attacked a wagon train of immigrants bound for California on the Mormon Trail. Known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre, of approximately 140 people on the train, 120 were slain. The only persons spared were children too young to tell the tale. Although the attack was not sanctioned by the church, it was a seminal event in the relationship between the Mormons and the federal government. In an effort to crush Mormon resistance, the army dispatched 2,500 men and 3 million pounds of supplies to Utah in what came to be known as the Mormon War. Fearing the repercussions within the church and the reprisals promised by the government, the Mormon perpetrators of the massacre blamed the entire incident on the Indians and held themselves out as the saviors of the helpless children. Not until 1875 was one of the Mormons participants, John D. Lee, brought to trial. He died by firing squad in 1877 on the site of the massacre.

Meanwhile, the Mormons had to face the troops sent out by President James Buchanan. Young at first defied the army, but after a few small engagements, he gave up his governorship to a Gentile (a non-Mormon) and allowed the army to march through Salt Lake City as a symbol of Mormon submission. The army then departed and set up camp some 40 miles away from the city. The intervention of the Civil War defused the situation somewhat and left the Mormons alone to grow their community of saints.

Author Mark Twain recorded his impressions of the theocracy on the shores of the Great Salt Lake as he saw it in the 1860s. "The pleasant strangeness of a city of fifteen thousand inhabitants with no loafers perceptible in it; and no visible drunkards or noisy people; a limpid stream rippling and dancing through every street in place of a filthy gutter; block after block of trim dwelling, built of frame and sunburned brick—a great thriving orchard and garden behind every one of them, apparently—branches from the street stream winding and sparkling among the garden beds and fruit trees—and a grand general air of neatness, repair, thrift, and comfort, around and about and over the whole. And everywhere were workshops, factories, and all manner of industries; and intent faces and busy hands were to be seen wherever one looked; and in one's ears was the ceaseless clink of hammers, the buzz of trade and the contented hum of drums and flywheels" (Davidson 1951, 235). The community Twain described was a thriving and unprecedented example of communitarianism, agriculture, industry, theology, and patriarchal government in united action.

In 1860, there were 40,000 residents of Utah, most of them Mormons. By the end of the Civil War, they had the desert blooming through the use of a vast irrigation system composed of almost 300 man-made canals. Over 150,000 acres were under cultivation. Brigham Young believed that the Mormons could live in total self-sufficiency, acknowledging only the most remote sovereignty of the government in Washington and yielding little to its direct control. He successfully helped the Mormons to maintain their influence in the West until his death in 1877.

—*James M. Volo*

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Ahlstrom, Sydney A. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972.

Beston, Henry, ed. *American Memory*. New York: Farrar & Rhinehart, Inc., 1937.

Brekus, Catherine A. "Interpreting American Religion." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Chase, Gilbert. *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966.

Davidson, Marshall B. *Life in America*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951.

Sweet, Leonard I. *The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelism*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

This page intentionally left blank

5

INDUSTRIAL AGE

Overview

FARMERS, WORKERS, AND CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY

Since colonial times the work ethic had commanded the communities of America. In the culture war between the North and the South of the first half of the nineteenth century, the traditions of the South had been largely set aside, and the post–Civil War generation reached adulthood at a time that was one of the most vital and most sordid in all American history. The period was flagrantly materialistic and corrupt, and the captains of industry exploited the resources of the nation in a ruthless and reckless manner crushing all who stood in the path of so-called progress. Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) understood the strength and weaknesses of the times, and he satirically named the period the Gilded Age because it looked golden on the surface but was rotting with inequity, greed, and corruption beneath. Today the term Industrial Age might better reflect the spirit of the period.

In the Industrial Age a culture war took place between the industrialists and the farmers, and before the second half century had finished, the farmers and their beliefs had seemingly also been set aside. The captains of industry also came to loggerheads with the great mass of workers and laborers who produced their wealth. Farmers and workers could never produce enough wealth to match industrialists, railroad magnets, or white-collar workers, but they rarely asked for assistance. Demands for reform did not generally come from the poor and oppressed but from an army of socially elite philanthropists and compassionate humanitarians. Few of these activists asked the poor and abused what they felt was the cause of their plight. They had the conceit to believe they knew what areas of society needed reformation. The dimensions of the schemes that they put forth were exceeded only by the depth of their failure. Mindless social tinkering and disgraceful forms of public altruism persisted, nonetheless. At the end of the century the poor remained in their crime-ridden and filthy urban neighborhoods; alcohol flowed freely; prostitution, violence, and corruption flourished; and ethnic and racial minorities remained on the bottom rungs of the economic ladder. The incongruity of the generally utopian ideals of the reformers and the consequences of reality made the period anything but gilded.

Rural residents generally feared the development of the unprecedented work for wage economy of the cities and factories, and they viewed manufacturing and office wage earners as degraded and enslaved persons. The city worker sold himself into economic bondage for a wage, and the expansion of a similar work for wage system was dreaded almost as much as their fathers had despised slavery. Farmers were clearly anxious to maintain their status, and many in the laboring class believed that industrialists and bankers were determined to shackle them to the factory system or the counting house. For this reason—among others—many lower- and middle-class farmers made common bond during the 1870s and 1880s by forming alliances and supporting populist political parties.

By the end of the nineteenth century three-quarters of all Americans were still making their living in agriculture. Nonetheless, by the 1890s the big businessmen and manufacturers had overthrown the farmers from their position of esteem in the national culture. The business of America, thereafter, seemed to be business, and the farmers were forced to view the world in terms of cash instead of barter and to deal in it in terms of paper money and stock certificates instead of hard silver coins or gold. Ultimately they too accepted the money ethic that drove industry, but a cash economy never really fit well into a rural setting.

New York, the most populous state in 1850 with a population of just over three million residents, had only 6.5 percent of its workers involved in manufacturing. This suggests that the state was still remarkably rural in character, as was the entire nation. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were the most industrialized states in the union each with double-digit percentages of persons employed in manufacturing, but none of these even closely approached a majority. Massachusetts, with a population of 986,000, was the most industrialized state in the nation with only 17 percent of its work force involved in manufacturing. Rhode Island (15%) and Connecticut (13%) ranked second and third nationally. Of the six New England states only Vermont (2.7%) had a manufacturing base smaller than 5 percent in terms of employment. By way of contrast Pennsylvania and Ohio, among the top three states in population with more than 2.2 million and 2.0 million, respectively, had 6.5 percent and 3.0 percent working in manufacturing in 1850. Virginia with nearly a million residents had a mere 3.0 percent involved in industry, and fifth place Illinois, with 800,000 people, was still remarkably rural with only 1.4 percent of its population working in factories or mills. Only 10 states had greater than 5 percent of their population involved in manufactures. Of these, none had been part of the Southern Confederacy, and only Maryland and Delaware were south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

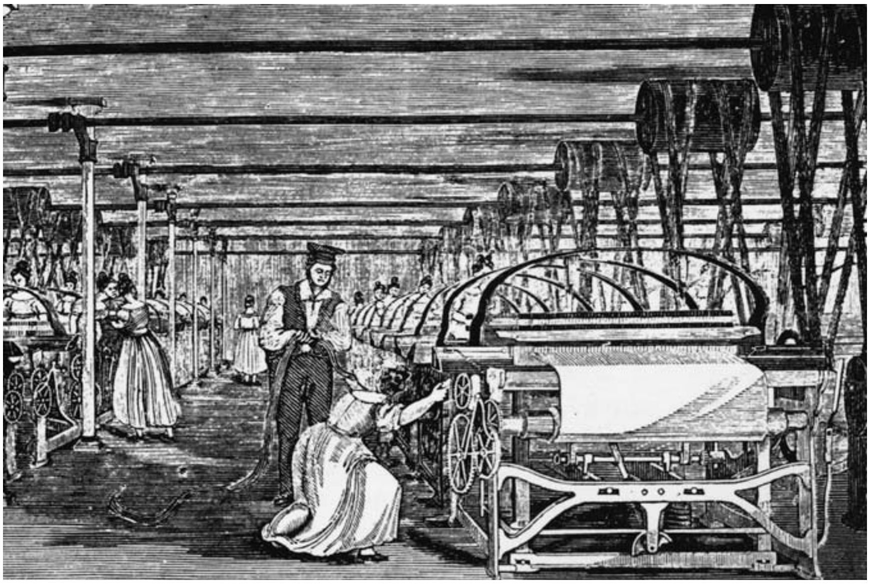
According to the perceptions of a number of nineteenth-century observers acquisitiveness, if not greed or avarice, took a hold on the minds of many men in the Industrial Age, and they became focused on being more than merely comfortable in their homes and communities. They seemed in a great haste to become conspicuously wealthy. Wild ambition, however, was thought to tarnish true success, and it mingled the feelings of admiration and abhorrence of those who observed it. In addition, it became fashionable among the upper classes, especially among the women, to lead generally idle lives at home caring for the domestic needs of the household through the management of a score of servants. The leisure that this suggested for the average female householder was probably overstated by the generally conservatively minded advisors of the day, and it was little different from that of persons of similar social standing and financial circumstances in previous times that required aptitude, organization, and luck.

The rising middle class also aspired to an idyllic life filled with pastimes, diversions, and attempts at personal improvement without recognizing these underlying fundamentals. Many marriages were deferred to allow young suitors time to amass sufficient wealth to enjoy a comfortable life, and many others were avoided or discouraged by parents as young women chose older and more successful men as spouses (Smith 1981, 755).

Many of the features that distinguished modern machine-based industrial economy were developed during the second half of the nineteenth century. At no time since humans first learned to control fire had society been so profoundly modified by technology. Nowhere else but in America had the hidden energies of nature—coal, oil, steam—been so tapped through the ingenuity and creativity of just a few men. The history of finance and industry in the Industrial Age (the Gilded Age, if you will) is the story of a handful of businessmen who became super-rich in the second half of the nineteenth century by applying methods and practices unknown—or thought unethical by former generations of entrepreneurs—to the processes of mass industrialization. Many of these men used questionable business practices that tagged them as Robber Barons.

To eliminate competition by purchase, merger, or outright economic war was to create a monopoly, which was not a new or intrinsically illegal business concept. The foundation of the British economy and the Empire itself was based on a form of nationalized monopoly known as *mercantilism*. Economist Adam Smith, writing in 1776, recognized it, and he also noted the many difficulties facing independent businessman and the people who worked for them. "In all arts and manufactures the greater part of the workmen stand in need of a master to advance them the materials of their work, and their wages and maintenance till it be completed" (Rule 1981, 31). The Robber Barons of the nineteenth century were able to fulfill this role of master in a manner and to an extent not contemplated by Smith 100 years earlier.

Most historians of the United States refer to the period between 1870 and 1900 as the industrial era because the most marked economic development of that period was the rapid expansion of the factory and the factory system. Manufacturers rationalized production; they broke the manufacturing process down into discrete, uniform tasks. Workers were responsible for just one of these tasks, decreasing the need for skilled artisans and mechanics, and making individual workers largely expendable. Workers were increasingly referred to as operatives, mere appendices to the machines that were the real producers (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 72).



The complexity of the machinery and the insignificance of the operators are emphasized in this period illustration of a factory floor filled with power looms. The looms were powered by pulleys and leather belts (right) and the power was distributed across the width of the factory floor by shafts running along the ceiling. This was a common system in both water- and steam-powered mills. Courtesy Editor's collection.

James Viscount Bryce, an Englishman visiting the United States in the 1880s, wrote in *The American Commonwealth* (1888) that America's business leaders had "developed . . . unexpected strength in unexpected ways, overshadowing individuals and even communities" through fierce competition among themselves. "Nearly all the great [industries] are controlled and managed either by a small knot of persons or by a single man. . . . They have wealth . . . they have fame . . . they have power, more power—that is, more opportunity of making their personal will prevail—than perhaps anyone in political life, except the President and the Speaker, who after all hold theirs only for four or two years, while the [industrial] monarch may keep his for life" (Davidson 1951, 550–51). Business enterprises operated under many legal-sounding names—pools, trusts, holding companies, or corporations—and in a myriad of industries including railroads, mining, steel, shipping, and finance. Consequently, the dominant features of American economic life in the last quarter of the nineteenth century seemed to be the consolidation of wealth, the preeminence of industry, and the submission of labor to the dominance of employers.

To gain unquestioned control through a monopoly of the sources of raw materials, to own all the facilities of production and transportation, and to dictate wage and price levels, was as logical to nineteenth-century businessmen as it seems unprincipled to those of the twenty-first century who have grown to think that government and judicial controls on business are inevitable. In industry, the advantages of consolidation, high finance, and undisputed control of the factors of production were many; yet the organization of mechanical ingenuity into a large-scale system of supply, manufacture, and distribution was slow and painstaking. "To pause or to stop meant ruin," recalled Andrew Carnegie near the end of his life. It has also been noted that "to outsiders the American faith in increased growth and endless progress [during the Industrial Age] appeared to keep the country in a state of constant impatience with the achievements of the present" (Davidson 1951, 551, 484). Except for the occasional critic, it did not occur to most persons until the last decade of the century that the advances of industry led anywhere except to a better America for everyone. Many believed that with industrial progress all the important problems of modern society would automatically diminish or disappear.

Nonetheless, the position of the American worker had also changed considerably. Middle-class men commonly left the home to work for 10 to 14 hours, and their children rarely saw them during daylight hours. A father's work and workplace became foreign to his children in a way unknown to former generations (Tosh 1996). Wages, compared to those in Europe, were still high, but they bore a diminishing ratio to the wealth accumulated by the robber barons. The U.S. Steel Corporation, for example, formed in 1901 largely from the purchase of the holdings of just one man, Andrew Carnegie, had an initial capitalization of $1.4 billion in an era when many of those considered rich had not even reached the level of millionaires.

Using the coal industry as an example, Theodore Roosevelt noted in his *Autobiography* (1913) that there was "a crass inequality in the bargaining relation between the employer and the individual employee standing alone. The great coal-mining and coal-carrying companies, which employed their tens of thousands, could easily dispense with the services of any particular miner. The miner, on the other hand, however expert, could not dispense with the companies. He needed a job; his wife and children would starve if he did not get one. What the miner had to sell—his labor—was a perishable commodity; the labor of today—if not sold today—was lost forever. Moreover, his labor was not like most commodities—a mere thing; it was part of a living, breathing human being. The workman saw, and all citizens who gave earnest thought to the matter saw, that the labor problem was not only an economic, but also a moral, a human problem" (Roosevelt 1913, 19).

In response to the power of the Robber Barons, labor unions formed among the workers, and strikes—for wages, shorter working hours, and better conditions—sometimes reached bloody intensity. In the previous century the organization of labor—combining against one's employer—was considered a crime. During the eighteenth century, machines had been adapted to producing cloth, stockings, and socks in both wool and cotton. The immediate effect of this mechanization was to place an entire category of traditional weavers and stocking makers out of work. This had resulted in local uprisings in England and France by workers in this area of clothing production. Stocking frames, machinery, and the slotted wooden cards that controlled the complex operation of the employer's power looms were attacked in both England and France. English weavers were jailed while French workers, who had wedged their wooden shoes, or *sabot*, into the mechanisms to disrupt production, were vilified as *Saboteurs*. Seen against the backdrop of the previous century, American labor unions met with stiff resistance from businessmen, government, and the courts.

In 1877, American workers brought labor unrest in the form of the strike to the railroads with unfortunate results. Embittered workers on the B & O Railroad began rioting in Martinsburg, West Virginia. State militia was sent in but failed to end the violence. The strike spread to Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and other cities. The 6th Maryland Regiment actually fired into strikers in Baltimore. Strikers burned the Pennsylvania Railroad Yards at Pittsburgh, and federal troops were finally called up to end the strike. The violence of the railroad strike resulted in a wave of legislation and engendered a number of judicial decisions detrimental to organized labor for the remainder of the century.

One of the most exciting and idealistic institutions to be established in the final decade of the nineteenth century was the settlement house. Begun by two Oxford students in England as an institution devoted to a quest for social justice, Toynbee Hall in London was followed by an increasing number of settlement houses in

Britain and America. Many of its earliest practitioners were teachers by training or inclination, but all were highly dedicated progressives and pragmatic reformers. Settlement houses were started by pioneering social workers like Jane Addams and Ellen Starr in Chicago, Robert A. Woods in Boston, Stanton Colt and Lillian Wald in New York. They were soon copied throughout the immigrant ghettos of the East and Midwest. The settlement house concept in America brought cultural, artistic, vocational, and psychological uplift to immigrant families in the urban centers of America, and settlement houses were among the first institutions to recognize the plight of blacks in the North. Many men thought the settlements a cleverly disguised trick to get a grip on the immigrant electorate, but most women were less suspicious. Many workingmen and their families found nothing like the settlement programs in their public schools to satisfy their genuine desire to learn about art, music, and culture (Cary and Weinberg 1975, 118).

The 1890s was a transitional decade between the literary giants of the last half of the nineteenth century and the rising stars that would dominate the twentieth century. Many of the most famous writers of the Industrial Age were still active in the 1890s: E. C. Stedman, Francis Parkman, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Mark Twain, F. Marion Crawford, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Bret Harte, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Joel Chandler Harris. All of these writers, and many other respected authors, were still alive in 1894, were around 60 years old, and were still publishing at least one book per year. However, the 1890s also brought into the literary spotlight the new authors who would break from the genteel realism proposed by Howells. In the 1890s the first major literary offerings of several rising stars appeared in print: Booth Tarkington, Alice Brown, Richard Burton, Theodore Dreiser, Ellen Glasgow, Jack London, Stephen Crane, O. Henry, and Edith Wharton. Just as the nation was on the cusp of a new century, American literature was on the edge of a new realism promoted by a rising generation of writers (Shrock 2004, 163).

Writers in the Industrial Age turned away from the sentimentality that had characterized much of the output from mid-century and began to examine in print the world around them in a more realistic and natural way. The transition helped to shape the high literature normally thought to have been a product of the period. Americans living in this period could access books from a number of sources: bookstores, subscriptions, libraries, door-to-door salesmen, railway newsboys, and mail-order catalogs. Ironically, with all the reading material that was available, bookstores, with a primary business of selling books, were located largely in urban areas with a large enough customer base to provide a profit. Even these were none too plentiful. It has been estimated that in 1859 there were 843 bookstores in the United States dedicated to book sales, yet in 1914 there were only 801. Nonetheless, new book publication rose 300 percent from 1880 to 1900, and there was a corresponding increase in magazine and newspaper sales. Such a result seems contradictory in light of the increased interest in reading, but many other enterprises masked the number of book outlets. Dry goods stores, department stores, and drug stores often sold books as a sideline to their primary business. Moreover, there was a great growth in subscription libraries where, for a fee, members shared reading materials (Shrock 2004, 151, 152, 155). The New York Public Library was founded in 1895 through the combined efforts of the John Jacob Astor, Samuel J. Tilden, and James Lenox foundations. These had established private or subscription libraries, but with finances supplied mostly by Tilden ($2.5 million) and texts from the private collections of all three families the free public library was established. While the use of the facility was free, the purchase of an admission ticket was initially required. The books did not circulate, but they were available for research and reading.

By the middle 1880s, in the West virtually all the erstwhile hostile tribes had been confined to specific reservations, and troops had been assigned to overawe those that remained restless and to prevent outbreaks. The commercial extermination of the buffalo left the Plains Indians totally dependent on government beef, and local Indian agents attempted to introduce new ways among those who had but recently been unfettered hunters, raiders, and warriors. "The early reservation period of the eighties was a time of sore trial for the western Indians. Dishonest or incompetent agents, arbitrary regulation of their every move, the steady shrinkage of their lands, and many unwise policies aimed at speedily 'civilizing' them drove many Indians to desperation" (Rickey 1963, 15–16). Soldiers would police the Indian country for several years to come, chasing isolated outlaws and breakaway bands, but never again would they meet the Indians in a major action.

The rapid industrialization of the United States catapulted the nation into international prominence, and the country responded by building a modern navy to protect its maritime commerce. In 1889, the U.S. Navy was the twelfth largest in the world; a decade later it was the third largest in the world. The expansion of the U.S. Army was somewhat more problematic. With the repression of a few "digger Indians" seeming to be their only internal assignment and no external enemy on the horizon, calls from army officials to expand the ranks of the regular army fell on deaf ears in Washington. Yet the destruction of the United States battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor in 1898 changed all that as the American public evidenced an almost wild enthusiasm for combat overseas. Congress seemingly understood the popularity of war service at this time and raised the army authorization from a mere 29,000 in 1897 to more than 260,000 enlisted men in just two years.

As the traditional opponents of large standing armies and navies had feared for more than 100 years, the new military power of the United States led it to the use of force in pursuit of its foreign policy and in support of its economic and domestic goals. Unlike the eras before and after the Industrial Age, however, there were no major wars on the scale of the Civil War or World War I, just relatively small-scale conflicts against vastly inferior military forces. American global economic expansion, the formal closing of the western frontier in 1890, Social Darwinism, scientific racism, the rise of the United States to great power status, as well as a new, more belligerent vision for American manhood pushed the United States into several imperialist ventures abroad. The imperialist enterprises of the 1890s, however, were not isolated events out of step with earlier decades. They were instead the logical culmination of policies set in motion as early as the presidency of Thomas Jefferson at the beginning of the century (Shrock 2004, 21).

In the Caribbean, as early as the Grant administration, there had been a tentative but unsuccessful move to purchase the Danish Virgin Islands or to take over the Dominican Republic to provide U.S. naval bases to protect growing American interests in the region. This was seen as a return to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. One of the unforeseen consequences of the Spanish-American War was that the United States became a colonial power—a small power when viewed against Britain, France, or German influence, but with enough far-flung possessions to force the government to look overseas to the establishment of coaling and watering stations. The idea of naval bases located in the Caribbean and the Pacific became even more attractive when the French engineer De Lesseps began construction of a canal in Panama. Possession of the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and a base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba after the Spanish-American War served these purposes. The United States would purchase the Virgin Islands in 1917 as a stop against German U-boat activity in World War I.

—James M. Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Albion, Robert G., and Jennie B. Pope. *Sealanes in Wartime*. Portland, ME: Archon Books, 1968.

Alden, Carroll S., and Allan Westcott. *The United States Navy*. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1945.

Barney, William L., ed. *A Companion to 19th-Century America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Cary, John H., and Julius Weinberg, eds. *The Social Fabric, American Life from the Civil War to the Present*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780–1930*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Nye, David E. *Electrifying America: The Social Meanings of New Technology, 1880–1940*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990.

Rickey, Don, Jr. *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay, The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Roosevelt, Theodore. "Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography." URL: http://www.bartleby.com/55/13.html (accessed July 2007).

Roosevelt, Theodore. *Theodore Roosevelt, an Autobiography*. New York: The Macmillian Company, 1913.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Smith, Merritt Roe, and Leo Marx, eds. *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994.

Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History*. 4 Vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Tosh, John. "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home." *History Today* (December 1996).

Domestic Life

KINSHIP SYSTEMS: PATRIARCHY

In some men the drive toward wealth could become excessive or even destructive. The disposition of land through inheritance had always been a major prop of parental authority and discipline. Yet in the nineteenth century it was declining as a source of patriarchal power in the family. The sharing of a man's income, in the form of money or wages, among his children or with his spouse quickly formed a more significant source of men's authority than in former times. Unwarranted economy and a tight purse often eroded important ties between fathers and their older children. Even if a man wanted to fulfill his role as financial manager and dispenser of funds, the need to be at work to earn a wage often came into conflict with his childrearing role in the household.

Although the nineteenth-century family home became more female dominated as the period continued, a man's place became more authoritarian. Here a father, book in hand, enjoys the warmth of a family gathering, surrounded by his loved ones and his possessions. Courtesy Editor's collection.

Middle-class men who had grown up in the first decades of the nineteenth century could remember a childhood spent living in a family working environment, either on the farm, in a cottage at the mill, or in a room behind the family shop. But as the century progressed men's work increasingly took place in the special atmosphere of a business premises like the factory or office (Tosh 1996).

Contemporary observers were concerned that children interacted with their father only during the worst hours of the day, his tired hours. In former times "when business was a thing of comparative leisure," fathers watched over their children, "rewarded and punished, rebuked and encouraged" them on the instant. Children could trace back much of what was best in them to this steady parental interaction. John Ware advised, "Let this generation once feel, as it must feel, that this neglect of home is no necessity, but a sin; let it rest red and hot upon men's consciences that God has given them this charge which they have deserted . . . and you will find business as easy to control as you now imagine it to be difficult" (Ware 1864, 269–70).

—*James M. Volo*

FAMILY LIFE

Population Growth and Shifts

U.S. cities had been growing throughout the nineteenth century, but their development was exceptional during the final quarter of the century. From 1879–1900, the total U.S. population nearly doubled, increasing from 35,558,000 to 75,995,000. In 1870, only 25.7 percent of the U.S. population was urban. In fact in the late 1860s, three-quarters of Americans lived on farms or in villages with less than 2,500 people. By 1900, almost 40 percent of Americans were city dwellers. Urban population during this time increased at triple the rate of rural areas. For every urban worker who became a farmer, there were 20 farmers who moved to cities.

In 1900, there were 38 U.S. cities with more than 100,000 residents, 24 more than there had been in 1870. To highlight the scope of the change, consider that in 1790 only 3.14 percent of the U.S. population lived in cities. Between 1870 and 1900 Detroit grew from 80,000 to 286,000 residents; Minneapolis increased from 13,000 to over 200,000; Los Angles expanded from 6,000 to over 100,000. The 1880s were the most intense period of urban growth. In this decade alone, the U.S. population increased by 54.4 percent and the cities of Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee doubled in size. As much as 40 percent of the rural population migrated to cities during the 1880s.

There were two main sources for this population growth: internal migration, where U.S. citizens living in rural areas decided to move to cities, and external migration, where immigrants from other countries came to the United States. Other developments like the decline in mortality rates played only an insignificant role. In the case of both internal and external migrants, people came to cities because that was where there was work. By 1900, nine-tenths of the nation's manufacturing occurred in urban areas.

Cities absorbed unprecedented waves of immigrants coming into the United States during this time. Between 1870 and 1900 approximately 11.3 million immigrants came to the United States, a rate of immigration more than 10 times that which the country had experienced at the beginning of the 1800s. By 1900, 14 percent of the U.S. population was foreign born. As a point of comparison, consider that a century later, in 1999, only 8 percent of Americans were born abroad. The immigrants at the beginning of the industrial era tended to be part of the wave of Northern European immigrants including Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians. Starting around 1880, a new and larger group of immigrants came across the Atlantic from southern and eastern Europe including Poles, Russians, Italians, Greeks, and Turks. New immigrants also came across the Pacific from China and Japan. Italian-Americans would become the largest group of so-called hyphenated Americans in the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Though many of the earlier immigrants had sought out available farmland in the Midwest and East, the majority of these new immigrants settled in cities to look for work. As a result, cities such as San Francisco and Pittsburgh, had a population during the industrial era that was over 50 percent foreign born. In fact, in 1880 over 80 percent of the population consisted either of immigrants or the children of immigrants in the cities of Cleveland, New York, Detroit, and Milwaukee. Add to those numbers the many internal migrants to urban areas, and it becomes clear why cities often seemed like places where everyone lived but no one was born (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 20–21).

Vital Statistics

Average white life expectancy at birth in 1870 was 45 years, and white infant mortality rates for 1870 at 176 per 1,000 were significantly worse than those of 1900. There are significant difficulties recorded when these data are compared to a decade later. Average white life expectancy at birth in 1880 sat at a remarkably low 41 years, and white infant mortality rates rose in 1880 to stand at 214 per 1,000, almost as bad as they had been in 1850. In 1890 the data reversed their short-term trend and average life expectancy rose again to 47, and the infant mortality fell to 151 per 1,000. Not until 1910 would infant mortality fall from triple- into double-digits per 1,000.

There is no reliable data for infant mortality or life expectancy for blacks until the early twentieth century, but in 1900 black life expectancy was recorded as a mere 42 years, and black infant mortality stood at 170 per 1,000.

—*James* M. *Volo*

MEN

Self-help author and advisor J. Clinton Ransom wrote in 1889, "In every community there is always some one whom his neighbors call a successful man. He commands the esteem of the whole circle of his acquaintance. He is alert and active in business; he is absorbed in the duties of a busy life; but he has time to be friendly with all and to endear himself to all with whom he comes in contact. He is spoken of as a clever companion, an honorable businessman, a prosperous citizen, a man of solid integrity. This personage is our successful man." Ransom noted that in his opinion an individual's employment, situation, and station in life did not matter in determining his success. It was by varying standards of judgment that a man was pronounced successful by his fellows (Ransom 1889, 15).

Although material wealth motivated many men to work hard and be industrious, the pursuit of money purely for its own sake had been viewed with some suspicion since colonial times. However, reaching the simple standard of financial competency was often not enough for many men according to the perception of nineteenth-century observers T. L. Haines and Levi Yaggy. "Acquisitiveness," if not greed or avarice, seemingly took a hold on the minds of many men, and they became focused on being more than merely comfortable. They seemed in a great haste to become conspicuously wealthy. Wild ambition, however, was thought to tarnish true success, and it mingled the feelings of admiration and abhorrence of those who observed it. Haines and Yaggy noted, "The road ambition travels is too narrow for friendship, too crooked for love, too rugged for honesty, too dark for science, and too hilly for happiness." No amount of glory or fame could be enduring, according to these advisors, unless it was based on "virtue, wisdom, and justice" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 269–70).

In addition, it became fashionable among the upper classes, especially among the women, to lead generally idle lives at home caring for the domestic needs of the household through the management of a score of servants. The leisure that this suggested for the female householder was probably overstated by the generally conservatively minded advisors of the day, and it was little different from that of persons of similar social standing and financial circumstances in previous times that required aptitude, organization, and luck. Yet the rising middle class often aspired to an idyllic life filled with pastimes, diversions, and attempts at personal improvement without recognizing these underlying fundamentals. Philo Tower, a preacher and writer from the period, noted this added to the struggle to reach the state of competency. "No young man" could make such "a fortune to support the extravagant style of housekeeping, and gratify the expensive tastes of young women, as fashion is now educating them." Many marriages were deferred to allow young suitors time to amass a fortune, and many others were avoided or discouraged by parents as young women chose older and more successful men as spouses (Smith 1981, 755).

Among the standards set for the so-called solid citizen, the issue of work seems to have been central to a man's identity, authority, and place in the social order. Only physical disability (or immense fortune) allowed a man to remove himself from the world of work to the pleasures of a contemplative retirement. Diligent labor and financial success had been venerated in America before 1800, and colonial attitudes toward work have been described in sociological terms as an adherence to the *Protestant Work Ethic*, first expounded by William Perkins as the *Doctrine of Work* in 1603. Perkins connected heavenly salvation less to financial success than to diligent labor at some honest trade or vocation. "Somewhere in the battle of life, God gives every man a chance to wear the victor's crown and stand among heroes." Yet many American colonials, especially those dedicated to the Calvinist tradition, though financial success morally gained was an earthly symbol of God's approbation (Ransom 1889, 17).

In the nineteenth century the path to success lay not in the workshop or on the farm, but in the emerging industries and enterprises of consumer capitalism. Nineteenth-century men looked less to the quality of a man's labor as an indicator of his respectability and more to the nonreligious implications of his financial success. They made industry (work) an end in itself, money its indicator, and the acquisition of great wealth the shining trophy at the end of life. "Money, not work, became the proof of a moral life [and] as Americans came to measure worth by money, they measured lack of worth by lack of money" (Atkins 1984, 11).

In the 1800s wealth made a remarkable statistical redistribution to the top of the social ladder largely due to the crushing effects of overwhelming numbers of poor rural immigrants pouring into the country at the same time that its commercial economy was undergoing a phenomenal rate of expansion. Historian Galliard Hunt noted that "an unbridled love of money was the spring of the Republic." Writing of America for the centennial of the War of 1812, Hunt also noted that everything was seemingly sacrificed to financial interest. "All disinterested acts, all talents purely agreeable, were looked upon with contempt" (Hunt 1914, 31). The burning desire to be a millionaire, a shipping magnet, a railroad king, a war leader, or something beyond their real powers and abilities was thought to make men restless and discontented in their pursuit of success.

Under such circumstances money in sufficient quantities was considered the ticket to social prominence. "Everything favored a vile cupidity" (Ransom 1889, 27).

Nonetheless, being born of a prominent family at mid-century was no simple indicator of success. Even great wealth, if newly found, needed aging, and a generation of family philanthropy was needed to guarantee a place in the carefully guarded social circles of the uppermost classes. A man's personal manner, dress, voice, style, and bearing were all part of the standards by which success was measured. Moreover, these qualities could not be artificial, affected, or insincere. Richard Henry Dana of New York, who was something of a social snob, noted that "inferiority of caste is noticeable as soon as you get out of the aristocracy and upper gentry with hereditary estates and old names" (Smith 1981, 783–84).

In nineteenth-century America, life was seemingly filled with opportunity, and the successful man was expected to aspire to a level of achievement commensurate with his class and abilities. Anthony Trollope, an English novelist visiting New York, noted of the merchants and businessmen, "The ascendancy of dollars are the words written on every paving stone along Fifth Avenue, down Broadway and up Wall Street. Every man can vote, and values the privilege. Every man can read, and uses the privilege. Every man worships the dollar, and is down before his shrine from morning till night" (Meredith 1982, 35). Only death or physical incapacity relieved a man of his obligation to pursue success. From lowly farmers to captains of industry successful men were expected to bend their wills to every opportunity that presented itself. "The world is clamoring for men to fill its high positions and shoulder its grave responsibilities." Should a man miss his opportunity through carelessness "the line of his irretrievable failure [would be] marked out . . . with the suddenness of a thunder peal" (Ransom 1889, 20).

The frontispiece from J. Clinton Ransom, *The Successful Man in His Manifold Relation with Life* (1889) showing the two alternate paths of life—one leading from idleness to corruption and the other from industry to honored old age. Courtesy Editor's collection.

It should be noted that a number of Irish immigrant families with the humblest of beginnings were able to emerge from poverty to gain social, political, and economic prominence within a generation. Although they were victims of severe ethnic prejudice, the Irish came to America with certain advantages over other immigrant groups like the Chinese, Italians, or Eastern Europeans. They spoke English; they were white and virtually indistinguishable from persons of English extraction; and they had political experience founded in their long struggles with English landlords. Many of these Irish came to be part of the First Families of Boston and New York. The McDonnells, Ryans, Buckleys, Floods, Fairs, Mackays, O'Briens, and Stewarts were all part of this so-called Irishocracy. They began in the penniless slums of America's cities, but they used their ambition, determination, political savvy, and industry to become some of the most powerful families in America.

Many second- and third-generation Irish immigrants were remarkably successful. Robert J. Cuddihy, for example, was behind one of the great successes in the field of publishing—the rise of the *Literary Digest* in the first decades of the twentieth century. Thomas E. Murray, though little schooled, was an ingenious electrical engineer who by the end of his career held a number of patents second only to those of Thomas A. Edison. By establishing America's first food-store chain for the carriage trade, Patrick J. O'Connor and James Butler established their own vast family fortunes. As a final example, take Edward Doheny, who made $31 million selling crude oil from southern California and Mexico. He was later a key figure in the Teapot Dome scandal of the 1920s and was reliably reported at one point to have had more money than John D. Rockefeller.

Nineteenth-century men considered good work habits and a sound education to be vital to success. The two pressing needs of young men, in particular, were to acquire an adequate preparation for the duties of life that might confront them and to develop a sense for carefully weighing any opportunity before plunging into a task that was beyond their talents to carry out to completion. Instinct and inherent genius were considered laudable characteristics, but without the discipline of the work ethic and the tools provided by an appropriate education, effort alone might prove to be misdirected or meaningless. Moreover, men were expected to have the strength of character to reshape an unlooked-for opportunity into a destiny-changing moment, and to have the integrity and depth of soul to withstand the shock of success. Churches and temperance groups sponsored organizations for young boys and teens that promoted Christian manliness. In the 1870s and 1880s so-called Boys' Brigades and chivalric societies modeled on King Arthur's court sponsored competitive sports and physical education, and encouraged wholesome living.

There was, moreover, a sense of something ennobling in the act of pursuing success at a high level of personal or financial risk—a process of purification and a necessary step in the development of character. This concept had the natural effect of glorifying the accomplishment of seemingly unattainable goals or the ambition to surpass the usual achievements of other men. In line with widely held concepts of duty and obligation, it was as important to finish a job as it was to undertake it. Men did not quit or leave their positions even under the most trying of circumstances, and initial failure required a redoubling of effort. This ideal can be seen in the efforts to put a telegraph cable across the Atlantic, to build a transcontinental railroad, to develop a great machine-powered manufactory, to cross the Great American Desert, or to carve a farmstead out of the wilderness.

Although some of these efforts were monumental in scope, the possibility of failure was not an option to be taken lightly. Haines and Yaggy warned that if "a man is brought into a sphere of his ambition for which he has not the requisite powers, and where he is goaded on every side in the discharge of his duties, his temptation is at once to make up by fraud and appearance that which he lacks in ability" (Haines and Yaggy 1876, 12–13). Of 100 men embarking on the same type of business ventures only a handful attained anything like distinguished success. This same train of thought tended to trivialize the common affairs of life leaving some men thinking that they were failures at everyday living because they were "too ambitious of doing something more" (Ransom 1889, 28).

For some men success seemed to come more easily than for others; but if a man lacked genius, he might remedy it through training. Increasingly, nineteenth-century work was being done by men with educations such as engineers, financiers, and scientists. These things could be learned in the universities through the assiduous application of study. If, however, they lacked character in the presence of other vices, which they could not or would not resist, then even the most dedicated of students or workers deserved to fail. The price of success was often great in terms of capital, effort, and time, but some men failed to appreciate the difficulty with which it was won—the "busy days lengthening out into years . . . a long life of closest devotion to single pursuits . . . [and] the hard toil in the face of difficulties" (Ransom 1889, 33).

Mediocrity in any task was considered unacceptable. Yet even men of humble social station were taught that doing good and useful work was noble as long as they enlisted their full powers in the enterprise. "It is not our fault," wrote Ransom, "that we do not possess talents of the highest order. We cannot with reason question that inscrutable wisdom which made some of us prophets and teachers, some of us vine-dressers and husbandmen, some of us money kings and merchant-princes, some of us great and some small, and all servitors in His Kingdom of universal service" (Ransom 1889, 27; Volo and Volo 2007, 48–50, 66–70).

WOMEN

With the expansion of industrialization, the daily lives and responsibilities of women and men had begun to diverge away from the ideal of a team and toward discreet tasks and obligations. Motherhood was a serious and all-consuming occupation for nineteenth century wives, largely replacing the role of helpmate that had been the norm for wives in early America. With men away from the home for the day working, women began to take on greater responsibility for the home and its residents. Early in the century, day-to-day authority over children and their moral upbringing began to shift from a paternal duty to a maternal one. This change was one of the foundation stones of the growing *Cult of Domesticity*. By mid-century, this concept had expanded to the point that mothers were expected to make the home a moral bulwark that would provide children with an idyllic childhood.

As a young woman, Betsey Reynolds, contemplated the importance of maternal care and instruction, noting in her diary that just as business obliges the father to be about town, the care of infancy devolves upon the mother. Although the period saw larger numbers of young women entering the workforce than ever before in American history, the goal of the vast majority of them remained becoming mistresses of their own homes and matriarchs of their own families. The editor of *Godey's Lady's Book* explained that women had a higher pursuit than the industrial arts could afford. In an article entitled, "Woman In Her Social Relations," Henry E. Woodbury proffered that of all the impressions made upon the youthful mind, none were so lasting as those received from a mother. He believed that they became a part of a child's nature, controlling motives and exerting a powerful influence over them in all the affairs of life. Truly weighty were the obligations devolving on women in the discharge of their duties in this relation. The formation of character was determined to be theirs.

In *The Mother's Rule; or, The Right Way and the Wrong Way* T. S. Arthur wrote that it was vastly important for mothers to have a high regard for their duties and to feel deeply the immense responsibilities that rest upon them. It was through their ministrations that the world grew worse or better. The popular *The Mother's Book* cautioned that every look, every movement, every expression, does something toward forming the character of the little heir to immortal life.

Attitudes such as these became common as they spread through the community of matrons, and they were embraced by both women of childbearing years and society in general. As a mother, Betsey Reynolds Voorhees wrote a letter expressing the stress of motherhood. Her children were the principal objects of all her cares and all her hopes. She was consumed in their moral and intellectual improvements to the point that the great anxiety she felt for her children left her too little time for her own concerns.

A new mother was encouraged to rest after delivery, but she was still expected to receive callers. Sarah Goodwin employed a nurse to assist her with all who called. The nurse slept with the baby, did the laundry, and also kept the baby and mother in elegant toilets and waited on all the company upstairs and to the street door. The length of time that a woman remained abed after delivery varied with her constitution, personality, and economic situation. Many obstetric texts suggested that mothers who walked about too soon after giving birth would be struck with blood clots or a prolapsed uterus, and they commonly recommended nine days of complete bed rest. This was particularly true for upper-class women who were thought to be more delicate and more susceptible to postpartum complications. Less affluent women could not spare this much time away from family duties. Some women, like Anne Jean Lyman, would be up the very next day with a mending basket and sewing for some hours of each day. Lyman recalled that by the second week she had resumed all the duties of the house.

During the nineteenth century the average native-born white woman gave birth to a half-dozen children, not counting those lost to miscarriages and stillbirths. By 1900 the number was cut in half. As noted earlier the fertility rate remained high, however, among black and immigrant women. Some rural farm areas maintained higher rates as well. To some extent the declining birthrate among native-born whites was a result of the changing economics of the era. In previous centuries, children were valued contributors to the family economy. The more children a family had, the more hands there were to work and improve the family's productivity and wealth. Changes in manufacturing and marketing no longer required artisans to have children to which skills and secrets needed to be passed so that the family would be sustained in the future. In the new market economy, children became an expense. They required substantial investments of time, care, and limited resources unless they could find wage-paying employment outside the home.

Lower birthrates can also be attributed to new cultural attitudes toward the role of women. Concern also rose about women's health. Women generally bore their first child 16 months after they married and continued to have children approximately 15 to 20 months apart. A woman's last child was likely born when she was in her 40s and may have been the same age as her first grandchild. During Julia Patterson's 30 years of marriage she was pregnant or nursing for 19 years and 3 months. She married when she was 21 and had her first child nine months later. Her 11th and last child was born when she was 45 years old. Yet the details of Patterson's childbearing were at the upper level of the experience of most women, who spent 10 to 12 of their childbearing years with child. Spending most of their adult lives either pregnant or nursing, took its toll on the health and vitality of many women and acceptance of this lifestyle role was becoming less acceptable to many nineteenth-century women.

The 1830s saw the beginning of advice literature that suggested either abstinence or the use of contraception, and by the 1870s there was an abundance of commercial products that were advertised to assist women in this matter. A mainstay of urban newspapers were ads for birth control pamphlets, medical devices such as diaphragms and syringes, condoms, spermicides, and pills that promised to induce abortions. Ads for these products were often distributed on street corners. If the ad contained the word "French" in the title, it indicated that the item was a contraceptive. If it used the word "Portuguese," as in "The Portuguese Female Pill always gives immediate relief," the product was meant to be an abortive. Sellers frequently made outlandishly false claims about their products, but many were nothing more than alcohol and flavored water. Although not socially acceptable, abortions performed very early in a pregnancy were generally considered to be a form of contraception.

Although children were more likely to reach adulthood in the nineteenth century than in the past, childhood mortality was still high. The romanticism and sentimentalism of the nineteenth century viewed death from a different perspective than in earlier times, or even than it is today. Death was a part of daily living. Although the loss of a child was felt most deeply, acceptance of it showed deep faith and religious conviction. Early death provided the assurance of being free from the sin. Their brief existence protected them from corruption. Upon the passing of her infant child, Cornelia Peake McDonald recalled her friend suggesting that she thank God for taking her precious little babe from the sorrow and evil to come.

Cemeteries provided separate sections for children making it easier for a young family, yet unable to secure a family plot, to bury their child. Their young or stillborn children could later be reinterred when the family was more established and could afford a family plot. Children's graves received unprecedented attention. Families that could afford it often created gravestone markers steeped in sentiment and imagery. The most common image was that of the sleeping child. Sleep, as a tie between life and death, was a recurring theme of the period. The image made a connection back to the home where the youth once slept. It brought to mind the comforting picture of a child safely tucked away in his bed. The child with a lamb was another recurring image that reinforced the belief in the closeness of children and nature. Empty furniture was also depicted on memorials. An unfilled chair or bed was commonly used to symbolize the child's unfilled life.

Other items appearing on memorials included rattles, dolls, or favorite playthings incised in stone. The use of toys in such a permanent form reflected the period's recognition of the naturalness of play and a lasting reminder of the separate worlds of children and adults. Sculptural portrayals of children and their belongings insured that they would remain forever one with the goodness of the home. They would be undisturbed and constant, forever innocent in the world. Upon seeing the face of a neighbor who stood by her son's corpse, Cornelia Peake McDonald, who had lost her own child only months before, wondered if her little darling's forehead would ever have looked so dim and weary. She said that she took comfort in the fact that her babe's work was finished, and she went to rest "while yet 'twas early day." McDonald said she would not bring her back if she could to resume the burden her Savior removed that day when she fled from her arms as the sun was setting.

Period advertisements carried the names of many photographers who specialized in posthumous photographs Infants were the most common subject of this type of photograph. Perhaps this was because there had been little opportunity to capture the child's likeness in life. Perhaps it provided a concrete reminder of a life that had passed too quickly. Sometimes the deceased child would be posed cradled in its mother's arms. Other poses might show the child resting on a pillow. Photographers sometimes borrowed from the imagery of portrait painters and included a cut rose in the picture symbolizing a bloom cut early.

Most women breast-fed their babies and, for many, this was the most common form of natural contraception as it had been for centuries. Wet nurses were never popular in the North, but there was greater support for the practice in Southern plantation households. While so-called baby bottles were available prior to 1800, bottle-feeding did not become popular until the last decades of the century. Many factory-employed mothers, however, had little choice but to have their babies given cow's milk while they worked. The problem was that the cows from which the milk was obtained were often diseased and filthy. A number of physicians began to study human breast milk to determine its beneficial qualities. In the 1850s, J. R. Meigs published a recipe for infant formula that combined cow's milk, cream, sugar, and limewater. Commercial infant food soon became popular. As the century drew to a close, Thomas Morgan Rotch developed the "percentage method" to create a perfect infant formula. Popular from 1890 into the first decade of the next century, the method fell out of favor due to its complexity. Other advancements in this field came when Pasteur's germ theory led to the practice of boiling bottles to sterilize them and his pasteurization process, which was first applied to milk in Denmark in the 1890. In 1893 Nathan Straus opened one of the first pure milk stations in the country. It cut the death rate at New York's Orphan Asylum in half. The first true artificial infant formula was Nestlé's Infant Food, a product that required only the addition of water.

Mothers took great care to protect their infants. They dressed their babies in long gowns, which were often twice the length of the child. Many period photographs show tiny infants enveloped in yards of fabric. Long gowns could not be cast off as loose blankets could. It was felt that the gowns would provide the child with greater warmth. These garments were generally white to withstand the frequent washings that infant clothing required, and period advice manuals advised that they be of soft material, entirely free from starch. For the first few weeks after birth, infants wore long narrow strips of fabric known as bellybands. These were several yards long and were designed to protect the navel. In addition to diapers, or napkins as they were called, infants wore a shirt, a pinner that contained their lower limbs, a skirt or skirts, and a dress. As the century progressed this practice of binding up the baby earned increasing criticism from both the medical profession and popular publications.

Some declared that swaddling clothes endangered the breadth and vigor of a generation. More enlightened women freed their children from such encumbrance, but, for many, the custom persisted. Babies also wore caps both indoors and out. Women's magazines frequently carried patterns for these accessories. As the child grew older, clothing adjustments were made. Mothers were advised that when a child showed a disposition to creep, they should shorten its clothes that it might have free use of its limbs, and protect its feet with stockings and shoes.

In addition to the moral and social guidance mothers were presumed to develop in their children, they were expected to provide them with an affectionate home which would create an idyllic childhood rich with wonderful experiences that would create fond memories and healthy minds and bodies. In *The American Woman's Home* (2002) the Beecher sisters wrote that they knew of families where the mother's presence seemed the sunshine of the circle around her imparting a cheering and vivifying power. An orphaned boy who resided with the Alcotts for several summers described Mrs. Alcott saying that she was "sunshine herself" to her children and to him, and no matter how weary she might have been with the washing and ironing, the baking and cleaning, it was all hidden from the children with whom she was always ready to enter into fun and frolic, as though she never had a care. *The Mother's Book* advised that the first rule, and most important of all was that the mother govern her own feelings, and keep her heart and conscience pure.

With lower birthrates and high mortality, middle-class mothers lavished attention on their surviving children. *The Mother's Book* instructed that an infant's wants should be attended to without waiting for him to cry and advised that the mother should take the entire care of her own child and the infant should, as much as possible, feel its mother's guidance. The mother appeared in the role of constant attendant.

As the century progressed, the toy chest slowly replaced the child's workbasket. Where once mothers gave children tasks to help share the family workload, they were now expected to provide the children with stimulating activities and playthings that would help them to develop intellectually, physically, and morally. Mothers were advised that as soon as it is possible to instruct by means of toys, they should be careful to choose those that would most be useful. The growing market economy generated a plethora of commercially produced toys many of which were of an educational nature. Mothers were expected to be active in their children's learning. Lydia Maria Child advised mothers that when a child was able to spell a new word, or count a new number, to kiss him and show delight at his improvement.

While indulgence with time and attention was advocated, ladies' advice manuals cautioned against spoiling children with playthings, clothing, or permissiveness. Mothers must never lose sight of the fact that they were forming the character of the child. They were exhorted to teach their children order and responsibility by having them care for their clothing and playthings. They were encouraged to instill in their children the value of time by keeping them employed in positive pursuits. They were discouraged from promoting vanity and a love of finery in dress by displaying these qualities in their own lives. Mothers were urged to develop in their charges an appreciation of nature and of making things with their own hands.

With fathers away from the home, mothers became the chief administrators of discipline. Rather than physical punishment, mothers turned to subtle manipulations of the child's behavior. *The Mother's Book* advised that example and silent influence were better than direct rules and commands and that firmness united with goodness was best. Mothers were encouraged to make the punishment similar to the offense, so that if the child's offense was antisocial, the punishment should deprive him of social intercourse and thus teach him its value.

Even farm mothers grew concerned that extensive farm labors kept them from filling the sacred office of motherhood, and they began to concentrate on child nurture. While rural mothers may have lived in greater isolation than their urban counterparts, women's magazines and advice manuals were in wide circulation and farm mothers embraced the new ideology. A woman, identified only as "Annette," agitated for a women's column in the *Genesee Farmer* explaining that it could help mothers to raise generations of thinking progressive farmers. Farmhouse nurseries moved closer to the dining room, sitting room, or family room and away from the potentially hazardous kitchen. While different from middle-class nurseries that were often found on the second floor, playrooms began to appear in house plans for farmhouses. Children's needs began to take precedence over the order of the home. The 1893 *Agriculturist* reported that even among families with no formal nursery there was one room inhabited by a baby to the exclusion of most others; a room where he was at liberty to crawl about, where he took his nap and made the most of his infant existence. In an article describing the rearranging of sitting room furniture to make a place for baby, Edna Donnell explained that it was all right if the room looked a little cluttered, because the baby came first. An anonymous author of an article in 1888 addressed the same issue proclaiming that the child was the monarch of all he surveyed.

While farm mothers may have been able to make inroads toward embracing the child-centered culture of the middle class, urban working-class mothers had little opportunity. Many children were left in the care of older siblings who were barely old enough to care for themselves. Social reformer Jane Addams was horrified by the list of injuries sustained by small children whose mothers had gone to work. She discovered that in one community one child had fallen out of a third story window, another had been burned, and yet a third child with no one to look after him had developed a curved spine due to the fact that for three years he had been tied all day long to the leg of the kitchen table.

Desperate for childcare, many women placed their children in nurseries modeled after French crèches. By 1892, there were 90 day nurseries in American cities, many run by religious or charitable organizations. Unfortunately, the level of childcare was often very poor. Overcrowded and understaffed, these nurseries gained a dubious reputation and were utilized only by women in the most dire circumstances. In an effort to offer a more viable alternative, Jane Addams opened Hull House in Chicago in 1889 as a place where working-class and immigrant mothers could bring their children. Inspired by a settlement house she had seen in East London, Addams along with Ellen Starr originally envisioned the Hull House to be a place where educated middle-class women could share the pleasures of art and literature with their mainly immigrant neighbors. Addams and Starr soon realized that the women had tremendous needs relating to the care of their children. Hull House rapidly expanded to include a day care center, nursery school, kindergarten, well-baby clinic, and a place where mothers could sit and talk. Hull House and other settlement houses that were to follow created a kind of socialized domestic sphere for lower-class mothers in need of support. It provided these women and their children a place of caring, comfort, and succor.

With the increasing recognition that childhood was a unique stage of life, the nineteenth-century mother was charged with a greater responsibility to proceed with care and to follow the latest trends in scientific childrearing. Middle- and upper-class women were extremely conscious of the stress of conforming to community standards in this regard. Improved methods of childrearing quickly took hold that required a conscious effort and devotion to effect on the part of the mother. It fell to the mother to shape the child's character and instill habits of self-control while emphasizing lessons in industry, order, and restraint. It was through this maternal nurture that children were to be sheltered from the corruption of the outside world and prepared for the role of future citizen. As with much in the nineteenth century, the degree to which this took place corresponded directly with the socioeconomic condition of the family (Volo and Volo 2007, 194–206).

CHILDREN

Children: The Industrial Age

Youth became a focus of attention in the Industrial Age as middle-class adults, mired in the staid, controlled world of work and domesticity, celebrated its freedom and innocence. Of course, the youth idolized was that of white, middle-class young people. For some, the celebration of youthfulness came across as the veneration of essential characteristics necessary for all red-blooded American men and women. With Calvinist views of innately depraved sinful children replaced by a more benign vision of youthful innocents waiting to be molded by appropriate didactic lessons, parents embraced more permissive parenting styles, affecting a kind of openly loving government. Ideology and practice, however, often diverge, and traditional physical punishments like spanking appear to have been common in all social classes, though perhaps less than half of all families used spanking frequently (Shrock 2004, 27).

Middle-class parents placed a high priority on fostering independence and self-reliance in their children. Advice columnists in women's magazines and childrearing manuals discouraged parents from the sleeping with their infants. Many went further and discouraged unnecessary holding or rocking. In her 1878 *All Around the House; or, How to Make a Happy Home*, Harriet Beecher Stowe advised mothers that once an infant was washed, dressed and well fed at proper intervals, the mother could think of the child until her heart was satisfied, but, the less noticeable care the child had over and beyond that the better for the child itself. She recommended placing the baby in its crib for the bulk of the day where it would lie cooing and smiling and watching shadows on the wall or waving leaves and branches from outside until it fell asleep. She believed that this regimen of minimal holding freed the mother to attend to other duties and strengthen the baby who would be free to roll and stretch and develop stronger muscles (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 124).

As part of this effort, children were allowed to romp and play without restraint. In upper-middle class and upper-class homes the nursery, complete with children's toys, and often linked to a nanny's room, separated children from the fragile, luxurious items decorating wealthy Victorian homes. The separate children's sphere catered to the child's specific needs and isolated children from their parent's worlds of work and social formalities. Upper-middle-class fathers left for the office and mothers spent their days shopping, visiting, or entertaining in the parlor—activities to which children were not invited (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 124).

Play was considered a valuable activity for children in its own right. Mass-produced toys were widely available. A number of gender-specific concepts about behavioral expectations, emotional sensitivity, and educational expectations came to govern the kinds of games played and chores performed in the home. Boys and girls were presumed to have different constitutions, temperaments, and deportment. Girls were defined in terms of delicacy and dependence while boys were portrayed as rugged and aggressive. Period portraits show boys with swords, drums, bugles, cannons, and rocking horses. Girls were portrayed with dolls, miniature sets of china, and books. Nonetheless, several items seem to have escaped the cloak of gender-specificity. These included drawing, the use of balls of many sizes, play with wooden hoops and wands, manipulating stilts, making soap bubbles, forming collections, playing board games, and playing with yo-yos and other simple mechanical toys.

The American boy was seen as adventurous and independent like the fictional characters Tom Sawyer or Huck Finn. He was portrayed as fun loving and impish, sometimes cruel to small animals and girls yet ultimately noble and heroic. Boys were expected to play pranks as a means of channeling their natural aggression and of challenging authority. They formed closed associations, teams, and clubs to which they felt tremendous loyalty. Hazing, teasing, and name-calling helped to delineate the boundaries of such groups. Boys were given more freedom and less supervision in accomplishing their chores, and many took place outside the home, such as tending the livestock or running errands. Boys' games were more physical and were often highly competitive including a field-hockey-like game called Bandy or Shinny that was characterized by a good deal of roughhousing. The prosecution of those pastimes favored by boys usually took place outside the home more often than those pursued by girls.

The *American Boys Handy Book,* published in 1882, suggested numerous seasonal activities for young boys. In spring there was kiting, fishing, and stocking or maintaining a fresh water aquarium. Summer was a time for homemade boats, camping, making objects by knotting, collecting and preserving birds' nests and eggs, making blow guns and squirt guns, producing paper fireworks, and making musical instruments from found materials. Autumn brought the trapping of small animal pests, drawing, woodcarving, and taxidermy. In winter there was snowball battles, snow forts, snow sculpture, sledding, snowshoeing, ice skating, ice sailing, ice fishing, puppets, homemade masquerades and theaters, and indoor crafts. The book encouraged boys to develop self-reliance by making all their own equipment for whatever their adventure and included detailed plans for building a number of styles of small boats, fishing equipment, sleds, winged skaters, an ice fishing shanty, and countless small toys and amusements.

Universally, though, boys played with marbles, balls, whistles, tops, small boats, toy soldiers, wooden animals, popguns, and kites. One boy wrote in a letter that his large top would spin four minutes and that he had an India-rubber ball, and a boat that he made himself with a man on it. He also had a kite and a windmill. Additionally, he noted that he had a large, nice sled that provided good times sliding downhill. Urban residents had fewer chores and therefore more free time to devote to play. They also tended to have greater time to spend in concert with a wider number of other boys, and they often played in the streets or in empty fields in large groups. Such peer contact differed very dramatically from the previous century when young boys entered apprenticeships and spent much of their time working with adults in the grown-up world. Transition from the world of childhood to that of young manhood was more gradual in the nineteenth century.

The indoctrination of girls into their gender role came early. Farm girls were expected to assist their mothers with household chores as young as five or six. Middle-class girls made up the beds, sewed, and cared for younger siblings. Even girls from wealthly homes were expected to spend time knitting, sewing, or engaging in decorative needlework. Household chores took up much of a girl's time, leaving far less leisure time than was afforded to boys. What playtime they did have was often devoted to vocational pursuits. Girls played "going shopping," "sick lady," and "school," all situations drawn from their personal experience, yet such play prepared them for the adult roles they would eventually assume. Many of the toys that girls were given, such as dolls, tea sets, and needle books, were geared to fostering the nurturing and social skills they would need in later life. Girls mimicked their mothers' activities by playing with dolls, dressing up, and keeping house.

As might be expected, some girls enjoyed physical activity and the outdoors while others preferred quieter pastimes. Rural girls would have had greater freedom to explore the woods and play more active games than their urban counterparts, but few would have joined males in physical activities such as swimming. Group play included such games as Blindman's Bluff, Shuttlecock, Thread the Needle, Hop, Skip and Jump, Trap Ball, Follow My Lead, I Spy, Hunt the Slipper, Flying Feather, Puss in the Corner, and Leap Frog (Volo and Volo 2007, 268).

In 1898, a survey of 1,000 girls and 1,000 boys in Massachusetts, both girls and boys listed the hoop and stick as their favorite toy. Large hoops were made from casks and could be rolled on the ground by revolving a stick inside of the hoop. Overall, both boys and girls preferred toys that permitted active forms of play (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 126).

Having established childhood as a distinct stage of human development, new scientific definitions of the different stages of youth appeared and the term adolescence, defining the turbulent period starting with puberty and ending in the late teens, entered popular speech toward the end of the century. Directing and controlling the urges of young people and their free time became a major focus of numerous youth organizations. Christianity, sports, paramilitarism, and camping, all came together in the adult-sponsored youth organizations that flourished in the late-nineteenth century. Middle-class youth were freed from the world of work and able to carve out a unique space. The connections between young people and popular culture became much stronger as they emerged as a distinctive consumer group, spending money in the new mass society on goods marked to them (Shrock 2004, 27–28).

Sports for youth also took on incredibly heightened importance as physical prowess became associated closely with middle-class manhood and fears of immigrant hordes sparked the desire for socializing institutions. Many of these sporting activities were connected with public schools, but there were also large organizations separate from the school systems. Youth, however, increasingly lost control of their own sporting events, surrendering control to adults who supervised these character-building activities. These sporting events appealed to adults as methods spreading manly virtues and socializing youth in the competitive and aggressive values of capitalist society.

These values coincided with fears of effeminization and over civilization shared by men like Theodore Roosevelt and psychologist G. Stanley Hall. Boys needed rough play to develop the manly qualities of courage, aggressiveness, competitiveness, and the desire to win—skills some believed were necessary for American manhood. These attitudes were closely allied with the movement known as Muscular Christianity, which witnessed old-stock Protestants' push for institutions to save modern youth from the sins of city life and to provide socialization for immigrant youth. Leaders of this movement were particularly concerned with developing rural values in children reared in the city. Regardless of who sponsored these youthful sports activities, adult control was characteristic of all.

Undoubtedly, the premier Muscular Christianity organization was the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Muscular Christianity sought to convince young men that Christianity was not weak and effeminate, but strong and manly. In spite of intense opposition, the YMCA switched its orientation from gymnastics to competitive team sports in the 1890s. By 1892 almost 250,000 young men belonged to the YMCA, and near the end of the decade the organization could field teams of near-professional quality in football, basketball, and track and field. Other religious groups soon followed the YMCA's lead. Exponents of sports formed Protestant Sunday School leagues in Brooklyn in 1904, which quickly spread to cities across the country. Catholics followed soon after with the "Boy's Brigade." The ideals of aggressive competition for boys spread throughout the nation under the moral authority of Christianity.

Working-class youth often had little time for sports or schooling, and offered, by far, the greatest challenge to the control and values of middle-class America. Working-class youth normally worked like adults by the time they were in their mid-teens. Unlike middle- and upper-class youth, however, these working-class young people enjoyed leisure activities outside the control of adults. The combination of jobs and new urban amusements created an independence in working-class youth. Young men and women of the working classes, particularly those congregating in the great cities, openly rebelled against Victorian norms and created their own subcultures with their own values. Crime and new urban amusements were the mediums used to rebel against Victorian control and expectations.

The reality for most working-class children was work—not simply household chores, but hard, sweat-producing, backbreaking labor. American industry consciously sought the cheap labor of children. The 1900 Census counted 1.75 million children ages 10 to 15 gainfully employed in the United States. Most of the child labor, 62 percent, was agricultural while 16 percent was in industry. The children employed by industry worked in coal mines, textile mills, garment industry sweatshops, and factories of all kinds, and also worked as bootblacks, scrap collectors, and newsboys. In the 1870s, a survey of working-class families in Massachusetts demonstrated the importance of child labor for working-class families. Children between the ages of 10 and 19 provided a quarter of family income, which jumped to an astounding 30 percent in families where the parents were unskilled workers. As apprenticeships declined and the unskilled trades no longer sought youthful helpers, young people, particularly migrant youth, found themselves stuck in low-paying, unskilled positions that had little chance for upward mobility. Rural poor youth faced equally dismal prospects, working long hours with their parents as tenant farmers and sharecroppers or hiring out as seasonal hands on large farms.

Ironically, as middle-class thinkers were reconstructing children into innocents who should be allowed to play, they increasingly came to fear the violence and crimes of working-class youth. There seemed to be no controls over these young criminals gone wild. Street-corner gangs brazenly exhibited the perception of overall lawlessness of working-class youth in large American cities. Reformer Jacob Riis reported on the prevalence and misdeeds of these gangs in his 1890 work, *How the Other Half Lives*. Riis claimed that every corner had its gang and that they were composed of the American-born sons of English, Irish, and German parents. Gang members wore distinctive hats, shirts, and pants. These gangs of young ruffians thrived on bravado, impressing their peers with robbery. Riis reported that in New York City just over one-eighth of those arrested for crimes were under the age of 20 (Shrock 2004, 32–37).

Child labor in New York City tenements was widespread. Young children were often sent to scavenge the streets for rope, cinders, metal, or anything that could be resold to junk dealers or neighbors. Older children were put to work as street peddlers. Young boys shined shoes, and little girls sold apples or pencils. Manufacturers and contractors gave unfinished garments or materials to make artificial flowers to families who would finish or assemble these items at home. Children were often seen transporting large bundles of these materials in the streets. Once home, the children helped fell seams, sew linings and hems, finish gloves, card buttons, fasten cords to pencils for souvenir cards, assemble artificial flowers and whatever their age and skill allowed them to do. In his study of New York tenements, Jacob Riis reported that children worked unchallenged from the day they were old enough to pull a thread. In a fourth floor tenement he witnessed five men and a woman, two young girls, under 15, and a boy who claimed to be 15, but who obviously lied, at the machines sewing knickerbockers. The floor was littered ankle-deep with half-sewn garments. On a couch, in an alcove, a barelegged baby with pinched face was asleep amid many dozens of pants, ready for the finisher. A fence of piled-up clothing kept him from rolling off on to the floor. The faces, hands, and arms to the elbows of everyone in the room were black with the color of the cloth on which they were working. The girls shot sidelong glances, but, at a warning look from the man with the bundle, they tread their machines more energetically than ever. On the next floor Riis found another family who had hired an old man as an ironer and a sweet-faced little Italian girl as a finisher. She was 12 and she said that she could neither read nor write. Riis noted sadly that she probably never would (Volo and Volo 2007, 324).

Other children did not take part in the actual manufacture of the items, but they bore the burden of the home-work system by having to care for younger siblings and do housework while their mothers were engaged in various types of home manufacture. Children were prohibited from working during the hours they were supposed to be in school, but there were no legal restrictions to keep families from having their children work from the three o'clock in the afternoon dismissal until well into the night. Some teachers complained that their students fell asleep in class, having worked until 9 or 10 at night in some form of home manufacture, but there was nothing they could legally do to remedy the situation. During autumn, when the flower making season was at its height, it was not unusual for families to keep school-aged children home for days at a time, sending them to school just enough to show that they were complying with compulsory attendance regulations. Unfortunately, when truant school-aged children were discovered and forced to attend school, all that the law was doing was adding schoolwork to the ceaseless toil in which the children had spent their days since early childhood. Some families relied on the assistance of their preschool children, as they were too young to be affected by compulsory attendance laws. Children, as young as three, were taught to pull bastings and sew buttons for garments made by their mothers. These younger children were put to work pulling apart the petals that came from the factory stuck together thus enabling the flower assemblers to work much more rapidly.

Once beyond the age of 14, young tenement girls were free to seek employment outside of the home. Many of these girls became shopgirls. In New York, the Women's Investing Committee found the majority of the children employed in the stores to be under age, but reported that they knew of only one time when a truant officer inquired at a shop. In that instance, he sent the youngest children home, but in a month's time they were all back in their places. An investigation by the Working Women's Society documented the injustices that these young girls faced. Sales girls were fined for a number of offenses, including sitting down, despite the fact that a law existed requiring stores to supply seats for saleswomen. In one instance, a little girl, who received only $2 a week, made cash-sales amounting to $167 in a single day, while the receipts of a $15 a week male clerk in the same department footed up only $125; yet for some trivial mistake the girl was fined 60 cents out of her $2. Superintendents and timekeepers commonly shared the revenue generated by these spurious fines. During busy seasons the girls were required to work 16 hours a day or face dismissal, and pressure was exerted on the time clerk to be very strict and exacting concerning violations. Oppressive heat and poor ventilation created a situation where girls fainted day after day and, according to Riis, came out looking like corpses.

Many young boys were employed in coal mines. Coal mining was a dangerous and arduous means of making a living. Pay was low, and for many families to reach even a subsistence level of earnings, sons were sent to work in the mines as young as nine or as soon as they were physically able. Some served as door boys who sat in the dark mines waiting to open and close the doors that permitted the mine cars to pass. Others were driver boys who dumped coal from the cars so that it could advance to the processing machines. The breaker boys—covered in dust and sitting knee-to-back in long lines above the coal chutes—cleaned and inspected the material from the mine separating the rock and slate from the coal. An 1877 report described a breaker room in St. Clair, Pennsylvania. These boys went to work in the cold dreary room at seven o'clock in the morning and worked until it was too dark to see any longer. For this they got $1 to $3 a week. Few could read or write. They had no games when their day's work was done because they were so tired. They knew nothing but the difference between slate and coal. Nine-year-old Joseph Miliauska, who earned 70 cents for a 10-hour day as a breaker boy, recalled boys would get hit in the back with a broom if they were caught letting a piece of slate slip by (Mintz 2004, 145). A Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, school superintendent addressed the problem of breaker boys in his annual report. He implored that something be done to educate these boys numbering five thousand. The boys were not receiving an education and were doing but little for themselves. Their occasional attendance interfered materially with the grading of the schools. It was suggested that a school in every mining district be established under the care of the best man that could be secured for the position and supplied with books, paper, slates, and pencils. It would be kept open as a night school during the entire school year, except when there is no work at the mines, and then let it be conducted as a day school. The prescribed course of study would be reading, writing, spelling, the business operations of arithmetic, with oral instruction in civil government and the duties of citizens, not omitting moral instruction.

The industrial expansion following the Civil War created an unprecedented demand for workers. In this age of increasingly commercial commodities, many families came to depend on the money that children could bring into the home. By the end of the century nearly one-fifth of the nation's children between 10 and 16 were part of the workforce (Volo and Volo 2007, 327).

By 1900, despite the well-organized work of groups such as the National Consumers League, little had been done to curb the problem. Twenty-eight states had instituted some forms of protective measures, but they were so limited and infrequently enforced as to be highly ineffective. Typically, only children employed in mining or manufacturing were covered. Legislation generally established a minimum age for workers of 10 or 12, a maximum number of 10 or more work hours, and some limited literacy or school attendance requirements. None of the southern states, where child labor grew rapidly in the proliferating textile mills, established child labor laws. Moreover, labor unions were unable to get much of a foothold in the South and thus were unable to negotiate agreements with individual companies to limit child labor (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 129).

—*Dorothy Denneen Volo*

Humane Treatment for Orphans

Ironically, one of the most effective groups to pursue better treatment for orphans (and abused children in general) was founded as an outgrowth of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA). In the nineteenth century, child abuse occurred at all levels of society and in every ethnic and racial group just as it does today; but the social stresses of unemployment, alcoholism, and tenement life in the extended period of economic downturn known as the Panic of 1873 seem to have increased its frequency.

In 1873, Henry Bergh, president of the New York chapter of the ASPCA, was made aware of a particularly egregious case of child abuse by so-called foster parents. Etta Wheeler, an acquaintance of Bergh's through their mutual interest in protecting animals, was shocked to discover that the New York City Police had no authority to step into child-abuse cases that were isolated within the home. Parents—even foster parents and informal guardians—apparently had the right to deal with the children under their care in any manner they thought fit. Wheeler turned to Bergh and his lawyer, Elbridge Gerry, who asked a court to issue a subpoena forcing the parents of the abused child to appear with her in court. The child, Mary Ellen Wilson, was so marked by the abuse of her foster parents as to show visible marks, bruises, and wounds—of which she had ostensibly received from scissors wielded by her foster mother. The judge was moved by the spectacle. The girl was sent to an asylum, and the foster mother was sentenced to a year in jail after conviction. The case was precedent setting with regard to parent-child relations.

Bergh and Gerry were inspired by their success in the Wilson case to form the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC), which received permission from the New York State courts in 1875 to investigate allegations, remove children from abusive situations, and bring cases against parents. The SPCC lobbied in states nationwide through its many affiliates for legislation to protect children including an act in 1876 in New York that required parents and guardians to give children proper food, clothing, medical care, and supervision. From 1876 to 1903 the SPCC sent nearly 100,000 abused and neglected children to asylums and orphanages.

With children being removed from almshouses and abusive homes, and the effects of the Panic of 1873 lingering, a great need arose for more space in protective environments. Oddly it was at this time that many homes for soldiers' orphans were closing because many of the initial recipients of their care—the offspring of deceased Civil War soldiers—were growing out of childhood. Some of these changed the emphasis of their institutions to cover other children, but it was clear that many new facilities would be needed if society wanted to widen its communal safety net to include the general population. In response, humanitarian organizations opened more than 400 additional facilities for poor and abandoned children from 1890 to 1903; and many state and county governments founded new asylums, training schools, and public orphanages.

Religious organizations also stepped forward to provide sectarian environments for children of their own faiths. Among these were a number of Jewish charities that opened Hebrew homes in Atlanta, Cleveland, New Orleans, Baltimore, Boston, Milwaukee, New York, San Francisco, and other cities. Roman Catholic institutions also grew in number. Many sectarian groups feared exposing the children of their own faith to unrestricted Protestantism. While public facilities claimed to be largely nonsectarian, in the nineteenth century, moral instruction and Bible reading were considered foundational elements in the upbringing of children, and most public institutions were governed by clearly Protestant ethics and beliefs. Jews and Catholics had a long history of resistance to placing children of their faiths with Protestant families, and both religions formed extensive school systems to limit exposure to the King James version of the Bible. Ironically, Episcopalians founded a large number of sectarian institutions because they feared that public run institutions would be too secular in their outlook. Some sectarian asylums accepted children of only one gender, others accepted both, and most continued to discriminate based on race.

In 1860, there had been 124 orphan asylums in the United States; by 1888 there were 613; and by 1902 the number had grown to well over 1,000. At the beginning of the twentieth century, more than 110,000 children lived in institutions, and 176,000 were in foster homes. Most of the institutions founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century were greatly improved over earlier versions in terms of their physical facilities. They generally had more spacious dormitories, central heating, and larger washrooms fitted with toilets and bathtubs. Many had clean cooking and eating facilities, moderately sized libraries, playgrounds, and ball fields. Most institutions chose to forego in-house educational instruction as too expensive sending their charges to the public schools in the towns where they were located. Like most parents in nuclear families who hoped to curtail bad behavior and delinquency, the staff of so-called modern orphanages and asylums used corporal punishment only after repeated appeals to the child's natural sense of right and wrong had failed. Some institutions severed their ties with so-called incorrigible children by placing them in factories and other manufacturing settings where they "faced immediate indenture and the end of childhood" (Reef 2005, 95).

Child-care experts believed that institutional care was necessary but that it should be brief. Children in public institutions were thought to live an artificial and unnatural life, and many child advocates were convinced that children needed to live in a home with a family to grow up normally. Home placement, therefore, became the goal of most orphanages and asylums. Massachusetts had passed the first laws regulating adoption in 1851, and by 1929 adoption laws were in effect in all the 48 states. Nonetheless, every year tens of thousands of children remained on the streets or lived in neglected and substandard conditions.

—*James M. Volo*

SERVANTS: DOMESTIC ORDER

In Europe, the persons who went into domestic service did so as a class, and the service was considered a profession of sorts marked with customs and defined by well-established and well-understood requirements regarding the positions of the employed and the employer. Masters and mistresses there had no fear of being compromised by condescension and had no need to raise their voices or assume airs of authority.

In nineteenth-century America, domestic service was clearly not so well-defined, and according to Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, those in service were "universally expectant" that their condition was a "stepping-stone to something higher…some form of independence which shall give them a home of their own." Beecher and Stowe noted for their readers, "Your seamstress intends to become a dressmaker, and take in work at her own home; your cook is pondering a marriage with the baker, which shall transfer her toils from your cook-stove to her own…Your carpenter…is your fellow citizen, you treat him with respect…You have a claim on him that he shall do your work according to your directions—no more." Nonetheless, Beecher and Stowe noted that "the condition of domestic service [in America]…still retain[ed] about it something from the influences of feudal times" (Beecher and Stowe 2002, 235–37).

In homes with several domestics under the direction of a housekeeper, there seems to have been formed among them a formal hierarchy—almost a family within a family. The housekeeper was probably an older female worker or the worker whose residence in America was the longest. She usually ran the service side of the household as a manager with all the other servants reporting to her. The housekeeper was probably the only domestic to interface with the mistress. All the other servants would have been ignored by the employer's family except when being given commands, and many homes were built with hidden stairwells and passages to keep the servants out of sight. The cook, whose experience, quality, and skill were most important to the family, ran the kitchen and usually had a scullery maid or two to help her. In addition there may have been parlor maids, chambermaids, waitresses, laundresses, and a seamstress. In smaller establishments many tasks were incorporated into a single person. While the vast majority of domestic laborers were female, male domestics such as butlers, valets, gardeners, stable help, footmen, and coachmen may also have been part of the domestic household. In no case were governesses or tutors considered in the same class as the domestic help.

A domestic servant's hours of work were long and somewhat irregular because they were always on call. Most worked from sunrise to sunset averaging about 12 hours a day with a half-day off per week. It was suggested that knowledgeable and experienced servants rose early in the morning—up to two hours before the family members—so that they could get through the dirtiest or hardest part of their work before the family came to be under foot and interrupted them. "There is nothing more disagreeable than to run about with dirty hands and dirty clothes: and this must inevitably be the case if you defer this part of your work until everybody is stirring and bustling about" (Roberts 2006, 17). This serf-like circumstance needs to be viewed in a nineteenth-century perspective, however. Most farmers worked equally long or longer hours, and factory workers often complained about 14-hour work days during which they were under constant supervision.

The service staff generally ate together as would a family in the kitchen or some other service area, and strict hierarchy among the help was observed on these occasions. At the end of the workday, servants generally retired to rooms in the attic, garret, or basement where a bed, a washstand, and a chair might be made available to them. Pegs on the wall served as substitutes for a wardrobe or chest of draws, but most domestics came with a trunk or footlocker for storage. The rooms were usually shared with other servants, and they lacked the privacy afforded to the employer and her family. Nonetheless, they were generally better than the accommodations afforded to slaves or indentures in the previous century.

Domestic work could be physically demanding. Since commercial cleaning products were virtually unknown, sand, salt, camphor, lye, vinegar, and various homemade concoctions were used, but the application of good old-fashioned elbow grease seems to have been the most common method used in cleaning. The servants tended to labor in their own sections of the house when not cleaning or arranging the family's quarters. Depending on their responsibilities, they spent a great deal of their working time in the yards, the cellars, the pantry, the larder, the laundry, the linen closet, or the kitchen. The industrial economy of the nation made many goods and comforts available to the wealthy, but the servants seem to have worked in generally hot, crowded rooms, dirty and sooty by modern standards, and furnished with standard work tables, cupboards, cabinets, and perhaps a chair or two.

The kitchen was the domain of the cook, her scullions, and the waitress if there was one. She—it was unprecedented to have a male cook—was second among the servants only to the housekeeper in authority. The cook dealt with tradesmen, deliverymen, and suppliers, and she directed the preparation or preservation of raw foodstuffs and the butchering of meats into manageable cuts. In an era that lacked refrigeration, it required an enormous amount of care and attention to detail to safely prepare food for consumption. Besides the repetitive cycle of dishwashing, advice manuals from the period suggested the establishment of a daily cleaning regime, and a complete scrubbing of the kitchen environs was required twice a week. Sinks were scalded with a lye solution, cutting surfaces were scraped down, work surfaces scrubbed with bristle brushes, floors mopped, tools cleaned, silver polished, and fireplaces and stoves swept of ashes and cinders.

The parlor maid cleaned and maintained the main floor rooms such as the hallways, library, drawing room, and, of course, the parlors. There may have been both a public and family parlor in some great houses. Victorian era furniture was generally heavy, bulky, and ornately carved suggesting a great deal of dusting, polishing, and heavy moving. Carpets, rugs, and draperies required daily sweeping or brushing, and they were removed seasonally and cleaned at least twice a year. In most homes all the carpets were removed during summer and replaced by reed mats. This probably required a combined effort among the servants due to the heavy lifting required.

The upstairs maid was commonly known as the chambermaid. As the name suggests it was her task to air, dust, and sweep the family sleeping chambers and dump and clean any of the chambers pots, commodes, or washbasins that had been used in the night. The bed linens were arranged or changed; soap, towels, candles, and tapers replaced; fireplaces swept, and wood or coal replenished; and drinking and washing water put in pitchers. In many households the water for all this cleaning, and all the water used in the home, was drawn from a single source and had to be carried to other parts of the building. The same was true of any coal or firewood delivered in one place and used in another, but the kitchen fuel supply was usually located nearby the kitchen service door.

Of all the tasks to be done in the household the one most hated was found in the laundry. Although there were technological advances available to aid the processing of clothing and linens such as pumps, wash-boilers, hand-cranked wringers, and sinks with drains, the job was relentless and the work heavy. Water was fetched and heated on the stove or in the boiler, and the washing was done in a tub with a paddle and a washboard. The lye soap used at the time was very harsh on the skin. Pressing was done with a series of heavy irons heated on a stove or on an oil-fired heater. Fine fabrics and woolen outerwear were often sponged clean and brushed rather than washed.

The stables, stable-yards, lawns, and ornamental gardens were almost solely staffed by men and older boys. Work in the stables around large animals was dangerous, hay bales and grain sacks were heavy, and manure was difficult to remove. Harness, saddles, and tack needed constant attention, oiling, and repair. Northern city dwellers rarely rode on horseback except for amusement or exercise, but they did own carriage horses. In the South and Midwest, on the other hand, men were particularly fond of riding astride and could not be made to dispense with their horses even under the most trying of economic or meteorological conditions. Moreover, they often provided their servants with four-footed transportation to provide care for their own mounts when away from home.

Both the male and female gentry traveled mostly by carriage or chaise, and well-heeled city dwellers sometimes supported a coach as a sign of their affluence even though they never left the urban districts in it. The gentry would go into debt to maintain their own carriage and team; and great pride was taken in being seen in a fine conveyance, pulled by matched horses, and manned by a properly attired driver and footman. The social elite considered the use of rented vehicles and teams an embarrassment to those who could not afford the ownership of a team and carriage, or the servants needed to maintain them (Volo and Volo 2007, 356–59).

PETS: TROPHY PETS

With increased leisure time and disposable income, the Industrial Age saw an expansion of interest in a widening variety of pets both as companions and pet keeping as a hobby. Dogs became an integral part of the fashion system for the well-to-do and were treated as luxury accessories. In cities, gentlemen paraded Russian wolfhounds, pointers, and setters. Ladies loved their King Charles spaniels, pugs, and terriers. Dalmatians were popular coach dogs making them a common sight running alongside the horses. The Scotch collie was a popular suburban dog. The Newfoundland and the St. Bernard were also very popular. In fact, the St. Bernard, a paradigm of dependability and protection, was so popular many advertisers who wished to convey a sense of security to their customers used them in their advertisements.

The terrier was a favorite for many people. Bakers seemed to be particularly enamored with the breed, and many terriers were used to protect bakers' carts from thieves. The Dalmatian has come to be associated with firemen who often kept a dog to protect the firehouse from thieves and to clear the streets ahead of the horse-drawn wagons responding to a fire. A coach dog, like the Dalmatian, was a natural in this role but many firemen just adopted a street dog.

By the 1870s, interest in breeding and showing dogs had fully developed along the lines of the English model. The first recorded American dog show took place in Minneola, New York, in 1874 and the first bench show to receive widespread attention was held at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. Sportsmen who organized the Westminster Kennel Club to improve the pointer breed held their first show in 1877. This included nonsporting dog breeds.

Dogs were not the only pets to garner specialized interest. Breeders began to show cats in the 1870s. Aquarium fish moved away from local pond residents to more exotic varieties with the introduction of the Paradise Fish in the 1890s. Raising and racing pigeons became popular in the 1880s as a kind of husbandry for art's sake. By the 1870s the canary was the ultimate household bird and a common accessory to parlor décor. As the 1880s drew to a close, other species of birds were being imported from Asia, Australia, and South America. It was during this time that the parakeet made its debut.

Birds were the first pets to have a wide range of care products. By the 1870s bird fanciers were able to buy specialized accessories for birdcages including gravel mats for cage bottoms, elastic perches, awnings to protect birds from direct sun and bathing and feeding dishes. It was not until much later that care products were available for other pets. Commercial goldfish food was available by 1881. Commercial cat food did not appear until the 1890s. By the 1890s the modern pet shop had been established. These businesses sold pets as well as a growing number of supplies for their care. Pets were increasingly given more comforts and honors. Pet cemeteries first began to appear near large cities in 1896.

Concern for animals and their proper treatment continued to garner popular support. This was especially true of the ubiquitous horse that was, before the introduction of the automobile, the prime mover for almost all forms of urban street traffic. Unfortunately, poor animal management, especially among low level teamsters and delivery services, gave rise to the phrase "beating a dead horse," which had more than one instance in fact to give it reality. The tireless efforts of Henry Bergh and the ASPCA resulted in such innovations as an ambulance for injured horses and in 1875 a sling for horse rescue. Bergh saw that fountains provided fresh drinking water for horses in the streets of Manhattan. These fountains were used by cats, dogs and humans alike.

Dogs were often cruelly exploited in fights that often lasted hours. Bergh once dropped through a skylight into the pit to stop such a sporting event. Dogcatchers rounded up as many as 300 dogs from the streets of Manhattan daily. The caged dogs were then thrown into the East River and drowned. The dogcatchers were paid by the number of animals they collected. It was not unusual for family dogs to be purloined from owner's yards. Such abuses so disturbed the public that in 1894 the ASPCA was placed in charge of New York City's animal control and assumed control of picking up homeless and injured animals and maintaining shelters for them. By the time of Bergh's death in 1888, humane societies had been established throughout the country. Buffalo, Boston, and San Francisco were among the first to follow New York's lead. Anticruelty legislation had been passed in 37 of the 38 states.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Atkins, Annette. *Harvest of Grief, Grasshopper Plagues and Public Assistance in Minnesota, 1873–1878.* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984.

Beecher, Catherine E., and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Deer, Mark. *A Dog's History of America: How Our Best Friend Explored, Conquered, and Settled a Continent*. New York: North Point Press, 2004.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Green, Harvey. *The Light of the Home*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Haines, T. L., and Levi W. Yaggy. *The Royal Path of Life: Or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness*. Chicago, IL: Western Publishing House, 1876.

Heininger, Mary L. *A Century of Childhood, 1820–1920*. Rochester, NY: Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin, *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Kenny, Kevin. "The Development of the Working Classes." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

McClinton, Katherine Morrison. *Antiques of American Childhood*. New York: Bramhall House, 1970.

Meredith, Roy. *Mathew Brady's Portrait of an Era*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982.

Mintz, Steven. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
Mitford, Jessica. *The American Way of Birth*. New York: Dutton, 1992.
Ransom, J. Clinton. *The Successful Man in His Manifold Relation with Life*. New York: J.A. Hill & Co., 1889.
Reef, Catherine. *Alone in the World: Orphans and Orphanages in America*. New York: Clarion Books, 2005.
Roberts, Robert. *The House Servant's Directory, An African American Butler's 1827 Guide*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006.
Sanchez-Eppler, Karen. *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth Century American Culture*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History*. 4 Vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
Strasser, Susan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1982.
Tinling, Marion, ed. *With Women's Eyes: Visitors to the New World, 1775–1918*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.
Tosh, John. "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home." *History Today* (December 1996): 9–15.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Ware, John F. W. *Home Life: What It Is, and What It Needs*. Boston, MA: Wm. V. Spencer, 1864.
Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Economic Life

NATURE OF WORK

From Craft Shop to Factory

From colonial times craftsmen and shopkeepers have often been considered a privileged class somewhat akin to small businessmen, but many were actually petty proprietors with just enough income and business acumen to rest on the lower rung of middle-class status and employ a couple of journeymen or apprentices. The greatest changes in employment and manufacturing in the nineteenth century were in the transitions from the hand labor of these craftsmen to increased mechanization in almost every task. Household manufacturing, which was still widespread after the Civil War, declined in importance during the next four decades giving way to industrialization and mass production in almost every facet of the economy. Many of the items consumers once made for themselves, including basic things such as tools, textiles, and clothing, now came from factories. These larger-scale enterprises required a greater capitalization than formerly if they were to succeed.

The craftsman, who previously made goods to the specifications of individual customers who they knew, now enlarged his shop—if he could—or took a place in a factory to turn out ready-made products in standard sizes for the general public. This transition also negatively affected the traditional practice of apprenticeship allowing formal schooling to displace it as a preferred method of training for many forms of work. The shift from forced apprenticeship, which cost employers only room and board, to wage labor, which required cash payments to workers, undermined the financial advantage formerly enjoyed by the masters of small shops.

Several factors help to account for the change to factory production. Many researchers point to technological advances that made work in the home or craft shop less viable, but that tells only part of the story. In some industries the sheer size and expense of the new technology made it impossible for individual workers or even small business owners to acquire innovative equipment. For example, the large steel manufacturers put many small shops out of business because these small manufacturers could not afford the Bessemer converters that made inexpensive steel; and the Bessemer converter, because it was such a massive, expensive piece of equipment, necessitated a large plant and transportation network that would finish and ship steel products to consumers (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 73).

In New England the shoemaker's shop was a small building where skilled workers joined the machine-sewn tops to the hand-wrought soles. Each man was an independent worker with his own cobbler's bench and materials. Courtesy Library of Congress.

The financial capital needed for increasing mechanization caused certain geographic areas blessed with inexpensive waterpower, raw materials, or access to interstate transportation to become centers for the manufacture of specific items. Danbury, Connecticut, with its hat factories; Lowell and Lynn, Massachusetts, with their textile mills; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with its iron foundries and deposits of coal may serve as examples. Domestic manufactures remained strong in many rural areas of the country and in many industries where it was not immediately possible to apply power and machine technology to the required task.

Shoemaking can serve as an example in this regard. At a time when power machinery had not yet been developed for making shoes, the process was ruled by apprentice-trained specialists who made hand-cut and hand-sewn shoes. The invention of a machine to produce small wooden pegs to attach the leather soles to the upper part of the shoe initially changed the way shoemakers assembled their wares. The quiet stitching of sole to upper from colonial times was replaced by the dull sound of the cobbler's hammer driving pegs into hard leather a half-century later. At the same time, sewing machine technology was successfully applied to the stitching of leather resulting in the establishment of factories in which women sewed the uppers together and the men attached them to the lower structure of the shoe fitting the finished product with soles and heels by hand. By 1858, Lyman Blake had patented a leather sewing machine that attached the soles to the uppers mechanically facilitating the shoemaking process. This made the price of shoes, especially work shoes, much more affordable. Sizes and widths were first introduced to shoe production at this time freeing the consumer from the strictures of individually wrought footwear or choosing among small, medium, and large as did slaves and soldiers.

The conversion to machine operations brought many more women into the manufacturing trades. For example, although harness and saddle making remained male-dominated crafts, the extension of power stitching to the entire shoemaking process introduced a larger number of women into the process and left the traditional shoemaker with little beyond specialty work and a small repair business. As a result of this mechanization, more people became involved in shoemaking in the nineteenth century than in any other industry in the nation save agriculture (Volo and Volo 2007, 80).

The Boston Associates

With the 1823 opening of the first textile factory in Lowell, Massachusetts, a new system of hiring factory workers developed. Francis Cabot Lowell had observed the impact of the factory system in Britain in the second decade of the century. Lowell, a few relatives, and friends among the Boston elite (the Lawrences, Lymans, Cabots, Perkinses, Dwights, Brookses, and others collectively known as the Boston Associates) supported Patrick Tracy Jackson and Nathan Appleton in their task of building the first modern factory in America. The so-called Waltham-Lowell System they introduced established a wholly new paradigm for manufacturing that took into consideration not only capital, labor, supply, and marketing, but also the impact of industrial change on both the rich and the poor associated with any major enterprise. This was a dramatic change from the industrial practices generally found in European factories.

The Boston Associates financed the Lowell mills on the Merrimack River where the natural provision of water power permitted the construction of many mills by several companies. The Associates also built comparable complexes on the Merrimac at Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lawrence, Massachusetts, and on the Connecticut River at Chicopee and Holyoke, Massachusetts. On the basis of the wealth these enterprises generated, the Boston Associates and their descendants invested in railways, banks, and insurance companies. They also spent a great deal of money on philanthropy—primarily donating to socially useful institutions like the Massachusetts General Hospital, the McLean Asylum, Harvard University, Williams College, the Lawrence Scientific School, the Athenaeum, and the Lowell Institute. Ultimately they secured for themselves and their progeny a secure and remarkably durable position at the top of the social order (Dalzell 1987, vi–vii).

Most of the Boston Associates never made more than an occasional trip to the mills, and these were usually made in a effort to check on the thrust and extent of the changes their money had made. While they were interested in the moral tone and practice of religion among their workers, most of their efforts were directed at raising the moral tone of the city of Boston where they maintained at impressive array of homes along the streets of Beacon Hill. Ultimately they hoped to alter the direction of unchecked cultural change taking place in the streets below them, and secure the world as they knew it for people like themselves (Dalzell 1987, xi–xii).

Mill Girls

The Boston Associates owned the mills at Lowell and recruited young girls from farms and rural areas to live and work in the cotton mills under paternalistic supervision designed to protect their respectability and optimize their productivity. The mill advertised for girls between 15 and 30, but some younger girls were accepted. In the factories the overseers were responsible for maintaining work discipline and high moral standards. All unmarried girls not living with their families were required to "board in one of the boarding houses belonging to the Company, and conform to the regulations of the house where they board" (Eisler 1977, 25). The boarding house keepers enforced strict curfews and codes of conduct. Boarders were "considered answerable for any improper conduct in their houses" (Eisler 1977, 27). In addition to behavior, "regular attendance on public worship on the Sabbath was required for all workers." The company would "not employ any person who [was] habitually absent [from the services]" (Eisler 1977, 24).

A period illustration of the workers coming to their shift at the mills at Lowell (background). Mixed in among the adult workers are young women and boys. Courtesy Library of Congress.

The boarding houses were well-maintained and served three substantial meals daily. One girl reported, "for dinner, meat, potatoes, with vegetables, tomatoes and pickles, pudding or pie, with bread coffee or tea." (Eisler 1977, 24). The girls received good care. "Let no one suppose that the 'factory girls' are without guardian. We are placed in the care of overseers who feel under moral obligations to look after our interests" (Eisler 1977, 64). Overcrowding, however, was a problem. Observers reported that the young women slept an average six to a room in just three beds. There was no privacy, and it was almost impossible to read or write alone.

The mill girls seem to have shared a passion for self-improvement. They attended evening school, pooled their coins to engage music and language teachers, attended lyceum lectures, and were reputed to be avid readers. Harriet Hanson Robinson claimed that "the circulating libraries, that were soon opened drew them [the mill girls] and kept them there, when no other inducement would have been sufficient." She wrote of a "farmer's daughter from the 'State of Maine' who had come to Lowell for the express purpose of getting books . . . that she could not find in her native place" (Eisler 1977, 31). Young Lucy Larcom recalled, "The printed regulations forbade us to bring books into the mill, so I made my window-seat into a small library of poetry, pasting its side all over with newspaper clippings" (Larcom 1986, 175–76).

Some of the girls who were attracted to Lowell had previously worked in small mills or had done work for local merchants in their homes. Many farmers' daughters moved to the city with the hope of finding better economic opportunities for themselves or their families. Generally, the girls worked from 9 to 10 months per year. Many returned home during the summer months when their labor on the farm was required. Lucy Larcom recalled overhearing a family discussion about finances during which one of her parents said, "The children will have to leave school and go into the mill." Lucy later reported, "The mill-agent did not want to take us two little girls, but consented on condition we should be sure to attend school the full number of months prescribed each year. I, the younger one, was then between eleven and twelve" (Larcom 1986, 153). Lucy's reaction to her new situation was positive. "I thought it would be a pleasure to feel that I was not a trouble or burden or expense to anybody. . . . So I went to my first day's work in the mill with a light heart. The novelty of it made it seem easy, and it really was not hard, just to change the bobbins on the spinning-frames every three quarters of an hour or so, with half a dozen other little girls who were doing the same thing" (Larcom 1986, 153–54).

Factory work could be dangerous, however. A sleepy or inattentive worker could easily loose a finger, arm, or scalp to the unforgiving machinery. Mill girls were required to keep their hair contained in a hair net; but vanity often prevailed and many of them were injured or killed when their long hair caught in the pitiless apparatus. Deafness or partial loss of hearing often resulted from the tremendous noise of the looms—a phenomenon, until the advent of industrialization, uncommon to ears attuned to the quiet passing of the agricultural day. A report on factory life described the Amoskeag Mills at Manchester: "The din and clatter of these five hundred looms under full operation, struck us on first entering as something frightful and infernal, for it seemed such an atrocious violation of one of the faculties of the human soul, the sense of hearing." One mill girl wrote that upon leaving work "the sound of the mill was in my ears, as of crickets, frogs, and Jews harps all mingled together with a strange discord. After that it seemed as though cotton-wool was in my ears" (Eisler 1977, 31).

Pulmonary ailments also abounded in the mills. The mill inspectors noted, "The atmosphere of the room . . . is charged with cotton filaments and dust [and] the windows were down; we asked the reason, and a young woman answered naively, and without seeming to be in the least aware that this privation of fresh air was anything else than perfectly natural, that 'when the wind blew, the threads did not work so well.' After we had been in the room for fifteen or twenty minutes, we found ourselves . . . in quite a perspiration, produced by a certain moisture which we observed in the air, as well as the heat" (Eisler 1977, 31). Added to the normal humidity of the day, steam was regularly sprayed into the air to maintain its moisture content. This was thought to keep the threads from drying out and snapping on the looms. Having breathed in all these fibers for so many hours each day, many girls left the mills with a cough never again to return (Volo and Volo 2007, 320–22).

Child Labor

Among those things acceptable in the nineteenth century that persons in a modern society find difficult to understand was the commonality of child labor. The textile mills of New England offered employment to boys and girls as well as young adults. At the end of the eighteenth century, Samuel Slater built the first successful water powered textile mill in the United States. With a staff of children aged 7 to 12, he successfully demonstrated the profitability of spinning yarn while utilizing youthful labor. He divided the factory work into such simple steps that even very young children could do the work. Jobs ranged from picking foreign matter (leaves, pods, and dirt) from the cotton to operating the carding and spinning machines. The children proved to be good workers who produced a quality product under Slater's supervision.

The lot of many children, like this young girl, was to work 12 to 14 hours a day at tedious and sometimes dangerous tasks in the textile mills of New England. Children demanded little in the way of wages and proved to be docile and careful workers who could easily be dominated by factory managers and supervisors. Courtesy Library of Congress.

As mills continued to expand so did the need for children to work in them. By 1830, 55 percent of the mill workers in Rhode Island were children. To avoid accusations of alienating children from their homes, Slater often hired entire families to work for him, a method that came to be known as the Rhode Island system. "A few sober and industrious families of at least five children each, over the age of eight are wanted," advertised a newspaper in 1831. A mutual dependence developed as the mill relied on the children and the families relied upon the money the children earned from the mill (Volo and Volo 2007, 320).

The incidence of child labor seems to have been largely gender-neutral with boys and girls entering the work force in approximately equal proportion. Native-born and immigrant families, at all levels of father's income, seemed to have sent just about the same ratio of girls to boys into the labor force. When the age of the youngest child sent to work is considered, however, Americans rather than the immigrants seem more likely to have sent their children to work at a younger age. Data from industrialized areas in New England show American children at work in larger numbers as early as age 11. The immigrant samples taken from the same communities showed no appreciable number of children working before age 13. Nonetheless, American-born parents were more reluctant to send out *any* children to work than immigrants, but when they did, they often sent them out young. Irish immigrant families were prone to send out most of their eligible children, but when the Irish father's annual income rose to American standards (approximately $750), the family generally sent no children into the work force (Modell 1979, 235–36).

Both American and immigrant working-class families seem to have terminated schooling at about the same age (13 years), but immigrant families preferred formal schools to on-the-job training, sending several children out to work so that one might stay in school and get a formal education. This was usually the eldest boy, whose success it was hoped would ensure his aid to his siblings in the future. Conversely, as both groups reached American-style incomes, they tended to send their children to school rather than to work. Nonetheless, because immigrant families tended to be larger than American ones, and because immigrant head-of-household incomes tended to be smaller, the proportion of immigrant children in the workforce was far greater than that of native-born children. In some cases 9 of 10 immigrant children living off the farm spent time as part of the industrial workforce (Volo and Volo 2007, 57).

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

The working conditions in most factories were dreadful with extremes of temperature, unspeakable levels of noise, and an appalling accident rate. No overall death and injury figures exist for all the industrial incidents that took place during the period, but there are data for some of the steel mills in Pittsburgh where accidents were almost a daily occurrence. In 1891, there were almost 300 deaths and more than 2,000 accidental injuries worthy of being reported. The steel mills were among the most dangerous of industrial environments because of the combination of great weights, extreme temperatures, and no margin for error. Mechanization was still in its infancy, safety equipment was almost unknown, and the avoidance of accidents was the sole obligation of the worker. In a single year for which there is a breakdown of causes, 195 men were killed: 22 from hot metal explosions, 5 from asphyxiation, 10 from rolling accidents, 73 during the operation of cars and cranes, 24 from falling from great heights or into the pits, 7 from electric shock, 8 while piling and loading, and the remainder through miscellaneous causes (Wolff 1975, 86–87).

A common accident involved the couplers on the ore buckets, which were joined manually and led to countless smashed hands and missing fingers. Near the end of shifts, the number of accidents increased due to fatigue, increased carelessness, and slower reaction times. A slip or misjudgment usually meant disaster. Molten metals hanging from a crucible at the top of the furnace might suddenly fall or the container fail, bursting its bottom and killing the crew. Often metal streaming into the Bessemer converter struck the edge of the mold, throwing a shower of molten iron in all directions and burning nearby workers. Every man who worked with hot metal for a length of time experienced incidences like these and only luck kept them from receiving more than a few burns. Their clothes were riddled with tiny burn holes, and they wore thick wooden-soled boots to protect their feet and legs.

The blast furnace was tended by a puddler, noted as "the most picturesque and independent of all steel workers," who stirred the molten pig iron with an iron rod through a hole in the furnace door and worked the metal into hot balls weighing almost 500 pounds called billets. The heater's helper "in ragged trousers, shirt sleeves cut off at the shoulder, sweat pouring, muscles bunched into knots" pulled the billet out and tossed it to the rougher, who fed it into the roller. Billet after billet was tossed, and when the rougher turned round another was waiting. "All was hand-work, with hardly a break. Agility was necessary." A false step by any one of them or among these steps in the process could mean death (Wolff 1975, 87).

Rolling, slitting, and plating done by high pressure machines was cooler but equally nerve-racking, due to the unending vibration and noise of the presses and cold saws. Men were forced to yell at each other all day to be heard above the din. In a brief one-month period in the pressure division at Carnegie's Homestead plant there where 65 accidents, 7 of them fatal. About half the remainder were sprains, smashed feet, and lacerated hands. Finally, there were 10 head wounds, 3 broken arms or legs, 2 amputated arms, 4 eye injuries, 8 internal injuries, and one case of paralysis. These were injuries completely different from those found in the smelting and converting divisions (Wolff 1975, 88).

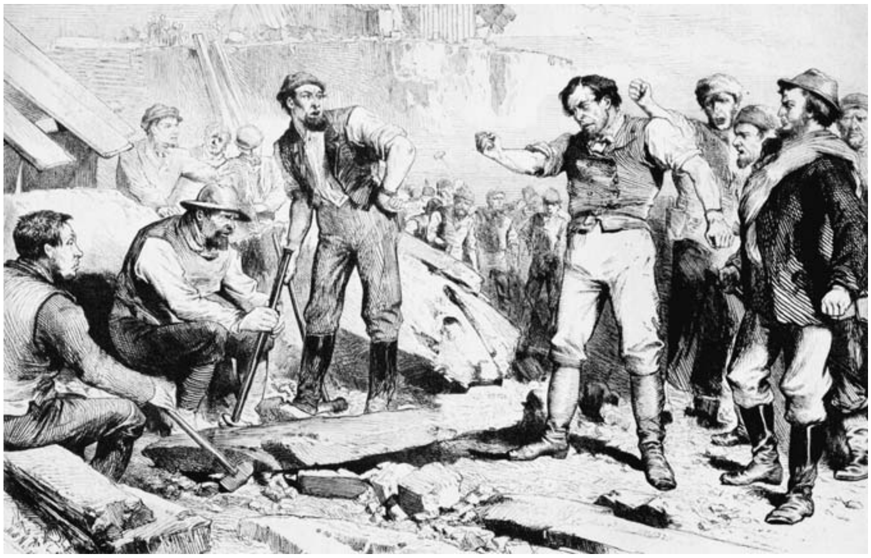
The legal responsibilities of the employer were so narrowly defined by the courts that management rarely paid indemnification to injured workers or the survivors, except in a few isolated cases of generosity. The workers often took out tiny insurance policies of their own, and these could be had for as little as a dollar a week. The work was so dangerous that this was usually the first dollar taken from a paycheck that may have been as small as $30 per week. Friends and relatives tried to help stricken families, and some men formed lodges that pooled their funds for emergencies (Wolff 1975, 88–89).

—*James M. Volo*

ORGANIZED LABOR

Mass production engendered mass employment in America for the first time, and it wrought changes in the relationship between labor and management that reverberate even today. The advance of labor unions was largely dependent on the workers' willingness to strike. The right to strike was first established in America by the Massachusetts State Court in 1842 when a group of mill girls in Lowell refused to return to work at their looms because of long working hours (up to 14 hours a day).

Yet it was only in the twentieth century that the labor movement gained social acceptability and the strike general approval. For years, both were considered highly unpatriotic and un-American. The use of strikebreakers, baton-wielding bully-boys and private detectives, and armed police or even soldiers to breach employees' picket lines was largely condoned by the American public as fighting illegal actions against employers bordering on socialism, anarchy, or worse. Even Charles W. Eliot, long-time president of Harvard University (1868–1909) and leader of the National Education Association, called strikebreakers the true American heroes. The struggle of organized labor against such attitudes and obstacles was continuous and bloody. Between 1888 and 1906 there were 38,000 strikes involving millions of American workers.



Striking workers are confronted by management backed by nonstriking workers or strikebreakers hired to intimidate the union members. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Eugene V. Debs was one of the best-known labor leaders of the early period of labor organization. Born in 1869, he was a founder or cofounder of several organizations, including the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the International Labor Union, and the Industrial Workers of the World. In 1874 Debs became a railroad fireman and founding member of the Brotherhood in which he rose quickly, becoming an editor for their magazine and then Grand Secretary in 1880. At the same time, he became a prominent figure in the community, and in 1884 was elected to the Indiana state legislature as a Democrat, serving one term.

There were four railroad brotherhoods formed in this period. They were comparatively conservative as labor unions go, focusing more on providing fellowship and services to their members than on collective bargaining. Debs gradually became convinced of the need for a more unified and confrontational approach. After stepping down as Grand Secretary of the Brotherhood, he organized, in 1893, one of the first industrial unions in the United States, the American Railway Union (ARU). The Union successfully struck the Great Northern Railway in April 1894, winning most of its demands.

Debs was jailed later that year for his part in the Pullman Strike (also 1894), which grew out of a request for support by the striking workers, who made the Pullman Company's cars, to the ARU at its convention in Chicago. Debs tried to persuade the ARU members who worked on the railways that the boycott was too risky, but the membership ignored his warnings and refused to handle Pullman cars or any other railroad cars attached to them, including cars containing the U.S. mail.

The federal government—openly favoring the Pullman Company and the railroad owners—obtained an injunction against the strike on the theory that the strikers had obstructed the delivery of the mail. The government then sent in the U.S. Army to end the strike. The result was a bloody confrontation. An estimated $80 million worth of property was damaged, and Debs was found guilty of interfering with the mails and sent to prison. The Supreme Court upheld the right of the federal government to issue the injunction later that year citing the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution as the foundation of its ruling.

At the time of his arrest for mail obstruction, Debs was not an avowed socialist. Only after his release in 1895 did he start his socialist political career, espousing Marxist ideals and running as a candidate for president of the United States as a member of the Social Democratic Party five times, the final time (1920) from prison. He never polled more than six percent of the vote (in 1912), which remains the all-time high for a Socialist Party candidate in America. Debs's conversion to socialism was unfortunate in that it tainted the efforts of other labor organizers as un-American or even foreign inspired. Supposed connections to socialism and anarchism were used by antiunionists to retard the development of a legitimate, organized labor movement in the United States for many years.

Nonetheless, by 1900, 36 states and the federal government had some sort of labor-oriented bureau or department, and organized labor had gained a great deal of recognition as legitimate and necessary. In the interim the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was founded in 1886 by Samuel Gompers as a reorganization of its predecessor, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. It became the most important large labor organization at the time having more than one million members. The United Mine Workers (UMW) was founded in 1890, by the merger of two earlier groups, the Knights of Labor and the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers. Unskilled or semiskilled workers remained unorganized, however. This was especially true of child laborers whose numbers were generally increasing as the century wore to an end.

—James M. Volo

FINANCE

The Robber Barons

The men who drove American industry generally made such great fortunes that their descendants remained important players in the economic health of the nation to the present time. Many of these men rose from humble beginnings to great wealth. Owning 149 steel plants, a quarter million acres of coal lands, 112 ships on the Great Lakes, and more than 1,000 miles of railway at the time of his retirement, Andrew Carnegie was one of these. Among the others were Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Andrew Mellon, and John D. Rockefeller, whose short biographies are hereafter given as examples of men who became super-rich during the Industrial Age.

Cornelius Vanderbilt

Steamship owner, railroad developer, and financier Cornelius Vanderbilt was born in Staten Island, New York in 1794. He began as a ferryman between Staten Island and New York City (1810), then fought against the state-sponsored steamboat monopolies before establishing his own steamboat business. Coastal steam lines developed slowly in the first half of the nineteenth century due to monopolies granted by the individual states to local investors. In 1824 the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the state grants as invasions of the federal power to regulate interstate commerce. A willing public advanced the cash needed to develop the coastal steamship lines, and by 1840, all the major East Coast ports were connected by steam.

By 1846, Vanderbilt was one of the richest men in America, and in 1849 he started a steamship line to California that involved traveling overland across Central America through Nicaragua disembarking in the Gulf of Mexico and re-embarking in the Pacific. When his employees tried to cheat him out of his business with the aid of American filibusterer William Walker, Vanderbilt helped eject Walker from Nicaragua (1857) and regained control of his line. Vanderbilt then sold the route to the Pacific Mail Steamship Co.

Shifting his interest to railroads thereafter, by 1862 he was buying stock in the New York & Harlem Railroad. He was soon extending its service and became its president. Vanderbilt then acquired the Hudson River Railroad and the New York Central Railroad, and consolidated them all into a single company known as the New York Central (1872). During the next few years he acquired even more rail lines, and extended his railroad empire into the Midwest and Canada.

Although his success rested in part on his insistence on providing the best service and on using the best equipment, he could be a ruthless competitor. His most famous business battle was fought against Daniel Drew (partner of Jay Gould and Jim Fisk), first over steamships, then over railroads. In 1868, the combination of Drew, Gould, and Fisk defeated Vanderbilt's attempt to add the Erie Railroad of Pennsylvania to his well-run rail system through a series of stock manipulations known as the "Erie Wars." Not usually charitable, Vanderbilt made an exception near the end of his life with gifts totaling $1 million to Central University in Nashville, Tennessee—renamed Vanderbilt University in 1873. When he died in 1877, with an estate of some $100 million, he was one of the wealthiest men in America.

Jay Gould

Jay (Jason) Gould was a financier and railway magnet born in Roxbury, New York, in 1836. Although a surveyor by training, he took time out to write a *History of Delaware County, and Border Wars of New York* (1856). He became a tanner and leather dealer in New York (1857–1860), and began speculating in small railways on the stock market. Although a self-made man, Gould was the epitome of the robber barons that preyed on the financial community during the Industrial Age.

Along with a pair of crafty associates (James "Jim" Fisk and Daniel Drew), he fought and beat Cornelius Vanderbilt for control of the Erie Railroad (1867–1868). Having used bribery and a private army of cutthroats and bully boys to gain control, Gould and his partners did not hesitate to loot the railroad's treasury through blatant stock manipulation. One of Gould's partners, Jim Fisk, was known as the "Barnum of Wall Street" for his fraudulent business practices, and he was notorious for his grandiose lifestyle having assembled an army of paid soldiers who served Fisk as their colonel. Fisk died after being shot by Edward Stokes during a dispute over business matters and a mistress.

Gould's attempt to corner the gold market by buying bullion to raise its price and then suddenly dumping it on the market when the premium rose to 30 percent helped cause the Black Friday panic (September 24, 1869) and destroyed whatever was left of his good reputation. Ejected from his Erie Railroad post in 1872, he gained control of several Western railroads and extracted a $10 million profit by threatening the Union Pacific. He also owned the *New York World* (1879–1883) and most of New York City's elevated railroads, and controlled Western Union Telegraph Co. He died unlamented in 1892 with a net worth of over $100 million.

Andrew Carnegie

In 1848, at the age of 13, Andrew Carnegie came to the United States from Scotland with his family. They settled in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and Carnegie went to work in a factory, earning $1.20 a week. The next year he found a job as a telegraph messenger. Wanting to advance himself, he moved up to telegraph operator in 1851. He then took a job with the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1853 working as the assistant to one of the railroad's top officials, Thomas A. Scott. Through this experience, he learned a lot about the railroad industry and about business in general. Three years later, Carnegie was promoted to superintendent. While working for the railroad, Carnegie began making small investments of his own money and found that his investments, especially those in Pennsylvania oil, brought in substantial returns. He left the railroad in 1865 to focus on his other business interests, including the Keystone Bridge Company that won several contracts for building steel bridges over the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

During the next decade, most of Carnegie's time was dedicated to the steel industry. His business, which became known as the Carnegie Steel Company, revolutionized steel production in the United States. Carnegie built plants around the country, using technology and methods that made manufacturing steel easier, faster, and more productive. For every step of the process, he owned exactly what he needed: the raw materials, ships and railroads for transporting the goods, and even coal fields to fuel the coke furnaces. This start-to-finish strategy helped Carnegie become the dominant force in the industry and an exceedingly wealthy man. By 1889, the Carnegie Steel Corporation was the largest of its kind in the world.

Carnegie was noted for his belief in philanthropy, but some of his success came at the expense of his employees. The most notable case was the Homestead Strike. When the company tried to lower wages at a Carnegie Steel plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1892, the employees objected and refused to work. The conflict between the workers and local managers turned violent after the managers called in Pinkerton guards to break up the union. Carnegie was away at the time of strike, and shifted some of the responsibility for the violence to his managers. In 1901, he sold Carnegie Steel to J. P. Morgan, and retired as one of the richest men in the world. He died in 1919.

John D. Rockefeller

Rockefeller was the guiding force behind the creation and development of the Standard Oil Company, which grew to dominate the oil industry in the twentieth century. Rockefeller was born in 1839 on a farm in Tioga County, New York, very near the oilfields of western Pennsylvania. He left high school in 1855 to take a business course at Folsom Mercantile College, thereafter finding a job as an assistant bookkeeper at Hewitt & Tuttle, a small firm of commission merchants and produce shippers in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1859, with $1,000 he had saved and another $1,000 borrowed from his father, Rockefeller formed a partnership in the commission business with another young man, Maurice B. Clark. In that same year the first oil well was drilled at Titusville.

The city of Cleveland soon became a major refining center for the booming petroleum industry, and in 1863 Rockefeller and Clark entered the oil business as refiners. Together with a new partner, Samuel Andrews, who had some refining experience, they built and operated an oil refinery under the company name of Andrews, Clark & Co. The firm also continued in the commission business, but in 1865 the partners, now five in number, disagreed about the management of their business affairs and decided to sell the refinery to whomever amongst them bid the highest. Rockefeller bought it for $72,500, sold out his other business interests, and, with Andrews, formed Rockefeller & Andrews. Rockefeller's stake in oil increased as the industry itself expanded. It was said that Rockefeller had one old, shabby suit that he kept for his periodic visits to the oil region, and another non-oil suit that he used only to attend church. In 1870 he organized the Standard Oil Company along with his brother William, Andrews, and others. The company had an initial capitalization of $1 million.

By 1872, Standard Oil had purchased nearly all the refining firms in Cleveland, plus two refineries in the New York City area. Before long Standard Oil was refining 29,000 barrels of crude petroleum a day and had its own cooper's shop manufacturing wooden petroleum barrels. The company also had storage tanks with a capacity of several hundred thousand barrels of oil, warehouses for refined oil and kerosene, and plants for the manufacture of paints and glue. Ten years later, all its properties were merged in the Standard Oil Trust, which was in effect one great company. It had an initial capitalization of $70 million. There were originally 42 certificate holders, or owners, in the trust.

In 1892, the trust was dissolved by a court decision in Ohio, but the companies that had made up the trust joined in the formation of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Since New Jersey had adopted a law that permitted a parent company to own the stock of other companies, the trust was reorganized. It is estimated that Standard Oil owned three-fourths of the petroleum businesses in the United States in the 1890s.

In addition to being the head of Standard Oil, Rockefeller owned iron mines, timberland, numerous manufacturing companies, transportation facilities, and other industries. Although he held the title of president of Standard Oil of New Jersey until 1911—when the courts found the company in violation of federal antitrust laws—Rockefeller had retired from active leadership of the company in 1896. The 38 companies in Standard Oil were again separated into individual firms in 1911. Rockefeller at that time owned one-quarter of the company's total of one million outstanding shares. He died in 1937.

Andrew W. Mellon

Andrew Mellon was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1855, the son of Scottish-Irish emigrants from Northern Ireland. His father was a banker and judge. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, graduating in 1873. Mellon demonstrated financial ability early in life by starting a lumber business at the age of 17. He joined his father's banking firm, T. Mellon & Sons, two years later and had the ownership of the bank transferred to him in 1882. In 1889, Mellon helped organize the Union Trust Company and the Union Savings Bank of Pittsburgh. He also branched out into industrial activities in oil, steel, shipbuilding, and construction.

Mellon backed a number of start-up companies that grew into enormous industrial giants. Among these were Charles M. Hall's Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA); Edward Goodrich Acheson's Carborundum Company (Union Carbide) in which he became a partner in manufacturing steel; and Heinrich Koppers's invention of coke ovens that transformed waste products from the coal-coke process needed in the production of steel into usable products such as carbon black (used in making rubber tires), tar, and sulfur. Mellon bought the patent for the ovens for $300,000. In the early twentieth century, Mellon ranked as one of the three richest people in the United States alongside John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford. He served as U.S. Secretary of the Treasury from 1921 through 1932. He died in 1937.

John Pierpont Morgan

Financier, art collector, and philanthropist, Morgan was born in 1837, in Hartford, Connecticut, the son of a banker. Known as " J. P." rather than John Pierpont, he went into the family business and became one of the most famous financiers in the history of business. After working for his father, he started his own private banking company in 1871, which later became known as J. P. Morgan & Co. His company became one of the leading financial firms in the country. It was so powerful that even the U.S. government looked to the firm for help with the depression of 1895. The company also assisted in thwarting the 1907 financial crisis.

During his career, his wealth, power, and influence attracted a lot of media and government scrutiny. During the late 1890s and even after the turn of the century, much of the country's wealth was in the hands of a few powerful business leaders. Morgan dominated two industries in particular—he helped consolidate railroad industry in the East and formed the United States Steel Corporation in 1901 after Carnegie's retirement. A crucial material in the extensive growth of the nation, U.S. Steel became the world's largest steel manufacturer. He was criticized for creating monopolies by making it difficult for any business to compete against his. The government, concerned that Morgan had created a monopoly in the steel industry, filed suit against the company in 1911. The following year, Morgan and his partners became the subject of a congressional investigation.

Morgan had many interests beyond the world of banking. He enjoyed sailing and participated in a number of America's Cup yacht races. He was an ardent art collector, creating one of the most significant collections of his time. He later donated his art collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and his collection of written works to the Morgan Library—both in New York City. At the time of his death in 1913, he was hailed as a master of finance and considered one of the country's leading businessmen.

—James M. Volo

COST OF LIVING: FAMILY FINANCE

By the 1880s many immigrant families had managed to reach parity with native-born households in terms of family income. However, as immigrant family incomes approached that of other Americans, researchers have found that the discrepancy was made up more and more by resorting to the paid labor of members of the immigrant family rather than the increased annual wages of its head. Ironically, due to the needs of child care supplied by the mother, most supplementary income came from child labor. Among Irish working-class families (for whom there is data), it was just about twice as likely for at least one child to be gainfully employed than it was for children in native-born families. "The Irish, kept in a tight position by the lower earning capacity of fathers, found children's earnings essential to consume in an American way" (Modell 1979, 221).

Researchers have found that by the 1880s foreign-born households (particularly the Irish) and native-born households had assumed essentially the same spending patterns, although the Irish father was still bringing home an income 85 percent that of the native-born head-of-household. In 1890 James R. Sovereign, the Iowa State Commissioner of Labor Statistics, detailed a 33-item standard budget for the average family. This was a bare-bones survival budget that "contained no carpets, no window curtains, no provisions for social amusements, no street car fares, no feasts for holidays, no contributions for Sunday school and churches, no medicine or medical assistance during illness, no mineral springs or other places of resort to recuperate the minds and bodies of over-worked laborers, and no mementos of love with which to express their affections of the members of the family circle" (Fisher 1993, 7). The total amount of Sovereign's spartan budget was $549 dollars. Oddly, at the time 88 percent of Iowa's mechanics and laborers made less than this amount annually. Nonetheless, the agreement among many observers was that the family poverty line resided at approximately $550 dollars during the later part of the nineteenth century (Volo and Volo 2007, 57).

URBAN-RURAL ECONOMY: THE FARMER'S ALLIANCE

The Farmers' Alliance in part grew out of the Granger movement of the 1870s and closely associated itself with the Populist Party of the 1880s and 1890s. There were two wings of the Farmers' Alliance separated by geography into northern and southern branches: respectively, The National Farmers' Alliance of the Great Plains and the National Farmers' Alliance & Industrial Union. The southern branch included a Colored Alliance of African American farmers, making it the only biracial non-church organization in the South at the time.

The Alliance program included the establishment of cooperatives to buy goods at lower prices and to market their produce at higher prices to large-scale brokers. Whereas an individual farmer might sell 10 bales of cotton at a time, the Alliance now made deals for 1,000 bales in a single contract. Each county alliance had its own cooperative store that bought from wholesalers and sold farm supplies to members at a lower rate. Some of these stores reported annual sales in the tens of thousands of dollars, but the cooperatives tended to disaffect nonalliance merchants in nearby towns. Additionally, many chapters set up their own grain mills and cotton gins to allow members to bring their produce to market at lower cost.

The political activism of the Alliance was based on demands for the government regulation of the railroads, granaries, and banks. Their other common demands involved government land reform, free silver, an income tax, and an expansion of the money supply. The Alliance allied itself to the Knights of Labor in 1886 and merged with the 500,000-member Agricultural Wheel in 1888. The southern alliance ultimately had chapters in most states and reached a membership of 750,000 by 1890.

—James M. Volo

THE URBAN STREET

The first impression of many strangers to their arrival in American cities was of the dirt, danger, and inconvenience of the urban street. Before the advent of municipal street cleaning, it was not uncommon for garbage to collect in the streets of crowded urban areas, and dozens of families may have shared the connecting alleys for many purposes. Among these were places to do laundry, play areas for children, and places to dump human or animal waste. It has been estimated that as late as 1900 there were still 3.5 million horses in American cities every day, each producing 20 to 30 pounds of manure. Chicago had to cope with 600,000 tons of horse manure annually, and New York had to remove 15,000 dead horses from the streets in 1880 alone. In that year, less than 25 percent of American cities had established municipal garbage collection. Not until 1895 did New York institute curbside garbage collection or a regime of street sweeping. Under such conditions, it is no wonder that tenement dwellers suffered tragically high rates of communicable diseases, transmitted through unsafe drinking water and extremely close quarters (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 31, 36).

Abraham Cahan, the foremost Yiddish journalist of his day and founder of the *Jewish Daily Forward* in 1897, has left the following description of the overcrowded tenement street of which he was so familiar from his novel *Yekl: A Tale in the New York Ghetto* (1896):

> [One] had to pick and nudge his way through dense swarms of bedraggled half-naked humanity; past garbage barrels rearing their overflowing contents in sickening piles, and lining the streets in malicious suggestion of rows of trees; underneath tiers and tiers of fire escapes, barricaded and festooned with mattresses, pillows, and featherbeds not yet gathered in for the night. The pent-in sultry atmosphere was laden with nausea and pierced with a discordant and, as it were, plaintive buzz. (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 25–26)

As awful as the physical condition of the city streets tended to be, what some reformers misunderstood was how the urban street life in America replicated traditional ways of life in European villages. Neighbors used the streets to congregate or share information, and they kept an eye on each other's children. The street also offered a respite from the crowded conditions of working-class tenements and cottages. A street that appeared dangerously crowded to some may have simply felt vibrant and alive to those who lived there (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 25–26).

Then, as now, cities were known for their distinctive street life. Especially in working-class communities, the street became the place where people talked, did business, played, and relaxed. Many middle-class reformers were horrified by street life in working-class neighborhoods, fearing it interfered with familial influences, exposed children to filth and vice, and broke down distinctions between home and society. These middle-class reformers had little trouble finding illustrations for their concerns. In crowded neighborhoods, children often played on street corners and around dumps of garbage. Others tried to make a little money begging or working as street vendors selling everything from newspapers to matches (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 25).

Besides the workplaces, taverns, banks, and residences of the population, city streets were often lined with shops stocking a wide variety of items such as carpeting, window glass, boots and shoes, clothing, firearms, furniture, tobacco products, hardware, harness, and books. Each shop was identified with a hanging sign or a painted window glass. The majority of the shops served the needs of the local population and reflected their pattern of consumption. Pawn shops, bars, and brothels were common enough in many poor neighborhoods. Better shops selling fine fabrics, sewing notions, jewelry, china, and furniture were found in the so-called better parts of the city; and many banks, financial institutions, and insurers were isolated along the waterfronts or in the business districts.

Shopping for many city dwellers was often done in street markets where farmers and others vendors brought their food to sell. In the days before refrigeration women had to shop frequently. The quality of merchandise varied with the clientele of the particular market, and homemakers were warned to avoid hucksters who sold inferior goods. The poorest shoppers arrived at the market just before closing hoping to get the cheapest prices from sellers who did not want to pack up food that had been sitting in the warm sun all day. Those in the most hopeless situations scoured the garbage after the market closed (Volo and Volo 2007, 233).

The *Daily Times* referred to one market that served the poor of New York's Lower East Side as the "little heap of fish scales, eel heads, butcher's offal and rotting vegetables known as Catharine Market" (Schenone 2003, 178). This market was quiet during the week as few people had the money to shop there daily, but, as the paper noted, "they choose one day in the hard-worked week for a feast, and on Saturday night go marketing in earnest." The crowds were "fairly wedged together" as they came to "barter with shrill eagerness for the modest luxuries they have been greedily anticipating for a week past . . . The women who congregate here are often sharp, meager and scolding, plainly suffering from privations and excessive toil . . . The great demand is for cheapness, and as the sidewalk vendors usually undersell the store-keepers and stall-holders, they attract the most customers" (Schenone 2003, 181–82).

Street vendors working from stalls or from donkey carts like this one sold all types of items including shellfish, vegetables, fruits, nuts, and cooked meats. Courtesy Library of Congress.

When not cooking for their families themselves, city women relied on the street peddlers who sold food on street corners from push carts and from wagons that moved door-to-door for quick and inexpensive meals. In New York the so-called hot corn women, hot potato vendors, and chestnut roasters could be found on many street corners. Philadelphia was famous for its pepper pot soup peddlers. Pepper pot soup was a mixture of tripe, vegetables, and red pepper brought to America by African slaves via the Caribbean. Philadelphia became famous for it. African American women sold the soup on street corners for pennies a bowl (Volo and Volo 2007, 232).

Many urban homemakers purchased bread from a baker. Some homemakers purchased bread only during the summer rather than to go through the discomfort of building a large hot fire at home. City residents had to rely on commercial bakeries for breads, baked beans, and pies. Those who could afford more sumptuous delights also might patronize a confectioner. Commercial bakers heated their oven at night and baked before dawn, and the streets of the city were sometimes filled with the pleasant aroma of fresh-baked bread. Children would often take a meat pie or a bean pot—filled with mother's own recipe of ingredients and sauces—to the baker in the morning for a full day of heating in the residual warmth of the baker's ovens (Volo and Volo 2007, 232).

Delivery wagons of many kinds were a common sight on the city streets. Among these were the rumbling beer wagons with their loads of wooden barrels stacked on their sides. City residents seemed to tolerate—and frequent—an amazing number of taverns, beer halls, and saloons. So great was the daily supply of beer that it seemed some sections of the city stood awash in the various brews, ales, and porters. For many city dwellers firewood, charcoal, or hard coal needed to be purchased with cash from dealers who carted these items into the city centers. By the latter half of the nineteenth century hard coal had become the fuel of choice in city tenements for heating when used in fireplace gratings, cast-iron stoves, or tenement furnaces; but charcoal or firewood remained the choice for cooking purposes until they were replaced by gas. Block ice was also an urban necessity, and colliers and ice vendors could be seen carrying great baskets of black fuel or dripping cubes of crystalline ice up the tenement stairs while their patient horses waited tethered to wagons or carts in the streets (Volo and Volo 2007, 233–34).

FARMING/HUSBANDRY: BREAKING THE LAND

Beyond the eastern forests of the United States lay immense, treeless, and trackless prairies. Vast expanses of grass—an endless meadow—took up fully one-third of the continent and were described as the greatest tract of fertile land on the globe. Railroads with millions of acres granted by the government were offering cheap land to eastern farmers all too ready to move west. Eastern farmers believed that a land that grew no trees might not support crops, and there might be too little water for crops, too little timber for fuel and building, and too much heat for any kind of work. A great portion of these farmers were young men who found that without help they could scarcely break the fertile ground in the ordinary way of farmers, much less collect and secure the rich harvest in a timely fashion (Davidson 1951, 410).

The relationship between man and the land in nineteenth-century America was unlike any seen in a thousand years in Europe. Buoyant optimism could hardly have gone further in describing the reality of the situation, nor could the darkest pessimism describe the effort needed to bring the richness of the soil to harvest. The thick and tough prairie soil had indeed proved a formidable challenge for the first plows to try. As many as a dozen oxen might be needed to pull even iron plowshares through the sticky, heavily matted virgin earth. Yet when the sod had been broken, the prairie was incredibly rich—so rich that once the harvest was completed, it was reported that enough grain remained upon the field to feed an entire parish in England.

Farm implement manufacturers advertised modern contrivances such as plows with cast-iron plowshares and unusual moldboards to help attack the unyielding soil. The first practical plow for turning the prairie sod was invented in 1797 by Charles Newbold of New Jersey. It had a cast-iron moldboard that many claimed would poison the soil and foster the growth of weeds. This proved false. Jethro Wood followed in 1814 with a three-piece iron plowshare that allowed the replacement of broken parts without discarding the entire plow. William Parlin began making plows about 1842. These he loaded in a wagon and peddled throughout the country. By this time farmers had lost their prejudices concerning iron, and Parlin made a good deal of money. In 1868, John Lane patented a plow with a soft iron center and a heat-treated hard surface that kept the plow from breaking. In the same year, James Oliver introduced a process for hardening only the front working surface of the share while leaving the back tough and resilient. The sulky plow, which allowed the plowman to sit as he worked, was certainly in use before 1844. This made farm work easier and gave the plowman great control over the direction of the furrow.

The most successful farm implement manufacturer of the period was John Deere, who began marketing a large plow for cutting tough sod known as the "grasshopper" in 1837. Its structure was made of wrought iron instead of wood, and it had a steel plowshare that could cut through prairie soil without clogging. By 1855 Deere's factory in Illinois was selling 10,000 steel plows a year. In 1868, Deere incorporated his business, which still exists today.

Usually after the land was plowed it had to be dragged or harrowed, breaking up clods and pulverizing the soil prior to planting. Hamlin Garland remembers that "dragging is even more wearisome than plowing…for you have no handles to assist you and your heels sinking deep into the soft loam bring such unwonted strain upon the tendons of your legs that you can scarcely limp home to supper." Once the seed was planted, the war of weeds began—day after day hoeing corn, blue shirts bleaching to red from sun and sweat (Jones 1998, 190).

In the early years the harvesting of wheat, rye, and oats, as well as cutting hay, was done with a sickle. The harvester would grasp the stalks in his left hand and, with his right, draw the sickle close to where the bunched stalks were held. Consequently most harvesters bore one or more scars on their left hands from the sickle coming too close. Periodically the harvester would stop, hang the sickle on his belt, and bind the sheaves with a twist of straw. Using such techniques a man could harvest, on average, three-quarters of an acre a day. The work was easier and more efficient with a scythe or cradle, but it was not until the arrival of horse-drawn McCormick reapers, which could cut 15 acres a day, that the farmer was freed from this backbreaking labor (Jones 1998, 192).

The mechanical reaper has been called the most significant single invention used in the struggle to meet the needs of the farmer to harvest a crop at the crucial point when the work must be done quickly to secure it from damage. Geared to the wheel of the reaper was a reciprocating knife blade that cut the standing grain and dropped it on a platform for the workers to gather and toss aside. Nowhere in the world was there such a market for the reaper as on the American prairies. McCormick had the foresight to move his manufactory to Chicago in 1847 in the heart of the Midwest farming region. By 1851 he was turning out thousands of reapers. On future devices (1858) he added labor-saving devices such as a grain raiser that allowed the sheaves to be bound without bending over. In 1872, McCormick produced a reaper that automatically bound the sheaves with a wire, and in 1880, he came out with a mechanical device that almost magically tied and knotted the bundle with twine, cutting them loose, and laying them aside, all with the power of horses. The speed of the harvest was enormously increased, and twine manufacturers found it difficult to meet the increased demand.

The speed of harvesting brought about the need to thresh the grain from the chaff more quickly. For centuries the farmer had threshed his grain on the barn floor with long-handled flails or by having his animals walk across it. One way or the other it was one of the slowest and most laborious processes on the farm. Several threshing machines powered by horses, mules, or even sheep were invented. The Pitts Patent thresher operated with a horse treadmill, and it was very popular in the wheat fields of the West. Yet it still could not keep pace with the advances in reaping and binding. It ultimately gave way to steam-powered threshers.

Generally neighbors would move from farm to farm (especially during harvesting and threshing seasons) helping each other and eliminating the need to hire help. In addition men would often exchange labor, using a monetary value to determine the length of services provided. People did whatever work was required. Oftentimes no cash at all was involved in these transactions (Jones 1998, 192).

Everywhere the haste to reap a quick harvest, regardless of the consequences to the soil, encouraged families to enclose their plots with barbed wire and plant single crops for the market. They thereby lost some of the self-sufficiency of earlier generations that had turned the soil for a living. Most farmers in the Industrial Age subsisted to a considerable degree on the factory-packaged produce of other specialized farms that relied equally on them. With reports of exhausted land came other murmurings of nearly miraculous machines so contrived to save labor that they all but promised overproduction to those willing to place more land under cultivation (Jones 1998, 193).

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Failure of the Carrying Trade

Maritime shipping and fishing formed a large segment of the American economy, but the sector was sorely pressed in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The discovery of the gold fields of California, and later in Australia, had heightened the demand for American clipper ships, but they were expensive to build and were not economical to operate. Only the willingness of passengers, crazed with gold fever and willing to pay exorbitant rates for a quick passage, kept the clipper ships in service. They lasted only a few years—generally from 1849 to 1859. Even the deep-water sailing clippers "were born, flourished, and faded from sight in a single decade," because they failed to make the transitions to steam operations required by the changing patterns of trade and economic activity (Kittredge 1935, 293).

Due to the utilitarian nature of marine architecture, vessels designed for deep-water operation, as in ocean travel or cargo carrying, lacked the adaptability necessary to deal with the exigencies of the shallow-water coasting trade. As the demand for American sailing vessels decreased, the largest ships were sold off rather than redeployed to coasting. The predominantly square rigged clipper ships generally required larger crews than the more maneuverable and innately efficient fore- and aftrigged coasting and fishing craft. Moreover, the cargo capacities of many ocean-going designs proved too large to make the smaller harbor jumping cargoes economical to carry (Bryant 1967, 334–35).

The down-easters of the 1870s resembled the clipper ships of the 1850s, but this distinctive Maine-built vessel had neither their sharp lines nor their hollow contours. To increase their cargo capacity the down-easters had little dead rise—in other words they had a flatter floor in their cargo hold. Although they could spread a good deal of canvas, they were not as heavily sparred as the clippers mainly because they were intended as cargo carriers rather than as speeders. The down-easters remained in service largely because they were able to fill the need for large ocean-going carriers of bulk cargo on the less prestigious sealanes of the world.

Large ocean-going windships were perfectly designed for cargoes such as Southern cotton; West Coast grain; Chilean copper ore; Scandinavian salt; or French timber. Typical outbound cargoes included Pennsylvania coal, kerosene, and case oil; locomotives and wheelbarrows; and ready-made clothing and Yankee notions. When trade slackened, the down-easters carried ice from the Arctic Circle to the West Indies, Calcutta, and Bombay; and gave passage to Chinese workers from Singapore or Hong Kong to Hawaii and California. Some down-easters were so busy completing a sequence of these long, tedious voyages that they did not put in at an American port more than once or twice in a decade. Consequently, they were often manned by largely foreign crews composed of Chinese, Malaysians, Lascars, and South Sea Islanders.

Notwithstanding the variety exhibited by these cargoes, it was the guano dug from the Peruvian islands of the Pacific that furnished the paying cargoes for most wooden windships during the wartime decline of the cotton-carrying trade, the grasshopper or drought induced failure of the grain crop, or the weakening of the gold fever. Guano is a Peruvian word for manure—not the brown, steaming heaps found on horse and dairy farms—but rather the dried, powdery droppings of millions of sea birds. The Humboldt or Peruvian Current that flows along the west coast of South America has an amazing abundance of sea life that has attracted sea birds for millions of years. These birds nested in the Chinchas Islands a few miles off the coast of Peru, and their droppings accumulated and dried on the arid shorelines and rocky crags rising in places to heights of 70 or 80 feet. In many places vessels could cozy-up to the deposits lining the shore with their yards cock-billed (set at a slant) and let the guano pour through chutes directly into their holds. In 1865 alone more than 20,000 shiploads of nitrate-rich guano, of some 2,000 tons each were taken away to enrich the farm fields of America, England, and Holland.

Guano proved to be intrinsically more valuable than it would at first appear. Between 1851 and 1872 more than 10 million tons with a market value up to $30 million was removed. Although the yellow dust carried into every corner of the ship and smelled strongly of ammonia, guano was a cargo that needed no container other than the vessel itself; it could not shift; and it could not spoil. "It was not uncommon to see two hundred square-riggers lying in the protected anchorage between the north and central islands awaiting cargoes." When the Peruvian deposits were depleted in the 1870s, guano mining moved to other more southern points along the coast of Chile (Volo and Volo 2001, 295–96).

The Advent of Steam

With regard to economy of operation, moderate-sized sailing coasters were best suited as bulk cargo carriers for short hauls but these were receiving competition from steamers as early as the 1850s. Steamers seemed to be prying loose the traditional grip that sailing vessels had on this important fraction of U.S. maritime commerce. Nonetheless, a distinctive type of sailing schooner was developed for the coasting trade that allowed them to hold their position in competition with the steamers until the twentieth century. Inexpensive to build and operate, and built with traditional American wooden-hull technology, these sailing schooners of between 300 and 700 tons capacity were kept busy carrying lumber, coal, ice, and other cargoes up and down the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts. The sailing schooners of the coasting trade "formed a hard core of shipping on which the nation could rely" (Bauer 1989, 127).

Protected by a series of Navigation Acts from foreign competition, the coasting trade had continually grown as a percentage of the merchant marine fleet from 25 percent in the Federalist Era, to 41 percent just before the Civil War, and 57 percent by war's end. It was to retain this level of representation throughout the decades of the 1870s and 1880s (Bryant 1967, 335). A growing national population, the effects of industrialization, and absolute protection from foreign competition allowed coasting to supplant foreign trade as the major activity of the merchant marine as early as 1857. The coasting trade was very active with cotton, tobacco, lumber, turpentine, rosin, rice, and grain making up the bulk cargoes.

Coastal steam lines developed slowly in the first half of the nineteenth century due to monopolies granted by the individual states to local investors. In 1824 the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the state grants of monopolies on waterways that crossed state boundaries as invasions of the federal power to regulate interstate commerce. By 1840, all the major East Coast ports were connected by steam. Steam lines had been established from the Northeast directly to New Orleans and Savannah prior to the Civil War, and they met with some success.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, a few innovative American owners began to use efficient steel-hulled, multiple-expansion steamships of significant size to operate in the cotton coasting trade even though the initial costs of the vessels were quite high. A contemporary observer noted in 1866, "All the coasting trade is being done by screw steamers and a few side wheelers ranging from 800 to 1500 tons. The few sailing vessels building are small craft of no great burden" (Clark 1949, 90).

The wooden windship design had reached its practical engineering limits with the development of the clipper ships of the 1850s. It can be demonstrated that the U.S. shipbuilding industry was simply not competitive in the years after the Civil War, and that a change to steam-driven metal-hull vessels was essential to the health of the U.S. shipping industry. The failure to accomplish this may have served as a primary mechanism for much of the decline in the foreign carrying trade while concurrently explaining the sustained growth of the coasting trade and inland navigation.

At mid-century, the engineering fundamentals of steamship construction for the oceanic trade had several common characteristics. The hulls were made of wood; the vessels were propelled by paddle wheels housed amidships; the engines were physically very large and of a single expansion, low-pressure type, also located amidships; and the steam was exhausted into jet condensers so similar to those devised by James Watt in 1769 as to be considered identical. Low-pressure, water tube boilers had been common since their invention in 1791. Paddle wheels, by design well suited to low-pressure, were slow rotating devices of a large area that maximized the impulse imparted to the vessel increased the reliability of the engines and minimized the stress on the hull. While economical in terms of fuel consumption, the low-pressure steam boilers retarded the introduction of the screw propeller. Moreover, paddle wheels provided greater acceleration than the screw propellers of the period.

Nonetheless, steam was usually considered to be an auxiliary to sail and many vessels were designed with combinations of motive power. However, these vessels commonly experienced some disadvantages as both screws and paddle wheels produced considerable drag when the vessel was under sail. Paddle wheels were particularly noted for adversely effecting the overall sailing qualities of a vessel. When equipped with the higher pressure, fire tube boilers, introduced in the 1850s, and screw propellers, the restrictions of increased fuel consumption served to severely limit the speed, which the steamer could maintain for any extended period of time.

Windships, by comparison, could make hundreds of miles in a day, a record 400 nautical miles in 24 hours having been reached in the 1850s by the American clipper ship *Challenger*. Under these conditions it seemed unlikely that steam would ever be completely economical with sail particularly on the long distance routes, where fuel and fresh water for the engines became major limiting considerations. This led the United States to seek coaling and watering stations on long routes like those across the Pacific. Hawaii, the Philippines, Wake Island, Midway, and other small islands and atolls were occupied by the United States to serve this purpose; and the Panama Canal was built to shorten the route for U.S. merchant steamers as well as its naval vessels.

These disadvantages left the windships with a decided economic edge, at least on the long-haul routes. Nevertheless, wooden-hull American clippers saw severe competition in the oriental trade from British windship designs that utilized composite hulls, wood with cast-iron beams and bracing, before the war. Although generally smaller than the American ships, and somewhat slower under the best of conditions, the British vessels proved to be better suited to a variety of weather extremes. Even the best British windships were driven from the trade by steamers in the decades after the Civil War (Natkiel and Preston 1986, 110; Volo and Volo 2001, 299–300).

U.S. Maritime Stagnation

American maritime distress in the third-quarter of the century may be attributed, in part, to the very success for which U.S. shippers and shipbuilders were noted at the end of the age of sail. In the first half of the nineteenth century American shipbuilders had no equal in the world. With modern woodworking and wood-turning apparatus, American shipyards could crank out their best work at as little as 60 percent of the cost of British builders who generally did not invest in such devices. Although profits from investments in the domestic shipping industry could vary with time, the expected financial return from the foreign carrying trade was "effectively tied…[to] how well U.S. shipyards could compete in price with their foreign counterpart" (Whitehurst 1983, 1–2). Americans found themselves saddled with expensive shipbuilding apparatus made obsolete by the sudden popularity of metal hulls and steam. British builders, by contrast, had made no large investment in wooden windship technology and were able to update their shipyards directly to metal and steam production without taking a loss.

The vessels remaining in the U.S. merchant fleet in the Industrial Age were described as "old, obsolete, and nearly worthless craft." This description was quite probably accurate and may suggest an alternative explanation for the decline of the U.S. sailing ship other than the damage done to the merchant by the Confederate navy. Simply put, the day of the windships had passed (Dalzell 1940, 247, Albion 1968, 171).

The demand for a quick passage to California created by the gold rush frenzy of the 1840s and 1850s had run its course, and travel by transcontinental rail was faster, cheaper, and more reliable. In the China trade, the opening of the Suez Canal particularly hastened the decline of the windships. Sailing vessels simply could not maneuver in the narrow canal and were placed at a severe disadvantage in comparison to the steamers, which also benefited from the fuel savings inherent in a voyage shortened some 4,000 miles. The fabulous clipper ships built in the glorious 1850s had outlived their useful purpose resulting in a condition in the 1860s and 1870s known as "block obsolescence," a repetitive phenomenon in American shipbuilding history (Uhl 1983, 71–72).

The foreign carrying trade, which was the lifeblood of the windship, "had collapsed in fact, if not in the consciousness of a frustrated people who would find it more comfortable to blame that collapse on the [Civil] war" (Mitchell 2003, 83). While metal-hull, steam-powered, marine technology advanced, the traditional technology of the wooden-hull sailing vessel stagnated. Iron-hull steamers began driving the windships of all nations off the most profitable routes.

The International Mercantile Marine Co., originally the International Navigation Co., was a trust company formed in the early twentieth century in an attempt to monopolize the steam shipping trades. It combined the American Line, the Red Star Line, the Atlantic Transport Line, the White Star Line, and the Leyland Line. The Dominion Line was also amalgamated. The project was bankrolled by American financier J. P. Morgan. The company also had working profit-sharing relationships with the German Hamburg-Amerika Line and the North German Lloyd Lines. The trust caused a great panic in the British shipping industry and led directly to the British government's subsidy of the Cunard Line's new ships RMS *Lusitania* and RMS *Mauretania* in an effort to compete.

However, International Mercantile Marine had dramatically overpaid for acquiring stock due to an overestimation of potential profit, and a proposed subsidy bill in the United States Congress that failed. The company came under the scrutiny of the Sherman Antitrust Act and thus was never really successful. In 1932, the company was dissolved. Cunard bought the remnants of the White Star Line (noteworthy for having owned the RMS *Titanic* that sank in 1912) and the remaining American pieces were amalgamated into United States Lines (Volo and Volo 2001, 300–301).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Albion, Robert G., and Jennie B. Pope, *Sealanes in Wartime*. Portland, ME: Archon Books, 1968.

Barney, William L., ed. *A Companion to 19th-Century America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Bryant, Samuel W. *The Sea and States: A Maritime History of the American People*. New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1967.

Clark, Victor S. *History of Manufactures in the United States*. 3 vols. New York: Peter Smith Publishers, 1949.

Dalzell, G. W. *The Flight from the Flag: The Continuing Effect of the Civil War upon the American Carrying Trade*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

Dalzell, Robert F. *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Davidson, Marshall B. *Life In America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951.

Dolson, Hildegarde. *The Great Oildorado: The Gaudy and Turbulent Years of the First Oil Rush: Pennsylvania, 1859–1880*. New York: Random House, 1959.

Eisler, Benita, ed. *The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women: 1840–1845*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977.

Fisher, Gordon M. "From Hunter to Orshansky: An Overview of Unofficial Poverty Lines in the United States from 1904–1965." (A paper presented October 28, 1993 at the Fifteenth Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management in Washington, D.C. available from the Department of Health and Human Services.)

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Jones, Mary Ellen. *Daily Life on the Nineteenth-Century American Frontier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Kittredge, Henry C. *Shipmasters of Cape Cod*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1935.

Larcom, Lucy. *A New England Girlhood*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986.

Lupiano, Vincent DePaul, and Ken W. Sayers. *It Was a Very Good Year: A Cultural History of the United States from 1776 to the Present*. Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams, 1994.

Mitchell, Thomas G. *Indian Fighters Turned American Politicians, From Military Service to Public Office*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2003.

Modell, John. "Family and Fertility on the Indiana Frontier, 1820." In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Nasaw, David, ed. *Andrew Carnegie: The "Gospel of Wealth" Essays and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.

Natkiel, Richard, and Anthony Preston. *Atlas of Maritime History*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1986.

Schenone, Laura. *A Thousand Years Over a Hot Stove*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.

Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History*. 4 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.

Stewart, James. "The Economics of American Farm Unrest, 1865–1900." *EH.Net Encyclopedia*, edited by Robert Whaples. URL: http://eh.net/encycpolpedia/article/stewart.farmers (accessed May 2007).

Uhl, Robert. "Masters of the Merchant Marine," *American Heritage* (April 1983).

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in the Age of Sail.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.

———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Whitehurst, Clinton H. *The U.S. Merchant Marine: In Search of an Enduring Maritime Policy*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1983.

Wolff, Leon. "Labor in the Gilded Age." In *The Social Fabric, American Life from the Civil War to the Present*, ed. John H. Cary and Julius Weinberg. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Intellectual Life

SCIENCE

Electric Power

The scientific study of electricity predated the American Revolution, and Benjamin Franklin was as much a founding father of this branch of science as he was of American independence introducing the concept of + and − charge, the lightning rod, and the parallel plate capacitor to the world. Yet the study of electricity in America remained in its infancy until the needs of the electric telegraph spurred the invention of better batteries, insulated wire, and relays. These required a dependable source of direct current (DC) electricity that was usually provided by chemical cells. Much of the science behind electrical power distribution and its application to useful devices was based on the pioneering work done in the name of telegraphy.

In the same way, the quest for the electric light drove the development of alternating current (AC) sources. This development was not without controversy with Thomas Edison—commonly given credit for the invention of the incandescent light bulb—and Nikola Tesla—inventor of the high tension coil and other electrical apparatus—disagreeing over the appropriate use of DC or AC generated electricity for public lighting and electric motors. The dispute, known as the "Current Wars," was fueled by competition between the electric distribution companies of Edison and George Westinghouse. Tesla, an advocate of AC power worked for each, and had broken with Edison, who favored DC, in a dispute over wages and royalties.

Edison had correctly pointed out that DC electricity was innately safer than AC, which posed a greater possibility of electrocution but DC electricity required that the distance between the generating facility and the point of use be small due to transmission losses. AC generation avoided this problem to a great extent allowing for centralized power generation and distribution over a vast network. Yet, the fact that AC was dangerous could be demonstrated. Edison, whose patents were largely based on DC technology, carried out a vigorous campaign to discourage the adoption of AC by emphasizing the danger of fatal AC accidents, lobbying state legislatures, and purposely electrocuting animals for the press. His series of animal electrocutions peaked with the execution of an elderly circus elephant named Topsy. Edison also secretly supported the work of Harold P. Brown, the inventor of the electric chair for executing condemned felons.

Tesla ultimately proved the greater efficiency of his AC system, and he won the contract to harness the hydroelectric power of Niagara Falls. Electric motors and AC generators were found to operate more efficiently than DC ones with fewer internal parts and greater longevity. With the introduction of a large number of innovative AC devices by other inventors, Edison abandoned his low-voltage DC distribution system. Eventually, Edison's General Electric Company converted to AC generation and began to manufacture AC machines and devices in open competition with Westinghouse. Prior to these developments, power distribution and energy consumption were essentially local affairs (from woodlot to fireplace for instance), but electricity was capable of putting great distances between the source of energy and its point of use. The switch to commercial AC generation ultimately preordained the development of the vast power grid upon which the United States is presently dependent.

—James M. Volo

The Electric Light

Edison's incandescent light bulb was not the first electric light, but it proved to be the most practical one for domestic lighting. Cleveland, Ohio, was the site of the first demonstration of an electric lighting system in the United States. In 1879, Charles Brush, a local inventor who had installed early electric lighting systems in some factories, convinced the Cleveland City Council to allow him to outfit a section of the city with a dozen arc lamps that produced illumination from sparks passing between the points of graphite electrodes. On the evening of the display, crowds gathered in the downtown section of the city (some had brought smoked glasses fearing, erroneously, that the light might be too bright to view with the naked eye). At 8:05 P.M., the signal was given and the dozen lights (each as strong as a modern-day floodlight) illuminated the street below in a strong blue-white light. The crowd cheered, a municipal band struck up a song, and an artillery salute was fired on the lakeshore in honor of the occasion. Following the success of this demonstration, other cities clamored for outdoor electric lighting. Soon Boston, New York, and Philadelphia had their own arc light projects powered by Brush's equipment (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 34).

Arc lamps gave off a bright, blue-white light and worked well for lighting large areas, but they were noisy and impractical for domestic use. Edison's incandescent light bulbs, which eventually emerged as the standard for lighting, gave off a softer, more yellow light like that of candles that was completely silent. Edison ran a successful demonstration project in New York City from his Pearl Street plant in 1882, lighting the offices of 50 Wall Street businesses. Soon, a fierce competition erupted between these two lighting systems for municipal contracts. In the early days of electric power generation, all the systems, whether arc or incandescent, were small in scope, rarely stretching more than a mile from the central generating station. Nonetheless, by 1884, most major cities had some type of limited electric lighting system. Electric lights were considered superior in quality and cost to older gas-lighting systems. However, lighting for homes remained limited during the industrial era, costing as much as $100 a year, which was almost a quarter of an average wage earner's income (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 34).

By the late 1880s, many major cities had competing electric companies running their own wires alongside one another, leading to wire congestion and overbuilding in lucrative markets. At one point, New York City had 32 separate electric companies. Meanwhile, many rural areas were left without electricity altogether. Competition between electricity firms increased, and a consolidating industry began to increase prices. As companies competed for the favor of city governments, many municipal authorities feared a repeat of the bribery scandals that had plagued the railroads. In response a number of reform mayors in cities including Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, and Toledo created city-owned, municipal power utilities. Although not without controversy, municipal power often proved able to offer cheaper electricity and wider service. In Detroit, for instance, private commercially generated electricity cost an average of $132 per lamp per year in 1894; in 1898 the new Detroit municipal power authority provided electricity at $87 per lamp per year. Publicly owned utilities remain to this day a reasonable alternative to private electric companies (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 35).

EDUCATION

Ideas on education in the late nineteenth century indicated strongly that conceptions of young people were undergoing change. The idea that young people went through adolescence around the onset of puberty and that this difficult period needed supervision was widely supported by educators and youth counselors. Underlying this was a general belief among youth commentators that life in the Industrial Age was too frenzied and that there was too much pressure put on youth. To mitigate this pressure, young people were to be protected in schools during their adolescence. The concerns over young people reflected many of the tensions middle-class Americans had with the rapid changes altering the nation, such as massive urbanization and immigration, blended with a romantic vision of childhood and fears of over civilization. By the 1870s communities began to put more emphasis on schools than they had in the early part of the century, as many more communities established schools and approached the educational curriculum more systematically. Higher education was also taking on more importance, and college attendance grew accordingly.

Common schooling continued to be the major part of the American public education system through the end of the century. One-room schoolhouses across the nation educated the bulk of the population. These schools reached 64.7 percent of young Americans from ages 5 to 18 in 1869, and this number increased steadily to 71.9 percent by 1900. The days attended per pupil (77 to 99) increased steadily during the period as well, indicating more systematic emphasis on pedagogy, curriculum, and attendance. There were some regional differences, which were the greatest for African American children in the South. Today students attend 180 days.

Roughly 78 percent of white children ages 10 to 14 attended school while only 51 percent of African American children of the same age made it to school at any time during the year. There were more specialized schools, like kindergartens, slowly spreading throughout the nation, but a very small percentage of children attended them. As late as 1902 only five percent of four and five year olds attended kindergarten.

Common schools relied on one-room schools in rural America and most commonly taught children 6 to 14. The curriculum focused primarily on reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic in the beginning phase. Intermediate study continued with the former disciplines and added geography and nature study. Finally, advanced study continued all of the former subjects and added history and grammar. The ubiquitous *McGuffey Reader* was the mainstay of the common school curriculum in 37 states and sold 1,122 million copies from 1836 to 1922. The content of the *McGuffey Reader* reflected the concerns and morality of the Victorian middle class. The need for further education and the spread of new ideas on adolescence led to the creation of more elaborate age graduations and eventually high school.

High school attendance, however, continued to be a luxury of the elite working-class and middle-class families. Industrialization created a strange situation for youth. To get into higher paying jobs, young people had to stay out of the labor force long enough to get an education but at the same time industry aggressively sought to hire child labor. For most working-class youth their teenage years were not spent in schools but in factories and mines working long hours in dangerous conditions. Only the upper echelons of working-class and middle-class families could afford to keep their children out of the labor force long enough to get them an education. This also accounts for the higher number of girls in American high schools in this period, who were about 60 percent of high school graduates. For urban families that did not need their girls to work, or did not need them for domestic labor, the high school was the perfect solution. The high school student population doubled in the decade of the 1890s, though only 3.3 percent of the eligible population attended.

These schools developed to be an all-encompassing cultural, social, and educational experience for young people. A host of extracurricular activities emerged, centering on a massive outpouring of sports, student government, and all manner of clubs. High school administrators destroyed fraternities and sororities, which were very popular at colleges and universities, and established stricter controls over their young students. High schools also profited from the fact that the many universities and professional schools increasingly required a four-year high school diploma for entrance. High schools were creating something that would not come to full fruition until the early twentieth century: a virtually universal and distinct youth culture centered on school. Ironically, even as the society at large promoted independence, particularly for young men, high schools were creating an institutionalized education that emphasized the dependence and subordination of youth.

The dramatic growth in professional schools, universities, and colleges during this period illustrates the growing importance of education for upward mobility in the industrial capitalist economy. Colleges and universities increased in number from 563 in 1869 to 977 by 1900. The great captains of industry poured tens of millions of dollars into new universities like Duke, Stanford, and Vanderbilt. Also important was the Morrill Federal Land Grant Act of 1862, which provided each state with land to establish state universities. In addition, the number of professional schools established in the last quarter of the century more than doubled that of those founded in the preceding 25 years. The founding of the American Medical Association in 1847 and of the Association of American Law Schools in 1900 exemplified the growth of professional education. The expense of college meant that a very small portion of Americans attended, though the figures did increase throughout the era from one percent of college-age Americans in 1870 to five percent by 1910.

Colleges and universities continued to rely on a traditional classical curriculum in the nineteenth century, but with important changes. There was particular emphasis on oral recitation and rhetoric. This was an era of the spoken word and oratory far more than today, though the Industrial Age marked a beginning of the decline. Student recitation and explication of texts, while still widespread, was slowly replaced by lectures. While Greek, Latin, French, German, mathematics, history, philosophy, physics, and chemistry were still a major part of the traditional curriculum, the emergence of professional schools caused the multiplication of new courses in a myriad of disciplines like sociology, anthropology, and engineering. Harvard President Charles Eliot introduced an elective system that allowed students much greater choice in their college classes. Other signs of higher education's attempt to become more systemized were the introduction of the new college entrance exams and the creation of the College Entrance Examination Board to standardize the admission process.

Opportunities were also growing for those outside of the dominant white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant male circles. Women began to move forcefully into higher education. There were almost five times as many coeducational institutions of higher education in 1900 than the paltry 22 that existed in 1867. Women comprised only 21 percent of college students in 1870 but were nearly 36 percent by 1900. In addition to most state universities opening their doors to women, a host of new women's colleges were founded after Vassar's 1861 example, including Wellesley (1875), Smith (1875), Bryn Mawr (1884), Mount Holyoke (1888), Barnard (1889), and Radcliffe (1894). African American students also embraced new educational opportunities at institutions developed for them because of their exclusion from all-white university systems. Universities like Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard provided new opportunities to African Americans seeking higher education. Likewise, Fordham and Notre Dame provided opportunities for American Catholics just as the City College of New York and New York University availed Jews of higher education.

By the 1890s an extremely well-developed college culture had appeared that was organized largely around classes and extracurricular activities. Literary societies, social fraternities and sororities, debating societies, drama clubs, sports, and student government were a small part of the explosion of extracurricular activities that were increasingly sanctioned and regulated by the faculty, administration, or alumni (Shrock 2004, 28–32).

THE SETTLEMENT HOUSE

The highly idealistic founders of the settlement houses of the 1890s came to the immigrant neighborhoods largely as educational innovators. Some of them had classroom experience, but many had rejected a career in high school or college teaching as too routine and narrow, and too far removed from the pressing problems of an urban, industrialized country. They came to settlement "as a protest against a restricted view of education," ready to cut down the barriers that separated learning from reality. Jane Addams, like most settlement workers, considered education a method of social reform. She and other settlement pioneers drew heavily on the foundations laid in the English settlement movement and the concept of university extension. In 1891 there were 100 settlement houses in America; a decade later there were more than 400.

Settlement founders planned to extend the advantages of college education to working men to narrow the gulf between factory worker and college graduate through classes, lectures, and discussions. Stanton Coit patterned his Neighborhood Guild in part on Frederick Denison Maurice's Working Men's College in London, and in 1890 Morrison Swift planned a settlement in Philadelphia that would be a social university. Jane Addams and Ellen Starr began to teach and to lecture as soon as they unpacked at Hull House. Miss Starr organized a reading group to discuss the work of George Elliot, which broadened to include Dante, Browning, and Shakespeare. Julia Lathrop started a Sunday afternoon Plato Club for the discussion of philosophical questions. Vida Scudder and Helena Dudley organized a Social Science Club at Denison House in Boston in 1893, and for a time 40 or 50 businessmen, professionals, working men, and students gathered weekly to hear lectures on such topics as "The Ethics of Trade Unions" or "German Socialism." But attendance dwindled after a few months, and the club collapsed after the third year.

Almost every settlement had its lecture series and its educational conferences, and a few like Hull House had university extension classes for college credit. Educator John Dewey and architect Frank Lloyd Wright were among those who spoke at Hull House. George Santayana once gave a lecture on St. Francis and the beauty of poverty at Prospect Union in Cambridge that left most of the hearers aghast. Some of the lectures and discussions were exciting at least to the residents and students if not to the working men in the neighborhood. And although Sinclair Lewis exaggerated in *Ann Vickers* when he described the educational fare in his fictional settlement as composed of "lectures delivered gratis by earnest advocates of the single tax, trout fishing, exploring Tibet, pacifism, sea shell collecting, the eating of bran, and the geography of Charlemagne's Empire," there was an element of the unreal and esoteric about the early settlement workers' attempt to dispense the culture of the universities to working men.

The first building especially constructed for Hull House contained an art gallery, and the settlement continued its art exhibitions until the opening of the Chicago Art Institute made them unnecessary. It was a small beginning that did not revolutionize public education in the city, but it was significant as the first of many experiments tried first in the settlements and then adopted by the public schools.

Art exhibitions, lectures, and university extension classes satisfied the desire of many settlement residents to make use of their college training. Moreover, they provided intellectual stimulation for the transfigured few in the neighborhood capable of abstract thought. Men like Philip Davis, Meyer Bloomfield, Henry Moskowitz, and Francis Hackett found their programs stimulating and were thus inspired to continue their education. In addition, settlement lectures and classes served to bring the real world to a number of university professors (or at least they liked to think so). But it soon became obvious that the greater majority of the people in the settlement neighborhood were not interested in extension classes. Although thousands attended art exhibitions, they took little away that would vitally influence their lives.

What most people in the working-class neighborhood needed was something useful and concrete, something closely related to their daily lives. This might mean courses in manual training or homemaking; it might simply mean instruction in English or basic American government and history. Large groups of immigrants made both English-type university extension courses and American public schools inadequate in the urban setting, thus forcing settlement workers, whether they liked it or not, to experiment with new methods and techniques.

They quickly learned that among the most useful things were child care and kindergarten classes for young children whose mothers worked all day. Stanton Coit opened a kindergarten at Neighborhood Guild only a few months after the settlement was organized, and Hull House, New York College Settlement, Chicago Commons, and most other pioneer settlements established them soon after opening their doors. The goals of the settlements and the kindergartens seemed so similar that one kindergarten teacher labeled the social settlement "the kindergarten for adults."

The kindergarten classes brought mothers and sisters as well as little boys and girls to the settlement and led naturally to attempts to provide them with something useful and meaningful. Usually this meant classes in homemaking, cooking, sewing, and shopping. Some courses taught skills appropriate for work in domestic service, such as the art of serving tea from a silver service or accepting a calling card on a tray. Many of the women settlement workers were appalled at the way their immigrant neighbors kept house. Their wastefulness and disorderliness bothered those brought up in neat middle-class American homes. Some settlement workers could never quite overcome their feeling of superiority, and these homemaking classes only made the immigrant women more conscious of differences and deficiencies. But many newcomers, baffled by unfamiliar urban ways of household management, acquired helpful suggestions and new confidence at the settlement. Of course, the immigrants did not always listen; and, indeed, sometimes they knew more than the settlement workers.

The practical needs of the people in the neighborhood usually dictated the types of classes offered. Many settlements were located near textile factories where women and children could take out work. Skill and speed in making buttonholes or operating a sewing machine were vitally important and meant increased family income. Most settlements attempting to satisfy the real needs of their neighborhoods soon found themselves very much involved in manual training and industrial education.

However, not all settlement workers were realistic in their educational experiments, and there was something romantic and nostalgic about their attempts to revive [pre-machine] handicrafts in the face of increasing industrialism. But they were usually concerned with real problems and tried to satisfy important needs. The settlement workers, interested in relating education more closely to life, could not long ignore the pressing problems of training young men and women in their neighborhoods for worthwhile jobs. They knew that they could inspire the few with exceptional ability to go to college, but that the majority would never go. What would happen to them? Would they merely drift into unskilled jobs, or could the settlements do something to prepare them for a meaningful role in the industrial world. Robert Woods of South End House, and many others, advocated manual training for everyone, so that even the lucky ones who went to college would have an appreciation of the dignity and the difficulties of working with their hands and operating machines.

Vocational training and vocational guidance were later adopted by the public schools. This was somewhat unexpected because in the beginning, most settlement workers had no desire to alter or reform the public educational system; they saw their function only as supplementing schools. However, as soon as they became aware of the inadequacy of public education, especially in the poorer districts of the great cities, the attempt to supplement became an attempt to change (Davis 1975, 118–26).

LITERATURE

Novels

Many of the up-and-coming writers of the final decades of the nineteenth century wrote under the philosophy of naturalism, a spin-off on realism's focus on a true-to-life, unsentimental view of human existence. The writing was, nonetheless, largely set against the background of a pessimistic world that was amoral and indifferent to human presence. The main characters of the naturalistic writers were often lower-class or lower-middle-class men who struggled against impersonal natural forces while the forces of heredity, environment, or instinct acted to circumscribe their choices and actions. The protagonist's fight for survival was often steeped in violence and passion. Social Darwinism with its emphasis on heredity, racial instincts, amoral natural forces influencing all creatures, and the survival of the fittest had a tremendous influence on this literary style.

Although naturalistic writers started producing work in the 1890s, many of the most successful and influential novels were written in the early twentieth century.

Stephen Crane was an early and successful proponent of naturalism. His "Whilomville Stories" were serialized in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Crane is best known for his *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895) set in the Civil War. It is said that Crane, as a boy, listened to the war stories told in the park by federal veterans of the battle of Chancellorsville (Virginia) in his hometown of Port Jervis, New York. Crane was too young to have any experience of war, but he was able as a man to transfer what he heard into print creating one of the best-known and most authentic fictional characterizations of the effect of warfare on soldiers. Jack London wrote a series of novels and short stories in the naturalist genre, and a number of these are still widely read today: *Call of the Wild* (1903), *Sea Wolf* (1904), and *White Fang* (1906). Theodore Dreiser wrote *Sister Carrie* (1900), which catapulted him into literary celebrity and launched his career as well as his constant battles with editors to make his novels suitable for the reading public. Edith Wharton, benefiting from the general demise of gender-based prejudice against professional female authors, produced a great deal of important naturalistic fiction. Her works included *The Touchstone* (1900) and *Ethan Frome* (1911), but she is probably most well known for *The Age of Innocence* (1920) (Shrock 2004, 163–64).

The best-selling books of the period came in many forms, such as success tracts, historical romances, religious novels, dime novels, and adventure stories. British authors remained popular because American publishers often reprinted foreign works without regard to paying royalties. Not until 1891 did the United States agree to abide by international copyright laws. Novels with a religious theme were very popular, like Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1880), Ludovic Halévy's pro-Catholic *L'Abbé Constantin* (1882), Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do* (1897), and Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis?* (1896). Children's novels sold well, such as Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886); Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty*, which became popular in America in 1890; Robert Louis Stevenson's pirate adventure *Treasure Island* (1883) and his science fiction/introspective tale *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1885); Margaret Sidney's (Harriet Lothrop) *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew* (1881); and Frank Baum's *The Wizard of Oz* (1900). Other popular books were Bret Harte's collection of short stories, *The Luck of the Roaring Camp and Other Stories* (1870), Edward Eggerston's *The Hoosier School-Master* (1871), Archibald Gunter's *Mr. Barnes of New York* (1887), Hall Caine's *The Deemster* (1888), and Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1886).

Best sellers in the 1890s included Arthur Conan Doyle's *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (the first, *A Study in Scarlet* appearing in 1887), James Barrie's *The Little Minister* (1892), Anthony Hopkins Hawkins' *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894), Opie Read's *The Jucklins* (1896), and Edward Noyes Westcott's *David Harum* (1898) and *Eben Holden* (1900). Rudyard Kipling became something of a phenomenon in the 1890s with *Barrack-Room Ballads* (1892), *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888), and *The Light That Failed* (1894) hitting the best selling list, though his better-known works written in the early twentieth century did not sell well (Shrock 2004, 164).

The period also saw the rise of the Home Library concept where publishing companies promoted a series of great books that everyone needed to read and own. These series certainly appealed to middle-class Americans seeking a common cultural literacy with the upper classes, but they also appealed to working-class Americans who sought an inexpensive source of fiction and advice literature. Many Home Library series defied the genteel and sensational labels used in the period, perhaps denoting that American reading habits had grown more complex and varied among the social classes than is generally believed. On the forthrightly respectable side of the series spectrum was Charles Dudley Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature* (1897) in 30 volumes. The 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* sold seven competing Home Library series such as the *Modern Library*, the 150-book series *Library Editions of the New Oxford and Princeton*, and *Selected Paper Covered Books Series* that sold for as little as 16 cents per title. One example was the *Frank Leslie's Home Library of Standard Works by the Most Celebrated Authors*. Many of these inexpensive paperbacks were intended to be portable so that people could carry them on trains and trolleys while traveling and commuting to and from work—an experience made more common by the expansion of urban and suburban living (Shrock 2004, 164–65).

Juvenile Literature

The Taylor sisters, Ann and Jane, had written books of poems for children, and although they were not exclusively religious, many featured an avenging God as an ultimate protagonist. Less intrusive into the religious sphere of life was the message in the stories of Maria Edgeworth, an Irish novelist. Her goal was to teach practical ideas about proper behavior to children. Her astute understanding of the psychology of the child enabled her to create engaging stories that delivered morals with grace and tender humor. There was always a gracious lady who appeared to give an award or to point out the virtuous response. Authors often used an aunt or a friend to children to help deliver a message. For example, *Bound Out: or Abby on the Farm* was written by Aunt Friendly.

As the century progressed, romanticism ushered in a trend toward a body of children's literature that was less morbid and contained fantasy and realism. Washington Irving's *Sketch Book of 1819* drew upon the legends of the Dutch settlers of New York. James Fennimore Cooper wrote about early frontier life in his series, the *Leather-Stocking Tales*. Nathaniel Hawthorne retold classic Greek myths in *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys* and *The Tanglewood Tales for Girls and Boys*While not written primarily for children, these works were very popular with young readers. While fantasy and adventure literature drew a sizable audience, didactic works did not disappear. In the 1820s the American Tract Society had begun publishing a number of children's books. With titles such as *Honesty is the Best Policy; Active Benevolence or Lucy Careful;* and *Good Boys and Chastised*, it was clear that the object of such stories was to present a moral lesson more in line with the social gospel. Less obvious, with gentler, more sentimental messages, were books like *Aunt Rose and Her Little Nieces* (1842) that contained little stories of interest to children but included words of wisdom for the young readers. Aunt Rose (the nom de plume of the author) cautioned, "When young people do as they are bid, every one is glad to see them; but when they behave ill, every body wishes them far off." She also cautioned, "If ever you do wrong, my dear little ones, be sure you own your fault." Finally she advised, "Riches take away the heart from God. Never desire to be rich" (Shrock 2004, 20).

In children's literature, the antebellum pattern of didactic, sentimental stories evolved into a trend where children were the protagonists who, through indomitable morality or outstanding example, affect the lives of others by persuading them to take the higher road. Orphaned Abby, in *Bound Out: or Abby on the Farm*, typifies this story line. Abby was a model child who accepted her hardships, answered the call to duty and trusted in the Lord. Abby had tremendous influence on the family with whom she lived. She was responsible for Mr. Porter's desisting to serve whiskey to his reapers during the harvest, for the spoiled son, Bubby to want to go to Sunday School and for Mrs. Porter's becoming more clement and less harsh in her speech.

The flowering of children's literature initiated a surfeit of children's periodicals. Between 1789 and 1879 almost 340 youth magazines were published in the United States. Some publications folded after only a few issues but many enjoyed success. Most were intended for 10- to 18-year-olds but publications like *The Nursery* were intended for the very young. Through these periodicals the nation's youth were introduced to some of the country's most influential writers of the day including Jacob Abbott, Louisa May Alcott, Samuel Goodrich, Sarah Joseph Hale, and John Townsend Trowbridge and delighted by the illustrations of Mary Ann Hallock, Winslow Homer, and Thomas Nast. These magazines reflected virtually all of the attitudes and concerns that enveloped the nation at the time. There were educational magazines such as *Clark's School Visitor* and *The Schoolfellow* and temperance periodicals like *The Youth's Temperance Banner* and *Juvenile Temperance Watchman*. Some magazines were purely literary such as *Our Young Folks* and *Riverside Magazine for Young People*. Religious publications were extremely plentiful, and Protestants were joined by Catholics, Jews, and Mormons in trying to spread their message to the nation's youth through the use of the press. During the Civil War, Southern children were cut off from their favorite Northern periodicals, but Southern publications such as *The Child's Index, Children's Guide*, and *Youth's Banner* filled the void.

Despite the movement away from dark, heavily moralistic tales, much of children's literature emphasized intellectual and moral education beneath a cloak of juvenile entertainment. Even children's periodicals embraced this format. The prospectus for *Youth's Companion* stated that the magazine's contents would be miscellaneous, with several departments dealing with religion, morals, manners, habits, filial duties, books, amusements, schools, and whatever may be thought truly useful, either in this life or the life to come. Parents would have found this very appealing. The *Mother's Book* was written for young people, and, as far as possible, combined amusement with instruction but it was very important to the editors that amusement not become the primary inducement for reading the magazine. Author and founder of the children's magazine, *Merry's Museum*, Samuel G. Goodrich cautioned parents against the influence of fiction. He suggested that they restrict their children's reading of fiction and encourage instead that they read works that dealt in facts, such as geographies, histories, biographies, and travel books.

The second half of the century saw a gender segmentation of the market that generated adventure stories for boys that fostered manly independence. Putting a new twist on this theme in 1867, Horatio Alger, created a different kind of adventure story for boys that centered on the upward struggle to economic success.

Ragged Dick: or Street Life in New York commenced a series of rags-to-riches tales focusing on the rewards of hard work, perseverance, and concern for others. Stories targeting the female audience were mainly sentimental domestic novels with a young female protagonist, usually orphaned, who had to make her way in an often unkind world. Among these were Sophie May's *Little Prudy* series, Martha Finley's 28-volume saga *Elsie Dinsmore*, and Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (Volo and Volo 2007, 272–75).

Arguably, *St. Nicholas Magazine* was the dominant youth periodical of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its success illustrates, as no other of its kind, the growth of a consumer ethic and a distinctive youth culture during this period. Even though Mary Mapes Dodge, the powerful editor of the magazine for over 30 years, believed that moral uplift and strong support of the community values held by the upper classes was import, she also railed against children's literature that was primarily aimed at the parents. Dry, dusty, and wearisome, the old style needed to be replaced by a periodical that would be a "pleasure ground" where young people could discover "a brand-new, free life of their own for a little while." Although adults produced the literature and Dodge had a free hand in shaping the content of her magazine, young people were the focus as a distinct consumer group (Shrock 2004, 165–66).

Dodge had chosen the title, *St. Nicholas*, which was meant to signify to all its young readers the jolly old Santa Claus who was becoming the primary figure of a growing child-oriented material culture at the end of the century. Eventually, the notion of children as consumers was made explicit when the magazine included a "What I Want for Christmas" page. This enabled young readers, for the first time in a major periodical directed at them, to choose Christmas presents from the advertisements in the magazine. Youngsters could write down the gifts and their corresponding page numbers on a specially prepared form that was included in the magazine so that they might give it to their parents. This firmly established ties between *St. Nicholas Magazine*, Christmas, and the child-centered consumer culture (Shrock 2004, 166).

It would be an error, however, to attribute the overwhelming success of *St. Nicholas Magazine* or the older *Youth's Companion* simply to marketing factors. The magazines boasted some of the greatest serialized stories and most influential English-language authors of the age. These included Louisa May Alcott *(Little Women)*, Frances Hodgson Burnett *(Little Lord Fauntleroy)*, Mark Twain *(The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn)*, Rudyard Kipling *(The Jungle Book)*, and Howard Pyle *(The Story of King Arthur and His Knights)*.

Notwithstanding this array, it was the incredible diversity and quality of the literature that was printed in every issue that set these periodicals apart from their competition. History, sports, fairy tales, poetry, current events, adventure, success, sentimentality, nature, science, and stories for small children could all appear in a single issue. Palmer Cox's "Brownies," a series of illustrated drawings of chubby little sprites (a nineteenth-century equivalent of Walt Disney characters), were a favored feature of the magazine introduced in 1883. A spin-off of their popularity was the Kodak Brownie camera that appeared in 1900 specifically designed for and marketed to children. Like the long-lived *Youth's Companion*, *St. Nicholas Magazine* survived several decades absorbing or eliminating its competition into the twentieth century.

Its circulation was modest by comparison to that of *Youth's Companion* (100,000 as compared to 500,000 in 1900), but it was more costly. Its incredibly loyal readers paid 25 cents per copy, $3 per year, or $5 for the elaborate annual bound copies (Shrock 2004, 168–69).

Periodicals

Like novels and other forms of literature in America, many adult periodicals were initially patterned after English monthlies and quarterlies. Fewer than 100 periodicals, most of them short-lived, were issued before 1800, but by the middle of the nineteenth century almost 600 periodicals of various types were being printed in the United States. Illustrated magazines founded in the antebellum period like *Harper's* and *Frank Leslie's* had paved the way for this expansion, and their popular success ultimately brought domestic styles and formats to the reading public. Inexpensive periodicals without illustrations flourished due to advances in printing, but these were not all cheap rags. The leading quality publications of the second half-century were *The Atlantic* (formerly *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1857), a literary magazine edited by eminent writers and critics, including William Dean Howells; and the political magazine *The Nation* (1865).

One of the most important periodicals in the United States in the nineteenth century was the *North American Review* (founded 1815). Its editors included such literary figures as James Russell Lowell and Henry Adams; and its contributors included Henry James, H. G. Wells, and Mark Twain. Family magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post* (1821) became vastly popular with the general public. Also among the well-known general interest periodicals were *Scribner's Monthly* (1870, and called *The Century* after 1881) and *Scribner's Magazine* (1887).

Among the journals for special audiences were monthlies and weeklies for women. Chief among these was *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830–1898) with its hand-colored fashion illustrations that are so prized by collectors. Although often thought of as a Civil War era periodical, *Godey's* remained vastly influential in setting the style in clothing, manners, and taste throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. Women's magazines generally gained strength in the last quarter century. Readers could choose among *Ladies'* (later *Woman's*) *Home Companion* (1873), *McCall's Magazine* (1876), *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883), *Good Housekeeping* (1885), and *Vogue* (1892).

There were a number of illustrated periodicals founded in the period that were inexpensively priced and of great popular appeal throughout the United States. They included *Collier's* (1883), *Cosmopolitan* (1886), *McClure's Magazine* (1893), and *Munsey's Magazine* (1889). These were among the most influential of the so-called muckraking periodicals, named for their exposure of government and business corruption in the first decade of the twentieth century.

—*James M. Volo*

Poetry

The emergence of a truly indigenous English-language poetry in the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was largely founded on the work of two poets, Walt Whitman (1819–1892) and Emily Dickinson (1830–1886). On the surface, these two poets could not have been less alike—one living in the light, one in the dark; one very public, the other reclusive; one optimistic, the other morose. What linked them was their common connection to Ralph Waldo Emerson and the daring originality of their work.

In 1855, Whitman completed the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, a work that Emerson called "an American phenomenon." There was nothing among previous domestic works to compare it to. "We call *Leaves of Grass* a poem and Whitman a poet," Emerson wrote, "but that is only because we have no suitable category for it or him." Whitman, for his part, recognized Emerson as a dear friend and master, commending him in the dedication of his work (Smith 1981, 1004–5).

The men who ruled America in the postwar era made more money than the world had ever seen, but Whitman gained great influence among them and among educators and the general reading population. Whitman accepted the paradigm of an Industrial Age that seemingly channeled the strength of the nation into manufacturing, trust building, and moneymaking. He hoped that America would distribute its democracy to the whole world. "I perceive clearly," he wrote, "that the extreme business energy, and this almost maniacal appetite for wealth prevalent in the United States, are parts of amelioration and progress, indispensably needed to prepare the very results I demand. My theory [of spreading democracy] includes riches, and the getting of riches" (Butterfield 1947, 213).

Whitman understood that the nation also needed its own literature—a literary America divested of its British roots and British soul. "Open the doors of The West," he wrote, "Call for the new great masters to comprehend new arts, new perfections, new wants.... Here are to be obtained results never elsewhere thought possible." Whitman acclaimed the chaos and disorder of American life finding it filled with human possibilities. "The wild smack of freedom, California, money, electric-telegraphs, free-trade, iron and iron-mines—recognize without demur those splendid resistless black poems, the steam-ships of the seaboard states, and those other resistless splendid poems, the locomotives." Widely published and long-lived, Whitman was America's poet (Smith 1981, 1001–2).

Emily Dickinson, on the other hand, was a deeply sensitive woman who questioned the puritanical background of her family and soulfully explored her own spirituality, often in poignant, deeply personal poetry. Rarely published and almost unknown in her own illness-shortened lifetime, Dickinson is noted for her unconventional broken rhyming meter and the use of dashes and random capitalization as well as her creative use of metaphor and overall innovative style. Her work often reflected the keen insight she had into the human condition. At times characterized as a semi-invalid, a hermit, a heartbroken introvert, or a neurotic agoraphobic, her poetry is sometimes brooding and sometimes joyous and celebratory.

Whitman and Dickinson represent the birth of two major American poetic idioms—the unbounded and direct emotional expression of Whitman, and the dark obscurity and mystical style of Dickinson—both of which would profoundly stamp American poetry in the twentieth century. Whitman's long lines and his democratic inclusiveness stand in stark contrast with Dickinson's concentrated phrases, short lines, and truncated stanzas. The development of these idioms can be traced through the works of other poets such as Edwin Arlington Robinson (1869–1935), Stephen Crane (1871–1900), Robert Frost (1874–1963) and Carl Sandburg (1878–1967). As a result, by the beginning of the twentieth century the outlines of a distinctly new American poetic tradition were clear to see.

—James M. Volo

Regional Literature: Realism

The essence of the regional literature of the Industrial Era was the use of local color in stories and novels that explored the distinctive subcultures of the vast United States. The efforts to preserve regional culture in print during this period are not surprising given that a new mass, industrial culture was exerting a not altogether desirable homogenizing force on American society.

The realistic literature produced at the end of the nineteenth century retained streaks of nostalgia and romanticism, and the local color in fiction often took the form of nonstandard English, regional dialects, unusual settings, and the conflict between rural values and innovative ways of getting things done. In many ways, realism was the literary attempt to understand and control the forces of change assailing the nation in a truthful way that was not exaggerated, romanticized, or sensationalized.

Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, and Henry James were prominent in the realist movement from the 1880s to the early twentieth century. In many ways, Twain (Samuel Clemens) stands out as the dominant literary force in the period, and remains the most popular of the three. Besides his Western humor, his series of books about life on the Mississippi River stand out as examples of the use of local color. These include *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). Twain also invested in a publishing house and a series of technologically innovative printing machines. He went into debt to publish the memoirs of Ulysses Grant as the former president and general of the army lay dying of cancer. William Dean Howells exerted tremendous influence over high literature in the Industrial Age as assistant editor and then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* (1866–1881); as editorial columnist in *Harper's Monthly* (1886–1892); as a consulting editor for the first issues of *Cosmopolitan;* and as a generally prolific and highly respected literary critic and author. He is perhaps best known today for his novels, *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885) and *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890), which showed a dark side of the capitalist economy of the Industrial Age. Henry James, though not as prolific as Howells or as popular as Twain, became famous for his novels such as *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), *The Bostonians* (1886), and particularly *The Turn of the Screw* (1898).

Like Bret Harte and Mark Twain before him, Hamlin Garland drew on his experiences in the American West to affect his writing style, developing a specialty of presenting the details of farm life in the prairie states. *Main-Traveled Roads* (1891) and the story *Up the Coule* try to counter the romantic image of farming life that was then popular in the American press. His *Under the Lion's Paw* (1891) was famous for its bleak descriptions of the upper Midwest. Garland's autobiographical works, including *Boy Life on the Prairie* (1926), offer a more realistic image of childhood in the West while other works engage the political and social events of the time. The *Captain of the Gray-Horse* (1902) and *Cavanagh: Forest Ranger* (1910), for instance, examine the tensions between Westerners and the newly created Forest Service, while *Hamlin Garland's Observations on the American Indian* (1895) and *The Book of the American Indian* (1923) explore the issues surrounding the experiences of Native Americans.

Stephen Crane was also able to capture the West in his short stories, including *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* (1898) and *The Blue Hotel* (1898). As in his Civil War classic, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), Crane borrowed images of the West—and the stereotypes of that land—from the popular dime novels. He even poked fun at the dime novel's readers in stories like *The Blue Hotel*. The story includes a character named Swede, an ambiguous representation of the immigrants who played a key role in the frontier experience.

At the turn of the century, Owen Wister gave the tenets of western literature a modern twist in his novel *The Virginian* (1902). Based on the story of a Western cowboy with roots in the Old Dominion, the novel's hero clearly combines the tension between civilization and the frontier wilderness, which conflict stood at the center of the literary western. *The Virginian* was amazingly successful going through 6 printings in 6 weeks and 16 printings in the first year, and becoming the best-selling work in fiction in 1902. The novel, a staple of Western-style American literature, set off a renewed wave of Western genre novels during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Other American novelists followed in Wister's footsteps, producing a formulaic pattern for the western genre. Included among these was B. M. Bower (Sinclair), the first woman to write westerns as a profession. Bower brought strong female characters to her westerns, especially in her popular *Chip of the Flying U* (1906). Beginning in 1904, Bower wrote 60 western novels before her death in 1940.

Ole E. Rölvaag, a Norwegian who moved to the Dakota prairies, gave voice to the immigrant frontier experience in his *Giants in the Earth: A Saga of the Prairie* (1927) and its sequel *Peder Victorious: A Tale of the Pioneers Twenty Years Later* (1929). Willa Cather's fiction, especially *My Ántonia* (1918) and *O Pioneer!* (1913), offered a female perspective on immigrant life on the prairies. Her novels present the challenges pioneers faced in farming the land as well as their love of the land.

Among the best of the regional authors was Sarah Orne Jewett, who wrote about her native state of Maine in stories like *A Marsh Island* (1885), *The Country of Pointed Firs* (1896), and *The Foreigner* (1900), each of which appeared in the better quality monthly periodicals, particularly *Atlantic Monthly*. The South had a number of regional authors: Joel Chandler Harris gained fame for his Uncle Remus stories that appeared in *Century* and *Scribner's Monthly* in the 1880s. Kate Chopin also gained recognition for her writing about her home state of Louisiana in works like the collection of short stories *Bayou Folks* (1894; Shrock 2004, 161–65).

COMMUNICATIONS: THE TELEPHONE

Today, the telegraph is a distant memory. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the telegraph was one of the most prevalent communications technologies in America. So, when Alexander Graham Bell announced the invention of his new device, the telephone, it was seen as simply an improvement to the telegraph—a speaking telegraph that had neither the long history of reliability or the backing of a giant company like Western Union behind it. Only later in the century were the telephone's unique characteristics fully understood and exploited.

In 1876, Bell—a teacher of the deaf by profession—constructed the telephone by combining a series of simple theoretical concepts into a complex but effective electrical mechanism that supposedly mimicked the functionalities of the ear. Within six months he had arranged a public demonstration of his device before a select group of scientific men gathered at Lyceum Hall in Salem, Massachusetts. Although the transmission wiring was makeshift, on March 15, 1877, Bell spoke into his instrument and received an answer from far away Boston. By 1878, the Bell Telephone Company had set up thousands of miles of wires and a series of giant switching boards capable of connecting Americans by voice in many cities. The terms for "leasing two telephones for social purposes connecting a dwelling-house with any other building" were set at $20 dollars a year, and "for business purposes" at $40 dollars a year (Adams 1946, 307).

Gardiner G. Hubbard, active director of the company, noted the advantages of a telephone "set in a quiet place" where noise would not interrupt ordinary conversation. He also noted, "The advantages of the Telephone over the Telegraph . . . are that no skilled operator is required, but direct communication may be had by speech without the intervention of a third person; that the communication is much more rapid [100 words a minute versus 20]; and it needs no battery and has no complicated machinery." Moreover, Hubbard suggested that the telephone lines could be erected by the business owner or "any good mechanic" with the total cost of poles, stringing, and sundries being $10 per mile. "Parties leasing the Telephones, however, incur no expense beyond the annual rental and repair of the line wire (Adams 1946, 307; Volo and Volo 2007, 96–97).

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The Germ-Free Environment: Antiseptics

British surgeon Joseph Lister is widely known as the founder of the antiseptic hospital and germ-free surgery, a significant advance in the development of medicine in the nineteenth century. In 1861, Lister accepted a position as professor of surgery at the University of Glasgow where he began his experiments in antiseptic surgery. In Lister's day (before the development of antibiotics), surgical patients expected to experience infections after an operation, and the hospitals and wards often smelled of putrefaction (and sometimes gangrene). Child-bed fever—a deadly infection that swept through the maternity wards from mother to mother and newborn to newborn—was rampant. The cause of these infections was widely thought to be associated with so-called bad air or miasmic vapors, and was thought to be unavoidable. Many patients and surgeons opted to have their procedures done at home because there was less chance of infection there than in hospitals.

Lister was a knowledgeable physician well-versed in Pasteur's theories of contamination by airborne germs and other microorganisms, but Pasteur had killed his germs and bacteria by boiling, a technique that could be used on hospital linens and medical instruments but not on the patients themselves. However, in a conversation with a colleague trained in chemistry, Lister realized that certain chemicals could be used to kill bacteria not only on surfaces and instruments, but also in wounds and on bandages, and—most importantly—on the hands of the physician.

Lister reasoned that if germs in the hospital environment could be killed, then most infections could be prevented. A simple washing of the hands with soap and hot water before and after examining patients in the maternity ward had all but eradicated child-bed fevers where it was practiced. Carbolic acid, now called phenol (a pleasant-smelling form of alcohol), was already being used as a deodorizing agent and preservative in laboratories, and Lister thought it might kill germs. In 1865, he began using carbolic as an antiseptic before, during, and after surgery and published his data in 1867. Lister observed:

> The principle, therefore, consists in surrounding a wound from its reception to its cure with an atmosphere charged with the vapor of the (Carbolic) acid: and to accomplish this the surgeon operates amid a thin cloud of spray made by atomizing a weak solution, in which his hands, instruments, sponges, are also immersed. The blood vessels are tied with carbolized cords, the edges of the wound closed by carbolized stitches, and finally layers of gauze impregnated with carbolic acid and resin are bound over the wound and a considerable part of the adjoining skin, the resin causing the carbolic acid to be evolved slowly, so that the dressing need not be changed for several days (quoted in Timmons 2005, 146–47).

In the United States, physicians were slow to accept Lister's practices. Eminent physician and medical author Dr. Samuel Gross noted as late as 1876 that little, if any, faith was placed in Lister's antiseptics in America. He observed that infection could be avoided if care was taken in making and changing dressings, clearing away cots and sickbeds, and excluding air from the wound. The first American hospital to adopt an antiseptic environment was Roosevelt Hospital in New York City (Timmons 2005, 146). As medical students and practicing physicians noted the great success in reducing hospital deaths from infection, Lister's procedures became accepted by the medical community.

—James M. Volo

Childbirth: Midwife to Obstetrician

While motherhood came to be the principal fulfillment of a woman, the pregnancy itself was a socially awkward time. Sex was a very private matter, and talk of it was taboo in polite circles. The presence of a pregnant woman was an unspoken reminder of sexual intercourse. Phrases such as "in a delicate condition" and "confinement" were used in Victorian America to describe the pregnancy and labor. Women were expected to avoid the public view as much as possible. Many women of the leisure class remained indoors for the latter part of their pregnancy rather than display their change of figure. One woman who attended a friend's party while seven months pregnant reported that she was allowed a seat where she could come in and out easily and keep out of harm's way. She apologized that she was not a "pretty figure" for company, and she hoped to manage so as not to be "obnoxious." A period journal advised mothers-to-be to breathe the atmosphere of refinement and peace, and in this time of seclusion, commune with their own heart and be still.

Most women delivered their babies at home, attended by an assortment of relatives, neighbors, and perhaps a midwife. Such a gathering of women provided support and encouragement for the new mother, and the extra hands were welcome should the labor be lengthy or an emergency arise. Early in the nineteenth century it became fashionable for upper- and upper-middle-class women to deliver at home by a male physician, particularly in Eastern cities. Physicians warned women that they were in danger if they did not receive proper medical attention during childbirth. Childbirth was always a danger, so to allay their fears, increasing numbers of women began to choose physicians over midwives. By the latter part of the century physicians became available even to poor women. This shift from midwife to physician had a dramatic affect on the birthing process. With midwifery, the community of women who came together for the birth of a child was completely in control and solidly bonded in their femininity. Their authority had been powerful and unquestioned. It was the one time when men kept to the shadows awaiting news while the women were in the forefront managing information and activity. Once delivery was in the hands of a physician, it became male controlled. It also altered the event from one of community and support to one of privacy and isolation. Physicians prohibited the participation of relatives and friends in the birthing process because the presence of these ancillary people was seen as a distraction and it weakened their authority.

Physicians charged more than midwives, and perhaps to justify their expense they utilized procedures that would not have been offered by midwives. Feminine modesty among some women brought about the situation where babies were delivered from beneath layers of sheets or even yards of skirts worn by the mother to protect her private parts from the doctor's eyes. Medical students were not permitted to watch actual deliveries and relied on mannequins and textbooks to learn their procedures. The *Obstetrical Catechism* of 1854 had urged physicians to be aware of the "sense of delicacy" on the part of the female and suggested that he obtain permission from the husband or matronly female prior to a hands-on examination. The doctor was then advised that the clothes should be properly raised at their lower edges, by the left hand, and then the right hand be passed cautiously up the clothes without uncovering the patient.

Doctors sometimes administered purgatives to the expectant women at the onset of delivery or bled her until she fainted thus stopping her from crying out. It was not unusual for physicians to use forceps to speed the delivery of the child, a novel procedure that sometimes resulted in rips in internal organs. One of the more horrible complications was vesico-vaginal fistulae. The result of tears in the walls between the vagina and bladder, this condition was characterized by continual leakage from the bladder. Thousands of women suffered from this complication, which often made them lifelong invalids and social outcasts.

By the end of the nineteenth century, birthing increasingly moved into the institutional environment of the hospital. This was especially true for newly arrived immigrants, unwed mothers, and homeless women—none of whom had strong community support nor a corp of experienced relations. It was hoped that the controlled environment of the hospital would help to eliminate the great killer of new mothers and their babies, known as child-bed or puerperal fever. Ironically, the reverse occurred. These lying-in or maternity hospitals were hotbeds of infection. Only women in the most desperate situations would go to a hospital to deliver. The poor women who turned to them were often used as subjects of examination and experimentation by doctors and medical students. Child-bed fever reached epidemic levels in hospitals during the nineteenth century as doctors, who failed to wash their hands between internal exams, carried the infection from patient to patient. Women who were attended by midwives occasionally contracted the disease, but because midwives did fewer internal exams and treated only one patient at a time, it was much less common that they spread infection. In 1883 at the Boston Lying-in Hospital, 75 percent of the mothers confined there contracted the infection and 20 percent died from it. While a number of physicians suspected that the infections were being spread by dirty hands, most doctors refused to believe that they were the cause of the problem, and the advocates of sanitation were ridiculed for their claims. It was not until Pasteur and Lister concluded that washing could prevent infection did the practice become accepted, but even then not everyone washed effectively, allowing the infections to claim mothers into the early decades of the twentieth century (Volo and Volo 2007, 196–97).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Adams, James Truslow, ed. *Album of American History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

Bar, Paul. *The Principles of Antiseptic Methods Applied to Obstetric Practice*. Philadelphia, PA: P. Blakiston, Son & Co., 1887.

Butterfield, Roger. *The American Past: A History of the United States from Concord to Hiroshima, 1775–1945*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947.

Casper, Scott E., Joan Chaison, and Jeffery D. Groves, eds. *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Davis, Allen F. "The Settlement House." In *The Social Fabric, American Life from the Civil War to the Present*, eds. John H. Cary and Julius Weinberg. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Fischer, Claude S. *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992.

Fisher, Richard B. *Joseph Lister, 1827–1912*. New York: Stein and Day, 1977.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education, A Documentary History*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.
Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin, *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Jewett, Charles. *Manual of Rules for Child-bed Nursing*. Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Eagle Press, 1889.
Johnson, Clifton. *Old-Time Schools and School-books*. New York: Dover Publications, 1963.
Kelley, R. Gordon, ed. *Children's Periodicals of the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
Mason, Philip P., ed. *Copper Country Journal: The Diary of Schoolmaster Henry Hobart, 1863–1864*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.
Mauriceau, François. *The Diseases of Women with Child, and in Child-bed*. New York: Garland Press, 1985.
Metchnikoff, Elie. *The Founders of Modern Medicine: Pasteur, Koch, Lister*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.
Mondale, Sarah, and Sarah B. Patton, eds. *School: The Story of American Public Education*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001.
Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines*. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930–1968.
Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History*. 4 Vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
Tebbel, John, and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Material Life

FOOD AND DRINK

The Best-Fed People in the World

The rise of modern mass society in the United States during the Industrial Age had a profound effect on food for the average American. Massive urban centers linked by an ever-growing network of railroads connected Americans like never before in history, and with the invention of refrigerated railroad cars and factories as well as agricultural mechanization there was a new ability to supply out-of-season vegetables and fruits, canned foods, and meats to Americans all over the country. As early as the 1850s, Americans were the best-fed people in the world. Meals tended to be large and heavy with ample meat—especially beef. The typical American consumed, on average, a little over 4,000 calories per day.

The appetite of Diamond Jim Brady was legendary during the 1890s. A gastronomic showman, he reflected the pomposity and excess of dining in the period. One New York restaurant reported that for breakfast Brady consumed a gallon of orange juice, three eggs, half a loaf of bread, a large steak, fried potatoes and onions, grits, bacon, muffins, and a stack of pancakes. His midday meal typically included three dozen oysters, two bowls of soup, a half-dozen crabs, seven or eight lobsters, a few portions of turtle meat, and a large steak. Dessert consisted of a platter of pastries and two pounds of chocolate candy. Brady ate four or five such meals daily (Elkort 1991, 132–33).

Although food along most transportation routes was of dubious quality before the 1870s, by the 1880s the quality of railroad food rose dramatically as intense competition among the growing number of lines caused many railroad companies to take losses on excellent food to draw riders. Travelers were aided further when Fred Harvey built 17 restaurants on railroad lines providing high-quality, affordable food served by pleasant waitresses in a clean environment.

Even though food was increasingly plentiful, there were poor Americans that suffered from hunger and malnutrition in the Industrial Age. Americans from the Northern city slums to Southern sharecroppers to hard-scrabble farmers on the Great Plains often lived on the edge of malnutrition, and many went hungry. Scarcity was being replaced by plenty, but in the modern market economy the inability to afford food could cause hunger and malnutrition as easily as famine (Shrock 2004, 97).

Dining Habits

The meals Americans ate were all relatively large by modern standards and somewhat different than today. Americans might eat some combination of breakfast, lunch, late supper, and dinner. Breakfast in the nineteenth century followed the ample American model, not the modest continental breakfast of a roll and coffee. A middle-class American might typically eat seasonal fruit, cereal, coffee or tea, eggs, meat or fish, potatoes, some kind of toast or muffin, and waffles, pancakes, or biscuits. Lunch or luncheon was the lighter informal midday meal for industrial workers. It might be a pail lunch eaten during a rushed break. Middle-class women used luncheon as a social event, whereas middle-class men might make it a business function. Late tea was primarily a middle-class event and denoted a lighter, informal evening meal served cold. Supper was much like late tea but was centered on a hot meal. Dinner could be taken from noon until late evening and was the formal main meal of the day. Dinner increasingly became an evening meal, particularly among the industrial working class and middle class, which worked far from home (Shrock 2004, 98).

Food Attitudes

Standard American food was heavily influenced by English cooking, with relatively few foreign influences. The average American in this era would have been working class, though there was great variation in the incomes of mainly native-born workers, who dominated the skilled jobs, and the immigrant workers largely stuck in unskilled positions. Virtually all of their work, however, required hard physical labor, so an average diet that included 4,000 calories a day was not out of step with their needs. Their food was rich and heavy, laden with butter, cream, sugar, and lard. The diet of the skilled worker at the Homestead steel plant was typical with oatmeal and milk, eggs, bacon, bread with butter and jelly, and coffee for breakfast. Lunch consisted of a quick meal of soup, bread, and fruit. Dinner was eaten in the evening with meat (most likely beef), beans, potatoes, fruits, beets, and pickles. Like many native-born American diets, the steelworkers' meals were relatively bland; Americans shared deep reservations about over-spicing foods and relied primarily on salt and small amounts of pepper, cloves, cinnamon, mace, ginger, nutmeg, and a few herbs.

The volume of food on an American table shocked foreign visitors. One reason for this was the long-term decline in food prices throughout the period. In 1898, one dollar could buy 43 percent more rice than in 1872, 35 percent more beans, 49 percent more tea, 51 percent more roasted coffee, 114 percent more sugar, 62 percent more mutton, 25 percent more fresh pork, 60 percent more lard and butter, and 42 percent more milk (Shrock 2004, 98–99).

Common Foods

Meat dominated the meals of most Americana and was relatively cheap compared to meat prices in Europe. Typical working Americans could afford to eat meat at two or three meals a day. Whereas pork had been the universal meat throughout all of America before the Civil War, by the Industrial Age inexpensive beef was flooding urban markets, and it became the overwhelming favorite. G. H. Hammond invented the refrigerated railroad car in 1871, and by the 1890s entire meatpacking plants were refrigerated. With railroads connecting the Great Plains to cities, refrigeration made it possible for inexpensive beef to reach most regions of the nation. Beef was eaten at every meal, often sliced thinly and often fried and eaten with gravy. Roast beef, corned beef, beef tongue, as well as the fine cuts such as sirloin, porterhouse, tenderloin, and filet were all popular among Americans. Indeed, as working-class incomes rose, so too did the consumption of beef. Other types of meat were also widely eaten, including lamb, turkey, chicken, duck, goose, and pork. While Americans of English stock sometimes held onto the tradition of beef or goose at Christmas, by the end of the century most Americans had made turkey their meat of choice for the holiday. Employers were already giving away free turkeys to their employees by the 1880s. Wild game was still popular throughout rural areas, particularly duck, deer, goose, turkey, antelope, buffalo, and rabbit, but its importance in American diets was declining markedly.

Fresh seafood was important in the American diet only on the coasts, with the notable exception of oysters. Average Americans ate little fresh seafood beyond fish if they lived in the interior of the country, away from the fishing fleets of the East and West Coasts. Turtle soup and lobsters were quite popular but expensive delicacies. Fresh oysters proved to be the exception, and they were universally popular with Americans of all social classes. Middle- and upper-class dinner parties often began with oysters on the half shell, fried oysters, or an oyster soup while working-class Americans enjoyed the repast in oyster bars and saloons where they were sold for one penny each on the waterfront. Even on the mining frontiers in California, Nevada, Idaho, and Colorado oysters on the half shell were common and popular. Reno, Nevada's Capital Chop House advertised that it always kept fresh seafood and transported oysters on hand that could be served at all hours, in any style desired. Even if fresh seafood, aside from oysters, was not readily available in the interior of the country, canned seafood including crab, lobster, oysters, salmon, sardines, and innumerable varieties of sauced, smoked, and pickled canned fish were becoming much more common.

Dairy production also increased during the period thanks to the railroad system, which allowed for daily pickups of fresh milk. Dairy farmers sold 2 billion pounds of milk in 1870, but that figure rose to a staggering 18 billion by 1900. Milk was a popular beverage during the period, and demand remained high despite concerns over disease carried in the milk. The increase was due not only to better transportation but also to farmers discovering that dairy cows produced more milk if fed fresh, green feed. Also, in 1890, Dr. Stephen Babcock invented a machine that could ascertain the butterfat content of milk, which made it easier for farmers to monitor and control the quality of their product and improve their herds. These improvements also made the production of other dairy products more profitable, such as cheese, cottage cheese, butter, and cream cheese. In addition to milk, butter was by far the most popular dairy product. Butter was used heavily on bread, in baking, and to make sauces for meats, oysters, or fish. During the period large quantities of butter were mass-produced in factories, which improved in speed and quantity with the 1880 invention of the mechanical cream separator. Many rural Americans, however, continued to produce their own butter, particularly because of the fears of tuberculosis spread through dairy products. Most farm-produced butter, often called dairy butter, was packed in round decorative molds that were commonly four inches in diameter.

Americans consumed far more meat than vegetables. The vegetables they ate in the largest quantities were primarily potatoes, sweet potatoes, squash, cabbage, dried beans, and rice, with only small sides of yellow or leafy green vegetables. Potatoes were such a staple that they appeared at breakfast, lunch, and evening meals, and came in a dizzying array of preparations: broiled, mashed, fried, stewed, baked, escalloped, and French-fried. The average person seldom ate raw vegetables. Although, there were regional exceptions, most people considered them to contain low levels of natural poisons. Native-born Americans boiled vegetables for an hour or more under the conception that this would boil out the toxins. *The Nevada Cookbook*, compiled by the good women of Carson City in 1887, declared that vegetables had to be well cooked because raw vegetables were neither good nor wholesome.

Fresh fruits grew in popularity throughout the period. The massive expansion of railroad networks, refrigerated railroad cars, and agricultural mechanization brought a large supply of out-of-season fruits into American homes. Strawberries from the Carolinas, the Gulf States, Arkansas, Missouri, and Tennessee made their way to Northern markets. A wide array of citrus fruits, like oranges, grapefruits, and lemons came from California and Florida. Oranges were commonly put in children's stockings at Christmas. Fruits produced outside of the United States, such as bananas and pineapples, also appeared. Less exotic fruits including peaches, grapes, cantaloupes, avocados, pears, plums, apricots, cherries, raspberries, and blueberries were available much of the year. Apples continued to be the most popular fruit in the United States.

Sugar, specifically refined, white granulated sugar, also became a major part of the average person's diet during this period. Sugar underwent a revolution in production, which made it more affordable. Greater importation of international sugar, combined with the mechanization of domestic sugar production, caused sugar prices to fall during the Civil War. Sugar, which had once been considered a luxury item only the wealthy could afford, became a necessity for the average American who was consuming an average of 41 pounds of sugar annually by the early 1870s. Food preparers catered to the American demand for sugar, putting it into a wide variety of products. Per capita sugar consumption surged to 68 pounds by 1901.

The increased availability of sugar also served to develop a wider variety of desserts including hot and cold puddings, tarts, pies, breads, cakes, custards, jellies, and preserves. Forty-two percent of the recipes found in the *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1884 through 1912 were for desserts.

Ice cream, which had been an exotic, elite treat as late as the 1830s, was common and relatively inexpensive by the mid-century. Ice cream saloons and soda fountains, a concept that appealed to women dedicated to the temperance movement, flourished during the last quarter of the century. By the 1880s ice cream could be purchased for as little as a penny a glass and street vendors sold the treat for even less. Home ice-cream makers had been available to the elite in the 1840s, but they were within reach of the middle class by 1880. By 1895 almost anyone could afford a small, two-quart ice-cream maker, which retailed from $1.50 in the *Montgomery Ward Catalogue*.

Chocolate also captured the hearts of Americans during this period. Chocolatier, Stephen Whitman, copied French methods to create the chocolate candy industry in the 1860s, but the treats were relatively expensive and generally associated with women and as a gift for a sweetheart until the 1890s. Candy makers such as Milton Hershey changed those perceptions when they developed a chocolate specifically designed for children's tastes by adding milk. Hershey would go one step further by making his chocolate less expensive. Hershey penny bars and over 130 chocolate novelties drew a massive number of consumers by 1899 (Shrock 2004, 99–103).

Home Canning

Home canning of vegetables and fruits continued in popularity. The preservation of the harvest had always been essential to a family's survival, and the tradition continued even though canned foods were becoming increasingly available. Screw-top canning jars were first invented in 1858 by John Mason and had seen many refinements by the time the Ball Brothers began to offer their Ball jar in 1884. The glass jars could be boiled before using to destroy pathogens, and the glass imparted no unusual taste to the contents as tinned iron cans sometimes did. Homemakers began to preserve a much wider variety of fruits and vegetables than ever before due to the increased availability of fresh fruits and vegetables. Cookbooks provided a wide assortment of recipes for canning such diverse products as plum marmalade, brandied peaches, tomatoes, corn, and watermelon rind.

—*Dorothy Denneen Volo*

Food Processors and Brand Names

Much of the meat, grains, vegetables, and fruits that were becoming more available to Americans were provided by increasingly large food processors. Businesses learned that they could consolidate, create very large business enterprises, charge less for their product than a small business, and earn enormous profits. They also realized that by creating national brand names they could create buyers and even charge higher prices by guaranteeing consistent quality. Very large producers emerged, jockeying for market position through brand-name use and advertising. Gustavus Swift and Philip Danforth Armour joined with a few others, for example, to create the "Big Five" in meat-packing. Known as the "Beef Trust" to reformers, the group controlled a massive market and drove out competitors. Washburn-Crosby, with its brand name Gold Medal Flour, and Pillsbury dominated the flour industry. The American Sugar Refining Company took control of most of the sugar industry with its brand mane, Domino, and started a successful campaign to convince the public that brown sugar was full of dangerous microbes (Schrock 2004, 104–5).

New brand names also arose in the processed cereal industry as Americans were introduced to breakfast cereals on a mass scale for the first time. John Kellogg created and marketed a cereal similar to the granula invented by Caleb Jackson in 1863 and was promptly sued. Kellogg changed the "u" in granula to an "o" and granola was born. In 1894 John and his brother, Will, were searching for a digestible bread substitute to improve the diet of hospital patients at their Sanatorium in Battle Creek, Michigan. While in the process of boiling wheat, they accidentally left a pot of boiled wheat to stand and the wheat became very soft. When Kellogg rolled the softened wheat and let it dry, each grain of wheat emerged as a large thin flake. The flakes turned out to be a tasty cereal. Kellogg called this discovery "Granose." The cereal met with initial resistance as people were used to eating hot cereal in the morning, and they found the idea of a cold breakfast cereal unappealing. Will adapted the idea to corn in 1898. He developed flakes of toasted corn and malt and called the creation Kellogg's Corn Flakes. Nonetheless, the Kellogg's weren't the first to market dry breakfast cereal.

C. W. Post was a patient at Kellogg's Sanatorium in 1891. He realized that health foods, and in particular, coffee substitutes were potential goldmines. He started his own health institute, right in Battle Creek. Within four years, he had developed Postum, a wheat- and molasses-based hot beverage. Post mounted an ad campaign that made the product a success. "There was," he said, "no limit to the number of physical and moral ills caused by coffee, but it could all be improved with Postum, the beverage that 'makes red blood.' " In 1897, he introduced a grain beverage called, Grape Nuts, which was sweetened with maltose, which Post called grape sugar, and had a nut-like flavor. It was a failure as a beverage, but turned out to be a fantastic breakfast cereal, catapulting him to the head of the cereal business.

Inspired by these successes, a breakfast-cereal rush took place around the turn of the century. Henry D. Perky of Denver, Colorado, made a machine in 1893 that shredded wheat and formed it into little pillow-shaped biscuits, which he marketed as Shredded Wheat. In Battle Creek, where Kellogg and Post were located, dozens of factories sprang up, producing cereals like Tryabita, Strengtho, Corno, Malta Vita, and Maple-Flakes. Most did not last long. By 1902, 30 different cereal flake companies had crowded into the small town. Cereal soon found its way into the mass market, well beyond the health-food stores and spas where these kinds of products were initially found. A revolution in America's breakfast eating habits had begun.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Commercially Canned Foods

The incredible spread of canned foods during the Industrial Age also transformed American eating habits. Canned goods were available before the Civil War, but the invention of the pressure cooker in 1874 by K. A. Shriver gave canners control of the heating of canned goods, which allowed them to kill the germs in the sealed cans by heating them and still kept the cans from exploding in the process. Canning factories grew from under 100 in 1870 to almost 1,800 in 1900. Technological improvements transformed can-making from a hand process to a machine process that could churn out 2,500 cans an hour in the mid-1880s and 6,000 cans an hour by the mid-1890s. Processors like Heinz, Franco-American, Joseph H. Campbell Preserve Company (Campbell Soup Company), Norton Brothers Company, and a host of smaller producers canned a stunning variety of fruits, vegetables, soups, milk, seafood, and meats. Canned goods fanned throughout the nation via the ever-expanding railroad lines bringing exotic food to isolated regions and breaking the monotony of frontier food. Growers actually experimented with new strains of fruits and vegetables that would meet the demands of industrial canning. Processed foods were becoming a much more important part of the average American's diet during the Industrial Age (Shrock 2004, 105–6).

Beverages

The most common beverages were water, coffee, and milk. Temperance advocates encouraged the drinking of water, and virtually every eating establishment in the country served iced water by this time. Cocoa, lemonade, as well as hot and iced tea, both green and black, were also popular beverages. Soda fountains sprang up in cities and towns throughout the country as an alternative to saloons, and the new availability of fruits led to a wide variety of flavored sodas that sold for $.02. The most popular flavors were vanilla, strawberry, pineapple, and ginger. Many popular carbonated beverages can trace their origins to this era. Charles Hire introduced a new root beer, which he deftly maneuvered to be the National Temperance drink. Hire's Root Beer sold three million bottles in 1893. Dr Pepper, was invented by Charles Alderton in a Waco, Texas, drug store and fountain in 1885. It caught on quickly in Waco, where it was first requested by the name of the town. It is not clear when the name became Dr Pepper. The beverage was said to offer an energy boost when consumed at the appropriate times of the day, 10, 2, and 4. It received national attention when it was introduced nationwide at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. In 1886, Atlanta druggist, Dr. John Pemberton, developed a soothing cough syrup made with a soda water base, cola nut extract, and liberal doses of caffeine and coca leaf extract (cocaine). An employee mixed some with carbonated water and Coca-Cola made its debut. The coca leaf was later eliminated from the recipe. Pepsi-Cola was created by Caleb Bradham in his New Bern, North Carolina, pharmacy in 1898.

The consumption of hard liquor decreased throughout the Industrial Age, reaching a low mark of 1.2 gallons per capita from 1870 to 1900, primarily because it continued to be expensive and frowned upon by temperance advocates, though there was great demand for champagne. American beer consumption, however, vastly increased, climbing from 2.7 gallons per capita in 1855 to 15.5 gallons per capita in 1900. While European immigration certainly had much to do with beer's rising popularity, native-born working-class consumption also rose (Shrock 2004, 103).

Immigrant Food Traditions

As immigrants poured into the United States, they brought with them eating and cooking habits outside the mainstream of traditional Anglo-American cooking. Middle-class reformers attacked immigrant foods because of the traditional Anglo-American dislike for highly spiced foods and because of new ideas on nutrition. Scientific nutritionists firmly believed that heavily spiced foods required much more energy to digest and also caused alcohol cravings. Ethnic prejudice ignored the fact that spices often made cheap cuts of meat palatable. Nutritionists also attacked the practice of making heavy stews, soups, gulyashen, and borschts as dangerous because these mixtures of pasta, meat, and vegetables required excessive energy to digest. They advocated the Anglo-American method of cooking and eating each dish separately, which, according to the science of the day, was more efficiently digested. Nutritionists also criticized the light continental breakfast that many immigrants ate as unhealthy.

European immigrants largely ignored these middle-class attempts at reforming their food-eating habits, though different ethnic groups assimilated to American food at varying rates and degrees. In heavily populated ethnic enclaves, specialty stores would often emerge, catering to Old World food desires of their people. Most ethnic groups readily adopted more meat into their dishes when they found prices significantly cheaper in the United States (Shrock 2004, 107–9).

Eating Out

Americans in the Industrial Age ate out at restaurants more than ever. As more Americans joined the ranks of the salaried and wage earners, wages rose and a new leisure culture developed, eating out became much more common. Restaurants, lunch counters, saloons, and bars became important sources for a quick bite, leisurely dinner and special entertainment, though "proper ladies" would never enter a saloon or bar.

With more Americans in the industrial and office workforces, fast inexpensive lunches that could be purchased came into demand. For middle- and working-class men the saloon's free lunch was ubiquitous across the country and provided ample lunch for the cost of a 5-cent beer. Typical saloon lunches consisted of a buffet of bread or crackers, bologna or sliced meat, sliced tomatoes, salad, pickles, onions, radishes, and perhaps a hot stew or soup. These meals were incredible bargains when even inexpensive restaurants charged 15 cents for a meal. Not every saloon offered a free meal, but those that did not often provided a businessman's lunch for 10 to 20 cents. For people concerned with the presence of alcohol, numerous fast and relatively inexpensive 15-cent restaurants opened that catered to the array of business people, clerks, and retail workers in the downtown business corridors of American cities. The restaurants varied but offered items such as sandwiches, salads, and soups. Street vendors also provided large amounts of fast food to urban workers in fabulous variety. One well-organized street vendor business, the Mexican Food Corporation, blanketed New York City with white-clad vendors selling hot tamales (Shrock 2004, 109–10).

Charles Feltman is generally credited with introducing the frankfurter to the United States. Like many immigrants, Feltman operated a pushcart business. He sold meat pies in Coney Island, New York. Feltman's business began to drop off after the new hotels were built and had opened dining rooms. He decided to offer frankfurter sandwiches. He soon had enough money to open Feltman's German Beer Garden. His beef and pork mixture frankfurters were sizzled on a hot griddle and served in a warm bun garnished with homemade mustard and sauerkraut. Customers washed down their spicy sandwiches with a mug of beer or cherry soda. The hot dog sold for 10 cents, the soda was 3 cents, and the beer was a nickel (Elkort 1991, 168).

When they were concentrated in enough cities, most ethnic groups had restaurateurs open establishments that catered specifically to their food desires. The restaurants ranged from elite, expensive enterprises to moderately priced, down to quite cheap. Medium-priced German, French, Italian, Spanish, Chinese, and Jewish restaurants were in most major cities. New York even boasted a number of English chophouses where tripe, liver and bacon, Welsh rarebit, and pork and mutton pies were on the menu. The restaurants, however, catered mainly to these ethnic groups and not to native-born Americans. Italian spaghetti joints were one of the few ethnic restaurants to attract native-born Americans by the 1890s.

The American elite, unlike most native-born Americans, adopted a foreign culinary style as their preferred food, the French haute cuisine. French restaurants were the most popular fine dining establishments in the country, and none was more renowned than Delmonico's, founded in New York City in 1832. The celebrated establishment featured such exotic foods as grouse, truffled pig's feet, bear steak, green turtles, and beluga caviar. French chefs were hired by the wealthy, often at exorbitant salaries. The conspicuous consumption of the elite demanded that they illustrate their taste with the finest French foods and incredibly elaborate dinner parties. The eating habits of the American elite tended toward the heavy side despite their sedentary work habits. A typical dinner party menu consisted of a dizzying array of courses. The menu from General Winfield Scott Hancock's dinner party at Delmonico's in 1880 was typical. The dinner consisted of: raw oysters, two soups, hors d'oeuvres, a fish course, Relevés (a saddle of lamb and a filet of beef), entrées (chicken wings with peas and lamb chops with beans and mushroom-stuffed artichokes), terrapin en casserole á la Maryland, sorbet (to clear the palate), and roast canvasback duck and quail. For dessert there was timbale Madison, an array of ice creams, whipped creams, jellied dishes, banana mousse, and elaborate confectioneries. Fruit, petit fours, coffee, and liquors followed the dessert.

Almost all things French were good to the new American elite whose vast industrial fortunes and lack of family pedigree made them intent upon showing each other how polished and refined they could be. As often has been the case in American history, the rich valued every cultural refinement of Europe over everything American. The elite were the first to adopt French salad, mainly because lettuce was an expensive luxury only the wealthy could afford outside of those rural Americans who grew their own. Lettuce varieties in the nineteenth century wilted quickly and bruised so easily that transport was difficult until the development of iceberg head lettuce in 1903.

Of all the fine dining establishments devoted to other ethnic foods throughout urban America, none were more popular than French restaurants. Elite fine dining tended to gravitate toward restaurants like Delmonico's. Other such establishments in New York included the Hoffman House, the Savoy, the Waldorf-Astoria, and the Imperial. Boston had Young's Hotel and the Parker House. In Philadelphia there was the Continental. Chicago had the Palmer House and Sherman House. In New Orleans there was the St. Charles. San Francisco had the El Dorado House, Marchand's, Café Riche, and West Coast Delmonico's. Denver boasted six fine restaurants that specialized in haute cuisine (Shrock 2004, 111–13).

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Middle-Class Dinner Parties

Middle-class Americans eagerly adapted elite forms to their own situations in an attempt to clearly show their refinement and gentility, not only to others but also to themselves. The United States was a rapidly changing, highly mobile society with a volatile boom-and-bust economy, which made the middle class eager to establish clear class boundaries and create unity and coherence among themselves. The Victorian middle class adopted increasingly complex etiquette formulas in all facets of life, and dining became one of the major expressions of their desire to codify appropriate behavior in etiquette manuals and even cookbooks. For a group often only a generation away from very simple roots, these complex dining rituals reinforced their own sense of superiority and group solidarity. Dressing for dinner, for example, became an important symbol of middle-class propriety, even in the comfort of one's own home, taking precedence over dining comfort.

Mimicking the upper class, the middle class also began to put great emphasis on dinner parties. At more formal parties the hostess would send out engraved invitations by messenger, often listing the menu and the people attending, who were to be—according to the etiquette manuals—all relatively of the same social rank. Women dressed according to the latest fashion, but without arms or necks bared, and men generally wore dress coats and trousers. When dinner was to be served, the hostess would not turn to her husband as he escorted the lady of honor from the drawing room to the dining room followed by the gentlemen escorting their assigned dinner partners with the older, more socially prestigious going first. The hostess would be seated last, escorted by the gentleman of honor. As guests dined on the multi-course meal the hostess was responsible for maintaining a nice flow of uncontroversial conversation. Etiquette writers warned diners never to comment on the food, never touch the food with a hand, take small portions, take small bites, eat slowly, and eat with the proper utensil with easy facility. Additionally, they were to control their emotions and stifle all bodily concerns. Most etiquette writers recommended one to two hours for dinner parties.

The ample food was served à la Russe, which meant that the bulk of the food was placed on a sideboard and served in courses. Servants were required for this type of dinner party, and etiquette writers recommended one servant for every three guests for serving and clearing of plates. Middle-class food was definitely showing the influence of French cooking by the 1880s, but it continued to embrace the largely Anglo-American cooking heritage. Etiquette writer Mary Slurwood recommended this simple menu for a middle-class dinner party. The dinner included,: oysters, soup à la Reine, broiled fish, Filet de Boef aux Champignons of roast beef or mutton, roast partridges, tomato salad, cheese, flavored ices, jellies, fruit, coffee, liqueurs, and a variety of wines (Chablis, Rhine wine, champagne, claret and burgundy or sherry). The middle-class dinner party differed somewhat in the types of food presented, but not at all in the quantity. The much talked about servant shortage of the late nineteenth century was a constant concern for middle-class women eager to throw elegant dinner parties.

These dinner parties required fairly elaborate spaces in which these dramas could be played out. Increasingly, dining rooms were necessary symbols of gentility to the middle class. Dining rooms would be equipped with dinner party necessities. In addition to a dining room suite of furniture, which included a large sideboard to be used for storage and service, a wide array of crystal, cut glass, china, and silverware were needed for a party. An 1873 etiquette writer recommended that every family possess the following: three dozen wine glasses, two dozen champagne glasses, two dozen claret glasses, three dozen goblets, six water carafes, six decanters, one liqueur stand, twelve liqueur glasses, two glass pitchers, one celery glass, one trifle bowl, eight dessert dishes, one full dinner service, one common set earthenware for the kitchen, one common tea service, one good tea service, one breakfast service, and one good dessert service. This list did not even include the required silverware, which in an 1873 guidebook was listed as three dozen forks, two dozen tablespoons, a dozen and a half dessert spoons, two dozen teaspoons, six salt spoons, one cheese knife, four butter knives, one asparagus tong, two sugar tongs, two soup ladles, four sauce ladles, two gravy ladles, two sugar ladles, a fish slice, cheese scoops, and grape scissors (Shrock 2004, 113–15).

HOUSING: ROOM LAYOUT

The private homes of the Victorian middle class had several common characteristics. The parlor was the most public room in the Victorian house. Parlors were common to both the North and the South and across the middle class. Some more affluent homes had a front parlor solely dedicated to formal visitations and a back parlor for family use, but a single parlor was most common. The parlor was the place where visitors would be received, and therefore where the first impressions of a family were formed. Decorating decisions were made in a very calculated manner so as to project the image a family wished to convey. The parlor contained a family's best in every way. It would have the highest ceilings, the largest fireplace, the most elaborate moldings, and the best furnishings.

The central feature of most parlors was a large circular table with a kerosene or oil lamp. Here the family would gather to write, read, converse, play games, or engage in needlework. The need to gather around the central light, which may have been the only one in the room, helped to foster a communal attitude. The parlor table allowed family members to be together, yet various members of the family could be engaged in a variety of pastimes. They were able to function as individuals yet remain a part of the family community as a whole.

The second focal point of the parlor was the fireplace. The mantel was often heavily decorated with pictures, collected natural objects, or mementos. What could not fit on the mantel would be placed on shelves or étagères around the room. An intense appreciation of nature prevailed during this time, leading to the collection of seashells, fossils, minerals, pinecones, and dried flowers, which might all be displayed in the parlor. It was felt that natural objects reflected the harmony of nature and civilization. Homes decorated with objects of nature were thought to demonstrate nature's beauty in family life. Additionally, using natural objects as decorative accents showed a wife's sense of economy, an attribute much extolled.

Other furnishings might include an upholstered sofa, armchairs, and a pair of easy chairs all done in matching fabric. Rocking chairs were very much in fashion, and parlors were just one room in which they might be found. Common upholstery materials included brocades, silk damask, and tapestry, which were adorned with tassels, cords, and fringe. It was not unusual for sofa ensembles to contain a large gentleman's armchair and a smaller chair with half arms for the lady, which accommodated her wide skirts and kept her posture properly erect. The placement of chairs around the room allowed social groupings to change as activities varied. A person might move from the solitary activity of reading quietly to join a game with other family members at the table. Sofas were designed with slight curves to encourage conversation.

Ownership of a piano or parlor organ heralded solid middle-class status. In 1855, a German-born American piano maker named Henry Steinway began to manufacture a piano with a cast-iron frame that gave its sound much greater brilliance and power than earlier forms. There have been no fundamental changes in the design and construction of pianos since 1855. This improvement prompted widespread interest in pianos and musical compositions for it. More than 20,000 pianos a year were being produced in the United States by the time of the Civil War. Retailers offered terms even for their least expensive models, which sold for as little as $300, and advertisements for pianos and organs filled period newspapers. Parlor organs tended to be an outgrowth of domestic religious worship that celebrated hymns and church music. These were particularly important to homes that actively fostered the Christian development of family.

The walls of a home were often wallpapered. Patterns showing large bouquets tied with ribbons or of oversized fruit became popular a decade before the war and stayed in style thereafter. Walls were usually further ornamented with paintings and, for the less affluent, prints. Attractive prints of good quality and color became readily available during the 1860s, and many families took advantage of this new technology. Subjects included farmyard scenarios, riverscapes, European scenes, hunting vignettes, still life, and biblical tableaus. The popularity of farmyard pictures in homes decorated in brocade and tassels can be attributed to the passion for harmony with nature and an underlying yearning for simpler times.

European subjects might be reminders of the travels family members might have made, like a Grand Tour—a fact the family would have been desirous to publicize. Another popular subject was famous people, both historical and contemporary. The prominent people came from musical, literary, political, and military venues. Representations of these people might take the form of a painting, print, engraving, or bust. Which public figures a family chose to decorate their home made a powerful statement about the owners.

Not only did the selection of these works of art show good taste and education, they served as silent but concrete reminders of revered values. George Washington, for example, was admired as a selfless leader who put the public interest above his private preferences. The presence of his picture in the parlor showed that these attributes were valued by the family. These pictures served as constant reminders to children of what was expected of them in adulthood. Many of the women depicted in this form were wives of famous men, such as Mary Todd Lincoln, or entertainers like the singer Jenny Lind. The message for young girls was one of the expectation that they would be quiet movers gently working behind the scenes. Many women understood this and participated in benevolent activities such as serving in hospitals, sewing for troops, and assisting orphans and needy families.

Floors were carpeted. However, carpets were sold by the linear yard and were a little more than two feet wide. They had to be pieced and sewn together much like wallpaper. Patterns tended to be floral or other naturals. Carpets would additionally be covered by mats in high-traffic areas or where fireplace sparks were likely.

Windows were almost buried beneath a shroud of fabrics. Closest to the window would be a thin curtain most likely of lace. This would be covered with a second layer made of heavy fabric that could be closely drawn to block out the light entirely. The ensemble would be topped off with a valance fashionably trimmed with cords, tassels, and braid. Overall, the Victorian parlor was a place of abundant accumulation. It also gives insight into the spirit and the structure of the society of which it was a part.

Victorians revered intellectual pursuits. Books were therefore a must in the parlor. More than 90 percent of white men and women could read. Diary entries refer to reading more than to any other pastime. Large, heavy Bibles were most often displayed on the central table as a symbol of family religious life. Other books were frequently displayed on tables or built-in bookshelves. Books brought learning and the world outside into the home. Although it was common to see period house plans showing libraries—and trade catalogs displayed library furniture—only the rich and the upper middle class could afford libraries.

The library was truly a man's domain. It was a place to which he could retreat and engage in the kind of activities not traditionally associated with home life. Here a man could smoke, drink, and discuss money, politics, and war without exposing the rest of the family to such vulgarities. Libraries were usually on the ground floor but off to one side. Decorations were more subdued than in the parlor. Walls were paneled or done in dark-colored paper. Heavy bookshelves were often featured. Other furniture would include a desk or writing table, large gentlemen's chairs, and various tables. If a man had hobbies or interests, it would be here that he would pursue them. Specimen cases containing fossils or insects would be displayed among accompanying magnifying glasses and other optical aids.

The luxury of a room dedicated solely to the purpose of dining was another badge of middle-class status. Families of lesser means ate in the kitchen or in an area adjacent to the parlor set aside for dining. Dining room furniture tended to be massive, often of mahogany or other dark wood. Sets made of walnut or oak were considered inexpensive. The standard number of chairs was eight. A sideboard was common, providing an excellent place to display oversized serving pieces and candelabras. Walls tended to be dark to show up well under candlelight, the standard lighting for this room. Even during luncheons it would not be unusual to draw the draperies and eat by candlelight. The formal dining experience was one of tremendous ritual and ostentation. Books of etiquette contained pages upon pages of rules guiding proper behavior while dining. Certain foods required highly specialized serving or eating utensils, and form was extremely important. There were 10 pages of a 30 page book dedicated just to the etiquette of carving. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century the upper class developed a passion for complicating the dining process by introducing needless table items such as spoon warmers in an attempt to ritualize the process and to distinguish those in the know.

The one utilitarian room in the nineteenth-century house was the kitchen. It was here that the most mundane, labor-intensive household duties took place. The kitchen was always located on the ground floor and had a door to the outside to facilitate deliveries. It was not necessary for the kitchen to be adjacent to the dining room, and in certain circles distance was considered an asset, keeping odors contained. Kitchen furnishings were functional and simple. There was usually a large central work table and a cupboard for storing dishes.

The kitchen floor was often covered with an oil cloth, which cleaned easily and was much better than a painted floor because it can be moved outside for a good scrubbing. In many homes the kitchen was also the scullery and the laundry. If that were the case, there would also be a deep sink with a drying rack for washing vegetables and pots. Indoor sinks generally had hand pumps but no drains, so that dirty water had to be bailed out and emptied outside. Dishes were washed in a large wooden bowl as a measure to keep down breakage. Pots were stored by hanging them from racks.

In many homes the dominant feature in the kitchen would have been the wood-burning stove. Stoves had become fairly standard in Northern middle-class homes. In rural areas, particularly among the lower classes, cooking was still done on the hearth. There were those who felt that the hearth was the traditional heart of the home and resisted the kitchen stove. Other furnishings included the ice chest and meat safe. The meat safe was a kind of screened cupboard that protected the meat from insects, pests, and vermin but did nothing to regulate temperature. Dry goods such as flour, sugar, and cornmeal were stored in crockery or wooden containers. Rural kitchens and those of families of lesser means were also likely to be more family oriented. They may well have been used for activities such as sewing or helping children with studies and would probably contain additional furnishings to suit their multiuse needs.

The bedroom of the nineteenth century was very different from that of the previous century. It was no longer a semipublic place in which one received close acquaintances. It was now a very private place that would not even be referred to in polite conversation. Bed curtains had disappeared. Clothing was stored in chests of drawers and wardrobes. Built-in closets had come into vogue in the 1860s. Beside the bed might be found a small table upon which to rest the chamber stick used to guide one to the bedroom upon retiring. Oil lamps were usually not found in bedrooms, as carrying an oil lamp with its liquid fuel from room to room was a dangerous endeavor. People did not sit in bed and read before sleeping, nor did they lounge about in their lingerie. Bedrooms were likely to be drafty places most of the year.

Cribs and cradles were frequently found close to the parents' bed to facilitate breastfeeding and as a precaution should the child take ill during the night. Older children in lower economic situations might also sleep in the same room. Children of wealthy families would sleep in the nursery with their nanny.

Families who could afford it had a nursery for the children. As the century progressed, children came to be thought of as innocent beings in need of protection and sheltered from exposure to the world outside. The nursery provided this environment. It could limit the amount and kind of stimulation a child received and might possibly protect him or her from accidents and disease. Modest households had a single nursery room, often found on the third floor. Affluent households could afford both day and night nurseries. These rooms were designed to withstand the abuse children can inflict on furnishings. Walls were often whitewashed. Curtains were simple. There would be a table with several chairs, perhaps simple pine furniture bought for that purpose or cast-off furniture from other rooms. There were shelves and cupboards for books and toys and perhaps an armchair or two. Nurseries often doubled as schoolrooms and would also contain globes, maps, and perhaps a blackboard for instruction.

While wealthy families might have had inside plumbing and the accompanying bathroom facilities, most people had to make do with ceramic washbasins and pitchers on a washstand. Full baths were labor-intensive events that involved bringing up heated water from the kitchen to the bedchamber so that a compact metal tub could be filled. This relegated total-immersion baths to special occasions. Sponge baths were the more common occurrence. Outhouses were not convenient at night, so most bedrooms contained a covered chamber pot. Some chamber pots were hidden in various pieces of furniture (mostly chairs and stools), but some were merely stored beneath the bed until they were emptied into the slop jar in the morning (Volo and Volo 1998, 195–202).

CLOTHING

Women's Fashion

In the Industrial Age, America fashion became increasingly tied to the consumer economy by the mass production and marketing of ready-made clothing. Standardized paper patterns were obtainable throughout the nation and, combined with the sewing machine, provided women with the ability to recreate complicated, fashionable styles. By the 1880s and 1890s the availability of a wide variety of dress patterns had as dramatic an impact on clothing styles as the ready-made industry. While before 1870 most women still made the clothes for their families, thereafter standardized sizes and mass production revolutionized the ready-made clothing industry making them available for even working-class women. The Civil War had spurred the development of ready-made clothing for men. This blossomed into a billion dollar a year industry by 1890. By 1900 most men were wearing ready-made clothes and women, though encouraged to make their own dresses, could also fulfill all of their clothing needs from stores and catalogs.

American fashion designers in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago closely followed the French fashions, although English designs began to gain acceptance in the 1890s. English-style tailored suits became very popular as a number of American women rejected the "tight-laced, exaggerated female curves" of French haute couture in favor of the comfortable and neat look of the tailored suit.

Clothing for upper- and middle-class women was certainly the most physically restrictive dress used by anyone during the period. Yards of cloth were draped in long, flowing dresses covering multiple layers of petticoats and bone or steel corsets. Genteel women wore costumes that severely restricted their movement. Unlike their working-class sisters, middle- and upper-class women had no economically productive role for the family; they did not produce anything for the family's economic support. The restrictive clothing of these genteel women symbolically illustrated that women of this social station did not have to work and ought not to according to genteel convention.

Dresses in the 1880s continued to be heavily layered, and cold-weather fabrics were so weighty that they were like upholstery fabric. The bustle continued, although somewhat larger, until 1887 when it shrank again. High fashion continued to produce incredibly ornate dresses with elaborate overskirts and ornamentation. Straight dresses flared below the knee and swept the ground in small trains (later shortened to ankle length). Bodices were tightly fitted and with high sleeves often cut at the forearm. Popular dress colors in the 1880s tended toward the darker spectrum, deep purple, claret, copper, or gold. Corsets and bustles were still demanded, though women were beginning to wear only one petticoat as early as 1878. A wide profusion of hats and bonnets were stylish in this era and were heavily decorated with ribbons, flowers, plumes, and even small stuffed birds. Hat decorations were brilliant with blazing colors like bronze, gold, garnet, and peacock blue. Women often carried fans and parasols as their primary accessory. Large Japanese ostrich-feather fans as well as parasols covered in lace or satin were very popular. Ankle-high heeled kid boots were the most popular footwear of the 1880s.

Although Paris continued to exert tremendous influence over fashions in the United States, American fashion magazines began to multiply. *Harper's Bazaar, Godey's Lady's Book,* and the various Demorest publications *(Mirror of Fashions, Quarterly Illustrated Journal, What to Wear, Portfolio of Fashion)* all carried French fashions. The average woman demanded more simplified styles that were based on the latest fashions found in magazines. Work dresses were patterned after fashion styles and gained a measure of social acceptability. Middle- and upper-class women augmented their high fashion garments by adding simpler dresses for more casual occasions. Common dresses made for middle-class women were sometimes still made in the three-piece style with bodice, underskirt, and overskirt. These so-called wash dresses were easily laundered, and they also came in very popular one- or two-piece styles made of cotton and were worn by women of almost all social classes. Wash dresses were widely available in stores and catalogs by the 1880s. These dresses tended to be fairly simple relative to high-fashion models, with bishop sleeves, lightly gathered high on the shoulder, plain necks, and with minimal trim. Middle-class women possessed a variety of dresses for different occasions from formal to wash day. Women who were not so well off economically pressed a wide variety of dresses into service, but mainly relied on fairly simple styles made of calico, gingham, or whatever fabric was at hand. Old dresses were never thrown out but simply made into work dresses that were pressed into service as aprons when they grew too worn to continue as dresses.

It is doubtful that everyday dresses sported bustles since most photographs of women in everyday wear do not evidence the voluminous 1880s bustle. The bustle disappeared during the 1890s, but designers continued to go to great lengths to achieve the hourglass figure. Great gathered skirts came into vogue along with "leg-of-mutton" sleeve blouses that emphasized the small waist. Blouse sleeves grew until about 1897, culminating in the massive leg-of-mutton look so typical of the 1890s, but then began to be replaced with a more tight-fitting sleeve topped by a puff and gathering of material on the shoulder much like an epaulet. Gone were the complex underskirt and overskirt styles of the previous decades with their elaborate ornamentation. Although simple in construction compared to those of the 1880s, the popular skirts of the 1890s had numerous gathers and could consist of as many as 23 yards of material. These skirts were tulip or vase shaped and boasted satin, lace, velvet, or braided trim. Cynical commentators called these dresses street sweeper fashions. Velvet, silk, and wool continued to be popular fabrics in expensive clothing, and there was a trend to have dark dress colors such as dark blue, black, and dark green, trimmed in lighter, contrasting colors such as turquoise, rose, and baby blue. Oriental fans, gloves—which changed according to the occasion—and feather boas for formal events all maintained their popularity as accessories. Kid boots that buttoned on the side continued to be popular, usually with a high curved heel and sharply pointed toe, but new colors of champagne, bronze, and brown appeared in addition to black.

Undergarments were also ready-made by the 1890s. Corsets were the most distinctive undergarment of the nineteenth century and forced women's bodies into the ideal shape—small waists and uplifted breasts—and were always worn by proper ladies. Corsets were decorated lingerie and could be found in a variety of colors. While black was the most popular, they also came in scarlet, red, gray, drab, and white. The rural-oriented *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* offered at least 38 different corsets in white, drab, ecru, and black. Stockings came in a variety of fabrics such as cotton, silk, wool, or cashmere, and the color normally matched the outfit. In the summer women wore cotton underwear that ended above the knee. Some women continued to wear a chemise and wore only the corset cover. In cold weather women would don the wool or jersey union suit.

The 1890s hastened efforts to provide the women with clothing that adequately allowed for exercise and sports. Swimming, walking, bicycling, and gymnastics all became increasingly popular for young women as the Industrial Age progressed, and the clothing they wore for these activities starkly illustrated how women disputed conventional views of femininity. Pattern companies, particularly the giant Butterick, promoted physical culture by selling patterns for gymnastic outfits, bathing suits, and riding skirts, but attempted to mediate these activities with mainstream views of womanhood by making them pretty. Athletic clothing for women was adorned by functionally useless frills like bows, silk trim, and sailor collars that clearly marked them as feminine. Nonetheless, sports clothing for women emerged from the period as a normal part of the wardrobe.

Swimming suits garnered the most serious concerns because, unlike gymnastics that generally took place in all-female settings in schools, swimming was a public activity. Swimming suits covered the entire body. Initially, in the early 1870s, they commonly consisted of a calf-length dress with long sleeves and ankle-length bloomers. By the end of the century they commonly had short sleeves and dresses that reached just below the knee, bloomers slightly longer than the dress, and dark stockings. The gymnastic uniform required at the Mount Holyoke woman's college was a dress that reached seven inches above the floor worn over bloomers. By 1898, Butterick's gymnastic outfit rejected the dress entirely, and instead featured a yoke blouse with voluminous bloomers over tights. Walking, tennis, and bicycling outfits were also made to have more freedom, but these costumes stayed much closer to typical Victorian dress. Cyclists could wear large, gathered skirts that appeared split or split skirts that were so full they appeared whole. Tennis, still a bastion of the elite, proved less amenable to change than gymnastics. Fashionable tennis attire in the 1880s showed women in an underskirt and overskirt complete with bustle. In the 1890s the typical tennis costume consisted of a fluted skirt and shirtwaist, so popular for the day. It was still restrictive but not nearly as heavy as previous decades (Shrock 2004, 85–93).

Men's Fashion

Men's fashion was more subdued and predictable than women's fashions as the business suit became dominant for the sober, middle-class businessmen. A dark business suit, white shirt with a detachable collar and cuffs, vest, and depending on the occasion, a top hat, bowler or strawhat, all set off with a large burly moustache or beard was de rigueur. Although businessmen generally stayed with white shirts and plain vests, splashes of color were seen by the 1870s. Colored shirts with a variety of stripes and plaids were available in such exotic colors as blue, red, black, or gray, as were brightly colored jacquard silk vests. The only splashes of color in suits were plaids, checks, and tweeds. Bright colors and rich patterns such as these were worn mainly by dandies. By the 1880s, plain, casual sack suits that reached just below the waist and had narrow lapels replaced the ornate frock coat, although formal attire still sported the long Prince Albert frock. Styles became more tailored and fitted in the 1890s, and suit jackets were generally made to be buttoned all the way to the top. Although men could opt for brightly colored ties, vests, and shirts as well as plaid and tweed suits, the universal costume for respectable men in the 1890s was the black wool three-piece suit with a white shirt.

Although the suit was worn by a wide variety of men, it represented an important social marker for the middle class that defined the wearer's refinement and social distinction. The suit was certainly not appropriate for hard physical labor, but instead denoted a man's genteel occupation. The suit's only function was to illustrate the power and social status of the wearer.

The 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* illustrated how many different styles and price ranges were available even to rural Americans. It offered the round corner sack suit, the single-breasted square-cut sack suit, the double-breasted square-cut sack suit, old men's frock suits, three-button cutaway frock suits, double-breasted Prince Albert suits, and full evening dress suits that included tails. Suits could be purchased in cotton, varying quality wool, flannel, and corduroy. The catalog also carried a wide sampling of shirts, over 100 different hats, wool pants, vests, overcoats, socks, and dress shoes.

Detachable shirt collars were an essential part of middle-class attire by the 1840s. Collars normally were made of linen or extremely starched cotton and styles varied dramatically over the decades. By the 1890s men preferred very high collars, often two and a quarter inches. These starched, white collars were so ubiquitous that the term became a common reference for middle-class occupations, and white collar still is associated with middle-class managerial employment.

Working-class men's clothing was often a motley collection of mismatched vests, trousers, and jackets. Those men who could afford it purchased the wide variety of ready-made clothing. Rarely did working men wear the plain white shirt with detachable collars and cuffs, but instead wore a wide variety of colored shirts, blue being a popular color, with attached collars. These shirts were normally pullover and buttoned partway down the front.

Specialty leisure clothing for men also developed during this period. Hunting clothing, which had long been produced only for the wealthy, was made affordable by the mass-produced ready-made clothing industry. The 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* sold a wide variety of shooting jackets, hunting vests, heavy waterproof hunting pants, sweaters, shirts, leggings, and hats. Specialized sports clothing also appeared and was mass marketed. Ward's offered fencing masks and gloves, athletic sweaters and shirts, tights, athletic supporters, baseball hats and gloves, and football uniforms, as well as bicycling sweaters, knickers, and long socks. By the late 1890s swimming suits had shrunk to a wool short sleeve or tank shirt with shorts that stopped just above the knee. More genteel sports like tennis continued to demand more clothing. Men often played in tennis suits that looked more like a casual suit than sporting wear (Shrock 2004, 80–85).

Children's Clothing: Ready-Mades

Fashion for young people was primarily determined by age. Fully adult fashion was not worn until the teens. Infants and toddler boys of this time would have been virtually indistinguishable from their sisters. With the exception of more eyelet or lace on the toddler girls' gown, young boys and girls were dressed in unisex clothing. Infants were dressed in very long gowns, sometimes reaching three or four feet in length.

As toddlers, boys often appeared in dresses, a fashion that eased diaper changing and accidents. Although some boys may have remained in such attire until almost age five by the 1890s most boys were wearing gendered clothing by age two. A boy's first pants were shorts, and he would not graduate to long pants until he was 6 to 10 years old.

Boys between three and six years old graduated to knickers, which became the preferred active wear of boys in the 1890s. Men engaged in sports or riding bicycles also wore knickers. Male toddlers also wore an overall called a Brownie suit. Everyday wear for boys consisted of knickers or trousers, a collarless shirt, and a vest, or for rural youth denim overalls became popular by the 1880s. Sweaters also made their appearance in the 1890s and a variety of styles were available. A wide variety of hats, like the popular straw hat or English school hat, were also commonly worn (Shrock 2004, 93–95).

Different styles of suits, such as the Reefer suit, Sailor suit, and Zouave suit, enjoyed various degrees of popularity during the period but the one that garnered the greatest popularity was the black velvet suit. This outfit was sometimes referred to as a cavalier suit, a look that was enhanced by the fact that a boy's first haircut was often quite delayed. Although the outfit dates back to the mid-1860s, it became quite the rage as a dressy outfit for boys from ages three to eight after the story, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, was serialized in the children's magazine, *St. Nicholas*, in 1886. The story, book, and later dramatic production became tremendously popular. The young hero of the story wears the black velvet suit, which symbolizes his natural nobility despite his humble financial circumstances. The little velvet suit enjoyed its greatest popularity from 1889–1890 although it continued to be worn for years thereafter.

Fashions for girls followed the same general trends that influenced women's clothing styles during the Industrial Age. Unlike mothers' dresses, dresses made for girls rarely sported bustles but did have puffs and panniers that pulled the dresses into a large gather at their lower back. Girls' formal dresses in the 1880s were nearly as heavily ornamented and frilly as their mothers' dresses with an overskirt and underskirt often made of organdy, sheer muslin, velvet, linen, silk, or taffeta. Colors for girl's fancy dresses in this period tended to run toward the same dark colors as adult fashions. Everyday dresses for girls were usually in cotton, gingham, or wool, and were often covered by heavily starched white, gray, tan, blue, or unbleached muslin aprons or smocks. Sailor suits for girls with a middy blouse and skirt were also popular. Girls' dresses tended to have a large collar or smocking around the yoke that set their styles apart from adults. By the 1890s the shirtwaists sporting the enlarged upper arm and large fluted skirts became very popular styles, as did the wash dress. The 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* sold girls' wash dresses in gingham, flannel, and calico in mainly light prints for 2 to 14 year olds. Only older girls generally wore shirtwaists. Girls wore bonnets that followed the styles of their mothers. They wore dark stockings and black kid boots that came just above the ankle and buttoned on the outside for everyday wear. In the 1890s black patent leather Mary Janes were the dress shoes of choice.

Just as with boys' pants, age determined the length and style of the dresses for girls. The younger the girl the shorter the dress could be according to refined standards, though below the knee. As the girl aged, her hems lengthened and by puberty corsets were required. In the 1890s girls aged, 3 to 5 often appeared in empire waist dresses while older girls, age 4 to 14, wore dresses with natural waistlines (Shrock 2004, 95–96).

TECHNOLOGY: MODERN SHIPBUILDING TECHNOLOGY

The excellence of American ships in the first half of the nineteenth century is unquestioned. American maritime design and shipbuilding technology was the envy of the world, and American sailing ships were soon the fastest on the seas. Americans were master wooden windship builders, and this same excellence had lent itself to the design of its naval vessels. Nonetheless, by the third quarter of the century contemporary observers could rightly speak of the virtual extinction of American maritime commerce and unfavorably compare the ships of the late nineteenth century U.S. Navy to ancient Roman galleys.

At the same time, American builders developed a distinctive type of sailing schooner for the commercial coasting trade that allowed them to hold their position in competition with the steamers until the twentieth century. Inexpensive to build and operate, and built with traditional American wooden hull technology, these sailing schooners of between 300 and 700 tons capacity were kept busy carrying lumber, coal, ice, and other cargoes up and down the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts.

Protected by a series of Navigation Acts from foreign competition, the coasting trade had continually grown as a percentage of the merchant marine fleet from 25 percent in the Federalist era, to 41 percent just before the Civil War, and 57 percent by war's end. It was to retain this level of representation throughout the decades of the 1870s and 1880s. A growing national population, the effects of industrialization, and absolute protection from foreign competition allowed coasting to supplant foreign trade as the major activity of the merchant marine as early as 1857. This was reflected in the continued predominance of wooden shipbuilding technology in American yards.

Coastal steam lines developed slowly in the first half of the nineteenth century due to monopolies granted by the individual states to local investors. By 1840, however, all the major East Coast ports were connected by steam.

In the aftermath of the war, a few innovative American owners began to use efficient steel-hulled, multiple expansion steamships of significant size to operate in the cotton coasting trade even though the initial costs of the vessels were quite high. Steamers seemed to be losing the traditional grip that wooden sailing vessels had on this important fraction of U.S. maritime commerce. In fact the wooden windship design had reached its practical engineering limits with the development of the clipper ships of the 1850s.

It can be demonstrated that the U.S. shipbuilding industry was simply not competitive in the years after the Civil War. At mid-century, the engineering fundamentals of steamship construction for the oceanic trade had several common characteristics. The hulls were made of wood; the vessels were propelled by paddle wheels housed amidships; the engines were physically very large and of a single expansion, low-pressure type, also located amidships; and the steam was exhausted into jet condensers so similar to those devised by James Watt in 1769 as to be considered identical. Low-pressure, water tube boilers, had been common since their invention in 1791. Paddle wheels, by design well suited to low-pressure, were slow rotating devices of a large area that maximized the impulse imparted to the vessel; increased the reliability of the engines; and minimized the stress on the hull. While economical in terms of fuel consumption, the low-pressure steam boilers retarded the introduction of the screw propeller.

Moreover, paddle wheels provided greater acceleration and torque than the screw propellers of the period. When housed amidships and operated by separate engines, a moderately sized vessel could turn on a dime by reversing one side and applying forward motion on the other. These advantages kept paddle-wheel tugboats in operation into the twentieth century in many American harbors. They were finally displaced by the introduction of incredibly powerful diesel powered tugboats with their giant propellers.

American shippers usually considered steam to be an auxiliary to sail, and many vessels were designed with combinations of motive power. The steam power was used to enter harbors and negotiate difficult passages, but the sail provided economy of operation. However, these vessels commonly experienced some disadvantages as both screws and paddle wheels produced considerable drag when the vessel was under sail. Paddle wheels were particularly noted for adversely effecting the overall sailing qualities of a vessel. When equipped with screw propellers and the higher pressure, fire tube boilers—introduced in the 1850s—the restrictions of increased fuel consumption served to severely limit the speed that the steamer could maintain for any extended period of time.

Nevertheless, wooden-hull American clippers saw severe competition in the oriental trade from British windship designs that utilized composite hulls, wood with cast-iron beams and bracings, before the war. Although generally smaller than the American ships, and somewhat slower under the best of conditions, the British vessels proved to be better suited to a variety of weather extremes. Even these British windships, the *Cutty Sark* being a prime example, were ultimately driven from the trade by steamers in the decades after the Civil War.

American technological distress in the postwar years may be attributed, in part, to the very success for which U.S. shippers and shipbuilders were noted at the end of the age of sail. In the first half of the nineteenth century, American shipbuilders had no equal in the world. With modern woodworking and wood turning apparatus American shipyards could crank out their best work at as little as 60 percent of the cost of British builders who generally did not invest in such devices. Although profits from investments in the domestic shipping industry could vary with time, the expected financial return from the foreign carrying trade was effectively tied to how well U.S. shipyards could compete in price with their foreign counterparts. Americans found themselves saddled with expensive shipbuilding apparatus made obsolete by the sudden popularity of metal hulls and steam. British builders, by contrast, had made no large investment in wooden windship technology and were able to update their shipyards directly to metal and steam production without taking a loss.

—*James M. Volo*

TRANSPORTATION: CYCLING

In the last decades of the nineteenth century a bicycle (velocipede) craze made the two-wheeler much more than a toy or exercise machine for hundreds of thousands—even millions—of Americans. By the middle of the 1890s, more than 300 American companies were producing almost a million bicycles per year. The development of the bicycle was important not only for its immediate impact on everyday life in America but also for its role in the development of manufacturing practices that would lay the groundwork for the automobile and aviation industries of the next century. They also made the fashionable and stylish bloomers worn by women more acceptable.

In the early nineteenth century the forerunner of the modern bicycle was introduced by a German inventor, Baron Karl von Drais. His heavy all-wooden, two-wheeled machine had no pedals or breaks—the rider provided the propulsion by pushing with his feet on the ground or coasted headlong downhill scraping his feet along the pavement. By the middle of the century enterprising manufacturers had added pedals, and the bicycle craze spread throughout Europe and America. These first bicycles were heavy and had full metal or solid hard rubber tires, making them a very rough ride; in fact, one of the earliest and most popular bicycles was aptly called a Boneshaker. Early bicycles had another serious design flaw: the pedals attached directly to the front wheel slowed forward progress or spun wildly as the rim rotated. Designers soon found that the bigger the front wheel the faster the rider could propel the bike. Unfortunately, the huge front wheel also meant the rider sat so high above the ground that serious injuries could occur from bicycle accidents. The lofty perch above the giant wheel was also thought unladylike for young women riders. These early high-wheelers were commonly know as ordinaries.

In 1885, John Kemp Starley, an Englishman, built the first device that modern persons would recognize as a modern bicycle. By using a chain-driven rear wheel and a front wheel of equal size, the safety bicycle made riding easier and safer for everyone and spread the hobby of cycling to those riders who were less fit, less agile, or less youthful. A few years later, Dr. J. B. Dunlop of Belfast, Ireland, designed the first pneumatic tires for his own son's tricycle. The new air-filled tires caught on quickly; and, while they introduced the inconvenience of the flat to most riders at one time or another, they were soon found on bicycles across the United States.

Although not invented in America, further improvements to the basic bicycle in this country led to its practicality for nearly everyone. The bicycle had something to offer to everyone. For young people, it offered a way to get out from under the stern eyes of their parents. Women, in particular, enjoyed the newfound freedom that the bicycle offered and the style of clothing that made cycling easier. Moreover, the bicycle was a relatively affordable means of transportation for everyone that was both new and exciting. People were set free from the horse and wagon by a vehicle that could match their speed. To this day, the bicycle seat is still called a saddle, but unlike the horse there was no harness to fit. Moreover, the bicycle never needed watering, feeding, currying, or cleaning. While it sometimes required maintenance and tinkering by the professionals at the bicycle shop, the bicycle was never sick, never ran away, never smelled of sweat, and never left a pile of manure in its wake. One could just jump on, quickly be away, and just as easily jump off at one's destination.

Riding clubs formed quickly, races organized, and everyone who could afford a bicycle wanted one. Americans were buying bicycles at an astounding rate, even at a time when their purchase of jewelry, pianos, and books had fallen to a period low. A national club, the League of American Wheelmen, counted thousands of cycling enthusiasts among its members. Periodicals supporting the new craze appeared, including *Bicycling World* and *The Wheelman*. Trade shows, later copied with great success by automobile manufacturers, were introduced by bicycle companies to advertise new models and innovations. In 1896, the Chicago show drew more than 225 exhibitors and 100,000 admissions. A similar show in New York drew 400 exhibitors and 120,000 admissions. Bicycle races, from a few miles on an oval track to cross-country marathons, captured the imagination of the American public. Multi-day races were held at Madison Square Garden in New York City, and cross-country tours were common from the 1880s onward. In 1895, there were almost 600 professional cyclists competing for prize money in races across the United States (Timmons 2005, 38–42).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Canney, Donald L. *The Old Steam Navy: Frigates, Sloops, and Gunboats, 1815–1885*, Vol. I. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1990.

Elkort, Martin. *The Secret Life of Food*. Los Angeles, CA: J. P. Tarcher, 1991.

Grover, Kathlyn, ed. *Dining in America: 1850–1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.

Hooker, Richard J. *Food and Drink in America: A History*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1981.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780–1930*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Kevill-Davies, Sally. *Yesterday's Children, The Antiques and History of Childcare*. Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors' Club, 1998.

Levenstein, Harvey Q. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

McIntosh, Elaine N. *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective*. Westport, CT: Greenwood/Praeger Press, 1995.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Van Der Plas, Rob. *Cycle History: Proceedings of the 5th International Cycle History Conference*. San Francisco: Bicycle Books, 1995.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States, 1820s–1890*. Greenwood Press, 2006.

Woodward, George E. *Victorian City and Country Houses: Plans and Designs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1996.

———. *Woodward's Architecture and Rural Art*. New York: Privately printed, 1868.

———. *Woodward's National Architect*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Zanger, Mark H. *The American History Cookbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Political Life

GOVERNMENT

Troubled Presidencies

During the Industrial Age, party-line voting and party identification were very important. At the end of the Civil War, the Republican Party was in ascendancy because it had waged a successful war for union and had harvested a bumper crop of black votes through emancipation. Democrats feared that they would never again be able to defeat the Republicans in the South. Yet the Republican Party, as a national entity, had to deal with a number of political and practical problems. In just the 35 years from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century 3 of the 10 men to hold the executive office were assassinated (Lincoln in 1865; James A. Garfield in 1881; and William McKinley in 1901). All were Republicans. The administration of Andrew Johnson (1865–1869), who appeared soft on reconstructing the South, was rocked by impeachment; the administration of Ulysses S. Grant (1869–1877) oversaw one the most troubling and arguably dishonest periods in American history; and the administration of Rutherford B. Hayes (1876–1881), who won the presidency in one of the most hotly disputed elections in history, declared the previous 12 years of Southern Reconstruction useless and a failure. Once again all of these administrations were Republican ones. Of the two remaining Republicans to hold the presidential office, Chester Arthur, who as vice president had succeeded Garfield, failed to win renomination by his own party, and Benjamin Harrison failed to win reelection. Only two presidential elections in this period were won by a Democrat, and both, separated by four years, were won by the same man, Grover Cleveland. The death of William McKinley, like that of Queen Victoria in the same year that ushered in a new century (1901), seemingly ended an era with the accession to the presidency of a remarkable personality, Theodore Roosevelt.

—James M. Volo

Third Parties

The Populist Party was a major third party formed in 1889–1890 around the Farmers' Alliance, the Free Silver advocates, the Knights of Labor, and hangers-on from the old Granger movement, and disaffected Democrats in the south and Republicans in the Plains states. It grew out of the agricultural unrest that grew after the collapse of produce prices during the Panic of 1873 and the reluctance of the major parties to take up issues of importance to farmers. The Populist political movement reached its peak in 1892 when it nominated James B. Weaver as its presidential candidate. Weaver received over one million votes, carried four western states (Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, and Kansas), and received electoral votes from two (Oregon and North Dakota). In 1896 the Democratic Party assumed many Populist issues, and the latter party began to fade from prominence.

The Populist Party platform called for the abolition of national banks, a graduated income tax, the direct election of Senators, civil service reform, an eight-hour work day, and government control of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. Its opposition to the gold standard was especially strong among its Western farm supporters who viewed the banks as enemies that foreclosed on mortgages and other debts with unseemly speed. The Free Silver plank in the platform was supported by voters across the Mountain states, by mine and land owners, as well as by the state governments. The Populists also courted the active participation of women and blacks in the political process. In 1896 William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate adopted the Populist opposition to the gold standard, and many Populist sentiments can be found in his famous "Cross of Gold" speech. The fusion of racist Democrats and Populists would have been a disaster for the latter in the South, and they attempted instead an alliance with Southern Republicans. Nonetheless, in 1900 they supported Bryan again and with his loss, the party was weakened. The Populists virtually ceased to exist after 1908.

—James M. Volo

Voting and Political Participation

A higher percentage of Americans voted in elections during the Industrial era than at any other time in U.S. history (taking into account the fact that women were not allowed to vote in nationwide elections until 1920). From 1876 to 1900, 77 percent of eligible voters took part in presidential elections, with participation levels as high as 85 percent in some Northern states. As a point of comparison, consider that only 51 percent of eligible voters cast ballots in the 2000 presidential election. Industrial Era elections were partisan events that were hotly contested, even if the issues under dispute were not necessarily divisive. "America in the late nineteenth century was a nation of intense partisanship and massive political indifference." During this time, elections involved much more than just casting a ballot. Election campaigns were high profile, public events that were often coordinated on a local level and involved an unprecedented level of voter participation.

In the years following the Civil War, it was standard practice for men to join local marching companies affiliated with a political party. During election campaigns, these marching companies would be outfitted in military-style uniforms and then would participate in huge, public parades on behalf of candidates and political parties. It was not uncommon in urban areas for thousands of men to take up torches (the parades were often at night) and march alongside bands and floats before gathering to hear candidates and other party orators rally the faithful. In New York City, as many as 50,000 marches typically participated in political parades. Spectators would gather along parade routes and some would signal their support for (or opposition to) the parading party by turning on (and off) all the lights in a house. During some elections there were so many marchers that they had to be divided into battalions and brigades under the orders of generals. It has been estimated that in the North, perhaps one-fifth of all voters played an active role in campaigning.

Political parades encouraged people to vote the party rather than the candidate, and they energized the party faithful. "Mid-nineteenth-century partisanship was aggressive, demonstrative, contentious, and often vicious. Party membership was a part of men's identity; as such, their partisanship had to be paraded and asserted in public." Party affiliation was seen as more than choice; it was both a personal and political statement. That said, in a highly charged partisan atmosphere, political parades did little to appeal to undecided voters or ticket splitters who tended to vote for candidates of different parties. Gradually spectacular campaigns began to fall out of favor, and they came to be replaced by the campaign of education, first run on the presidential level by the unsuccessful 1876 Democratic presidential candidate, Samuel J. Tilden against Rutherford B. Hayes. This approach involved a more centralized campaign focused on issues and the distribution of campaign literature to voters and later a substantial amount of advertising. The campaign of education was seen to better appeal to undecided voters, and by the turn of the century it came to dominate politics. However, it did so at the cost of lessening the average citizen's role in political campaigns (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 239).

The Growth of Urban Government

The lasting image of urban government during the Industrial era is that of machine politics led by a boss. The term *machine politics* was used to describe an approach to governing in which a group of organized politicians were able to control the reins of governmental power through delivering (and sometimes manipulating) votes. They often accomplished this by delivering patronage jobs and services back to those same voters. The *boss* of such a system was not necessarily the mayor of a city but instead someone who could leverage his power to both give and get favors.

Historians generally agree that in a situation in which urban governments were structurally weak and fragmented, there was a great incentive for strong leaders to find ways to seize power and coordinate unwieldy municipal forces. Beyond that, however, there is a vast division of opinion on the state of urban government in the Industrial Era. City governments at this time were the site of corruption and incompetence as well as flexibility and innovation.

During this period, city charters (the regulations setting up the organization of city governments) were a hodge-podge and a patchwork. Few charters were written in anticipation of massive growth, and entrenched interests often made charter revisions difficult. Furthermore, as urban areas grew, the amount of revenue passing through city coffers without adequate controls, and the control of patronage jobs, led to widespread corruption.

Cities faced a litany of difficulties and they were often beset by corruption. Nonetheless, urban governments had many successes to show during the latter part of the nineteenth century. They developed modern schools, sanitation, and infrastructures in the midst of immigration that brought unprecedented ethnic and religious diversity to cities. But within the context of nineteenth-century thinking, it was difficult to appreciate the role city governments played in mediating and compromising between different constituencies.

City government was the place that brought together "the municipal professional, the downtown business leader, and the neighborhood shopkeeper and small-time politico," as well the immigrant leader or union supporter. No one group always got its way, but through compromise and negotiation, the modern city nevertheless came to be.

For every Boss Tweed—a notoriously corrupt New York City politician of the Tammany Hall machine—there was also a Brooklyn Bridge—a major architectural and infrastructural accomplishment made possible by municipal government. Dramatic improvements as well as scandalous waste were hallmarks of the city governments of the period (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 32–34).

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT: METRO AND TOWN POLICE

Methods of local law enforcement varied from region to region and town to town. Small Western and Southern towns relied on local sheriffs and county magistrates to round up troublemakers and evildoers. More populous places, especially the cities of the Northeast and Midwest, had turned to organized police forces by the 1870s. A large city force could number, as it did in New York, close to 3,000 men, including officers, sergeants, patrolmen, and detectives. Most cities were divided into districts or precincts with a captain who was held to strict accountability for the preservation of the peace and good order of his area.

Each patrolmen (nearly 2,100 of them in New York) walked a particular route or neighborhood known as a *beat*, where he was expected to exercise the utmost vigilance to prevent the occurrence of crime. They worked five different shifts with one third of the force working days and two-thirds nights. Patrolmen commonly walked the same beat during each tour of duty, and they became familiar with the residents of the area—both good and bad. This allowed for efficient neighborhood-style policing, but it also had the potential for producing corruption and cronyism.

The standard police uniform consisted of a dark-colored uniform frock coat and trousers, a badge, and a glazed helmet of pith or leather. The uniform was often dark blue, gray, or black fitted with leather belts in black or white. The uniformed patrolmen served as a symbol of government presence as well as an assurance of law and order. Each man carried a hard wooden baton, handcuffs, a whistle, and a revolver.

The variety of pistols carried by law enforcement was exhausting. The weapons issued by the City of Baltimore can be taken as an example of those used by metropolitan police forces. Baltimore issued to its patrolmen the 1851 Navy Model Colt that was a cap and ball revolver holding six .36 caliber loads. It had a 7 1/2 inch rifled barrel and was sturdy, fairly accurate, and reliable. From 1857 to 1876 the city issued the .31 caliber, 5-shot cap-and-ball Colt Pocket Model 1851 with a short 4 1/2 inch-barrel that was generally underpowered for police work. The .36 caliber Colt Police Model of 1862 had a 5-inch barrel. Longer barrels gave a higher velocity and greater precision. Colt made both New York and Hartford versions of the latter for the police of those cities. The Allen and Wheelock Providence Police Model of 1858 had a 3-inch barrel of .36 caliber to meet the specifications of the Rhode Island city.

Most cap-and-ball revolvers ceased production in 1873. Beginning in 1876, Baltimore issued a Smith and Wesson top-break, cartridge revolver in .38 caliber. Colt also produced a new weapon know as the .38 Colt New Police. Both used a 36 grain (2.3 gram) black powder charge that gave the lead bullet (148–150 grain) a 800 to 900 ft/s muzzle velocity depending on the length of the barrel. These revolvers were a huge improvement over the outdated Civil War era types, and they remained common issue sidearm for the police of many cities into the twentieth century. The .38 caliber cartridge revolver became so common among metropolitan law enforcement agencies thereafter that weapons in this caliber for the civilian market were often advertised as police types.

New York City Police Statistics for 1888–1889

	Male	Female
Total number of arrests	62,274	19,926
Drunkenness	20,253	8,981
Disorderly conduct	10,953	7,477
Assault and Battery	4,534	497
Theft	4,399	721
Robbery	247	10
Vagrancy	1,686	947
Prisoners Unable to Read or Write	2,399	1,281

Source: Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890).
Note: Although New York City police statistics for 1888–1889 admitted to no murders whatsoever, it is highly unlikely that there were none, only that the city government was unwilling to certify them as such.

Small towns also turned to professional law enforcement, but the progression to a city police force, while typical, was often less than dramatic. The town of New Lancaster, Ohio was established in 1800, and it immediately set up a Property Guard to perform law enforcement duties. The Guard consisted of one captain and three officers. It was replaced by the office of City Marshal in 1831. The marshal and his part-time deputies dealt with horse thieves, drunkards, and saloon problems like prostitution, gambling, and rowdyism. In addition, they intervened in clashes between whites and Native Americans. A jail was added in 1867, and in 1870 a metropolitan police uniform was standard issue, but the city adopted obsolete, .36 caliber 1851 Navy Colt revolver was adopted. It is unclear if this was one of the many cartridge conversions available after the war. A full-time deputy, deemed a police officer, was not added until 1881. As the town grew, electric police call boxes were installed. These were the very first in the State of Ohio. In 1903 the police force of New Lancaster had a chief and 10 patrol officers in its department.

—*James M. Volo*

THE CHILDREN OF THE URBAN STREET

Overcrowded, working-class homes in the city provided little to no space for children to play or interact. Consequently, children flocked to the noisy and busy streets, some to become the little merchants hawking newspapers or matches, or collecting junk (junking), and some to play improvised games. Street children often appeared to be unsupervised to middle-class observers. However, there were usually adults within easy reach, including parents, relatives, neighbors, and shopkeepers and peddlers familiar with the neighborhood families who looked on from their own stoops, windows, shops, and carts (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 127–28).

With no other place to go, many children appropriated any relatively quiet part of the street as their own playground, but police officers often saw such public space quite differently. Children in New York and Chicago were often arrested for the so-called crimes of playing baseball in the streets, throwing snowballs, and loafing on the docks (Nasaw 1985, 23). Children who were found shooting craps or gambling were likely to be sternly rebuked by police and to have their change seized. Some, in fact, hypothesized that such petty graft was the motive for such interference (Nasaw 1985, 23). Such juvenile delinquents (and abandoned or orphaned children) were sometimes sent to rural areas and set to farm work that was considered wholesome and character building. Unfortunately, they were often overworked, exposed to exhausting extremes of temperature, and expected to move enormous loads for their size (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 127).

Penalties for serious offenses on the streets differed dramatically for boys and girls. A boy found sleeping out might be taken to one of the Newsboy's Lodging Houses, where his stay was voluntary, but a girl accused by officials or parents of sleeping out was viewed as a far greater social threat, someone likely to become a prostitute. If she was under 16 and deemed vulnerable but not yet corrupted, she was likely to be sent to a reform school. Approximately one-fifth of the girls sent to reform schools had committed some form of petty theft; the rest were placed for behavioral reasons. The institutions primarily sought to save girls from promiscuity. Consequently, homeless girls, girls exposed to sexually illicit behavior in the home, and so-called stubborn girls were all eligible for reform. Stubborn was the catch-all term applied to girls who frequented taverns or brothels, ran away from home, or befriended low men and women. In the second half of the nineteenth century, more than half of the girls committed to reform institutions were admitted for being stubborn (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 130).

Initially, these institutions offered a common school education to girls as well as moral guidance. The education and food offered were so valued by poor parents that some had their daughters labeled stubborn to be relieved of the burden of feeding another mouth. Rapid industrialization, poverty, and the breakdown of local forms of social welfare and discipline in the cities resulted in a large population of girls (and boys) considered delinquent. The behavior of these wayward girls often went beyond the common understanding of stubborn to include behaviors of an openly sexual nature. Younger girls deemed more innocent were placed directly with foster families, while only the older girls and those considered morally questionable were referred to institutions. It became the goal of the reform schools to quickly train girls in domestic service and move them into job placements (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 131).

PROSTITUTION

The openness of prostitution in the nineteenth century scandalized the social and religious elite everywhere. Proper ladies universally frowned upon any man who was too open in his lustfulness, but they could do little to enforce their displeasure on the male population at large. Upper-class unmarried men involved in relationships with prostitutes seem to have received a special dispensation from otherwise genteel society because they were thought to be exercising their natural proclivities at the expense of previously fallen women.

The manifestation in which prostitution appeared in many cities was somewhat dictated by the class and means of the clientele. Some men of wealth seemingly relied on the common practice of supplying themselves with a mistress and an apartment for short-term affairs. Others frequented the bordellos of the seamier neighborhoods and so-called red light districts. The nightly trade in amorous economics was available in most large towns and cities. Most prostitutes were poor white women who worked their clientele in cheap saloons, hotels, and dance halls. These women were of the lowest class—although they may not have started life there—having taken up the trade in their teens. They moved in and out of the dance halls and bordellos, and could be brought in from the street for as little as a dollar. They were described as "degraded beings [and] habitual drunkards" who were "remarkable for bestial habits and ferocious manners" (Asbury 1936, 27).

Although ordinances were passed that prohibited the renting of rooms to prostitutes, bordello owners were often protected by local politicians or the police. A madam might run a bordello in many cities by obtaining an annual license at a small cost. The laws prohibiting soliciting in the streets or from the doors or windows of the bordello. Indictment for prostitution, charging the keeping of a so-call disorderly house, usually targeted madams who allowed sordid social activities such as interracial intercourse, sodomy, or same-sex relations in their establishments. Within these bounds, the authorities made little attempt to halt the expansion of the trade into the residential areas of the city, often forcing the more virtuous residents to abandon their homes in pure frustration.

So-called high-class places were operated with considerably more circumspection. These bordellos were often housed in brick or brownstone buildings filled with mahogany woodwork, brass fixtures, and marble fireplaces—and furnished with fine carpets, pianos, furniture, art, and statuary—making them some of the most pretentious and luxurious residences in the country. Only the finest wines and champagnes were served; the ladies wore evening gowns while being entertained by musicians, dancers, and singers in the public rooms; and they changed to the finest lingerie in their boudoirs. As many as 30 women might work from a single house, each paying a fee to the madam, and receiving between $5 and $20 for an amorous experience.

Any romantic notions surrounding these practices, however, without regard to the fine trappings that surrounded them, should best be avoided as sentiment rather than an unbiased assessment of the situation in which these women found themselves. Any other conclusion, even from a historic perspective, would be lacking in sensitivity with regard to the effects of the sexual exploitation experienced by these young women. Poor kinless women received little protection from a generally male-oriented society in which so-called gentlemen considered them a proving ground for their sexual prowess. For these women there was no return route to social acceptability once their female purity and innocence had been violated (Volo and Volo 2000, 235–36).

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF

The imposition of protective tariffs (import duties) by the federal government was a flashpoint political issue, especially among the shipping interests in the Northeastern region of the United States. Republican manufacturing interests argued that tariffs shielded domestic industry from competition from abroad and had led to unprecedented growth in manufacturing. Southern and Midwestern agriculturists, supported by Democrats and Populists, benefited little from import duties because they relied on foreign imports that were produced at a lower price than protected domestic manufactures. Moreover, American farmers sold a great deal of the their produce abroad, and they feared retaliatory measures taken against their own exports in foreign markets should tariffs be imposed. In New England shipping circles, it was thought that high tariffs were destroying the industry. A *New York Times* article of January 29, 1867, exclaimed in bold typeface: "Unparalleled State of Depression—Not a Single Merchant Ship on the Stocks—High Taxes on Raw Materials the Cause." These tariffs were described by the *Times* as "nearly prohibitive."

Examples of the potential damage posed by protective tariffs to shippers and shipbuilders can be estimated from applicable examples addressed in the 1861 Morrill Tariff: Section 7. These included several items that were particularly damaging to the shipbuilder attempting to transition from wooden-hulled sail ships to metal and steam technologies. A tax of from $12 to $15 per ton was exacted on small plates of imported bar iron, rolled iron, or hammered iron; on large plates and boiler plates, $20 per ton; on steam engines and the parts thereof weighing over 25 pounds, $3 per ton. Tariffs were even charged on materials used in emergency repairs done outside the country. The full weight of these tariffs can be appreciated when it is noted that the estimated cost of a moderately sized steam vessel with a metal hull could be as little as $48 per ton before taxes were imposed (Clark 1949, Vol. II, 138).

Shipbuilders and marine suppliers in New England complained of tariffs that also affected the manufacture of wooden vessels and were causing a depression in that industry. As the timber that they used was often imported from Canada, they found that they had to pay an export tax to that country and an import duty to their own. In addition the ship owner, for whom the vessel was being built, was required to pay an Internal Revenue Tax of 30 cents per ton on the finished vessel. A white oak ship of 1,200 tons that could be built before the Civil War for about $47 per ton cost $68 per ton at the height of the shipping depression. In 1886, Henry George, an outspoken opponent of the tariff, wrote of its effects in *Protection or Free Trade: An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor*. "The ravages of the Confederate cruisers," wrote George, "would under any circumstance have diminished our deep-sea commerce; yet this effect was only temporary, and but for our protective policy we should at the end of the war have quickly resumed our place in the carry trade of the world" (George 1886, 198–99).

Republicans were steadfast in their support for protective tariffs, and the Democrats were quick to seize upon the policy as an election issue. Eventually, the

Democrats in Congress were able to force an average reduction of about seven percent in the tariff, but their legislation targeted industries in Republican states while sparing those in Democratic ones. A reason for the apparent lack of Republican interest in furthering the shipbuilding industry was suggested in 1890 by Alfred Thayer Mahan, dean of naval historians. He suggested that an American cargo-carrying fleet was not really needed. Any foreign shipper, from even a mediocre maritime nation, could carry goods as efficiently as Americans; and American capital could be more efficiently used in the production and manufacture of goods than in ships. Mahan was unknowingly suggesting that America outsource its maritime transportation. He wrote, "The action of the government since the Civil War, and up to this day [1890], has been effectively directed solely to . . . internal development [and] great production, with the accompanying aim and boast of self-sufficiency. . . . What need has the United States of sea power? Her commerce is even now carried by others; why should her people desire that which, if possessed, must be defended at great cost?" (Mahan 1987, 84–85). K. Jack Bauer, another naval historian, noted almost 100 years later, "The nation [in the 1890s] stood with its back to the waterways and exalted the ribbons of steel [railroad track] ignoring both the efficiency of water transportation and its critical role in the economic health of the country" (Bauer 1989, 297).

—James M. Volo

SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT

A trust (or business trust) was a form of business entity used in the late nineteenth century with the intent to create or protect a monopoly. Some, but not all monopolies were organized as trusts in the legal sense. They were often created when corporate leaders convinced or coerced the shareholders of all the companies in one industry to convey their shares to a board of trustees of an umbrella company, in exchange for dividend-paying certificates. The board would then manage all the companies in trust for the shareholders (and minimize competition in the process). Eventually the term was used to refer to monopolies in general.

The Sherman Antitrust Act (15 U.S.C. 1–27) provides in part: "Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is declared to be illegal." Sherman also provides: "Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a felony. . . ." The act put responsibility upon government attorneys and district courts to pursue and investigate trusts, companies, and organizations that were suspected of violating the Act. The Sherman Antitrust Act was not used in court cases for some years, but Theodore Roosevelt used it in his antitrust campaign.

—James M. Volo

INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

The Teller and Platt Amendments

Congress passed the Teller Amendment in the months before war with Spain commenced in 1898. Proposed by Senator Henry Teller of Colorado and passed unanimously, this legislation stated that Cuba would not be annexed and should be free and independent. Nonetheless, the United States ignored the desires of the Cubans both during the war and during the peacemaking. At the close of the war, the U.S. government forced the Cubans to write an independent constitution, but this generally recognized and ensured U.S. economic interests and suzerainty over the population (Shrock 2004, 22).

The United States occupied Cuba for five years after the war. In 1901, Secretary of War Elihu Root drafted a set of articles to serve as guidelines for future Cuban-American relations. The so-called Platt Amendment (named for Senator Orville Platt who proposed the legislation) became part of the Cuban Constitution and provided that the United States retain the right to stabilize Cuba by military force if needed to insure that American companies would not be damaged by any unforeseen changes. It also provided for the establishment of a permanent naval base at Guantanamo Bay ostensibly as a coaling and fueling station for the U.S. Navy. Often considered a wholly self-serving document, the Platt Amendment did establish standards for disease prevention, urban sanitation, and public financing in the Cuban constitution. It remained in force until 1934 (Shrock 2004, 22).

The Boxer Rebellion

The final years of the nineteenth century were also the final years of Manchu rule (Qing Dynasty) in China. In late 1899, there arose in Shandong and Shanxi provinces a movement among the Chinese peasants that was antiforeign, anti-Christian, and anti-Imperial in nature. In English, the Chinese name for the secret society (*I Ho Ch'uan*) behind the uprising translated as *The Righteous and Harmonious Fists*. From a literal translation the peasant followers of this movement were widely known as boxers, and the crisis that they initiated is generally known as the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901). It was a reactionary movement caused by growing foreign influence in trade, politics, religions, and technology. The Boxers called for the ousting of the foreign devils and the cleansing of Christians from the Chinese population.

Foreign influence in China had been mounting in the last decade of the century. Significantly there was a railroad construction agreement with the Russians in 1896, and a commercial treaty between China and Germany in 1898, followed closely by one with Japan. These created such a scramble for concessions from China among the foreign powers that diplomatically the Chinese were being ignored. In 1899, John Hay, American secretary of state, received assurances from the foreign powers of a so-called open door to equal commercial opportunities in China. Although the rebellion was finally suppressed, it spelled the end of Manchu rule and further entrenched foreign influence over the government.

The Boxer Rebellion was a bloody and brutal affair. During the uprising almost 20,000 Chinese Christians, mostly Catholics, and more than 200 Christian missionaries were murdered. The diplomats of several nations including Europeans, Americans, and the Japanese were besieged in the capital city of Beijing (Peking) by thousands of armed rebels. The Boxers killed 230 non-Chinese in the city in June 1900. The Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi (who had precipitated the crisis by seizing the government) stood by in seeming helplessness as foreign diplomats and civilians, embassy guards and employees, and some Christian Chinese retreated to the foreign legation compound in the city, set up temporary fortifications, and withstood the assault of thousands of Boxers. The siege lasted for 55 days.

The Boxer Rebellion and the Chinese inability to deal with it effectively offered an opportunity for unfettered exploitation of China by the foreign powers. The foreign navies in the region, which included U.S. warships, began building a presence in Chinese waters as early as April 1900, and before the legations were closed to relief that summer, 435 sailors from 8 countries—among them 60 U.S. Marines—were dispatched to reinforce the embassies at their request. These men represented the Eight-Nation Alliance that included France, Britain, Italy, Japan, Germany, Austria, Russia, and the United States. Eventually more than 54,000 foreign troops would be committed to putting down the Boxers and relieving the legations. The largest contingents were from Japan (20,000), Russia (13,000), and Britain (12,000). The American force was just over 3,400 men. Among the Americans were detachments of the 9th, 14th, and 15th Infantry, the 6th Cavalry, the 5th Artillery, and a further contingent of Marines. The international force commanded by a Japanese officer won a major battle over the Boxer forces at Tianjin during July and soon thereafter relieved the foreigners in the compound. The rebellion sputtered on for another year ending in September 1901 with the beheading of 96 Chinese officials and hundreds of Boxer captives. In addition, Russian troops drove thousands of Chinese civilians to their deaths in the Amur River; and German troops, which had arrived late at Beijing, undertook no less than 35 of the 46 punitive missions carried out in the name of the Chinese Imperial government.

The so-called Boxer Protocols that ended the crisis were signed by diplomats from 12 nations. The protocols provided for expressions of regret to the foreign powers and payments in gold of $738 million, fortification of the legations, and the razing of all Chinese forts along the foreign-built railroads. The indemnity was to be paid through the maritime customs surplus, the native customs, and the salt monopoly.

Although the Boxers were virtually exterminated, the obvious weakness of the Qing government led to a new nationalist revolt led by a Christian named Sun Yat-sen who formed the Tung Meng Hui (a society dedicated to displacing the rule of the Manchu) and who laid the foundation for a modern Chinese republic. In 1905 a boycott of American goods was used as a protest to the exclusion of Chinese immigrants to the United States. This was a mark of growing national consciousness among the Chinese.

Among the foreign powers, Japan gained the most in terms of regional prestige, and it was seen for the first time as a major world power because of the leading role its military played in suppressing the rebellion. Russia—second only to Japan in its active participation—viewed this development with some discomfiture and three years later went to war over Japanese pretensions to Manchuria and Korea (Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905). The Russian fleet experienced major defeats at Port Arthur and in the Tsushima Straits leaving the Japanese Imperial Fleet with an enhanced reputation. Germany gained a Pacific naval base at Qingdao Bay leading the American Congress to annex Hawaii where German influence had been growing. A relatively large number of American units took part in the defense and relief of the legations, gaining in martial reputation in the brutal fighting. Many of the American units involved in the suppression of the Boxers subsequently added a golden dragon to their regimental coat of arms in remembrance of the operation. The expansion of Japanese influence in East Asia, coupled with American annexation of the Philippines, Hawaii, and other Pacific islands at the end of the Spanish-American War, set the stage for Japanese-American confrontations in the twentieth century.

—James M. Volo

DISCRIMINATION: CHINESE EXCLUSION

In 1882, Chinese laborers were specifically banned by the federal government from entering the United States under the Chinese Exclusion Act. The mid-century gold strikes in California had brought all sorts of people to the mining camps and many of them took up permanent residence in the state. Aside from white Americans, there were blacks, Native Americans, and foreigners from Germany, France, Ireland, Britain, Australia, Mexico, South America, China, and even Turkey. The races and nationalities did not always mix well. In some mining camps all foreigners were barred; in others only certain nationalities were unwelcome. Mexicans were particularly unwanted and despised. Their claims were often ignored, and their property was sometimes confiscated simply because they were Mexican.

The Chinese were the particular targets of prejudice because of their race, exotic clothing, and unfamiliar customs. They were often held in contempt because of their willingness to work diggings that had been abandoned by whites as unprofitable. Whites thought it great fun to raid their camps, put them under the whip, and cut off the pigtails of the Chinese men. The last was considered a significant form of social degradation in China. The Chinese were also victimized by their own people in the camps who formed gangs know as *Tongs* for self-protection. Whites would often urge the Tongs to war among themselves armed with clubs, lances, and longswords provided by local blacksmiths. In one such encounter eight Chinese were killed and six were grievously wounded. At length many Chinese veterans of the gold fields gave up mining to become servants, laundrymen, cooks, and peddlers.

The construction of the Central Pacific Railroad in California and Nevada in the 1860s was handled largely by Chinese laborers. Charlie Crocker, president of the railroad construction company, urged the employment of Chinese "coolies," who were small and undernourished-looking but industrious and tireless. The first of these came from the mining communities, but thereafter the railroads systematically brought over workers from China itself. In the 1860 U.S. Census there were 58 Chinese men and 4 women in the entire country; these numbers grew to one million men and four million women in the 1880 census. More than 160,000 entered the country during the Civil War years alone.

In 1870, a New England shoe manufacturer from North Adams, Massachusetts, named Calvin T. Sampson fired his newly unionized white workers and imported 75 Chinese laborers from the Pacific Coast. The Chinese signed a contract to work for three years at $26 a month, which saved Sampson a total of $840 a week. The Chinese settled down to a New England lifestyle and attended the local Methodist church. A writer for *Scribner's Magazine* praised the experiment, "If for no other purpose than the breaking up of... labor combinations and Trades Unions... the advent of Chinese labor should be hailed with warm welcome by all who have the true interests of... the laboring classes at heart" (Butterfield 1947, 228). It is unlikely that the writer would have found a positive reaction to the Chinese among the unionized American workers who had lost their jobs. Mass production had engendered mass employment in America for the first time, and it wrought changes in the relationship between labor and management that reverberate even today.

Union activists were generally anti-immigrant nativists who considered the seemingly endless supply of foreign workers a drag on wages. They were especially vicious in their attacks on the Chinese, who they incorrectly considered treacherous, slovenly, and ignorant. Spurious tales were spread of their carrying terrible diseases including a number that existed only in the imagination. Real diseases such as cholera, leprosy, and syphilis were also attributed to the Chinese, but in a more potent and nonexistent Asian form that was supposedly impervious to treatment. "Chinese men," said accepted wisdom, "lived in filth, feasted on rodents, gambled, worshiped hideous idols, smoked opium, and lusted after white women." It was true that 2,000 Chinese had revolted on a plantation in far off Peru, murdering the family of the plantation owner and ransacking a small nearby town. Yet this was the report that gave truth to the larger lie (Sutherland 2000, 235).

The massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming. Miners of the Union Pacific Railroad Company shooting at crowd of fleeing Chinese miners working for the Union Pacific. Courtesy Library of Congress.

In the 1870s labor unions conducted a vicious anti-Chinese campaign. Laws were passed in California and other places prohibiting Chinese children from attending school and blocking the immigration of Chinese women. San Francisco banned the carrying of baskets on long poles, a common practice in Chinatown. Asians in general, and the Chinese in particular, were disproportionately incarcerated at a rate 3.8 times that of whites. The first drug to be criminalized in the nineteenth century was opium, which was the drug of choice among the Chinese. White populations used the opium law punitively against Chinese immigrants in a blatant effort to drive them out of the community (Shrock 2004, 12).

In Denver in 1880 mobs invaded the homes of the Chinese, smashed their windows and furniture, cut the pigtails from Chinese men, and lynched many people. A similar mass riot by whites against Chinese took place in Wyoming in 1885. As Chinese began to arrive for work in the Eastern states, the panic spread. Anti-Chinese riots broke out in virtually every American city, and white workers, nativists, and union organizers opposed further immigration from China. Labor unions such as the American Federation of Labor strongly opposed the presence of Chinese labor, by reason of both economic competition and race. "Meat versus rice," and "American manhood versus coolieism" were common themes. Largely due to pressure from the growing labor movement, in 1882 Congress banned further Chinese immigration through the Chinese Exclusion Act. The act prohibited all Chinese laborers from entering the United States, although some students and businessmen were exempted from the ban.

In 1885, a further act of Congress made the entrance of all foreign laborers, even those under contract to white employers, illegal. In 1902, the 1882 act was made perpetual and extended the immigration prohibition to Chinese living in Hawaii and the Philippines. Subsequent to the Exclusion Act, many Chinese returned to their homeland, a greater proportion than any other major immigrant groups. The official Chinese population in America, which had stood at 5 million in 1880, was only 37,000 in 1940. A prominent factor that affected this statistic may have been the fact that emigrants from China were not allowed to become citizens before 1950.

—James M. Volo

REFORM: THE GOLD STANDARD

Nineteenth-century farmers were sometimes successful in joining together to increase their political power. The Farmers' Alliance first appeared in the 1880s. Its main goal was to increase the income of its members by cooperative marketing, but it also became a lobbying group requesting that the government regulate certain business and banking concerns. The Farmers' Alliance, and other farmers' groups, provided valuable services to their members that were not available to self-interested independent farmers. These services included better terms of trade through cooperative marketing, better transportation rates through mass shipping, and the sharing of agricultural information and scientific data (Stewart, On-Line).

One of the major objectives of the Farmers' Alliance was to end the long-term deflationary trend that was seen by many as a way of maintaining commercial wages and interest rates at the expense of real earnings for farmers. Abandonment of the Gold Standard was thought to be critical to increasing the money supply and allowing some inflation to creep into the economy. Eastern banking interests supported the hard money politician in Congress, and the interior mining and farming interests supported the soft money legislators who wanted to make currency freely convertible to silver.

The U.S. Mint was capable of accepting both silver and gold bullion and making it over into coins. Gold was minted by law at the set rate of $20 per troy ounce, and silver was set at $1 per troy ounce. This mimicked the standard set by the Spanish dollar that had so pervaded American colonial finances. Both the Continental dollar of the Revolution and the contemporary silver dollar had their roots in the Spanish silver dollar of eight reales (or bits). The Republican Party steadfastly opposed Free Silver, while the Populist Party used silver as one of the fundamental planks in its platform. In 1878, Congress passed the Bland-Allison Act, which required the Treasury to redeem at least $2 million in paper (bonds and bills) each month through the increased use of silver bullion as minted coins at a value ratio of 16 silver to 1 gold. This compromise put at least some silver into circulation, helped to maintain the face value of paper currency, and effectively increased the traditional value of silver versus gold by 20 percent.

Bland-Allison (Richard P. Bland of Missouri and William Allison of Iowa) set a bimetallic standard for U.S. coinage when most of the world was using only gold as standard money. The United States was the only country at the time that was a major producer of both gold and silver. The act also specified the location of four U.S. mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, Carson City, and Denver, and it located two government assay offices at New York and Boise City (Idaho). The law fixed the value of silver when in fact more silver was being found, which otherwise would have driven its price down. This was particularly beneficial to silver mining interests in the West. The ratio of available silver to gold supply would reach 40 to 1 in 1908. Specie payments in gold were resumed in 1879, and anyone who did not exchange their holdings in silver for gold were left in a devalued position.

The gold-silver debate continued to be a national political issue through the end of the century. In 1890, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act became law. While it did not authorize the free and unlimited coinage of silver, it required that the government purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver bullion every month. It also required the Treasury to issue certificates to the sellers that could be redeemed in either silver or gold. This bimetallic monetary standard was very unstable and had the effect of draining the gold reserves as the majority of certificate holders opted for payment in gold. Good money (gold) drove bad money (silver) from the marketplace.

In 1893, the nation was hit by a significant economic depression. President Grover Cleveland blamed the downturn on the Silver Purchase Act. All other industrialized nations were on a gold standard, he said, while the United States was depleting its stock of gold by buying silver. He immediately summoned Congress to an emergency session to repeal the Silver Act. The debates during this session were classic. Francis Cockrell, from Missouri, rose in silver's defense making a highly dramatic speech on the Senate floor while snapping his trouser suspenders and puffing on a corncob pipe for effect. David Hill of New York provoked his constituency by defending silver, and Richard Bland (Missouri) swore that the silver dollar would take its rightful place alongside that of gold before the Senate had finished with the issue (Butterfield 1947, 262–63).

Cleveland was generally opposed by his own party, the Democrats, but several in his own party embraced silver also. They disagreed with the president and his Wall Street friends that silver coinage had caused the depression. Too little money, not too much was the cause. The country had grown since the Greenbackers had accepted a silver compromise in the 1870s. In the 1890s it had twice as many people and three times as much business activity as it had at the end of the Civil War. The money supply, in relation, had shrunk. Western wheat farmers and Southern cotton growers were suffering from falling prices because there were not enough dollars to go around and because they had tripled the grain supply through better farming practices. The Free Silver solution was to coin all the silver the Treasury could buy at a standard monetary value of one ounce of gold for 16 of silver. The gold advocates assured the public that sound money based on a single gold standard would restore prosperity.

In 1896, silver and gold figured prominently in the presidential election. At the Democratic Convention in Chicago William Jennings Bryan, the party nominee, gave a speech that put the issue into a sharper focus. Most of what other speakers said at the convention has been forgotten, but Bryan's *Cross of Gold* speech will long be remembered, if not for the import of its content, at least for its use good use of slogan politics. "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere," proclaimed Bryan from the podium, "we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold" (Butterfield 1947, 264).

With this speech Bryan qualified himself with the Western interests, the farmers, the wage laborers, and all those who owed debts. Yet in a larger sense he had articulated the friction between rural and urban factions, between mill owners and textile workers, between foundry owners and steel workers, and between isolationists and internationalists. The gold standard, according to Bryan, had slain tens of thousands in the struggle between the "idle holders of idle capital" and the "struggling masses, who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country." Envisaging the political and social upheavals that would tear at the fabric of the twentieth century, Bryan asked, "Upon which side will the Democratic party fight?" (Butterfield 1947, 264).

Bryan failed to carry his message to the White House in part because the failure of the Russian wheat crop and the resulting increase in farm prices for American farmers relieved much of the impact of the issue for farmers. His opponent William McKinley implemented the gold standard and ran on retaining it during his 1900 reelection campaign.

The gold standard remained in place until the Great Depression (1929) when Franklin D. Roosevelt abandoned not only the gold standard, but the very concept of gold coinage by making the ownership of gold coins and gold bullion illegal for everyone except the government as part of his New Deal recovery program in 1934. Gold coins in circulation were rounded up and melted down. The silver-certificates created in 1890 by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act remained in force until 1964 when the value of the silver was 29 percent greater than the face value of the bills. Coins accepted upon presentation of the certificates were being melted down for their silver content. In 1968 the Treasury ceased all redemption of silver-backed currency, and silver coinage was debased by the addition of nonprecious metals such as zinc and copper. U.S. paper currency is presently unsupported by any metallic backing, and its value floats freely against other currencies on the global market.

—James M. Volo

FOR MORE INFORMATION

American Federation of Labor. *Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1902.

Asbury, Herbert. *The French Quarter: An Informal History of New Orleans with Particular Reference to Its Colorful Iniquities*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1936.

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Bork, Robert H. *The Antitrust Paradox: A Policy at War with Itself*. New York: Basic Books, 1978.

Burgess, William W. *The Voyages of Capt. W. W. Burgess, 1854–1885*. Plymouth, MA: Jones River Press, 2003.

Butterfield, Roger. *The American Past: A History of the United States from Concord to Hiroshima, 1775–1945*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947.

Clark, Victor S. *History of Manufactures in the United States*. 3 vols. New York: Peter Smith Publishers, 1949.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.

George, Henry. *Protection or Free Trade: An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor*. New York: Henry George and Co., 1886.

Griffith, Ernest S. *A History of American City Government: The Conspicuous Failure, 1870–1900*. New York: Praeger, 1972.

Gyory, Andrew. *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Howarth, Stephen. *To Shining Sea: A History of the United States Navy, 1775–1991*. New York: Random House, 1991.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. New York: Dover, 1987. Reprint of the 1890 edition.

McGerr, Michael E. *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928*. New York Oxford University Press, 1986.

McMath, Robert C., Jr. *American Populism: A Social History, 1877–1898*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Mitchell, Thomas G. *Indian Fighters Turned American Politicians, From Military Service to Public Office*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003.

Nasaw, David, ed. *Andrew Carnegie: The "Gospel of Wealth" Essays and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.

Posner, Richard A. *Antitrust Law*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
"The Sherman Antitrust Act, Text." URL: http://www.antitrustupdate.com/Statutes/SL-ShermanAct.html. Sections 1–4, (accessed December 2007).
Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Snow, Jennifer C. *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America, 1850–1924*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
Stewart, James. "The Economics of American Farm Unrest, 1865–1900." *EH. Net Encyclopedia*, edited by Robert Whaples. URL: http://eh.net/encycpolpedia/article/stewart.farmers (accessed May 2006).
Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.
Teaford, Jon C. *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870–1900*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.
Topping, Elizabeth A. *What's a Poor Girl To Do?: Prostitution in Mid-Nineteenth Century America*. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2001.
Van Dyke, Paul A. *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Recreational Life

INDUSTRIAL AGE
|
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

SPORTS

The Great Out-of-Doors

Nineteenth-century Americans were very fond of the outdoor life, but as the nation became more industrialized and urbanized, they found that the natural outdoor life of farming, fishing, and hunting for a living was eluding them. Long hours in the mill, shop, or business office often precluded time spent in the sunshine for everyday workers, but those with the means could and often did seek out new activities. Consequently, a number of existing sports had become popular like running, rowing, and cycling; but the genteel population invented or adopted a number of artificial activities or diversions that were done in the out-of-doors without too much exertion or accompanying perspiration. Among these were tennis, archery, golf, and other sports of a genteel nature.

—James M. Volo

Track and Field

Vigorous physical exercise was highly valued in the late nineteenth century. Track and field events in the United States began to be held almost immediately at the end of the Civil War. Sprints, relays, marathons, and throwing events like javelin and discus were held. These reflected the supposed classical events of the ancient Olympic games. The Steeplechase comprised of both hurdles and water obstacles was 3,000 meters long, and it was very popular as a spectator event. Hurdles were introduced into Olympic competition in 1834. The first national track meet was held in 1876. Meets for women were held every four years with little fanfare.

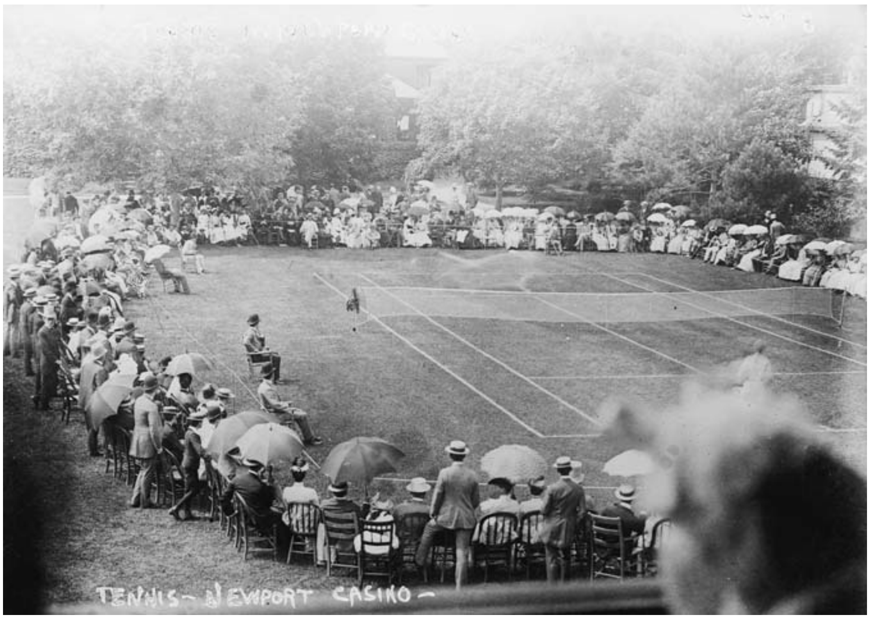
—*James M. Volo*

Tennis

Tennis was an ancient game played much like handball played over an intervening net. An indoor form played with paddles and then rackets (from the Arab word "Rahat" meaning hand) was popular in both France and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but this had fallen out of favor due to rampant gambling. In England in 1873, Walter Wingfield introduced a game based on the older form that he called lawn tennis. This could be played out-of-doors on grass on a rough equivalent of the modern tennis court and was made possible by two inventions: the India rubber ball (which bounced on the lawn) and the mechanical lawn mower (which allowed the grass to be cut to a short, even length). The popularity of outdoor physical activities for both men and women in the last quarter of the nineteenth century helped to spread the game of tennis, which quickly displaced the less active lawn game of croquet.

Mary Ewing Outerbridge introduced the game to the United States in 1874 by importing sets of Wingfield's equipment. She established the first tennis court in the United States on the grounds of the Staten Island Cricket and Baseball Club in New York. Lawn tennis was initially very popular among American sportswomen, but it spread in popularity to male players. As late as 1900 men wore suits, ties, hats, and dress shoes while playing tennis and women wore long skirts, hats, sleeved dress shirts, gloves, and dress shoes. Badminton is a rather more sedate version of lawn tennis played with a shuttlecock rather than a ball.

—*James M. Volo*



A tennis match held at Newport, Rhode Island. Tennis was quickly adopted as an upper-class sport for both participants and spectators. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Archery

The earliest organized form of archery as an American sport began in 1828 when the painter Titian Ramsey Peale established the United Bowman of Philadelphia among his friends. Peale had become enthusiastic over archery from his observations of the North American Indians that he had painted. Club members, imbued with a love of all things British, often wore uniforms reminiscent of the fifteenth century while competing. The club was disbanded in 1859 in anticipation of the Civil War, but was revived in a more Americanized form after the war by two ex-Confederate soldiers and brothers from Florida, Maurice and Will Thompson. In 1878, Maurice Thompson authored a book on the sport, *The Witchery of Archery*, that caused a sensation among sports-minded persons. More than 20 archery clubs were formed that year alone. In 1879, the National Archery Association of the United States was organized as a national sanctioning body; and in the same year it ran the first annual archery tournament, which was held in Chicago.

The main events of an archery tournament were called rounds, and the number of arrows and the range of distance were individually specified. Archery contests were usually divided into different skill categories such as target (paper or cloth bull's-eye targets at short ranges under 30 yards), field (targets at longer than 30 yards), and flight shooting (landing arrows in a large circle on the ground at long distances). Wand-shooting (hitting a vertical stick stuck in the ground), which was popular in Britain, never really caught on in America.

Archery was very popular with young women, and was often included in the physical education curriculum at women's academies and colleges. As in tennis and other genteel outdoor sports of the period, archers usually competed in full street dress: men in suits, ties, and hats; and women in full skirts, long sleeved blouses, and hats. The sport was ruled out of competition in the Olympics after 1908 because of unresolved international disputes over the format and rules. However, it was revived as an Olympic sport in 1972. The modern sport with its composite and compound bows of fiberglass, arrows of extruded aluminum, sights, inertial balancers, and triggers is almost unrecognizable from the nineteenth-century version with its simple wooden longbows and turkey-feathered wooden arrows.

—James M. Volo

Golf

The modern game of golf is thought to have been formulated in Scotland in the seventeenth century, but its name comes from the Dutch word Kolf, meaning club. The Dutch also played a version of the game called Kolbe, or Kolf played with a pebble and a branch. As late as 1850 the number of holes in a round of golf varied from as few as 5 to the modern standard of 18, and the course had no specified teeing areas. Golfers used leather balls filled with feathers until 1850 when balls made of a rubbery substance taken from Malay trees called gutta-percha became available. Clubs—usually no more than one or two—were made from tree branches, and they were carried under the arm as the golfers strolled the course. Golf bags were introduced in the 1870s.

The first appearance of golf in America is usually dated at 1885. In this year, John G. Reid introduced a group of his friends to the game in a cow pasture in Yonkers, New York. Although he did nothing of note to advance the game, Reid is widely considered the "Father of American Golf." In 1888, the first photograph of golf players was taken on the same course in Yonkers.

—James M. Volo

Bowling

Bowling is an extremely old sport that may have had its origins in China as early as 300 A.D. Some form of lawn bowling (bowles) may have been played in England as early as the eleventh century, and Sir Francis Drake was said to have finished a game of bowles before heading out to face the Armada in 1588. This was certainly a game played with balls much like present-day lawn bowling.

The Dutch of Old New York played at bowles by knocking down wooden pins (kegels) with a heavy round ball. This was much more like the modern form of American bowling, but Anglo-colonials used 9 instead of 10 pins to avoid some of the taxes set on diversions by the British before the American Revolution. A 9-pin game (skittles) was not specified under the tax like the 10-pin form. The 10th pin (officially added to the game in 1820) is said to be called the Kingpin for this reason, and its absence avoided the tax. Pin bowling was played in basements or in the alleys between buildings, one of which was often a tavern (hence the term bowling alley).

In 1849, Scottish organizers set down the rules and scoring for 10-pin bowling that were almost identical to those used today. The game seems to have been very popular in urban areas in America where it was subject to widespread wagering on the outcome. In 1895 the American Bowling Congress was established in New York City. This group standardized the equipment, pin weights, alley size and length, and other rules, and it set up or sanctioned formal competitions.

—James M. Volo

Boxing

Boxing was an ancient sport. The first report of a prize fight was written in the twelfth century by Homer, the Greek poet and supposed author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the eighteenth century bare-knuckle boxing was very popular in Britain, and it was there in 1866 that fight promoter John G. Chambers introduced the rules for ring boxing supposedly designed by the Marquis of Queensbury.

Prize fighting with its hierarchy of national and world championships had great potential as a spectator sport, especially among the urban masses. Tom Hyer was the first great American champion, holding the national title from 1841 to 1851 in which year he retired. In 1849, Hyer won a purse of $10,000 in a single match. John C. Morrissey, the American champion of 1852, was able to turn a boxing career into a seat in Congress.

Among the best-known American fighters of the Industrial Age were John L. Sullivan and James J. Corbett—one from the East Coast and one from the West Coast, respectively. In 1883, Sullivan, nicknamed the "Strongboy of Boston," went on a one year long, coast-to-coast exhibition tour of the United States with five other boxers, challenging all comers for a $250 prize if they could defeat him. He knocked out 11 men during the tour. Sullivan put up the longest fight in modern heavyweight championship history when he beat Jake Kilrain in a 75 round, bare-knuckle bout on July 8, 1889.

James J. Corbett was from San Francisco, and he gained the moniker of "Gentleman Jim" due to his college education and his appearance in stage plays and other theater productions. Corbett, a boxing coach and so-called scientific boxer, added movement to the boxer's repertoire; and he has been called the greatest boxer of all time and the father of modern boxing. A so-called world championship bout was held between Sullivan and Corbett on July 7, 1892, at the Olympic Club in New Orleans. This was the first such contest fought under the Marquis of Queensbury Rules. Corbett won by a knockout in 21 rounds over an older and slower Sullivan. Corbett defended his world title once—against Charley Mitchell in 1894 in Britain; but lost his second defense to Bob Fitzsimmons, a New Zealander, in 1897 at Carson City, Nevada. Following his retirement, Corbett returned to acting and wrote his autobiography, *The Roar of the Crowd*, which was serialized in 1924 in the *Saturday Evening Post*. A major Hollywood movie, *Gentlemen Jim* (1941), with Errol Flynn in the title role and Ward Bond portraying Sullivan, was released further cementing the mythology of the bare-knuckle boxer in American popular culture.

—*James M. Volo*

MUSIC

Popular music in the Industrial Age has been described as "pale imitations of European culture and shallow sentimentality." While this may be a fair assessment of the content, the commercialization of pop music certainly heralded the modern music industry, and the continued mixing of African and European musical forms was creating new and important musical styles in the United States. The Industrial Age laid the foundation of twentieth-century popular music through the creation of an organized popular music industry that churned out ballads and formed the basis of both blues and jazz.

It is very difficult to separate the widespread popularity of music in the Industrial Age with commercialization of the music industry. It was the growth of the sheet music industry that spread songs far and wide throughout the country and stimulated interest in music. Even rural mail-order catalogs contained a wide variety of sheet music such as popular dance, orchestral, gospel, ballads, minstrel, banjo, guitar, piano, and mandolin. Industrialization also made it possible to mass produce musical instruments cheaply and spread them throughout the nation on the growing railroad networks. Pianos and organs increasingly became symbols of genteel status for middle-class Americans and were a physical presence in the parlor that represented refined taste and artistic development. As a result of this demand, which continued to grow into the early twentieth century, piano production soared from 100,000 per year in 1890 to 350,000 per year in 1909, and 1897 marked the introduction of the first pneumatic player piano. Montgomery Ward sold five different organs from $37 to $63 in its 1895 catalog and three piano styles for $175, $195, and $210. These were very moderately priced for pianos. Manufacturers like Steinway sold their pianos for at least $600. The massive variety of instruments in the *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* vividly demonstrated the demand for musical instruments even in the nation's most rural areas: including accordions ($2–$10), concertinas ($2.15–$11.25), harmonicas ($.10–$.85), flutes ($1.65–$16.70), mandolins ($5.50–$15), guitars ($3.75–$26), banjos ($1.75–$18), dulcimers ($3.75–$16), violins ($2–$47), and a wide variety of cornets ($5.15–$26), trombones ($7.20–$16.70), and bugles ($1.30–$3.80). Such diversity in a mail-order catalog illustrates the importance of music in the lives of Americans during the Industrial age.

A wide assortment of music was popular in the Industrial Age including waltzes, polkas, marches, hymns, and particularly ballads. Developing from older hymn and folk tradition, ballads became the dominant form of popular music. These songs were designed to be easy to play and sing, since most songs of this era made their money through selling sheet music.

Most pop music in the Industrial Age was actually an interesting mixture of European and African musical forms. A mild form of syncopation gained widespread popularity in American music from early minstrel shows, which were vehicles for African American music developed in spirituals and work songs. A number of popular songs exhibited this mild syncopation even before the Civil War, such as *Dixie*, *The Yellow Rose of Texas*, and Stephen Foster's *Camptown Races* and *Oh! Susanna*. There was syncretism in American music that adapted African and European styles, producing something new and different. Widely different musical styles, spanning the spectrum from sentimental ballads to a Sousa military march, from Tin Pan Alley ballads to gospel songs, from "coon songs" to ragtime, would be the product of this blending of musical traditions.

The music industry, however, was still relatively unorganized. In the 1870s sheet music hits sold in the thousands while hits by the late 1880s and 1890s would sell in the millions. Popular hits continued to focus on topical events like *The Torrents Came Upon Them*, which was about the 1884 Johnstown Flood.

Many different reform movements turned to music as a political motivator. Many of the songs were written and performed in a standard folk song tradition. As the music industry expanded, however, a number of these songs became commercial hits and were published in the form of sheet music.

M. H. Evans and Emma Pow Smith wrote *When the Girls Can Vote* in 1890 in support of the efforts of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the largest women's organization of the Industrial Age. The song attacked male vices of swearing, drinking, and smoking and promised that when girls can vote "saloons will not be here." This song was typical of the anti-drinking movement connecting the vice with men and saloon culture. With songs like *The Little Brown Jug*, which extolled the joy of drinking, appealing to such a wide audience, it was little wonder that temperance advocates struck back with their own music.

Labor unions and farmers' organizations were geographically worlds apart, but they were united philosophically by their hostility toward concentrated wealth and corporate capitalism, as well as their celebration of manual labor that actually produced something. These themes appear over and over in union and farmer's songs that called for united action. Populist songs united both groups in the music, even though their attempt at political unity through the Populist Party failed by the late 1890s.

Populist songs that appealed to both labor and farmer groups often attacked concentrated wealth and monopoly. Leopold Vincent produced the *Alliance and Labor Songster* in 1891, which provided a large repertoire of songs for the movement. Large railroad corporations, which seemed to control entire states during the era, attracted particular venom, which was exemplified by R. J. Harrison's *The Anti-Monopoly War Song* of 1882. The title alone illustrated that the conflict between laborers and monopoly capital was more than a small one. It was a war. The lyrics attested to the song's aggressive attitude, and the closing lines rallied labor with an entreaty to make their battle cry "Ruin to Monopoly!" Songs like that sought to unite working people of all kinds through attacks on their common foe, monopoly capitalism. Populist music was an important part of efforts to organize their movement.

There were scores of songs sung just by labor unions and geared only to their concerns and issues. One of the most prominent goals of organized labor during the Industrial Age was the eight-hour day. The popular song, *Eight Hours* was published with the idea of promoting this goal. I. G. Blanchard actually wrote the song in 1866, but it was not set to music until Jesse H. Jones provided the music and published the song in 1878. The song relied on the common themes present in much of the organized labor music: the dignity of labor, exploitation by the wealthy, and a call for reform. Other songs like *Drill, Ye Tarriers, Drill* (1888), whose origin is very cloudy, praised drillers and blasters who built the nation's railroads, while Septimus Winner's *Out of Work* (1877) delved into the life of the unemployed worker. Songs like these appealed primarily to the industrial laborer, since an issue like an eight-hour day had little relevance to farmers, but gained wide popularity among a general public where wage labor was quickly becoming the norm.

Songwriters like George F. Root, who was one of the most prolific and popular songwriters of the 1850s and 1860s, produced songs meant to appeal to rural America, and his *The Hand that Holds the Bread* (1874) actually won widespread popularity. Root's song praised the power of farmers and called them to action.

Grange Melodies, which was published in 1881 and reprinted as late as 1904, covered a wide array of themes involving labor, patriotism, home, funerals, and temperance. Grangers came together with their *Greeting Song;* praised different work in *Laborer, Maid, Shepherdess, Harvester, Husbandman* and *Matron;* admonished members to *Forget Not the Dead;* sentimentalized *The Dear Old Farm;* called for concerted struggle in the *Battle Song;* sang the praise of the United States in *O' Columbia, We Love Thee;* supported temperance in *Hail the March of Prohibition;* and firmly declared *Labor is King*. There were even songs "for little Grangers" like *Work*, which extolled children, "Don't think there is nothing for children to do because they can't work like a man…work, work, work, children, work, there's work for children to do."

Just as sensationalized mass-market newspapers and magazines were beginning to dominate popular taste in journalism and literature by the 1890s, so did sensationalized mass-market songs come to prevail in popular music. Tin Pan Alley exemplified the organization of a system to mass-produce popular song hits. Thomas Hams (1881) and the Witmark brothers (1883), Isidore, Julius and Jay, founded firms that treated music as an industrial product, seeking not to edify nor even to entertain, but rather to produce popular hits that would generate massive profits. They pioneered the use of market research and hired in-house composers to write hit songs. Songwriters and publishers began to congregate on 28th Street in NewYork City to be closer to the popular shows that helped them make their songs big sellers. Writer Monroe Rosenfeld coined the phrase "Tin Pan Alley" because he thought the constant piano playing sounded like the clanging of tin pans. As New York became the center of musical theater and song publishing, the two interconnected industries drew more songwriters to the city. Only after an 1891 copyright law protected European music did Tin Pan Alley and this style of musical production really take form, as American song writers and publishers had to develop original music instead of relying on the European songs.

Charles Harris's *After the Ball* (1892) was the first big hit of the decade and stimulated the growth of the Tin Pan Alley system. This song sold two million copies of sheet music within a few years. Harris plugged his song using methods that were already pioneered by other Tin Pan Alley publishers. One of the best ways to plug a song was to get singers in musical theater to perform the song during their shows. This exposure helped to make the song a runaway hit and Harris was soon earning $25,000 per month from the sale of the sheet music.

Tin Pan Alley sheet music, which in this era normally sold for around $.50, customarily carried the name of the songwriter and a picture of the famous singer who performed it on the cover. *After the Ball* was no exception, sporting a picture of vaudeville star J. Aldrich Libbey. The song was so popular that John Philip Sousa's band played it for the 1903 Columbian Exhibition, giving it even more massive exposure.

The success of *After the Ball* alerted Tin Pan Alley to the possibilities of massive sales and the fact that a huge audience could be tapped. Songwriters and publishers of Tin Pan Alley consciously sought to conform to popular taste and write hits. In the 1890s it cost Tin Pan Alley publishers roughly $1,300 to promote a song, though only about half ever recouped the outlay and only approximately 1 in 20 was a genuine hit.

There was a relatively small group of men who were extremely successful at this pop music production. There were outstanding writers like Paul Dresser (brother of Theodore Dreiser), Charles K. Harris, Gussie Davis, Edward Marks, Joseph Shelly, Harry Kennedy, Charles Grahm, and Monroe Rosenfeld penning sheet music hits that were published by the big three publishing firms, Woodward, Witmark, and Stern-Howley-Harrison.

Dresser's *On the Banks of the Wabash* (1899) and *My Gal Sal* (1905) were huge hits. Charles Gussie Davis, the first successful African American composer on Tin Pan Alley, hit it big with *In the Baggage Coach Ahead* (1896). Million-sellers became much more commonplace in the 1890s, with Charles H. Hoyt's and Percy Gaunt's *The Bowery* (1892); Harry Dacre's *Daisy Bell*, which is better known as *Bicycle Built for Two* (1892); Charles B. Lawlor's and James W. Blake's *The Sidewalks of New York* (1894); John E. Palmer's and Charles B. Ward's *The Band Played On* (1895); Maude Nugent's *Sweet Rosie O'Grady* (1896); James Thornton's *When You Were Sweet Sixteen* (1898); Chauncey Olcott's *My Wild Irish Rose* (1899); and Arthur J. Lamb's and Harry Von Tilzer's *A Bird in a Gilded Cage* (1900). All these sold more than a million copies of sheet music. Most of these songs capitalized on romance, love lost, untimely death, daily life, nostalgia or good times and were often set to waltz tunes.

Coon songs were another very popular form of Tin Pan Alley music in the 1880s and 1890s, and became a veritable fad. Indeed, throwing some syncopation and African American racial stereotypes into a song in the 1890s and early twentieth century often led to a Tin Pan Alley hit. The style of coon songs varied dramatically from waltz to ragtime but the content remained based on a common set of racial stereotypes. More than 600 coon songs were published in the 1890s, and some sold spectacularly. Fred Fisher's *If the Man on the Moon Were a Coon* sold three million copies of sheet music. White and black songwriters wrote in the coon song idiom, including the famous white composer, George M. Cohan.

Coon songs had common elements. They often employed the syncopated rhythm of African American music along with foot tapping, time clapping rhythms that manifested themselves in dances like two-step cakewalks or marches. These songs also utilized racist stereotypes of African Americans for the entertainment of the white majority. These songs perpetuate stereotypical images of how whites wanted blacks to be: comical, superstitious, lazy, natural dancers, addicted to watermelon and chicken, ultra-sexual, and dangerous. Above all coon songs were supposed to be happy, funny songs. The racist humor was most evident in the fact that the coon songs were often in African American dialect, which was considered hilarious. Whites imposed on blacks these unfortunately durable stereotypes, which lasted well into the twentieth century. The songs also dealt with topics typically taboo in most Tin Pan Alley hits, like sexuality and violence, but they gained acceptance because they were about African Americans and they were couched in humor. Coon songs illustrate how popular songs were sensationalized in the 1890s by their focus on sexuality, gambling, and violence in a comic setting.

Bully songs were another popular element in the coon genre and normally dealt with a dangerous black man, usually a hustler and gambler wielding a razor, which soon became the ubiquitous symbol of black violence. May Irwin's *Bully Song* (1896), *Leave Your Razors at the Door* (1899), and *I'm the Toughest, Toughest Coon* (1904) were representative of this style. Coon songs, however, channeled this violence into so-called acceptable form, which used black-on-black violence that was tolerable to the wider white audience. Coon songs reaffirmed the necessity of subordinating and controlling African Americans and they justified segregation, voting restrictions, and even lynching.

Black, white, and even mixed black and white minstrel troupes continued to be very popular entertainment into the 1890s as vaudeville started to form. Remarkably even black performers like Bert Williams, who became famous in vaudeville, had to appear in blackface for white audiences. Blackface performers remained popular in vaudeville well into the twentieth century, and though many sought to temper the racist depictions within their shows, audiences expected to see the racist stereotypes.

While African Americans participated in the writing and performing of coon songs, little research has been done to explore how African American entertainers dealt with the racism of the era. Simply being able to make a good living as an entertainer or songwriter was significant for African Americans in the intensely racist Industrial Age. There is tantalizing evidence that black Americans did not sit idly by as they were stereotyped. In one instance, the *National Police Gazette* sponsored a ragtime piano contest to perform the extremely popular hit, *All Coons Look Alike to Me*, which was written by African American composer Ernest Hogan in 1896. The only black finalist, "Duke" Travers, refused to perform the song, stating that he did not know the tune. The song was deemed so offensive by New York City blacks that a white person whistling the tune instigated fights. Some black performers infused their coon songs with parody and subversive elements that undermined white racist stereotypes. A good example is what looks like a typical coon song from its title, *No Coons Allowed*, but actually parodied and attacked segregation in its lyrics. The comedy of the song hid the parody from white audiences that black audience members would have immediately recognized, namely the racist system that segregated blacks and ensured that they would never be treated fairly under the law.

Ragtime was another musical style that came out of African American culture. While coon songs certainly negatively stereotyped African Americans, they also provided greater opportunity for African American musicians, brought syncopated rhythms further into the mainstream, and ultimately made it easier for ragtime to be accepted by white audiences. Indeed, some of the coon song hits were performed in a ragtime singing style. Ragtime came in two relatively distinct forms, one that was primarily for singing and an instrumental version that was composed primarily for pianos.

The emergence of composed ragtime coincided with the growth of the piano industry and sales. The increase in pianos in the United States was both fueled by and helped fuel the popularity of ragtime. In spite of the popularity of this fad in music and its voluminous sales of sheet music, this style was in fact very difficult to play. The piano player had to maintain a steady left-hand bass beat while the right hand played a syncopated treble melody that displaced the accents. The traditional interpretation of the term ragtime is that it derived from ragging on the piano, but another, more recent interpretation maintains that it came from black musicians who raised rags or handkerchiefs to indicate when it was time to dance. Whatever the provenance of the word, piano ragtime had massive popular appeal in the 1890s and early twentieth century.

Ragtime developed out of African American folk music that was brewing all sorts of new music in the late nineteenth century. Ragtime piano music was certainly well known among black and a few white musicians before it first appeared in sheet music in 1896. Borrowing syncopated rhythms from minstrel show music was common in a variety of American music and piano players figured out how to rag just about any piece of music. White musician Ben Harvey learned the ragtime style from black folk musicians in Middlesborough, Kentucky, and learned how to apply it to piano music at least by the early 1890s. *You've Been a Good Old Wagon* in 1895 by Harvey was the earliest published ragtime piano piece. Harvey moved to New York City in the same year, became a well-known ragtime musician, and published the book *Ragtime Instructor* (1897) on how to play ragtime piano music. There is little doubt that Harvey was a significant figure in ragtime, but his claims to be the originator are undoubtedly exaggerated.

Hundreds of ragtime musicians, including Scott Joplin (1868–1917) swarmed to the Columbian Exposition in 1893 to play on the Midway or more likely in Chicago's saloons and concert halls. The timing clearly illustrates that Joplin, perhaps the most influential of the ragtime composers, and other ragtime musicians obviously had been developing this style for some time before Harvey published his first rag in 1895. Other published rags soon followed Harvey. In January 1897, William Krell's *Mississippi Rag* appeared in sheet music followed in December by Tom Turpin's *Harlem Rag*. Joplin wrote the *Maple Leaf Rag* in 1897, and it was published by 1899, going on to sell over one million copies of sheet music. Like Harvey's *You've Been a Good Old Wagon*, Joplin's hit rag was composed outside of Tin Pan Alley in Sedalia, Mississippi. Ragtime was a musical form that developed in several regions throughout the nation, emerging as a composed music in the 1890s from a variety of black and white entertainers. Ragtime remained popular until the middle of the 1910s, and would be an important precursor to jazz, the next great wave of popular music to assume a dominant position in American culture.

Brass bands remained very popular in the Industrial Age. Small to large bands were ubiquitous in American life. Bands provided entertainment for parades, picnics, dances, concerts, political campaigns, restaurants, and bars. They came in all shapes, sizes and abilities, including town bands, brass bands, ethnic bands, and the famous African American brass bands of New Orleans. Industrialization made it possible for instrument companies to lower the cost of their products and the transportation revolution made them widely available.

Patrick S. Gilmore (1829–1892) gained fame as a bandleader and organizer of musical extravaganzas in the 1860s and 1870s. His 22nd Regimental Band concerts featured popular favorites and classical orchestra songs, usually with a soloist on trombone, baritone horn, saxophone, or most commonly, coronet. Several famous coronet players toured with Gilmore, such as Matthew Arbuckle, Jules Levy, Alessandro Liberati, and Herbert L. Clark. Gilmore toured with his band until his death in 1892.

John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) assumed Gilbert's mantle as the most prominent bandleader in America when he formed his own band in 1892. Sousa had been around music his entire life, apprenticing seven years with the U.S. Marine Band starting at the age of 13 and at the age of 25, accepting the post of its director. In 1892 Sousa created his own military band, taking it through constant touring to fairs, expositions, theaters, and opera houses. The members of Sousa's band were polished professionals, dressed neatly in military-style uniforms. Like Gilbert before him, Sousa mixed musical styles at his concerts, throwing together hymns, popular songs, and some syncopated ragtime numbers alongside classical symphonic numbers and his own famous military marches. He was a very prolific composer and produced 12 operettas, 11 suites, 700 songs and 136 marches. Sousa, like many songwriters of this era, made much of his money through sales of sheet music, and roughly 18,000 people bought his music in 1900. Sousa marches became hugely popular, often focusing on patriotic themes such as *The Stars and Stripes Forever* (1897), and like Stephen Foster, his songs would find a permanent place in American music.

One of the largest problems for symphonic orchestras in the Industrial Age was that there was not really a great deal of difference between them and the better bands of the era and they played the same music at their concerts. Orchestra conductor Theodore Thomas, like band leaders Patrick Gilmore and John Philip Sousa, often played polkas and waltzes along with music by Liszt and Wagner to appeal to his audiences as he toured. Musical eclecticism was the norm in musical performance until the 1890s. Men like Thomas, however, sought to create a greater distinction between the band and the symphony. It is also important to note that the cultural elite in the realm of classical music as the major influence in the United States until World War I was German.

Henry Lee Higginson, a prominent Boston banker, charted the future of symphonic orchestras in 1881 when he created the permanent Boston Symphony Orchestra. Higginson ran the orchestra for several years in a rather dictatorial fashion, though he did ensure the viability of the orchestra from his own considerable fortune when receipts did not match outlays. Although no other cities copied Higginson's method, they did aspire to standing orchestras. In 1891, Chicago set the model that other cities soon emulated when 50 donors pledged $1,000 per year for three years to start the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Chicago was able to lure Thomas away from New York to fulfill his dream of conducting a standing symphony orchestra. The Chicago symphony consisted of 62 full-time musicians. Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, and Pittsburgh all copied the Chicago example.

The advocates of symphonic music as high art increasingly turned to wealthy persons to support their permanent orchestras and classical music was transformed into an object controlled principally by the cultural elite. These orchestras relied on the works of masters like Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, and Handel, but new classical music also swept the nation. Richard Wagner's (1850–1898) works were so popular that a Wagnerian cult formed, primarily through the efforts of Wagner's friend Anton Seidl, who like Thomas was a German émigré to the United States. He soon became renowned for his conducting and support of Wagner's operas, such as *Tristan und Isolde, Die Walküre, Das Rheingold, Siegfried*, and *Götterdämmerung*. Seidl took over the New York Philharmonic in 1891 when Thomas left for Chicago. His ability to successfully stage summer concerts at Coney Island from 1888 to 1896 amazed even his critics.

The Second New England School, also called the Boston Classicists, were a group of mainly New England composers who wrote new music in the German tradition. These American composers were particularly active from 1890 to 1897 and had a close relationship with Theodore Thomas. Thomas encouraged their efforts and used their music in his orchestra. John Knowles Paine, Harvard professor of music; George W. Chadwick, longtime faculty member and then director of the New England Conservatory of Music; Arthur Foote, organist at the First Unitarian Church; Horatio Parker, Yale professor of music; Martin Loeffler, assistant concertmaster for the Boston Symphony Orchestra; Edward MacDowell, Columbia music professor;

and Amy Beach, one of the very few women composers, were all important contributors to this indigenous group of classical composers.

African American evangelicals were undoubtedly influenced by white gospel music, but to this they added their own tradition of the so-called Negro Spiritual. Black gospel music began its development as composers started setting down the older spirituals in sheet music. In the 1890s black songwriters, most importantly, Minister Charles Albert Tindley, began to produce music that emphasized the good news of Christianity and followed the biblical injunction to make a joyous noise to the Lord. Tindley was the first to compose in and publish the African American gospel style. Some of his most famous songs were *I'll Overcome Some Day* (1901), which became famous in the Civil Rights Movement as *We Shall Overcome*, *What Are They Doing in Heaven* (1901), and *Stand by Me* (1905). Black gospel music, however, was just in its infancy in these years and the greatest refinement and popularity would occur in the coming decades. It is important to note that black and white gospel music were closely related, and there were crossover hits, but racism and distinctive sound differences often kept them separate.

While the first published blues music did not appear until W. C. Handy published *The Memphis Blues* in 1912, it does deserve some mention. There is little doubt that African American singers and musicians developed blues music in the last decades of the nineteenth century, well before Handy became interested in what he termed primitive music and published his blues. In fact, elements of the blues appeared in popular music, particularly ragtime. Although the development of the blues as a distinct form did not occur until the early twentieth century, it was brewing in the cauldron of African American secular music of the Industrial Age.

Jazz also was coalescing in the late nineteenth century and was particularly influenced by ragtime. There was considerable confusion about the differences between jazz and ragtime in the early twentieth century, and many musicians referred to them interchangeably. While music critics might disagree with this view, it does demonstrate how fluid these musical lines were in the early twentieth century. Jazz would take America by storm just after World War I (Shrock 2004, 183–202).

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

The Grand Tour

The epitome of touring for upper-class families at mid-century was the Grand Tour of Europe. To winter in Rome had been the fashion among Europe's social elite since the seventeenth century, and Americans had followed their lead and extended their trips to include their historic roots in England, cosmopolitan and modern continental cities like Paris, romantic and artistic centers like Venice or Florence, enigmatic Egypt, and the Holy Land. Many well-known Americans had toured Europe with their families or lived there for extended periods. Among them were politicians, writers, and artists.

Writer and novelist Henry James visited Europe in 1867. He wrote that Americans were "forever fighting against the superstitious valuation of Europe. We feel that whatever it is we are lacking here can be found in Europe. There one finds royalty, foreign languages, high fashion; philosophers, anarchists, and artists; Neanderthals, pagan temples, and castles. Those who read a lot can easily become infatuated with Europe, and it becomes a projection of what it is they most desire" (Grattan 1962, 239). Historian Henry Adams, a grandson and great-grandson of two presidents, wrote that his father (Charles Francis Adams, U.S. Minister to London) felt that too strong a love of Europe "unfitted Americans for America," but it remained a pilgrimage site for many of his countrymen throughout the century. The flow of socially elite families to the Continent between 1820 and 1890 was interrupted only by the wars of European nationalism in the 1840s and America's own Civil War (Adams 1999, 70).

Available to only the richest of the old money families or the most fortunate of the *nouveau riche*, the Grand Tour could last for more than a year—sometimes several years—as families took in all of Europe's major cities, sights, museums, and vacation spots. Many fathers resorted to such once-in-a-lifetime trips to expose their children to the ways of the world and provide a polish that was thought to be missing from America's upper-class youth. Moreover, the stay was thought infinitely superior to an equal time spent in the colleges or female seminaries of America. The cost could run into thousands of dollars, but the tour was a priceless introduction to Europe's history, art, society, and culture for the entire family. "To lives made wealthy by the whirring wheels of northern industry or bumper harvests of southern cotton . . . the Grand Tour seemed the quickest and surest method of absorbing something which America lacked but which time-mossed Europe possessed in ample measure" (Levin 1960, 15).

Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) wrote in *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) of his own grand tour in 1867:

> For months the great pleasure excursion to Europe and the Holy Land was chatted about in the newspapers everywhere in America and discussed at countless firesides. . . . It was to be a picnic on a gigantic scale. The participants in it . . . were to sail away in a great steamship with flags flying and cannon pealing, and take a royal holiday beyond the broad ocean in many a strange clime and in many a land renown in history! They were to sail for months over the breezy Atlantic and the sunny Mediterranean: they were to scamper about the decks by day . . . or read novels and poetry in the shade of the smokestacks, or watch for the jelly-fish and the nautilus over the side . . . and at night they were to dance in the open air, on the upper deck, in the midst of a ballroom that stretched from horizon to horizon, and was domed by the bending heavens and lighted by no meaner lamps than the stars. . . . They were to see the ships of twenty navies—the customs and costumes of twenty curious peoples—the great cities of half the world—they were to hob-nob with nobility and hold friendly converse with kings and princes, grand moguls, and the anointed lords of mighty empires! (Twain 1980, 2–3)

The itinerary for the Grand Tour was no mean ride through the countryside. The Crystal Palace built for the Great London Exhibition of 1851, the Champs-Elysees, the battlefields of Waterloo, Crecy, and Breitenfeld, Hadrian's Forum and the Coliseum, Vesuvius and Stromboli, the Parthenon and Delphi, and the Great Pyramids with the enigmatic Sphinx were all among the popular stops on the tour. The tourists stayed in the best European-style hotels and visited foreign resorts such as mineral springs, baths, shrines, and Alpine retreats, sometimes in an effort to restore a shattered health in an alternative environment. All of these were on the usual itinerary of the European upper classes, and it was partly for this reason that many Americans were sure to visit them.

Seventeen-year-old Fanny Knight of Natchez, Mississippi, traveling with her family from 1854–1859, reveled in her diary of fleeting glimpses of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, the Emperor Louis Napoleon and Empress Eugenie, Pope Pius IX, Russia's Emperor Alexander II, and Jerome Bonaparte (émigré brother of Napoleon I) and his American wife. Also prominent on Fanny's tour were meetings with ex-President Millard Fillmore and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, who had been caned on the Senate floor by Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina in 1856. The Knight family remained on tour long enough to become resident members of an international colony of traveling tourists that included a young sculptor from Hartford, Connecticut, two young American girls on their way to enter a convent in Spain, and two families of their acquaintance from home passing through Egypt on their own tours.

Throughout the century American tourists shopped for European and ancient culture while on the Grand Tour. The families of America's robber barons, in particular, bought up all the portable culture they could find on the European market while on tour and shipped it or carried it home. After returning from Paris, London, Rome, Florence, or Cairo, the family could bask in the reflected glory of their journey in a home decorated with paintings, sculptures, curiosities, archaeological souvenirs, and other mementos that marked them as persons worthy of admiration and envy. In defense of the Americans it should be noted that upper-class European families did exactly the same thing throughout the Victorian Era.

Among Fanny Knight's keepsakes were those minute things one might expect of a nineteenth-century teenager: prints, postcards, bills, and letterheads. These included colorful printed mementos from the Old Ship's Head Hotel in Brighton, the Turkshead Hotel in New Castle-on-Tine, the George Hotel in Melrose, Stringer's Hotel in Windermere Waterhead as well as The Hotel de Flandre in Bergen, the Hotel de Russ in Brussels, the Hotel Belle Vue at The Hague, and the Eagle House in Heidelberg. There was also a chromolithograph of the *Luxor*, an Egyptian river steamer fitted with ornate furniture, beds and bedding, a coal stove, and provisions of the best quality on which the Knights traveled the Nile.

As Mark Twain pointed out, the Grand Tour was "a brave conception; it was the offspring of a most ingenious brain. It was well advertised, but it hardly needed it: the bold originality, the extraordinary character, the seductive nature, and the vastness of the enterprise provoked comment everywhere and advertised it in every household in the land (Levin 1960, 2). The Grand Tour was, for most upper-class families, "at once the fulfillment of a lifelong ambition and a flamboyant way of letting neighbors know that they had arrived" (Levin 1960, 15; Volo and Volo 2007, 344–48).

Croquet

By far the most popular family lawn sport of the Industrial Age was croquet. Although it started as an elite game, making its debut in America in the second half of the 1860s, the mass production of backyard croquet sets along with the fact that it required no special clothing allowed it to flourish among the middle class in the 1870s. The game was particularly popular among women, as it required considerable skill but little strength or technique. Men tended to be less passionate about the sport but appreciated its social advantage since both men and women played together. Croquet promoters founded the National Croquet Association in 1879 and organized the first national tournament in 1882 at the New York Croquet Club, and adopted a standard set of rules for the nine-wicket game. In the same year the South Bend Toy Works began manufacturing toy croquet sets. In the 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* croquet sets cost only $.68 for the least expensive four-ball version and $3.40 for the most expensive eight-ball version. At the height of the croquet fad, ads boasted wickets with candle sockets for night play. The Boston Common served as a popular place for croquet but the drinking, gambling, and other behavior, including the possibility that young couples might disappear into shrubbery together to look for balls, alarmed the local clergy enough for them to seek a ban on the game in 1890 for moral reasons.

By the 1880s the game's faddish nature began to be diluted by the emergence of lawn tennis, but the game continued to be popular. Former slave Frederick Douglass loved the game and built a croquet court at his Anacosta, Virginia, home in 1894. Croquet served as inspiration for table games as well. McLoughlin Brothers copyrighted the rules for *Tiddledy Wink Croquet*, and E. I. Horsman came out with *Lo Lo the New Parlor Croquet Game*, which used colored disks to represent the croquet balls and mallet disks to snap them into positions or through the arches (Shrock 2004, 118).

Roller Skating

In 1863, James Leonard Plimpton, a businessman from Massachusetts, invented a roller skate that could turn by putting a spring on the four-wheeled footwear. It was called the rocking skate and was the first one that really let people skate curves and turn. Plimpton opened a skating club in New York where gentlemen enjoyed showing off for their ladies by doing fancy figures, steps, and turns. Within 20 years, roller skating had become a popular pastime for men and women. Entrepreneurs built large skating rinks, like Chicago's famous Casino Rink whose 1884 opening drew thousands of skaters and spectators. When the Royal Rink opened in Muncie, Indiana, in 1885, a thousand people paid $.15 each to skate. Wealthy men in Newport, Rhode Island, played roller polo, a hockey game, which developed into a popular league sport in several Midwestern cities in the 1880s. Muncie had roller polo teams by 1885 and it was so popular it became a high school sport. Roller skate racing and dancing also became popular pastimes. The glory days of this fad ended in the 1890s with the advent of the safety bicycle (Shrock 2004, 118).

BROWNIES

A fad totally unconnected to sports was the Brownie creations of illustrator Palmer Cox. Brownies made their first appearance in *St. Nicholas Magazine* in 1883. These delightful little creatures soon became an absolute sensation with children across the country. Cox's creations always seemed to be playing in department stores with the latest popular consumer items like roller skates and bicycles. Cox parlayed his creations into a small marketing empire that made him quite wealthy through a series of books and Brownie games. The 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* offered three Brownie books *(The Brownies at Home, The Brownies: Their Book* and *The Brownies Around the World)* that sold for $1.05 each, three sets of Brownie ink stamps for $.20, $.40 and $.75 respectively and Brownie 10 pins for $.45. Brownie tie-in products were everywhere, culminating in the famous Kodak Brownie camera that appeared in 1900, marketed toward children. Brownies became a cultural icon that was a generational marker, which helped to define young people during the late Industrial Age. Most children of the period would have experienced Brownies in some form and this experience would have defined their generation and collective memories. The Brownie mania may have been the first time a generation of American young people was united by such an iconoclastic common consumer item and illustrated the growth of a consumer culture directed toward young people (Shrock 2004, 120–21).

GAMES

Card games were a favorite in Victorian homes and consumed a great deal of leisure time for adults and children. Adults enjoyed playing *Euchre, Five Hundred*, and *Whist. Old Maid, Go Fish*, and *Snap* were popular among children. Educational cards games such as *Authors* proved to be the favorite of the middle class who placed great store on educational games that inculcated refined sensibilities. The 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* carried 20 different card games ranging in price from $.10 to $.40 featuring such educationally enriching titles as *Capitol Cities, Mathematiques, Wild Flower Game, Bible Game*, and *American History*.

Board games were wildly popular and readily available in department stores and mail-order catalogs. Reasonable prices, between $.40 and $2.75, brought them into many American homes during the 1890s. Some games emphasized the educational refinement so important to middle-class culture, such as reading, literature, geography, and mathematics. A typical game was the *Young Folks Historical Game* (1890) that quizzed players on American history. Other games focused on middle-class values like business enterprise such as *Bulls and Bears: The Great Wall St. Games* (1896), while still others were simple games of chance and skill, which reflected the cultural acceptance of leisure for its own sake that was spreading throughout American society. *The Game of Travel* (1895) simulated a tour through Europe and included metal steamships and railroad trains as pieces. Some popular games echoed current events of the Industrial Age like *Round the World with Nellie Bly* (1894), *Bowling* (1896), *The Game of Pool* (1898), and *Basketball* (1898). *The Yale-Harvard Game* offered young people the opportunity to play and re-play the yearly football game between the heated rivals. Nursery rhyme themes were also very popular such as *Little Goldilocks and the Three Bears* (1890), *The Game of Jack and the Beanstalk* (1896), and *The New Game of Red Riding Hood and the Wolf* (1887). Checkers, chess, and dominoes were virtually universal in this era played by both adults and children.

Jigsaw puzzles, which gained popularity in the 1850s, were mass-produced by Milton Bradley and Parker Brothers and became very popular pastimes. By the mid-1890s even rural Americans could purchase a variety of the cut-up puzzles through mail-order catalogs. These, too, offered educational experiences. The 1895 *Montgomery Ward Catalogue* featured puzzle maps of the United States in either small ($.45) or large ($.75). Others puzzles were reflective of current interests such as the elephant Jumbo, a steamboat, and a fire department.

Marbles were another immensely popular game, particularly among boys. Mass-produced glass marbles became widely available during the Industrial Age. Ohio was the center of marble production where factories produced a million marbles a day. The new, highly colored marbles, no longer just stone or clay, inspired fierce competition among boys who battled for each other's marbles. Aggies, the rare agate marbles, were particularly prized. Youngsters in the late nineteenth century generally used the term mibs instead of marbles and commonly played "Ring Taw." Players tried to knock other players' marbles out of the ring or taw, thus gaining the displaced marbles for himself. The game included intricate rules about changing shooting positions and accidents. Marbles encouraged boys to develop competitive qualities so admired among males in the late nineteenth century. Charles M. Crandall's *Pigs in Clover* was the only board game to capitalize on the immense popularity of marbles and it became the most important indoor marble game of the era (Shrock 2004, 121–25).

COLLECTING

Collecting was popular with men, women, and children. What separated men's collecting from that of women and children was that men collected items that were economically valuable. Men tended to evaluate the monetary worth of their collections. Their collecting relied heavily on the application of knowledge and an acquired expertise, often in the context of unearthing a hidden bargain. Collectors often used hunting metaphors when talking about their acquisitions. Women, on the other hand, collected differently. They were inclined to accumulate items for sentimental value.

Stamp collecting, which had begun as an interest of women and children in the 1860s, was transformed in nature by male hobbyists by the 1880s. What separated the later phase of stamp collecting from its beginnings were attempts to scientifically classify and organize stamps into sets. Stamp collectors even coined a scientific term for their hobby, philately. Serious philatelists were collectors who appreciated the market value and authenticity of their stamps rather than the aesthetics of the album. While women stamp collectors like Eva Earl promoted women's participation in the hobby, the fact that stamp collecting embraced the market model worked to keep many women out of it. Earl, for example, did not collect in the same manner as men, and admitted to cleaning and mending stamps in her collection, which were major offenses to the male notion of scientific authenticity. The identification and organization of the stamps was vital to the dominant philatelist culture of the Industrial Age, but these appeals did not stop young people, particularly boys, from engaging in this popular activity as they saw fit.

Other popular collecting hobbies were much like stamp collecting in their focus on scientific collecting and male domination. Book collectors sought rare manuscripts and compiled collections where the hunt and economic value were stressed. Coin collecting, called numismatics, was another popular hobby. The first annual convention of the American Numismatic Association occurred in 1891 in Chicago.

Antique collecting also became quite trendy during the Industrial Age. Unlike the previously mentioned fields of collecting, large numbers of women engaged in antique collecting alongside of men. Starting roughly in the year of the centennial of American Independence, 1876, collectors scoured the countryside for colonial furniture. Some people had come to object to the dominant, highly ornamented Victorian styles in preference of the simpler colonial styles. By the 1880s furniture manufacturers were making colonial reproductions, but it was still cheaper to search for bargains in the countryside. The idea that there was value in the old dresser or table stowed away in the barn was completely foreign to most farm folk, so there were bargains to be found by ambitious antique hunters. The Colombian Exposition of 1893 generated even more interest with its prominent display of American handicrafts. Much of this collecting was aimed at fine furniture, but some collectors also pioneered collecting everyday items like bottles and birdcages (Shrock 2004, 132–35).

PHOTOGRAPHY

Still photography underwent a transformation in the Industrial Age. Although cameras had long been available for professionals and hobbyists, in 1888 George Eastman introduced the Kodak, the first camera made for a mass audience. The Kodak was designed for ease of use in shooting, and more importantly, Eastman's company developed completed film. Prior to this, photographers had to have their own dark rooms. The Kodak, which initially sold for $25, was an immediate success, selling 2,500 units in its first six months and over 13,000 in its first year. It proved popular with travelers, particularly those traveling by train to new vacation spots, but many with families also used Kodaks to visually record for the first time family events such as birthdays, christenings, and reunions (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 190).

TRAVELING SHOWS

With the rise of rail travel and other improvements in transportation, it became economically feasible to take entertainments usually restricted to urban locations on the road. Theatrical companies would often begin a show in a major city and then take advantage of the publicity it received to launch a regional tour of smaller cities and towns. Other traveling shows developed in unique ways that took advantage of the logistics of travel and one night only appearances. While the best-known form of this type of entertainment was the circus, other popular traveling shows of the period included Wild West shows and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* shows, and the traveling lectures that became known as Chautauquas.

The cultural form that, in many ways, set the standard for traveling shows was the world's fairs. Though world's fairs were not exactly traveling shows, like the present day Olympics, they rotated through different cities and proved hugely successful in bringing together a range of entertainments, educational exhibits, and technological displays into one location. The world's fairs drew unprecedented numbers of people. The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia attracted nearly 10 million people, almost one-fifth of the population of the United States at that time, and the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago had over 27 million visitors. Educational exhibits and displays of manufacturing technology were central to the fairs, but the fairs were huge and decentered experiences. A visitor could stroll the grounds of Chicago's "White City," the central fairground designed in a neoclassical style, or visit the Midway Plaisance, the accompanying sideshow venue that featured pseudoscientific ethnographic displays often featuring stereotypical and racist presentations of foreign peoples and a range of popular entertainments. These fairs gave back to the realm of popular entertainments a model for the spectacular. Traveling shows of the period learned from the fairs and increasingly grew in size and scope, and in the level of technology used to dazzle customers. These shows addressed a desire for entertainment in the most remote sections of the expanding United States (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 191).

WILD WEST SHOWS

When "Buffalo Bill" Cody launched his first Wild West Show in 1883, he was already a famous man. As a military scout and frontiersman, Cody's adventures had been celebrated in a series of dime novels, and he even starred in a play dramatizing his Western experiences. It was the enormous success, however, of his Wild West Show that made him one of the foremost celebrities of the late nineteenth century. His Wild West show at the 1893 Columbian Exhibition drew an estimated six thousand visitors. By 1900 over 100 imitators were touring the United States with their own Wild West shows.

Wild West Shows were a hybrid form of entertainment. Part circus, part rodeo, part shooting exhibition, and part historical pageant, they offered a combination of spectacles that proved hugely popular in tours throughout the United States and Europe, despite having high admission costs of $.50 for adults and $.25 for children at a time when the average worker earned between $1 and $1.50 per day. A typical show would publicize in advance with four-color promotional posters and extensive newspaper advertising. When the troupe came into town, they would have a circus-style parade through the center of town to drum up interest. The show itself began later that same day with a procession in which the troupe raced around the arena on horseback to the roar of the crowd. What then followed varied from season to season, but the show usually included horse races and riding tricks, displays of marksmanship, some of which featured the popular female sharpshooter Annie Oakley, staged scenes of reenacted historical battles between cowboys and Indians, and rodeo style roping and bronco riding. Though Native Americans were a vital part of the Wild West show, they played a supporting role and their stories were not told, even when famous Native leaders such as Sitting Bull and Geronimo appeared as part of Cody's troupe (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 193–94).

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN SHOWS

The most popular play of the nineteenth century was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. While Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel was the best-selling novel of the nineteenth century, for every person who read the book perhaps 50 saw a dramatized and generally corrupted version of it. In 1879, there were 49 traveling troupes performing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, sometimes exclusively, and by turn of the century there may have been almost 10 times that many.

The "Tom's Troupes" took many liberties with the details of Stowe's novel, and some of the permutations of the play make more sense when considered, not in light of the novel, but in terms of the competition a traveling troupe was likely to face on the road. Like circuses, the troupes would advertise appearances with a parade of the cast down small-town Main streets, and some performances even attempted to compete with circuses by including elephants and alligators. Horses and trained bloodhounds were also added to the play. In the 1880s "Double Mammouth" shows became popular. These shows brought the novelty of a two- or three-ring circus to the stage by doubling the most popular characters of the play. These shows would have two Uncle Toms, two Topseys, and two Evas.

The popularity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at this time seems strange as it did not aim to arouse people over current injustices the way Stowe's novel did in the 1850s. Producers of the play offered it as a morally appropriate entertainment and sometimes recommended it as a lesson in history. At the same time the play constantly changed to offer new spectacular features. Others incorporated brass bands or choruses of African American Jubilee singers. Many simply replayed routines that had become popular in minstrel shows with white actors in blackface. Mainly, it told an old story in a new way, bringing novelty to the city stage and the far reaches of rural America (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 195–96).

LADIES' CRAFTS

Middle-class women increasingly found that certain functions, which had previously been a necessity for the family, were no longer needed in the same way. The skills, however, were still valued, and they came to be transformed into crafts. The Industrial Age was a golden age for arts and crafts of all kinds. From embroidery to quilting, crochet to lace making, crafts flourished. Handmade items could be found in abundance. Elaborate quilts and crocheted bedspreads were a central feature of most middle-class home décor. So were lace curtains, embroidered upholstery, and appliquéd table toppers. A whole range of unusual crafting techniques were developed or perfected during the era, including straw embroidery, Renaissance braid lace, and twist patchwork. At the same time, better-known crafts such as tatting reached new heights of popularity

While sewing remained a necessity for some women, the mechanization of the process, with the introduction of the sewing machine, patterns, and ready-made clothing, radically altered home sewing for most. Sewing was less involved with the production of a family's necessities and more a leisure activity that was done for decorative purposes.

The passion for lavish embellishment combined with the desire to decorate in the latest style led to the creation of an endless variety of household linens. Women decorated new linens and gave new life to old lines with the addition of outline embroidery. Mail-order booklets provided patterns, monograms, and stamping instructions to create designs to be embroidered. The designs reflected contemporary interests. The arts and crafts display at the Japanese Pavilion at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876 inspired many women with a passion for Oriental design. Women's magazines featured linens decorated by cherry blossom sprays, fans, teapots, vases, and a host of other Oriental motifs. An 1883 issue of *Peterson's Magazine* devoted an entire page to "Birds from Japanese Designs."

Women with children also embroidered nursery linens. The Victorian movement to provide a specific room in the house dedicated to children led to the need for nursery linens. Outline embroidery patterns in magazines and booklets featured animals, clowns, nursery rhyme characters, and other child-oriented designs. Designs based on the drawings of Kate Greenway proved to be particularly popular and were featured in *Harper's Bazaar, Art Amateur*, and *Godey's Lady's Book*. Many women embroidered pillow shams, splashers for sinks, towels, tidies, and numerous linens with parades of children dressed in the charming costumes featured by Greenway (Weissman and Lavitt 1987, 107–9).

Another nursery accessory was the appliquéd crawling rug. Created for little ones just beginning to learn how to get about, it provided them with a clean, cozy place to play. *Dainty Work for Pleasure and Profit*, published in 1893, suggested using a piece of felt, or flannel, or old dress skirt for the foundation. This would be decorated with brightly colored scraps, which had been cut into the shape of toys, animals, and other figures suitable for the young child. The rugs were then further embellished with embroidery stitches (Weissman and Lavitt 1987, 163).

Patchwork quilting gained popularity during the 1830s and 1840s, and while it reached its height between the 1850s and 1875, it continued to be enjoyed by many throughout the century. Women worked alone and in groups to make quilts for themselves and as community projects. They shared patterns, and some women fashioned single squares to help them remember a pattern they might want to use in the future. By the late 1800s patterns for quilt designs began to appear in print. Farm magazines discovered that they could attract woman readers by printing quilt block patterns. Other magazines and even newspapers soon followed. By 1890 catalogs included quilt patterns. If a woman ordered her yard goods from Sears or Montgomery Wards' she could purchase any of 800 designs for just a dime. *Ladies Art* also offered patterns in full sized blocks in either calico or silk for one to three dollars.

The Industrial Age witnessed a new craze with the crazy quilt. The pattern got its name from the asymmetrical pieces of fabric sewn together in abstract arrangements, which were thought to resemble crazed porcelain. The fad is thought to have been inspired by the Oriental design craze. Crazy quilts differed from other quilts in their use of expensive fabrics such as silk, satin, brocade, and velvet and the needlework used to embellish them. Embroidered feather, herringbone, fly, and chain stitches done in silk thread decorated each seam. Many had additional stitching and embroidered motifs. Animals and flowers seem to have been the favorite. Some quilters believed that embroidering a spider on its web would bring them good luck. Some crazy quilts had painted designs and even beadwork. Although crazy-style quilts appeared haphazard, they were carefully planned. Hours were spent cutting shapes and trying out various arrangements of the pieces prior to sewing. Originally, crazy quilts were made by women of the upper class. They were status symbols that showed a woman had the money to spend on the materials and the leisure time to complete such a time consuming project. Many of these quilts were so ornate that they were more show pieces than functional bed coverings and were commonly made as shorter, narrower unquilted lap robes or throws, which were used to decorate the parlor. Before long, other women joined in the fad and resourcefully reused fancy clothing that had been discarded or passed on from others. Making a crazy quilt was also a popular fundraising activity. Sometimes churchwomen would write to famous people asking for a piece of clothing that could be incorporated into a quilt they were making to raise money to help the missionaries.

The Centennial Exposition also introduced American women to the Decorative Arts Movement, an English phenomenon inspired by William Morris, John Ruskin, and their followers. The movement maintained that commercialism devalued the work of craftsmen and that the manner in which an item was made was integral to the quality of the product. Morris and his followers drew their inspiration from the craftsmen of the Middle Ages. Traditional skills of tile glazing, woodcutting, engraving, bookbinding, weaving, tapestry, and embroidery were revived as fashion turned away from the overstated opulence of Victorian style. A New York socialite organized the New York Decorative Art Society in 1877 and encouraged women to do beautiful needlework in this English and newly popular Oriental styles. Similar art societies sprang up in cities around the country, establishing themselves as arbiters of national taste. In time, these ideas gained some traction. An 1883 issue of the *Delineator* questioned the days of labor squandered in embroidering a simple towel that was no more useful than one that was unadorned. It was suggested that more artistic crafts such as woodworking, woodburning, marquetry, and other carpentry were better suited to the modern woman, sparking an increase in these craft pursuits (Weissman and Lavitt 1987, 109).

—*Dorothy Denneen Volo*

THEATER, CONCERT SALOONS, VAUDEVILLE, AND PEEP SHOWS

Urban theaters of the early 1800s were notably class inclusive. Rich, middle class and poor all attended the same theater, sitting in different sections according to what they were willing to pay. Those with money could purchase chairs in reserved boxes. Workers tended to stand in the pit right below the stage. Cheap upper balcony seats were also available, and in most theaters, African American patrons and prostitutes were restricted to this section. Shakespearean recitations would alternate with jugglers and trained monkey acts. It was not uncommon to see Italian opera performed alongside contemporary ballads like *Home, Sweet Home*.

Beginning around mid-century and continuing into the industrial era, cities grew in prosperity and new theaters were built that catered to the upper class. The cost of a theater ticket in the mid-1880s was a dollar, two-thirds of an average worker's daily wage. Workers and much of the middle class found themselves priced out of most legitimate theaters and turned instead to cheaper concert saloons and vaudeville. As a result Shakespeare and opera, which were once part of a shared culture, became almost the exclusive domain of elite society. The diversity of early theater and musical performances disappeared as well, and gone were the days when Shakespeare was performed alongside trained animals.

Concert saloons varied in the amount of theatrical entertainment they provided, but most had some kind of musical stage show. These were exclusively male establishments, with the exception of prostitutes and female dancers, and while they drew patrons from a range of class positions, they tended to be too expensive for most workers. In the end, the vacuum left by the decline of theaters for the middle class was filled by vaudeville.

The motivation for vaudeville in the 1880s came with the realization that selling the same theater seat four times a day for 25 cents made as much money as selling a one-dollar seat for a daily performance. By offering low-cost continuous performances of variety acts, a whole new audience was found among the middle-class and, to a lesser degree, working-class patrons. Benjamin Franklin Keith, the most famous of the vaudeville impresarios, established successful vaudeville theaters in a number of U.S. cities with a rotating schedule of performers. Most theaters were open 12 hours a day, 6 days a week. Anyone with a quarter could stop in for an hour or stay for a whole evening. Vaudeville theaters made a point of distinguishing themselves from saloon theaters by attracting female customers. Special advertisements and matinees were set up to bring in women shoppers. Smoking and drinking were prohibited or tightly controlled.

The diversity of audiences and performances that had disappeared from now-elite theaters now reappeared in vaudeville. While a headline act would be featured on a vaudeville theater's marquee, a given night's bill might include as many as 30 short acts including ballad singers, magicians, blackface minstrels, acrobats, opera singers, one-act plays, and sports stars each taking the stage for 15 to 30 minutes. Vaudeville aimed to attract the largest possible audience by providing an assortment of acts. By the end of the century, vaudeville had still only made inroads into the urban working class, as it offered little for immigrants with marginal English language skills, but it did bring in droves of middle-class men, women, and children. Some vaudeville houses even began to attract wealthy patrons by building new, elaborate theaters and including symphony performances as part of their bill of fare.

In the 1890s cinema consisted of a range of primitive machines and films shown in a variety of settings and formats. Following Thomas Edison's invention of the Kinetoscope in 1893, new Kinetoscope or peep show parlors appeared in the United States. These parlors offered row after row of Kinetoscopes and similar machines made by Edison's competitors that allowed a viewer to look through a peep hole and see a short film, perhaps a minute in length. Subjects included such events as a man flexing his muscles or a slapstick routine or a circus act. Kinetoscope parlors charged a quarter for admission, keeping them out of the price range of the majority of the population. It was not until early in the next century that prices dropped and workers and children became patrons of these parlors, which were renamed nickelodeons and later penny arcades.

Edison's Vitascope, introduced in 1895, marked another innovation. It was the first successful movie projector, allowing projection of short silent films. The Vitascope proved to be a novelty, appearing in vaudeville theaters and as part of lecture hall performances. Entrepreneurs would travel with Vitascopes to small towns, finding eager audiences, particularly in the West that had never before seen moving pictures. Storefront theaters solely devoted to Vitascope screenings appeared in cities and proved popular with immigrant populations that did not need to speak English to be entertained by silent films.

Film technology remained primitive through the turn of the century. Early projectors played as little as 16 seconds of film at a time, though the film could be looped for continuous play, and the lack of new films also contributed to the gradual decline in audiences and the temporary disappearance of films from vaudeville bills. The coming of the Spanish-American War in 1898, however, created new interest in war films, and fledgling studios were quick to produce documentary war footage or to stage their own battles in makeshift studios for vaudeville. It was not until the first decade of the 1900s as technology and filmmaking improved that movie theaters became popular (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 188–90).

HOLIDAYS, CELEBRATIONS, AND FESTIVALS

New Year, the Mummers Parade

The Mummer's tradition dates back to 400 B.C. and the Roman Festival of Saturnalias where laborers marched in masks throughout a day of satire and gift exchange mixed with the Druidic custom of noise making to drive away demons for the new year. The name "mummers" comes from the impersonations of the English mummers' play of *St. George and the Dragon*.

Although the origins of the New Year's Mummers Parade can date all the way back to the 1700s or even before, the practice seems to have first taken hold in the 1840s. This tradition relates back to the Swedish who settled outside of Philadelphia. They brought their tradition of "Second Day Christmas" where they would visit their friends. Eventually this tradition extended to the New Year. Masqueraders paraded the streets of old Philadelphia and the other sections—now a part of the city—in joyous revelry. The mummers went house to house, dressed up or with blackened faces, shouting, making noise with bells and sundry noisemakers, and shooting pistols seeking spirits and cakes. The early Swedish Mummers appointed a leader, or speech director, who had a special dance step and who recited a rhyme like this:

> As we stood the year before
> Give us whiskey, give us gin,
> Open the door and let us in.

Mumming was discontinued during the Civil War but after the conflict many clubs were reorganized. While original costumes were quite simple, creating disguises of clowns, Indians, or devils. A favorite outfit was simply a greatcoat turned inside out. The flaring headpieces, widespread collars and flowing capes synonymous with modern mummers came about in 1880 when the first cape requiring pageboys was worn. Clubs who followed this practice came to be known as "Fancy" clubs. This began a period of great rivalry and the beginning of prizes for the best paraders. The money given was donated by local merchants for cakes and other food items to be given to the marchers. The number of mummers grew as the prizes increased. The first cash prize was given in 1888. One of the first comic clubs made its debut in 1884. These mummers dressed as clowns for the purpose of making those along the parade lines laugh. The first official Mummers Parade was held in 1901 (Cohen and Coffin 1987, 3–5).

New Year, the Tournament of Roses Parade

The idea for the Tournament of Roses parade was developed toward the end of the 1880s as a midwinter community event that would show the rest of the country the utopian climate of an area [California] that produced roses and oranges in midwinter. The event was patterned after a European Festival of Roses. The Valley Hunt Club adopted the plan and on January 1, 1890, held a community parade and picnic. The parade was a line of decorated horse-drawn private carriages, with prizes awarded to the most beautifully decorated. Athletic events were held in the afternoon, and in the evening, a ball where winners of the events of the day and the most beautiful float were announced. Bicycle races were held from 1895 to 1898. The 1895 parade was so large that the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association was formed to administer it. By 1898 reporters from Eastern newspapers were sent to cover it (Cohen and Coffin 1987, 6).

New Year Calling

By the late 1880s, the custom of New Year's Day calling had become so pervasive and the visits by perfect strangers so numerous that hospitalities were often narrowed down to a lady's own circle of acquaintances. Even this boundary, in many instances, drew so many callers that some ladies were compelled either to close their doors for the day or to issue cards of welcome to a limited number of their gentlemen acquaintances. Some open houses offered liquor as refreshment and a number of young men were much more interested in getting intoxicated than in paying social respects. This became such a problem that, in 1886, *Social Etiquette in New York* advised ladies not to offer wine because it was dangerous for their acquaintances to partake of varied vintages, passing in and out of overheated drawing rooms. By the 1890s the tradition of New Year's Day open houses evolved into family calls and receptions for invited guests only.

—Dorothy Denneen Volo

Passover

Between 1882 and 1924, 2.3 million Jews immigrated to the United States, most fleeing persecution in Eastern Europe and Russia. Famine in Lithuania and the assassination of Czar Alexander the II in 1891 led to the forced retirement of Jews outside Russian villages, onerous taxes on kosher foods, and efforts to undermine Jewish culture. Eastern European Jews immigrating to the United States felt a close affinity to the Biblical Jews fleeing slavery in Egypt. It is not surprising that among the many festivals of Judaism, Passover, which commemorated this exodus, became the most frequently observed Jewish holiday in the United States.

The new Jewish immigrants stood in stark contrast to the comparatively secular and assimilated German Jewish population already settled in the United States. The new immigrants were more orthodox and more concerned with preserving Jewish customs and culture. For many Jews, being able to openly observe Jewish customs and dietary rules without discrimination was the very definition of freedom.

The new immigrants and the more assimilated immigrants, together, redefined the Passover ritual. Passover celebrations in the United States commemorated the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, but they also commemorated the delivery of contemporary Jews from their persecution in Europe. The Passover celebration became a means of feeling connected to Jewish history and Jewish identity amid strong forces urging assimilation in the United States. Moreover, Passover reinforced a sense of solidarity among American Jews from different European origins.

At the seder, families follow a written script called the Haggadah, which includes parts for all family members, especially children. It is comprised of prayers and stories explaining the significance of the holiday and meaning of each element of the traditional seder meal. The matzah, unleavened flat bread, symbolizes the haste of the Jews leaving Egypt who could not wait for their bread to rise. Bitter herbs are meant to remind celebrants of the suffering of the Jews. The front door was to be left open so that the prophet Elijah, as well as the poor and hungry, could join the feast. Families that did not ordinarily observe Jewish dietary law often tried to comply during the seven-day Passover festival. This meant that they only ate kosher meat, which had been ceremonially slaughtered under the supervision of a rabbi. They ate no leavened bread nor any dish that may have absorbed unleavened bread. They did not eat dairy and meat products together, or even allow the same bowls, serving dishes, or utensils to touch both.

The week before Passover became a week of intense work as housewives prepared for the feast. Women were expected to do a thorough spring cleaning. In addition to the usual tasks of washing down walls, beating rugs, and airing furniture, Jewish women were expected to hold utensils over a fire and boil glasses for three days to purify the dishes from any contamination. In wealthy homes, the everyday dishes were packed away, while traditional Passover dishes were brought out from storage (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004, 136–38).

Independence Day

As the century drew to a close, fewer organized Independence Day celebrations took place. The Fourth of July came to be the unofficial beginning of summer, and it marked the exodus of thousands of city residents to the country for the season. It became the day when amusement parks opened and steamship lines, railroads, and streetcars began to offer service to places where people could get away from the city for the day. Streetcar companies frequently built amusement parks at the end of the line as a means of increasing business. Opening day was often marked by fireworks and celebration. In 1890 Rocky Point Amusement Park in Rhode Island advertised a simulation of the "Bombardment of Paris" in the Franco-Prussian War. The booming fireworks and deafening artillery were accompanied by music from several bands (Appelbaum 1989, 119). Circuses, balloon ascensions, and traveling menageries all drew large crowds. The historical nature of the Wild West shows made them a particular favorite.

Many cities began the day by ringing bells and firing a cannon, followed by programs featuring parades, band concerts, ball games, regattas, and bicycle races. The day ended with evening fireworks. Families with summer retreats invited friends and family to spend the day. Many put on private fireworks displays at the end of the day. The increase in the variety of summer activities available and the decrease of political orations during the Industrial Age moved Independence Day from a patriotic commemoration to a summer holiday. Many important events were inaugurated Fourth of July. Politicians kicked off campaigns and community projects were either started or unveiled on the Fourth.

As Independence Day approached fireworks shops opened in every city offering prismatic whirligigs, batteries of stars, volcanoes, Pharaoh's serpents, and incendiary devices of every imaginable variety. These establishments were as busy as shops on Christmas Eve. By the turn of the century Fourth of July fireworks was a $10 million a year industry (Appelbaum 1989, 125). For days in advance the sound of fireworks could be heard building with intensity as the holiday approached. Maiming, fires and even deaths due to fireworks became increasingly more common. Fire departments stood on alert to combat fires small and large. Efforts to regulate fireworks were met with limited support because they had become synonymous with the day. When the mayor of Cincinnati banned the shooting of fireworks and pistols in the streets for the Fourth of July in 1875, he was condemned by public opinion and ignored by city police. Some cities were so indulgent of the use of fireworks that they suspended regulations prohibiting the use of gunfire within their limits just for the holiday (Appelbaum 1989, 129).

Thanksgiving

President Benjamin Harrison epitomized the ideal Thanksgiving of the Industrial Age in his 1891 proclamation. He suggested that among the appropriate observations of the day were rest from toil, worship in a public congregation, the renewal of family ties around the fireside, and helpfulness for those of bodily or spiritual need (Appelbaum 1984, 168–69). Reunions became a hallmark of the holiday as well. Many families had moved far away from home, but railroads made it possible for families to travel to be together for the holiday.

Churches were open for services on Thanksgiving morning, and many people attended service to offer grateful prayer. Some people used the occasion to display the bounty for which they were presumably thankful. With stores closed on this day of leisure and prayer, well-to-do ladies and gentlemen would promenade or ride in their carriages down city avenues leading to fashionable churches dressed in velvets and furs. These churches were opulently decorated in Victorian style. Pittsburgh's Trinity Episcopal Church was trimmed with grape-leaf garlands and bunches of grapes from every projection. Sheaves of grain were arrayed throughout the sanctuary and the baptismal font overflowed with fruits and vegetables. The produce was donated to hospital kitchens following the service.

While society and working families alike attended services according to their beliefs in Jewish synagogues, Mormon temples, and Protestant churches of virtually every denomination, Catholic churches did not honor the day. Thanksgiving had its roots as a Protestant holy day, and the Catholic Church refused to observe the day as such. The Catholic Church had been willing to hold services on civilly proclaimed days for special victories or for peace after the Civil War but not for a day that was started by Protestants. Although some priests individually acknowledged Thanksgiving during the regular daily mass, Catholics were generally discouraged from observing the day. In 1884 the Plenary Council of Catholic Bishops in America meeting in Baltimore commended the holiday to its congregations. Cardinal

Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore, brought Thanksgiving services into harmony with other denominations (Appelbaum 1984, 166–67).

The secularism of the 1880s and 1890s and the association of Thanksgiving with home and family led to a decrease in attendance at church services. To combat half-empty churches on Thanksgiving, some denominations banded together to hold a Thanksgiving union service. Virtually every city in the country held union services, some encompassing two or three denominations and others like the annual service at the Detroit Opera House included most of the Protestant denominations in the city (Appelbaum 1984, 168).

Thanksgiving was a new holiday to many who had no traditional customs for its celebration and who were not particularly religious. After the holiday feasting many sought livelier diversions for the remainder of the day. Thanksgiving matinees became popular. Even small town theaters or opera houses would be sure to book touring players, singers, or musicians for the day. Thanksgiving balls also became popular. Every segment of society sponsored them and they were well attended. Debutantes danced in mansion ballrooms, while country girls graced farmhouse parlors and town halls. Traditional balls were held by the Elks, the German Barber's and Hairdresser's Association, the Independent Grocer's Guard, the Masons, the Knights of Macabees, and the Steuben Rifle Society (Appelbaum 1984, 178).

Sporting activities also became popular on Thanksgiving. Hunting was a natural activity as some people tried to catch the main course for the feast, but many just went for the experience. The turkey shoot was another popular activity. Some formats used tethered live birds, but many others used paper targets with a turkey prize going to the winner. Promoters sponsored both bicycle and foot races. The walking race was another popular event. Participants walked very fast taking care never to lift both feet off the ground simultaneously as that would have constituted running and meant elimination from the competition. Thanksgiving became the day for the big game for schoolboy and football players. Campus gridirons from coast-to-coast featured local competitions such as Tulane versus Louisiana State in New Orleans or Case versus Western Reserve in Cleveland. Fans wore chrysanthemums in their teams' colors. When flowers did not naturally grow in school colors, florists tinted the flowers or tied them with appropriately colored ribbons. For a while in the mid-1880s the Yale-Harvard game was played at the New York Polo Grounds. After Harvard students attending the 1887 game displayed such uproarious enthusiasm during their New York visit, the faculty put an end to the annual competition. The event then became the Yale-Princeton game. By the 1890s traditionalists began to complain about how football had displaced the family gathering on Thanksgiving, and some clergymen even announced that services would be over early enough to permit fans to get to the game (Appelbaum 1984, 196–202).

New York was home to a unique tradition on Thanksgiving, the fantasticals were neighborhood-based organizations of young men who dressed in flamboyant costumes and paraded the streets on Thanksgiving. While the origins of the custom are unclear, it is likely that they relate to Guy Fawkes celebrations, which were observed by some New Yorkers until the early nineteenth century. Fantasticals would awaken citizens with loud blasts of fish horns. The police estimated that there were more than 50 fantastical companies that paraded each year sporting such colorful monikers as Ham Guard Warriors, Gilhooley Musketeers, Original Hounds of Eighth Ward, Hamilton Rangers, Oli Bolis, Sleetfoot Slenderfoot Army, Gentlemen's Sons of the Eighteenth Ward, and Secondhand Lumberdealers. An 1881 *Times* review of the event described about 150 participants in coaches, on horseback or on foot, dressed in fancy costumes, cheered on by crowds who flocked to see them. The costumes were described as having been drawn from ancient and modern history of every country and included robbers, pirates, fiends, devils, imps, fairies, priests, bishops, gypsies, flower girls, kings, clowns, princes, and jesters as well as prominent figures of the day. In 1893, one company came riding bicycles. Following the parade, the revelers would gather for rowdy picnics in parks and amusement parks near the city's edge. Late in the afternoon the fantasticals returned to their home wards where they danced at gala balls through the night (Appelbaum 1984, 187–89).

A second Thanksgiving custom unique to New York was the target company. These quasi-military clubs, which were more subdued than the fantasticals and from socially respectable families, existed for the sole purpose of parading toward the edge of the city where they engaged in target shooting for prizes. Dressed in well-polished high-topped boots, black pants, and uniform jackets in company colors, the soldiers-for-a day were very impressive. Clubs were generally named for their captain as in Delaney's Light Guard or for their trade like the Carpet and Furniture Guard. While some of the group might have joined the fantasticals, most returned to their families for dinner following brief refreshment (Appelbaum 1984, 190).

Running along the streets to cheer on the fantasticals and target companies were the ragamuffins, boys and girls who ran through the New York streets dressed in outlandish costumes asking passersby "Anything for Thanksgiving?" In return, they received pennies from the grownups. Ragamuffin costumes were made usually from cast-off clothing from elders. Some children sported commercially produced masks but black youths often whitened their face with talcum and white youths blackened their faces with coal dust (Appelbaum 1984, 190–93).

Christmas

Christmas greeting cards became popular in England during the 1860s. Businessmen found greeting cards a good way to reinforce business relationships. The cards were also welcomed by women who could send them in place of certain traditional holiday visits, freeing up more time for what had become elaborate holiday preparations. The practice caught on in the United States a little later. German immigrant Louis Prang perfected the process of multicolor printing in 1874 and began printing Christmas cards in 8 different colors and sometimes as many as 20. The cards were far more beautiful and expensive than their British counterparts. Some were trimmed with silk fringe and tasseled cords. His Yuletide greetings featured floral arrangements of roses, daisies, gardenias, geraniums, and apple blossoms, but the images generally had little to do with Christmas. In 1880 Prang began a yearly design competition to attract the most talented artists. Prizes were substantial with first place winning as much as $1,000.

By 1881, Prang was producing more than five million Christmas cards each year despite the fact that some cost as much as a dollar each. Other early cards were more elaborate, coming in the shape of fans, stars, or scrolls. Others were cut into the shapes of bells, birds, candles, and even plum puddings. Some folded like maps, fitted together as puzzles or even had pictures that could be animated by pulling a tab; others squealed or squeaked. Pop-up cards revealed tiny mangers or skaters with flying scarves gliding around a mirrored pond. Americans took to Christmas cards, but not to Prang's. He went out of business in 1890. Cards such as these remained popular until the turn of the century when cheap German postcards flooded the market.

While many Germans brought Christmas ornaments made from tin, lead, wax, and glass with them when they immigrated, most American trees were decorated with homemade decorations. Beginning around 1870 imported decorations became available in German communities and in a few variety and toy stores and catalogs. In 1880 F. W. Woolworth agreed to display a few glass ornaments in his store. To his amazement, they sold out within a couple of days. By 1890 Woolworth was traveling to Germany to procure a variety of ornaments and soon most households had at least some glass ornaments (Time Life Books 1987, 65).

Virtually all of the ornaments were imported from Germany where entire families worked year-round making them. The first ornaments were very heavy pieces shaped as balls and fruits and were plainly colored. Within a few years more delicate and intricate items were available. Miniature trumpets made from twisted straws of glass, handblown birds, and molded acorns were highly prized. Silver-foiled tinsel, wired tinsel, and tiny glass beads on strings were available for additional shine. There were also intricate embossed cardboard ornaments detailed with gold or silver. Most were two-dimensional, but some were three-dimensional and had hand-painted details. By the turn of the century the variety of commercially produced ornaments was staggering. Trees were so heavily laden with glass, tin, paper, and sweets there was hardly room for the candles. By this time, some families used Christmas lights, which were glass sided lanterns that held tiny oil-burning wicks that floated on water (Time Life Books 1987, 65).

In 1882, a mere three years after the world's first practical light bulb was invented by Thomas Edison, Edward Johnson, an associate of Edison's, electrically lit a Christmas tree for the first time. The tree was in the parlor of Johnson's New York City home, located in the first section of that city to be electrically wired. The display created quite a stir. A reporter for the *Detroit Post and Tribune* described it as having 80 red, white, and blue lights all encased in dainty glass eggs that provided a continuous twinkling of dancing colors. The tree was kept revolving by a little hidden crank below the floor which was also turned by electricity. In 1890, Edison published a small 28 page promotional brochure that suggested there were few forms of decoration more beautiful and pleasing than miniature incandescent lamps placed among flowers, or interwoven in garlands or festoons; and provided suggestions for decorating Christmas trees or conservatories in what might be the first commercial mention of electrically lighting a Christmas tree (Time Life Books 1987, 65–66).

One of the first gifts to be given to children was the gift book. The beautifully engraved tomes were elegantly bound in watered silk or embossed leather. The books came with a presentation page where the gift giver could write an appropriate message to the recipient. Gift books became enormously popular in the 1830s, but the craze lost its momentum by the Civil War. After the war, factories were producing all kinds of toys, dolls and dollhouses, and stuffed animals. Toy stores had sprouted up in all large cities, and in more rural locations dry goods stores and mail-order catalogs provided a wide selection of gifts.

As the century drew to a close, there was great concern that the holiday was becoming too commercial or as one editor in an 1890 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* called it a "festival of store-keepers." Period descriptions of stores described Christmas Eve streets crowded with shoppers carrying parcels of all sizes and descriptions. A 1892 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* advised readers to begin Christmas shopping early when goods were fresh, shops free of crowds, and salespeople unfatigued (O'Neil 1981, 1–2).

Magazines offered suggested gift lists. Presents such as doilies, silver tea balls and tea strainers, picture frames, dressing table mirrors, boxes, fans, and jewelry were all said to be welcome by ladies. Gifts for men included cigars, cigarette cases, scarves, mufflers, and umbrellas (O'Neil 1981, 2). An 1879 issue of *Harper's Bazaar* advised that men did not like pretty trifles and decorations that delight ladies and that knickknacks and items made of china were generally useless to them. They suggested that men were always in need of handkerchiefs, and one that had been embroidered with the name or monogram of the recipient, particularly if embroidered with the hair of the giver, would be especially prized (Time Life Books 1987, 151).

The wonder ball was often at the top of the gift list. A wonder ball was a ball of yarn carefully unraveled and rewound with many little gifts hidden inside, which would be revealed as the yarn was consumed by the knitting. It would be especially welcomed by grandmothers who enjoyed knitting. In addition grandmothers would surely enjoy a footstool, pot of primroses, a folding fruit knife, or a screen to protect her from draughts.

Boys were likely to enjoy receiving tool boxes, boxing gloves, sleds, skates, stamps and stamp albums, lanterns, jackknives, adventure books, cap pistols. and marbles. Little girls, it was said, rejoiced in gifts of fans, jewelry, sachet, monogrammed note paper, books, a live canary, and of course, a doll or two (O'Neil 1981, 2–3).

In addition to shops, many women purchased gifts from charity bazaars. The crafting of Christmas gifts was begun far ahead of the season as ladies made gifts not only for friends and family but also to supply Fancy Fairs at local churches. These fairs not only served as a form of recreation, but they also raised money for worthy causes. Handmade gifts were very popular whether they were made by the giver or purchased from a fair. Ladies' magazines were excellent sources for patterns for these items such as watchcases, chamois eyeglass cleaners, slipper bags, sewing workbags, dainty boxes, and sachets. The appreciation of handmade items was a reaction to the abundance of machine-made products that swept the market. Gifts of food such as preserves, jams, and jellies made in the summer and candies, which could be made at anytime, were also popular (O'Neil 1981, 5–6).

When it came to gift giving, everyone was remembered, especially servants and service providers. Middle-class families also assembled gifts boxes for the poor. As the century progressed, various charitable organizations grew to meet the needs of a complex urban society. The Salvation Army was most closely associated with Christmas. The first Christmas kettle appeared in 1891 when a Salvation Army worker in San Francisco used a kitchen pot to dramatize the need for food (Time Life Books 1987, 33). By 1900 most of the traditions we associate with contemporary American celebrations of Christmas were in place.

—*Dorothy Denneen Volo*

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Adams, James Truslow, ed. *Album of American History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

Alexander, George E. *Lawn Tennis: Its Founders and Its Early Days*. Lynn, MA: H. O. Zimman, 1974.

Appelbaum, Diana Karter. *Thanksgiving: An American Holiday, An American History*. New York: Facts on File, 1984.

———. *The Glorious Fourth: An American Holiday, An American History*. New York: Facts on File, 1989.

Bellinger, Martha Fletcher. *A Short History of the Theater*. New York: Henry Holt, 1927.

Bierley, Paul E. *John Philip Sousa, American Phenomenon*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973.

———. *The Works of John Philip Sousa*. Columbus, Ohio: Integrity Press, 1984.

Burke, Edmund H. *The History of Archery*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971 [c1957].

Cary, John H., and Julius Weinberg, eds. *The Social Fabric, American Life from the Civil War to the Present*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Cohen, Hennig, and Tristram Potter Coffin, eds. *The Folklore of American Holidays*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research Company, 1987.

Collins, Frank D. *Popular Sports: Their Origin and Development*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally & Company, 1935.

Elliott, Jock. *Inventing Christmas: How Our Holiday Came to Be*. New York: Abrams, 2002.

Foner, Philip S. *American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth-Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

Furia, Philip. *The Poets of Tin Pan Alley: A History of America's Great Lyricists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Grattan, C. Hartley. *The Three Jameses: A Family of Minds*. New York: New York University Press, 1962.

Hayward, John. *Gazetteer of the United States*. Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffant and Co., 1853.

Heath, Ernest Gerald. *A History of Target Archery*. Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1973.

Hewitt, Barnard. *Theater USA, 1668 to 1957*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin, *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Jansen, David. *Tin Pan Alley . . . The Golden Age of American Popular Music from 1886 to 1956*. New York: Fine, 1988.

Jenkins, Susan, and Linda Seward. *The American Quilt Story: The How-To and Heritage of a Craft Tradition*. Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1991.
King, Gilbert. *The Art of Golf Antiques: An Illustrated History of Clubs, Balls, and Accessories*. Philadelphia, PA: Courage Books, 2001.
Levin, Alexandra Lee. "Miss Knight Abroad," *American Heritage* XI, no 3 (April 1960): 15.
McMorris, Penny. *Crazy Quilts*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1984.
Noel, Evan Baillie. *A History of Tennis*. Mansfield Center, CT: Martino Publishers, 2007.
O'Neil, Sunny. *The Gift of Christmas Past*. Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1981.
Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986.
Peper, George. *Golf in America: The First One Hundred Years*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1988.
Rader, Benjamin. *American Sports: From the Age of the Folk Games to the Age of the Spectators*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.
Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
Time Life Books. *Time Life Book of Christmas*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1987.
Twain, Mark (Samuel Clemens). *The Innocents Abroad*. New York: Penguin Putnam, 1980.
Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Wechsberg, Joseph. *The Lost World of the Great Spas*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1979.
Weiskopf, Herman. *The Perfect Game: The World of Bowling*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. 1978.
Weissman, Judith Reiter, and Wendy Lavitt. *Labors of Love: American Textiles and Needlework, 1650–1930*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

Religious Life

MORALITY

Social Missions and Philanthropy

The Industrial Age oversaw an important shift from an essentially rural values base to an urban one. This paralleled a substantial shift in power where the cities came to dominate the nation economically, politically, and culturally. Cities became magnets for those seeking not only work but also excitement, amusement, and diversion. Operas, symphonies, and museums attracted the elite; ballparks, amusement parks, and legitimate theater fascinated the middle classes; and dance halls, beer gardens, and vaudeville riveted the attention of the poor. Ministers, church prelates, and community leaders feared that the new urban culture would undo a half century of increasing moral growth that had spawned the Holiness Movement and the popularity of religion-based and self-improvement vacations. One of the indicators that their worries were not unfounded was an increase in premarital sexual activity evidenced by a rising rate of bridal pregnancy and illegitimate births. The shift to an urban-dominated cultural paradigm seemed to some observers to announce a wider rebellion against Victorian-style mores that promised increased incidents of crime, drunkenness, lewdness, and social disorder.

A number of volunteer missionary organizations were begun in the second half of the century in response to the need to address the rising incidence of immorality, intemperance, and falling religiosity, especially in the cities. The term *Social Gospel* came to be applied to a way of thinking that linked religious obligation to social progress. It urged that the rights of labor be respected and that industrial peace be made between the forces of labor and capitalism.

The rapid growth of American industry in the nineteenth century brought with it a host of social problems that posed a serious moral dilemma for the established church organizations. The concentration of wealth in the hands of just a few American families in the last quarter century threatened the general political equity that had been won since the Civil War. Industrial mechanization had left workers feeling insignificant and powerless, and the conditions of labor had deteriorated to the point that laborers had taken to the strike as a countermeasure. Bloody strikes that garnered national attention had taken place in 1877, 1886, 1892, and 1894. The established churches were thereby alerted to the need to address some of the underlying moral aspects of the social and economic problems that faced working men and women, yet their congregations (and financial support) came largely from the middle and upper classes.

In 1901, Andrew Carnegie sold Carnegie Steel to J. P. Morgan, who was organizing U.S. Steel. After the sale Carnegie was over $200 million richer—possibly the richest man in the world at the time. Carnegie, an adolescent emigrant from Scotland in 1848, understood the difference between rich and poor having begun his working life as a bobbin-boy in a cotton factory. When only in his 30s, he went into business for himself making steel, and writing essays for the newspapers and periodicals on a variety of subjects: foreign policy, the gold standard, banking, tariffs, politics, education, war imperialism, disarmament, and golf. Yet his most famous essay (actually a series) was his "Gospel of Wealth." Herein, he developed a coherent and compelling case for the moral obligation of millionaires to give away their fortunes during their lifetimes for the betterment of society. "The man who dies rich dies disgraced," he wrote (Nasaw 2006, viii). William Jewett Tucker, a liberal theologian critiquing Carnegie's ideas, was alarmed by the concept of such vast wealth continuing in the hands of so few great men as Carnegie, Morgan, Rockefeller, or Vanderbilt. "I can conceive of no greater mistake, more disastrous in the end to religion if not to society, than that of trying to make charity do the work of justice" (Nasaw 2006, xiii).

Carnegie would remain in the public eye for the remainder of his life—as author, millionaire, philanthropist, opponent of the Spanish-American War, and peace activist. He would preach the "Gospel of Wealth" in hundreds of speeches and personal appearances on both sides of the Atlantic, and publish it in pamphlet and book form. In promulgating his ideas, he was advancing an antidemocratic gospel that was almost feudal in its paternalism. Workers and socialists organized demonstrations against him, and claimed that they were being denied that which was rightfully theirs, a just wage, decent hours, and a stake in the profits.

A major moral issue of the period, and the focus of much of the religious debate among the dominant religions, lay in a choice between the Social Gospel of the reformers and the working classes, and the "Gospel of Wealth" that appealed to the philanthropy and good will of the new class of the self-made super-rich. In an age of exploitation many of the normal habits of moral conduct were sacrificed to the expediency of making money leaving some of the most successful businessmen of the age tagged with the title of Robber Baron.

Thorstein Veblen, a critic of American society writing in 1899, commented on the difference between how the great thieves and the petty criminals of the age were viewed. "In modern communities, where the dominant economic and legal feature of the community's life is the institution of private property, one of the salient features of the code of morals is the sacredness of property.... Most offenses against property, especially offenses of appreciable magnitude, come under this head.... The thief or swindler who has gained great wealth by his delinquency has a better chance than the small thief of escaping the rigorous penalty of the law; and some good repute accrues to him from his increased wealth and from his spending the irregularly acquired possessions in a seemly manner. A well-bred expenditure of his booty especially appeals with great effect to persons of a cultivated sense of the proprieties, and goes far to mitigate the sense of moral turpitude with which his dereliction is viewed by them. It may also be noted—and is more immediately to the point—that we are all inclined to condone an offense against property in the case of a man whose motive is the worthy one of providing the means of a decent manner of life for his wife and children" (Veblen 1994, 72–73).

—*James M. Volo*

Bridal Pregnancy

Prenuptial sexual activity, as indicated by the rate of bridal pregnancies and out-of-wedlock (illegitimate) births, is commonly considered a measure of morality—at least among the generation of young adults. Unlike the generation that had grown to young adulthood in the decade after the Civil War—who had generally worked and amused themselves at home—young working-class urbanites of the Industrial Age had unprecedented access to public amusements and the leisure time to enjoy them. Added to this leisure time was an increase in wage-paying jobs for young men and the increasing availability of decent employment for young, working-class women in factories, offices, and retail stores. This provided both genders with greater autonomy than their parents and grandparents had ever hoped to enjoy.

With more independence and money, young working-class women were able to exercise greater control over their activities than many of their upper-class and middle-class sisters, who did not earn a wage and remained under the scrutiny of their parents. Young working men also experienced an increased independence from their parents because they were no longer dependent on the good will of their family for their living.

Although it had been shown that young women could be successfully integrated into a work setting outside the home (generally as domestic servants or textile workers), the general employment of women in the male-dominated surroundings of factories and office buildings had remained controversial right through the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. Such criticism was not so much a contempt for the ability or value of women as workers, but rather a proclamation of men's own strongly felt social duty to support and protect the morals of their wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters. Even those men with liberal attitudes toward the rights of labor spoke of "being sickened by the spectacle of wives and daughters—and, even worse, single girls—leaving their preordained positions as homemakers" to take jobs outside the "cult of domesticity" (Wilentz 1984, 249). Factories that successfully attracted women employees were often run like corporate convents to reassure parents that their daughters' reputations would be safe from domineering bosses, managers, and male coworkers—an early warning sign of the ubiquitous nature of sexual harassment in the workplace (Volo and Volo 2007, 353–54).

By the 1890s, however, industrialization, women's rights, modernism, and other factors had combined to relieve somewhat the burden of parental vigilance over the interactions of young unmarried men and women. Unfortunately, there developed a system of treating that that had wide-ranging implications. Often young women could not afford the urban amusements they desired because they still earned less than young men, so the men would treat women to shows, dances, vaudeville, and amusement parks to gain their favor. Most of these interactions were innocent enough by the day's standards. Yet some young men had expectations of sexual exchange for their money. The young women were not simply passive victims in these situations, as many middle-class reformers claimed, but active agents in negotiating treats for sex (Shrock 2004, 39).

Premarital sexual activity rose substantially among this working-class subculture. After hitting a low of 10 percent at mid-century, premarital pregnancies soared to 23 percent in the 1880s signaling a sexual revolution that would culminate in the roaring 1920s (Shrock 2004, 5). Keep in mind that this was an era when doctors and scientists considered masturbation one of the greatest evils afflicting youth and a source of serious moral decay. Premarital sex was considered infinitely worse. So, without a doubt, one of the most serious rebellions from middle-class values was this youthful working-class flouting of Victorian sexual boundaries. Middle-class ideologies feared urban working-class youth not just for their gangs and violence, but also for their moral decadence. These youngsters were a far cry from the visions of playful innocence that middle-class parents conjured up about their own children (Shrock 2004, 39).

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

The Salvation Army was one of the organizations to take up the work of the Social Gospel. It was begun in 1865 in London by Rev. William Booth, who gave up the comfort of his pulpit and his living to take the gospel into the streets where he could reach out to the poor, the homeless, and the hungry. His original idea was to preach the Gospel to the abandoned, destitute, and indigent, and send them to the established churches as converts to the hopeful word of God. He quickly found out, however, that neither the converted street people nor the regular churchgoers were comfortable with such an arrangement. He, therefore, founded a church especially for them—the East London Christian Mission.

Thereafter, his wife, Catherine, began to be more active in the work of the church. Though she was extremely nervous, she enjoyed working with young people and found the courage to speak in adult meetings. It was the beginning of a tremendous ministry, as people were greatly challenged by her preaching. She also spoke to people in their homes, especially to alcoholics, whom she helped to make a new start in life. Often she held so-called cottage meetings for converts. In 1878, having enlisted their eight children as soldier volunteers to the cause, the Booth's changed the name of the mission organization to the Salvation Army. Two of their offspring, Bramwell and Evangeline, later became Generals of the Salvation Army.

By 1900 the Salvation Army had spread around the world, and soon had missions in 36 countries including the United States. With members who were well organized and dedicated, the Army provided a number of much needed social services within a religious context. These included women's services, food kitchens, hospital care, and a day nursery—the first of its kind.

Early proponents of the Social Gospel in America, like Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch, had warned of dire results if some steps were not taken to alleviate the ills of poverty, overwork, and underpayment that were plaguing the working classes. Bloody confrontations like the national railway strike of 1877, the Haymarket Square bombing of 1886, and the Homestead strike of 1892 seemed to bear out their predictions with troops and Pinkerton detectives firing on and beating workers.

Gladden, a Congregational minister from New York, is recognized as the first leading religious leader to support the unionization of workers. As acting editor of the *New York Independent* he campaigned against the political machine of Boss Tweed and was a leader of the Progressive Party. Gladden was the author of 40 books, many concerning religion; but in 1876, he wrote *Working People and their Employers*, a moving work concerning wages, unions, and working conditions and the application of Christian law to labor issues. He was president and vice president of the American Missionary Association (1894–1901) and was made Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches in 1905. The University of Notre Dame honored him with doctorate in recognition of his stance against anti-Catholicism.

Walter Rauschenbusch, another early proponent of the Social Gospel, was the pastor of a German Baptist Church in a section of New York City known as Hell's Kitchen. After observing the difficult circumstances under which his parishioners lived and worked, he concluded that the problem lay in the capitalistic system under which industry and millionaires flourished and the poor struggled and starved. Rauschenbusch began reading the works of prominent liberals and socialists, and turned to the idea that the Church must work out the problem of social reform while awaiting the return of Christ. Economic salvation, righteous action, and collective justice were necessary to alleviate social problems. His was a practical ministry, meeting the political, physical, and spiritual needs of the weak and destitute in Hell's Kitchen. In 1892, he formed a nondenominational organization known as the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, which placed a social emphasis on the obligations of Christian ministry and sought to infuse a religious spirit into secular reform movements.

The purpose of adherents to the Social Gospel concept was to correct the economic excesses and moral violations of a Victorian age that had too highly valued personal wealth and industrial expansion. The basic tenets of the Social Gospel concept were the establishment of a just wage, reasonable working hours, and a profit-sharing mechanism for the multitude of workers. It also sought the eradication of unrestrained economic competition, unfettered capitalism, and the virtually unlimited concentration of wealth in the hands of a few very rich men. Although the product of liberal and progressive thought the Social Gospel was not an overt attack on capitalism and industry (in the mode of Social Marxism), but a call for reform from within the established bastions of Christianity to devote themselves to instilling ethical obligations into a society that undervalued its workers.

The Social Gospel generally combined an idealistic view of human nature with a belief that God was at work in propagating social change, in creating moral order, and in instituting social justice. The tendency of its adherents was to view a just society as a human endeavor separate from a biblical divine judgment upon the moral foibles of the individual. Some of those who shaped Protestant social thought adopted their ideas from the tenets of an increasingly popular political socialism, and many were bold enough to suggest that the church replace the original emphasis of the gospel as a path to the Kingdom of God with a focus on meeting the worldly needs of the people. Among the many reforms addressed by adherents to the idea of a Social Gospel were temperance and the complete prohibition of alcohol; women's suffrage and ministry; social purity (against prostitution, lewdness, licentiousness, and gambling); the defense of marriage and family values; health, housing, and educational reform; and internal reform of church organization. The Social Gospel movement brought together well-disposed people from many walks of life, and it affected farmers, laborers, women, and other reform groups. The various adherents to the Social Gospel often sought to state their moral obligations to society in terms of their own particular theology or religious doctrine.

Classical Protestantism, with its reliance on predestination, had largely accepted the idea of the separation of church and state to the point that it eschewed the promotion of active demonstrations or deliberate programs of social uplifting for the masses. At the very time that traditional Protestant churches needed to address these problems in a corporate and collective fashion, evangelicalism had taken many of its most active adherents down the road of individual morality and personal religiosity. The heritage of the frontier preacher and the revival camp was far removed from the problems of industrialization and urban socialization. Moreover, as poor immigrants swelled the cities of America, middle- and upper-class Protestants fled to the suburbs where immigrants and the impoverished were unlikely to settle or to be seen.

The rise and appeal for the upper classes of the concept of Social Darwinism, as expressed by the English philosopher Herbert Spencer, argued for the survival of the fittest, giving an additional justification to allowing market forces to eliminate the weak. This lack of moral discipline would have horrified the Protestants of an earlier century. Unfortunately the established churches hesitated in giving moral leadership in the crisis until it had grown to inexcusable proportions.

It was rather the early interposition of organizations like the Salvation Army, the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and the YMCA and YWCA that launched efforts to reach those on the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. Roman Catholic churches focused their work on the inner city where Irish, and later Italian Slavic, and other immigrants of the Catholic faith were likely to settle. Methodists and Lutherans developed the institution of the deaconess—roughly a Protestant version of the Catholic nun—to care for the needy. A Presbyterian synod proclaimed its dedication to the Social Gospel in the following way. "The great ends of the church are the proclamation of the gospel for the salvation of humankind; the shelter, nurture, and spiritual fellowship of the children of God; the maintenance of divine worship; the preservation of truth; the promotion of social righteousness; and the exhibition of the Kingdom of Heaven to the world" (Rogers and Blade 1998, 181).

Before the end of the century, the Social Gospel had gained entrance into the curriculum of many seminaries, and it soon gained official recognition from the leading Protestant denominations. Sociology—a science dealing with the deliberate study of social issues first named by Auguste Comte in 1837—gained wide acceptance in the 1880s and 1890s as a legitimate academic discipline, and by the end of the century it was being introduced as a tool for use by parish clergy. Adherents to the tenets of a Social Gospel were primary proponents in the forming of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908, the forerunner of the National Council of Churches that exists today.

The initial response of Catholic leaders to the social problems of their flock was to remain aloof from any Protestant-sponsored humanitarian crusades. Instead, they developed their own sectarian institutions including schools, orphanages, homes for the destitute, abandoned, and aged, and a system of Catholic hospitals. In the 1880s, however, James Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop John Ireland—convinced that the Catholic church should more deeply involve itself in social issues—began preaching the need for working men to be given a *living wage* that would allow them to support their families and themselves. They were supported by the foundational work of sociologists like Ernst Engle, Charles Booth, and B. Seebohm Rowntree, who had formulated the idea of a *standard of living* in which family income was compared to family expenditure as a measure of poverty.

Citing the extreme unemployment and poverty in his parish as a reason for breaking with Church policy as it was then constituted, Father Edward McGlynn actively supported Henry George, a socially progressive candidate for mayor of New York best known for his support of a virtually confiscatory Single Tax on the wealthy. McGlynn was initially suspended from his position by the archdiocese for his involvement in radical politics, but he was later restored to his parish.

In 1891, Pope Leo XIII published a papal encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* in which he initiated a new attitude for the Catholic church with respect to the whole issue of labor, wages, and social justice. Although late in coming, the encyclical marked an important change in church policy involving economic and social issues. Private property remained inviolable and socialism was condemned but labor unions were sanctioned and government regulation of business was endorsed. The pope placed great emphasis on the role of private charity and philanthropy.

—James M. Volo

THE GOSPEL OF WEALTH

In 1889, Andrew Carnegie published an essay entitled the "Gospel of Wealth" in which he described the responsibility of philanthropy by the new class of the super-rich. Carnegie was a member of this limited group of people. Carnegie's essay was an undisguised response to the growing popularity of the Social Gospel. Moreover, Henry George had attacked the super-rich in *Progress and Poverty* (1879), and Edward Bellamy had called for a socialist utopia with a nationalization and public ownership of industry in his novel *Looking Backward* (1888). The success and popularity of these works indicated the extent to which there was a deep concern about the tremendous changes that were rocking the foundations of American society in the Industrial Age. Thoughtful persons were concerned by the concentration of wealth in so few hands, and Carnegie came forward to defend the traditional American faith in individual freedom and the just rewards of enterprise.

As an industrial millionaire and economic potentate Carnegie's position as an unbiased commentator should have been compromised, but after his retirement he had a remarkable record of personal accomplishment and generous philanthropy having established hundreds of libraries in communities across the nation and having endowed the arts and architecture. Carnegie viewed the social problems of the period as due to a deficiency in the proper administration of wealth rather than the imbalance of its distribution. "The ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship," he wrote (Nasaw 2006, 1).

Carnegie, and other so-called success writers, offered a few simple solutions to the complexities of work in the Industrial Age based on self-reliance and independence. Men had to gain success, not through socialism and utopianism, but through their own efforts. "The Socialist or Anarchist who seek to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilization itself rests," he wrote, "for civilization took its start from the day that the capable, industrious workman said to his incompetent and lazy fellow, 'If thou dost not sow, thou shalt not reap.' Thus ended primitive Communism by separating the drones from the bees" (Nasaw 2006, 4). Self-made business success was the ultimate goal, self-improvement was a necessity, and personal property was sacrosanct. The factory worker had his right to his hundreds of dollars in the savings bank, and the millionaire had the same right to his millions. The right to maintain his personal property for himself obligated the man of wealth to certain duties: "First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display and extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community" (Nasaw 2006, 10).

Writers like Carnegie often conflated moral and physical power, and then equated this power with material success. Carnegie devoted a large part of his essay to the advantages of poverty, and claimed that "poor boys [like himself in former times]... become the leaders in every branch of human action... the greatest and the best of our race have necessarily been nurtured in the bracing school of poverty—the only school capable of producing the supremely great, the genius" (Shrock 2004, 161).

Carnegie's "Gospel of Wealth" appeared in the *North American Review* in 1889 and took the view that a millionaire had an unquestioned right to accumulate a great fortune as long as he balanced this advantage with an obligation to dispose of it in socially beneficial ways instead of wasting it on frivolities. Carnegie based his philosophy on the observation that the heirs of large fortunes frequently squandered them in riotous living rather than nurturing and growing them. Even bequeathing one's fortune to charity was no guarantee that it would be used wisely. He disapproved of charitable giving that merely maintained the poor in their impoverished state, and urged a movement toward the creation of a new mode of giving that would create opportunities for the beneficiaries of the gift to better themselves. The gift should not be consumed, it should be productive of even greater wealth. The man of wealth was a trustee who brought his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer to the communal use of money.

The message of the "Gospel of Wealth" soon reached an enormous audience. It was published in England, and reprinted and discussed in magazines and newspapers in America. In a short time, people all over the Western world were discussing it. Carnegie's ideas earned him much praise, but they did not gain for him many followers. Yet one might almost trace the history of modern philanthropy from the advent of Carnegie's essay. When it became obvious to Carnegie that he could not give away his entire fortune in a responsible way in his lifetime, he established the Carnegie Foundation to continue his program of philanthropy after his death. The Rockefellers, Morgans, Vanderbilts, Mellons, and other wealthy families soon followed his ideas concerning the establishment of grants, foundations, and other charitable organizations. (Current and Garraty 1965, 212).

—*James M. Volo*

RELIGION

Religious Devotion and the Leisure Class

Social commentator Thorstein Veblen considered "devout observances," such as those proclaimed by the Holiness Movement, the Salvation Army, or the YMCA, an "addiction" of immense importance to "a community so devout as ours" because such devoutness curtailed the economic efficiency of the nation. As seen from the point of view of Social Darwinism, Veblen found devotion to religious "cults" a mark of "arrested spiritual development" (Veblen 1994, 181). "It appears that the devout habit to some extent progressively gains in scope and elaboration among those classes in the modern communities to whom wealth and leisure accrue in the most pronounced degree. In this as in other relations, the institution of a leisure class acts to conserve, and even to rehabilitate, that archaic type of human nature and those elements of archaic culture which the industrial evolution of society in its later stages acts to eliminate" (Veblen 1994, 201).

"The habit of mind which best lends itself to the purposes of a peaceable, industrial community, is that matter-of-fact temper which recognizes the value of material facts simply as opaque items in the mechanical sequence. It is that frame of mind which does not instinctively impute animistic propensity to things, nor resort to preternatural intervention as an explanation of perplexing phenomena, nor depend on an unseen hand to shape the course of events to human use." Among these preternatural agencies Veblen included "abstruse conceptions of a dissolving personality that shades off into the concept of quantitative casual sequence, such as the speculative, esoteric creeds of Christendom impute to the First Cause, Universal Intelligence, World Soul, or Spiritual Aspect" (Veblen 1994, 181).

Of course it remained true, according to Veblen, that in the average community a person's attitude toward devoutness was strongly shaped by the dominance of the population as a whole. "There [is] a devout habit of mind in any individual, not in excess of the average of the community, [that] must be taken simply as a detail of the prevalent habit of life. In this light, a devout individual in a devout community can not be called a case of reversion, since he is abreast of the average of the community. But seen from the point of view of the modern industrial situation, exceptional devoutness—devotional zeal that rises appreciably above the average pitch of devoutness in the community—may safely be set down as in all cases an atavistic [primitive] trait" (Veblen 1994, 186).

Veblen also targeted religious observances as modifying the economic efficiency of the community through a redistribution of goods and services from the industrial sector to the religious one. "The consumption of ceremonial paraphernalia required by any cult, in the way of shrines, temples, churches, vestments, sacrifices, sacraments, holiday attire, etc., serves no immediate material end. All this material apparatus may, therefore, with implying deprecation, be broadly characterized as items of conspicuous waste. The like is true in a general way of the personal service consumed under this head; such as priestly education, priestly service, pilgrimages, fasts, holidays, household devotions [by servants], and the like." At the same time

Veblen thought that these observances had become the vogue among the leisure class extending and protracting themselves as a characteristic feature of the group.

As an example Veblen included a criticism of those "lay religious organizations which occupy themselves with the spread of esoteric forms of faith . . . to further practical religion." He included herein the YMCA, the Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor, and any group that linked "the sporting temperament" with archaic devoutness through the "furtherance of athletic contests and similar games of chance and skill. . . . [that are] apparently useful as a means of proselytizing, and a means of sustaining the devout attitude in converts once made." He also found fault with both sacred and civil holidays as forms of "tribute levied on the body of the people . . . a tribute paid in vicarious leisure . . . and . . . imputed to the person or the fact for whose repute the holiday has been instituted." He was particularly critical of the institution of "Labor Days" in some communities as "a predatory method of a compulsory abstention from useful effort; and of "saints' days" and all those "various grades of priests and hierodules" who found it incumbent upon themselves to gain a living from the laity without the "debasing application [of] industry" (Veblen 1994, 187, 189).

Veblen's criticism was clearly biased against certain groups of persons in America. He writes, "This reversion to spectacular observances is not confined to the upper-class cults, although it finds its best exemplification and its highest accentuation in the high pecuniary and social altitudes. The cults of the lower-class devout portion of the community, such as Southern Negroes and the backward foreign elements of the population [immigrants], of course also show a strong inclination to ritual, symbolism, and spectacular effects; as might be expected from the antecedents and the cultural level of those classes. With these classes the prevalence of ritual and anthropomorphism are not so much a matter of reversion as of continued development out of the past" (Veblen 1994, 200).

—*James M. Volo*

Religious Camps

Self-improvement vacations were thought to strengthen the moral fiber of Americans because they did not offer the usual temptations and concerns over the evils of idleness of the common vacation destination. A number of religious denominations created summer camps where the activities emphasized moral and intellectual development. There were almost 100 scenic self-improvement campgrounds established by different sectarian groups, but it was the Methodists that were the first and most prolific creators of religious camps. These resorts appealed to middle-class vacationers who wanted a sojourn in a religious setting that strictly prohibited drinking, dancing, card playing, and Sunday bathing. Compared to nonsectarian resorts or rented cottages, the religious camps provided a very inexpensive vacation alternative. The religious camp also attracted conference meetings of Christian reform groups like the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Many of the religious camps had their genesis at the camp meeting locations of earlier decades that had developed into vacation destinations by the 1870s. Camps popped up throughout the country including major ones on Martha's Vineyard; at Ocean Grove on the New Jersey coast; at Camp Labor in New Jersey; at Sing Sing on the Hudson River in New York; at Ocean Grove Retreat near Monterey, California; and at Lake Bluff on Lake Michigan near Chicago.

The transformation from camp meeting to religious resort was most evident at Wesleyan Grove on Martha's Vineyard. Methodists created a camp meeting on the island off the New England coast in 1835 and by 1857 had erected 250 tents on a 12 to 15 acre site to accommodate guests. In 1860 the Methodist Camp-Meeting Association was formed to manage the camp, and it quickly expanded over the next five years into a number of small cottages. Wesleyan Grove continued to grow until it was a small city of summer cottages.

Ocean Grove, on the New Jersey shore 50 miles from New York City, was another religious camp resort that, by 1879, had 700 semipermanent tents with wooden floors that rented for $2.50 per week. By the 1880s, 20,000 to 30,000 people vacationed at Ocean Grove every summer. Ocean Grove revivals were complemented with the addition in 1894 of an auditorium that seated 10,000 persons.

While most of these religious camps and resorts were Methodist, there were a number of notable exceptions. The Quaker twin brothers Albert and Alfred Smiley founded a famous religious resort, the Mohonk Mountain House in the Shawangunk Mountains of New York's Hudson River Valley region—a favorite of nineteenth-century artists, poets, and vacationers. The Smileys ran Mohonk along strict Quaker guidelines—no liquor, no card playing, no dancing, nor carriages coming and going on the Sabbath. Despite these restrictions, or possibly because of them, Mohonk flourished, and was often noted as an attractive destination for women vacationing on their own.

James Adam Bradley founded another prominent religious camp at Asbury Park, New Jersey on 500 acres of land closely adjoining Ocean Grove. Bradley's middle-class clientele found the camp a milder and less denominational alternative to its strictly Methodist or Quaker counterparts. Nonetheless, Asbury Park observed Sabbath and temperance restrictions. Instead of complete abstinence, the park stressed moderation and moral guidance in dancing, theater, and card playing by straining out the sinful connection they had to gambling, alcohol addiction, and sexual licentiousness. Bradley's formula of moderation was an incredible success, and Asbury Park attracted between 30,000 and 50,000 vacationers every summer.

One of the most popular self-improvement vacations was to Lake Chautauqua in New York. Methodist Minister John Vincent and manufacturer Lewis Miller founded the resort in 1874 as a place that would bring together piety, leisure, and the middle-class urge for intellectual Christian refinement. Lake Chautauqua was one of the most sought after vacation destinations of the Industrial Age. Initially, its founders intended the camp to be a training ground for Sunday school teachers, but due to the program's growing popularity, Vincent and Miller expanded the curriculum to include secular studies such as language (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, and Asian languages) pedagogical studies, philosophy, literature, science, and history. Chautauqua became a phenomenon, drawing 500 to 600 persons from 26 states in its very first two-week long session in 1874. The *New York Times* estimated that 60,000 to 100,000 persons attended Lake Chautauqua events every year by the mid-1880s.

By that time there were at least 30 Chautaugua imitators spread throughout the nation. Indeed, the term chautauqua came to designate not only the camp in New York but the entire concept of a self-improvement vacation in general.

Nebraska boasted its chautaugua in Crete, Michigan, at Bay View, and Florida provided a chautaugua in the western panhandle of the state. Booker T. Washington formed an African American chautaugua in 1893 at the Tuskegee Institute, and other black chautauguas followed at Normal, Alabama; Mountain Lake Park in Maryland; and at Winona Lake just outside Warsaw, Indiana. Atlantic City, New Jersey, was the site of the Jewish Chautaugua Society that met there every summer.

Religious camp resorts and chautauguas offered a family friendly atmosphere that catered to the morality and values of middle-class Americans. A week at such a place meant that the family could enjoy an intellectually stimulating and religiously relevant vacation free from the drunkenness, gambling, and ostentatious displays found at other resorts. Moreover, the vacations were relatively inexpensive, costing \$3 per week in the 1870s and \$6 to \$8 per week in the 1880s in addition to a \$1 entrance fee. This was to offset the cost of the sometimes elaborate construction that was taking place as the century passed. The transition from tents to cottages could cost \$1,000 and in 1884 the Lake Chautaugua resort constructed an entire hotel, the Athenaeum, which provided fairly luxurious amenities for \$2 to \$4.50 per day for a room and meals (Shrock 2004, 242–44).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Brekus, Catherine A. "Interpreting American Religion." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Current, Richard N., and John A. Garraty, eds. *Words That Made American History since the Civil War*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965.

Curtis, Susan. *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Handy, Robert T., ed. *The Social Gospel in America: 1870–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Nasaw, David, ed. *Andrew Carnegie: The "Gospel of Wealth" Essays and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.

Rogers, Jack B., and Robert E. Blade. "The Great Ends of the Church: Two Perspectives." *Journal of Presbyterian History* no. 76 (1998).

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Smith, Daniel Scott, and Michael S. Hindus, "Premarital Pregnancy in America." In *Studies in American Historical Demography* ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Sullivan, Audrey G. *19th Century South Jersey Camp Meeting, South Seaville, New Jersey*. Fort Lauderdale, FL: Sullivan, 1980.

Sweet, Leonard I. *The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelism*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

This page intentionally left blank

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

1. REPORT OF THE DISCOVERY OF A SUBTERRANEAN FOUNTAIN OF OIL (1859)

The following report from page 5 of a September 1859 issue of the *New York Tribune* describes the striking of oil in Titusville, Pennsylvania, by Edwin L. Drake (1819–1880), who is usually credited as being the first man to drill for oil in the United States.

Titusville, Pa., September 8, 1859. Perhaps you will recollect that in 1854 there was organized in the City of New York a Company, under the name of the Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company, which for some good reasons, passed into the hands of some New Haven capitalists, and was by them removed to New Haven. In 1858 the directors leased the grounds and springs [in Titusville] to Mr. E. L. Drake, well known of the New Haven Railroad. He came out here, and in May last commenced to bore for salt, or to find the source of the oil, which is so common along the banks of Oil Creek. Last week, at a depth of 71 feet, he struck a fissure in the rock through which he was boring, when, to the surprise and joy of everyone, he found he had tapped a vein of water and oil, yielding 400 gallons of pure oil every 24 hours (one day). The pump now in use throws only five gallons per minute of water and oil into a large vat, where the oil rises to the top and the water runs out the bottom. In a few days they will have a pump three times the capacity on the one now in use, and then from ten to twelve hundred gallons of oil will be the daily yield.... The excitement attendant on the discovery of this vast source of oil was fully equal to what I saw in California, when a large lump of gold was accidentally turned out.

Medicus, a correspondent

Source: Hildegarde Dolson, *The Great Oildorado, The Gaudy and Turbulent Years of the First Oil Rush: Pennsylvania, 1859–1880*. New York: Random House, 1959, pp. 7–8.

2. PERSONAL ADVICE AUTHOR TIMOTHY TITCOMB ON TRUTH-TELLING (1861)

A cynical personal advice author named Timothy Titcomb, writing in 1861, believed that absolute integrity was a rarity among nineteenth-century Americans. According to Titcomb, there was some flaw or warp in the perceptions of such men, which prevented them from receiving truthful impressions. Everything came to them distorted. All truth for Titcomb was tainted by the medium through which it passed, and that medium in the nineteenth century was self-interest, the personal vices of greed and alcoholism, and the scourges of sectionalism, slavery, and partisan politics.

There are men in all communities who are believed to be honest, yet whose word is never taken as authority upon any subject.... The moment their personality, or their personal interest, is involved, the fact[s] assume false proportions and false colors.... It is possible for no man who owns a slave and finds profit in such ownership, to receive the truth touching the right of man to himself, and the moral wrong of slavery.... Now when it is sought to be made a permanent institution, because it seems to be the only source of wealth of a section [of the country], it has become right; and even the slave-trade logically falls into the category of laudable and legitimate commerce. It is impossible for a people who have allowed pecuniary interest to deprave their moral sense to this extent, to perceive and receive any sound political truth, or to apprehend the spirit and temper of those who are opposed to them.

The same may be said of the liquor traffic. The act of selling liquor is looked upon with horror by those who stand outside... but the seller deems it legitimate, and looks upon any interference with his sales as an infringement of his rights. Our selfish interest in any business, or in any scheme of profit, distorts all truth....

Of all conscious and criminal lying, I know of none that exceeds in malignity and magnitude that of a political campaign.... What, in honesty, can be said of the leading speakers and leading presses which sustain a party in a contest for power, but that they misrepresent their opponents, misstate their own motives, give currency to false accusations, suppress the truth... and lie outright when it is deemed necessary....

The social lying of the world has found a multitudinous satirists, and furnished the staple of a whole school of writers... whom in our hearts we despise.... Business lying is, after all, the most universal of any.... When two selfish persons meet on opposite sides of the counter, there arises between them a sort of antagonism.... There is a great deal of business lying that by long habit becomes unconscious.... [Yet] in politics, society, and business, the conscious and intentional lie abounds.

Source: Timothy Titcomb, *Lessons in Life, A Series of Familiar Essays*. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1861, pp. 83–84.

3. THE MORRILL ACT (1862)

The first Morrill Act (1862) marked a great step forward for education by involving the federal government through the land-grant college system. It gave a powerful impulse to the movement for state universities and added funds to the existing state college system through the sale of federal lands, or land scrip in lieu of actual property, with the proceeds going to education. The act gave impulse to the inclusion of the natural and physical sciences in college curricula and to the application of scientific thought to agriculture. The land-grant colleges that did not thrive under the 1862 act were strengthened by the 1890 version. The colleges were given further financial support by the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1905 and the Nelson Amendment of 1907. Section 4 of the Morrill Act of 1862 is given below.

Section 4. And be it further enacted, That all moneys derived from the sale of the lands aforesaid by the States to which the lands are apportioned, and from the sales of land scrip hereinbefore provided for, shall be invested in stocks of the United States or of the States, or some other safe stocks, yielding not less than five per centum upon the par value of said stocks; and that the moneys so invested shall constitute a perpetual fund, the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished (except so far as may be provided in section five of this act), and the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated by each State which may take and claim the benefit of this act, to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life. . . .

Source: Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 568.

4. LIEUTENANT WILLIAM J. HARDEE'S *RIFLE AND LIGHT INFANTRY TACTICS* (1862)

Without enough seasoned officers, training the men was bound to be a puzzling task. The war effort in 1861 would have to rely on a cadre of dedicated and hopefully talented volunteer officers who could learn their trade from military manuals, tactical guides, and professional journals. These included the *Military and Naval Magazine;* the *Army and Navy Chronicle;* and the *Military Magazine*. Also worthwhile was the *Southern Literary Messenger* that reprinted many of the best articles on military science that could be found from around the world. From the United States Military Academy at West Point came an additional store of literature of a quality remarkable for a small school so isolated from the military institutions of Europe.

The Federal Congress appropriated $50,000 to purchase or print tactical manuals and volumes of army regulations for its volunteer officers. These included Winfield Scott's *Infantry Tactics*, Philip St. George Cooke's *Cavalry Tactics*, Denis Hart Mahan's *Treatise on Advanced Guards, Outposts, and Detached Service of Troops*, and William J. Hardee's *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*, part of which is reproduced here. Hardee was the only Confederate among these authors, and Silas Casey's *Infantry Tactics* officially superseded his work in 1862. As with most conflicts, the Civil War was fought with the last war's weapons and tactics in mind. Nonetheless, Hardee had addressed some aspects of modern warfare that were unforeseen by other authors, especially the tactical deployment of rifles.

Formation of a Regiment in order of Battle, or in Line.

1. A regiment is composed of ten companies, which will habitually be posted from right to left . . . according to the rank of captains.
2. With a less number of companies the same principle will be observed, viz.: the first captain will command the right company. . . .
3. The companies thus posted will be designated from right to left, first company, second company, etc. This designation will be observed in the maneuvers.
4. The first two companies on the right . . . will form the *first division;* the next two companies the *second division;* and so on, to the left.
5. Each company will be divided into equal parts, which will be designated as the first and second *platoon,* counting from the right; each platoon, in like manner, will be subdivided into two *sections*.
6. In all exercises and maneuvers, every regiment, or part of a regiment, composed of two or more companies, will be designated as a *battalion*.
7. The colors, with a guard to be hereinafter designated, will be posted on the left and right center battalion company. That company and all on its right, will be denominated the *right wing* of the battalion; the remaining companies the *left wing*.
8. The formation of the regiment is in two ranks; and each company will be posted in two ranks; . . . the tallest corporal and tallest man will form the first file, the next two tallest the second file, and so on to the last. . . .
9. The odd and even files, numbered as one, two, in the companies, from right to left, will form groups of four men, who will be designated *comrades in battle*.
10. The distance from one rank to another will be thirteen inches, measured from the breasts of the rear rank men to the backs of the knapsacks of the front rank men.
11. For maneuvering, the companies of a battalion will always be equalized, by transferring men from the strongest to the weakest companies.

Source: W. J. Hardee, *Hardee's Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*. New York: J. O. Kane, Publisher, 1862.

5. REMEMBERING THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG (1863)

Many historians consider the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863) to be the turning point of the Civil War, or the so-called High Water Mark of the Confederacy. That the largest battle of the war—the largest ever fought on the North American continent—took place so near the celebration of Independence Day and so near the national capital has leant weight to its significance, but it should be remembered that the Confederacy soldiered on for almost two additional years—longer after the battle than it had before it. Nonetheless, Gettysburg represents for Americans today much of the essence of Civil War battle, and the battlefield park—only one of many—serves as a national memorial to America's Civil War dead. The brief memories of the participants in the battle that have been selected below are from among the thousands written by Northern and Southern soldiers, and some of the residents of the town.

We soon came to the top of a hill in full view of the field and valley and upon the hill we had the fight. Here men jumped over a fence to the left and formed in battle line. In a short time a line of the enemy came out of the woods in front of us about a mile off; soon another; and yet another. They kept steadily advancing until we could see their officers stepping in front swinging their swords. Suddenly a cloud of smoke arose from their line and almost instantly the balls began to whistle about us and the men next to my right fell. The order rang along the line . . . to load and fire at will, as they call it. I think we fired about five rounds. . . . As soon as the report of our muskets were [sic] heard we knew that a very small part of our line was there. The enemy did not return our fire but came rushing down the hill yelling.—Sgt. Edwin A. Gearhart, 142nd PA Infantry

At every step some poor fellow would fall, and as his pitiful cry would come to my ear I almost imagined it the wail of some loved one he had left at home.—Capt. John T. James, 11th VA Infantry

There was the thunder of guns, a shrieking, whistling, moaning of shells, before they burst, sometimes like rockets in the air. . . . No results of this conflict could be noted; no shifting of scenes or movement of actors in the great struggle could be observed. It was simply noise, flash, and roar. I had the sensation of a lifetime. —William H. Bayly, 13-year-old resident of Gettysburg

Some of the wounded from the battlefield began to arrive where I was staying. They reported hard fighting, many wounded and killed, and were afraid our troops would be defeated and perhaps routed. The first wounded soldier whom I met had his thumbs tied up. This I thought dreadful, and told him so. . . . Soon two officers carrying their arms in slings made their appearance, and I more fully began to realize that something terrible had taken place. Now the wounded began to come in greater numbers. Some limping, some with their heads and arms in bandages, some crawling, others carried on stretchers or brought in ambulances. Suffering, cast down and dejected, it was truly a pitiable gathering.—Tillie Pierce, 15-year-old resident of Gettysburg

Tell my father I died with my face to the enemy.—Col. Isaac E. Avery, 6th NC Infantry

When our great victory was just over the exultation was so great that one didn't think of our fearful losses, but now I can't help feeling a great weight at my heart.—Capt. Henry L. Abbott, 20th ME Infantry

Source: Time Life Books, *Voices of the Civil War.* New York: Time Life, 1995, pp. 49, 62, 105, 121, 102, 159.

6. AN OHIO SCHOOLMASTER'S VIEW OF THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION (1865)

Although a life-time resident of a Northern state, schoolmaster John M. Roberts of Madison County, Ohio, reflects many of the ambivalent feelings toward Reconstruction, freedmen, and blacks in general held by a large segment of the American middle class. Many Americans had supported the four-year-long effort to reunite the Union, but not the abolition movement. Roberts thought Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 an idle threat and the arming of black men in the federal army suicidal and dangerous. At first glance these views seem better suited to Southerners, but Roberts's racist views with respect to blacks were not uncommon among those Northerners who supported the war against secession but not for the purpose of equalization and incorporation of blacks into American society. As with many like-minded Northerners, he found light-skinned and mixed-blood African Americans more acceptable than other blacks.

Although his openly racist views were tempered somewhat over time, Roberts was accused by some of his neighbors of being disloyal, a so-called Butternut or Copperhead holding views that emphasized the restoration of the old Union and the traditional Constitution as they had existed before secession. In 1863, he complained, "I have been abused . . . all because I do not say abolition is god & Abraham Lincoln is a true prophet." A supporter of the postwar Democrats and the Reconstruction policies of Andrew Johnson, Roberts was overly optimistic about the political future of both, predicting a Radical Republican downfall that largely failed to materialize. Reproduced below are excerpts from Roberts's diary.

Monday, August 21, 1865

On the 15th of April [1865] Abraham Lincoln . . . was shot & killed in Fords Theater, Washington city. . . . This event . . . cast a gloom over the whole country. Every paper in the country went into mourning, & the body of the president was taken to all the principal cities of the United States.

Andrew Johnson... immediately took the presidential office. He was an old line Democrat and acted with them up till the breaking out of the Rebellion [Civil War]. He was very much intoxicated on his inauguration as vice president, & and many of his Republican friends asked him to resign. He is generally liked as president by all parties except... some of the rabid Republicans known as Radicals. They are down on him heavily.

A great topic here in politics is that of Negro suffrage. A large portion of the Republicans are in favor of Negro suffrage, and quite a number of them are against the measure. The matter will create a division in that party which will result in its final overthrow. This event may not take place this fall, but it will most assuredly take place before the next general election....

Tuesday, October 10, 1865

... I went to Jefferson early this morning to the election. I voted the Democratic throughout.... The [returned] soldiers voted the Democratic ticket almost unanimously. Quite a gain for the Democracy in this township. Everything seems favorable for the white man ticket....

Thursday, October 12, 1865

... The election news is rather unfavorable. [Republican, Samuel S.] Cox is supposed to be elected by a reduced majority. Nothing certain, however.

Thursday, November 9, 1865

... I got S. S. Cox Eight Years in Congress... 40 Negroes in the courthouse hunting places [political appointments].

Friday, December 8, 1865

... I see that the radical abolitionists are shoving the most ultra doctrines of the party right in Congress. They are taking time by the forelock. I think the party will repudiate them.

Wednesday, December 20, 1986

... The irrepressible Negro is all the topic in Congress at this time. President Johnson is a mere cypher, it seems. Lincoln was all powerful; Johnson is the reverse....

Friday, December 22, 1865

... President Johnson has issued an extra message to Congress concerning its action on the Reconstruction question. The president intends to stick to his policy of Reconstruction. I am glad of it. The Radicals must go down....

Sunday, December 31, 1865 [New Year's Eve]

... This year has been full of remarkable events. A great rebellion has been crushed & the Constitution itself changed in regard to slavery. One president has been assassinated and his successor has been duly installed without a jar or murmur from anyone. The reconstruction of the glorious old Union has been carried out to a point which the most sanguine friend of the Union could hardly have expected under the circumstance. The Radical element is nearly floored & everything looks as though it would prosper. Long life to our noble president, Andrew Johnson.

Source: J. Merton England, ed., *Buckeye Schoolmaster, A Chronicle of Midwestern Rural Life: 1853–1865*. Bowling Green, OH: State University Popular Press, 1996, pp. 256, 288–90.

7. EXCERPTS FROM *RAGGED DICK, OR STREET LIFE IN NEW YORK* BY HORATIO ALGER JR. (1868)

From 1867 to 1899, Horatio Alger wrote generally cheerful books for boys that urged honesty, hard work, and self-reliance. He endowed his protagonists with the qualities of young urban heroes and gave them an endearing sense of humor that could be displayed even while standing on the bottom rung of the economic and social ladder. Noted for his rags-to-riches writing formula, Alger's continued literary success ultimately added a touch of old-fashioned principle, good faith, and optimism to an otherwise cynical and materialistic Industrial Age. One of his heroes was a bootblack named Ragged Dick, an innately virtuous, but streetwise and cocky child of the city, who first appeared in print in 1868. Dick smoked tobacco now and then, attended the theater (in the pit), and was not above sharing a beer with his fellows. He rarely began the day with even a penny in his pocket, yet his character was unblemished and altogether exemplary. The following excerpt is from Chapter 1 of the novel named for the character, and it provides the reader with a sample of Alger's style.

Ragged Dick Is Introduced to the Reader

Ragged Dick opened his eyes . . . but did not offer to get up. . . . His bedchamber had been a wooden box half full of straw, on which the young boot-black had reposed his weary limbs, and slept as soundly as if it had been a bed of down. He had dumped down into the straw without taking the trouble of undressing. Getting up too was an equally short process. He jumped out of the box, shook himself, picked out one or two straws that had found their way into the rents in his clothes, and, drawing a well-worn cap over his uncombed locks, he was all ready for the business of the day. . . .

Washing the face and hands is usually considered proper in commencing the day, but Dick was above such refinement. He had no particular dislike of dirt, and did not think it necessary to remove several dark streaks on his face and hands. But in spite of his dirt and rags there was something about Dick that was attractive. It was easy to see that if he had been clean and well dressed he would have been decidedly good-looking. Some of his companions were sly, and their faces inspired distrust; but Dick had a frank, straight-forward manner that made him a favorite.

Dick's business hours commenced. He had no office to open. His little blacking-box was ready for use, and he looked sharply in the faces of those who passed, addressing each with, "Shine yer boots, sir?"

"How much?" asked a gentleman on his way to his office.

"Ten cents," said Dick, dropping his box, and sinking on his knees on the sidewalk, flourishing his brush with the air of one skilled in his profession.

"Ten cents! Isn't that a little steep?"

"Well, you know 'taint all clear profit," said Dick, who had already set to work. "There's blacking costs something, and I have to get a new brush pretty often."

"And you have a large rent too," said the gentleman quizzically, with a glance at a large hole in Dick's coat.

Yes, sir,' said Dick, always ready to joke; "I have to pay such a big rent for my manshun [mansion] up on Fifth Avenue, that I can't afford to take less than ten cents a shine. I'll give you a bully shine, sir."

. . . . "I believe," said the gentleman, examining his pocket-book, "I haven't got anything short of twenty-five cents. Have you got any change?"

"Not a cent," said Dick. "All my money's invested in the Erie Railroad."

"That's unfortunate."

"Shall I get the money changed, sir?"

"I can't wait: I've got an appointment immediately. I'll hand you twenty-five cents, and you can leave the change at my office any time during the day."

"Alright, sir. Where is it?"

"No. 125 Fulton Street. Shall you remember?"

Yes, sir. What name?"

"Greyson,—office on the second floor."

"All right, sir: I'll bring it."

"I wonder whether the little scamp will prove honest," said Mr. Greyson to himself, as he walked away. "If he does, I'll give him my custom regularly. If he don't, as is most likely, I shan't mind the loss of fifteen cents."

Mr. Greyson didn't understand Dick. Our ragged hero wasn't a model boy in all respects. . . . But there were some good points about him nevertheless. He was above doing anything mean or dishonorable. He would not steal, or cheat, or impose on younger boys, but was frank and straight-forward, manly and self-reliant. His nature was a noble one, and had saved him from all mean faults. I [Alger] hope my young readers will like him as I do, without being blind to his faults. Perhaps, although he was only a boot-black, they may find something in him to imitate.

Source: John Seelye, ed., *Horatio Alger, Jr., Ragged Dick and Struggling Upward.* New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1985, pp. 3–6.

8. A FAREWELL TO THE BUFFALO SOLDIERS FROM THEIR COMMANDER (1869)

In late 1868, Major-General Philip Sheridan decided to wage a winter campaign against the Cheyenne and Arapahoe nations in the hope of culminating a peace in the spring. Vast stores were accumulated at Fort Dodge, Kansas; Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory; and Fort Arbuckle, Oklahoma [Indian] Territory; and a four-pronged plan of attack was devised that included 11 companies of the 7th

U.S. Cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, the 19th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry under Governor S. J. Crawford, and the 10th U.S. Cavalry (so-called Buffalo Soldiers) under Captain (Brevet Brigadier General) W. H. Penrose. The role of the scattered units of the all-black 10th Cavalry (in three detachments of four troops, respectively) was to guard the Kansas frontier, watch over the Indians already at the various forts, and cut off any retreat of recalcitrant bands to the north and west.

With James "Wild Bill" Hickok acting as a scout, Penrose's direct command of four troops was the first to take the field (November 10, 1868) taking 43 days worth of rations with them. All went well for a few days, but the regiment was caught in a fierce snowstorm and forced to encamp in an area barren of wood or even buffalo chips for fuel. Bitter cold and snow followed the command as it pushed for almost three months toward its objective on the North Canadian River, reaching there on February 19, 1869. During the march, dozens of cavalry horses were killed due to exposure and lack of forage, and many troopers suffered from frostbite and illness. Four men from a resupply column froze to death. The march of the 10th Cavalry, nonetheless, forced the Indians firmly into the path of the principal striking force of the army sweeping down from the north. The second and third detachments of the 10th made only brief contact with the Indians.

Returning to Fort Lyon in early March 1869, after five months in the field, Penrose penned the following affectionate farewell to his men:

Fort Lyon, C. T.

Mar. 14, 1869

Officers and Soldiers of the 10th U.S. Cavalry:

Having been relieved from command before an opportunity was given me to promulgate an official farewell, I take occasion, through courtesy of your commanding officer, of taking leave of you.

You started from this post on an important mission under many disadvantages. Your horses were in poor condition, and you were to march, without forage, to penetrate raw, and before unknown, country. Hardly had you started when you encountered severe storms of rain and snow, accompanied by intense cold; you were without suitable and necessary shelter for such inclement weather; your horses perished day by day, you yourselves suffering from intense cold, many with frostbitten hands and feet; but through these hardships and difficulties you pushed nobly on, undaunted, undismayed, anxious to meet the enemy.

But few commands have ever been called upon to endure more than you have, and none have more cheerfully performed their duty.

Although it was not your fortune to meet and engage the enemy, yet this movement was a part of a grand plan, emanating from that great soldier, Major-General Sheridan.

You were instrumental in compelling a large force of the enemy to make a retrograde movement, and there appears to be no doubt that this was the identical force which Bvt. Major General Custer was thus enabled to encounter and destroy [Battle on the Washita]. Your efforts were therefore of material service in the winter campaign.

Had you had the opportunity I am fully assured you would have maintained in battle the honor of the flag and your regiment.

To the officers and men who so nobly stood with me in our most difficult task I extend my kindest, heartfelt thanks, and wherever you go my kindly interest shall be with you in all your undertakings. May success crown all your efforts.

Respectfully,
W. H. Penrose
Captain and Bvt. Brig. General USA
Late Commander Indian Expedition
from Fort Lyon, C. T.

Source: William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967, pp. 42–43.

9. HOW BEAUTY IS SPOILED (1870)

One of the greatest influences on American women's fashion during the 1860s was *Godey's Lady's Book*, a magazine founded by Louis B. Godey in July 1830. Each month the magazine printed fashion plates of morning dresses, walking dresses, seaside costumes, riding habits, dinner dresses, or ball gowns. Such wardrobe depth was seldom needed for the vast majority of the magazine's readers. By the 1860s, *Godey's* had become a fashion institution, setting the standard for fashion savvy. Other magazines such as *Peterson's*, *Arthur's*, *Graham's*, *Leslie's*, and *Harper's* began to follow suit.

Whether a woman could afford the extravagances touted by the fashion plates of the day or not, the look she was hoping to attain was the same. Women of the Civil War period wanted to create the appearance of a narrow waist. Virtually all lines of garments emphasized the smallness of the waist by creating the illusion of width at the shoulders and hips. This was further accentuated by foundation garments that altered the body's physical appearance. As can be seen from the selection below by Dr. Daniel. G. Brinton and Dr. George H. Napheys, not everyone was sure that these extremes of fashion were healthful.

At the waist, the [female] body should have the least circumference. While this is true, it is an absurd and ugly fashion, not sanctioned by any rule of art, and in positive opposition to the laws of health and beauty, to compress, fasten, and lace it down to that "wasp-like waist," against which artists and physicians have so long and so vainly protested.

The circumference of the waist in a woman five feet high should not be less than twenty-five inches, and from this it should increase half an inch in circumference for every additional inch in height, so that a woman five feet eight inches high should measure twenty-nine inches around the waist, of course without clothing.

The result of any greater compression than this is disastrous in every respect. we have already shown how it spoils the shape of the shoulders, and flattens and displaces the breasts. Were this all, it might pass. But far more serious consequences arise. The lungs are cramped and cannot expand. The blood, in consequence, is not purified, the complexion soon becomes muddy, the lips pale or purple, and if there is any tendency to consumption [tuberculosis or other pulmonary disease], it is promptly developed. The pressure downward is equally productive of harm. A physician who pays attention to diseases of women, recently told us that four-fifths of the cases of uterine complaint which he had treated in unmarried women were directly traceable to this violent and unnatural pressure upon the abdomen. Our own experience convinces us that this statement is hardly overdrawn.

With these consequences plainly staring them in the face, it is scarcely credible that women, who wish to preserve either their health or their beauty, will deliberately continue to take so certain means of destroying both as this compression of the waist.... If the object is to "make up the figure," those have the best success who. like the Italian ladies, depend on the arrangement of the dress and careful carriage, and not on forcing the body into unnatural positions.

Source: Daniel G. Brinton and George H. Napheys, *Personal Beauty.* Springfield, MA: W. J. Holland, 1870, pp. 64–66.

10. MAKING PEACE WITH THE APACHE CHIEF COCHISE (1872)

During an 11-year war with the Americans (1861–1872), Cochise—a band leader of the Chiricahua Apache—attracted recruits from among all the western clans, and his position as an overall leader of the Apache nation was cemented when an elder chief, Mangas Coloradas, was executed during a parley with U.S. forces. During much of this time, Cochise fought both the Mexicans and the Americans, using the contested border between the two nations in a hide-and-seek manner. Nonetheless, he began to suffer defeats when the troops on both sides brought mobile artillery into the field against him. The Apache began to lose many lives as troops under George A. Crook pursued them incessantly. In 1872, a civilian, Thomas Jeffords, arranged a treaty between Cochise and Major General Oliver O. Howard, the one-armed veteran of the Civil War who helped to found Howard University. The Chiricahua made peace and maintained the treaty under the leadership of Cochise until he died in 1874. The following excerpt is from General Howard's account of his first meeting with Cochise.

The First Meeting of the General and the Apache Chief

Having ridden up to us Cochise dismounted and saluted (Tom) Jeffords in Spanish as an old friend. He then turned to me as Jeffords was saying, "This is the man." The chief was fully six feet in height, well proportioned, with large eyes; his face was slightly colored with vermilion, hair straight and black, with a few silver threads. He warmly grasped may hand and said pleasantly" "Buenos dias, Senor!"

Having returned his salute I began to study his face. His countenance was pleasant, and made me feel how strange it is that such a man can be a notorious robber and cold-blooded murderer. In after interviews I observed that upon ordinary occasions he showed courtesy and simplicity, but, as the Chiricahua chief, when in council or mounted, leading his tribe, if Apache wrongs were touched upon, he was terribly severe in aspect...

Next Cochise turned to me and said something in Apache. Jeffords gave the substance in English: "Will the General explain the object of his visit?"

"The President sent me to make peace between you and the white people."

"Nobody wants peace more than I do." he replied.

"Then," I answered, "as I have full power we can make peace."...

I was now to live with the Indians for some time. The new camping ground to which Cochise took us was north of the entrance to his stronghold, well up on the foothills where were clusters of oaks and several acres of grass land. Six miles off stood a globular height, spanning three hundred feet from the plain, with the San Pedro River at its foot. On this hill, at the request of Cochise, Jeffords and Captain Sladen had planted a white flag. Sladen told me how the Indian women and children clapped there hands when they first saw his emblem of peace. Jeffords had understood them when in one compound word in Apache they cried: "The-flag-of-peace-I-love."...

Other Apaches continued to come in until nearly all were in camp. Many of the newcomers were rough and very troublesome, and an adjustment of all vexed questions was hard to bring about. I was forced... to give them as Cochise had suggested, a reservation embracing a part of the Chiricahua mountains and of the valley adjoining on the west, which included the Big Sulphur Spring and Rodgers' ranch.

The evening after the council a strange ceremony for consulting the spirits was observed by the Indians. It took place on a separate plateau near my bivouac. I was not present at the beginning of the performance. I could, however, hear the muffled sound of voices of a multitude of women apparently imitating the low moaning of the wind. Then all—men and women—sang with ever increasing volume of sound, and the women's voices rose higher and higher. It was a wild weird performance.

In due time the roughest-appearing Apache that I had ever seen, tall and muscular, his long hair hanging in braids down his back, ran toward me. His manner was not as fierce as his appearance would indicate, for he now spoke gently and invited me and all our white men to join the band on the plateau.

Arriving there we sat outside the women's circle—the male Indians being seated within it. As soon as the singing ceased the men kept talking, but without rising. An authoritative voice now silenced all the others. It was Cochise speaking in a mournful recitative. More than once I heard him use Jeffords' sobriquet, "Stag-li-to," meaning Redbeard. Our whole case was evidently being discussed at the meeting. Those were solemn moments to us, for we could not determine on which side of the Styx [the mythical river crossed at death] their superstitions might land us.

Fortunately, the spirits were on our side. Their answer to the Indian incantation was rendered through Cochise, who said, "Hereafter the white man and the Indian are to drink of the same water, eat of the same bread, and be at peace." I felt the object of my mission was now accomplished.

Source: David C. Whitney, *The American Legacy: A Pageant of Great Deeds and Famous Words*. Chicago, IL: J. G. Ferguson Publishing Company, 1975, pp. 287–88.

11. THE SAGA OF STONE'S LANDING FROM *THE GILDED AGE* BY MARK TWAIN (SAMUEL CLEMENS) (1873)

In his satirical novel *The Gilded Age* (written with Charles Dudley Warner), Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) gave an entire period of American history a name that remains today. The age that Twain described was filled with flagrant materialism, aggressive self-interest, political corruption, and economic adaptation. Although Twain wrote the novel in a satire, the age that he lampooned produced prodigious results, accumulated immense wealth, and transformed an agrarian country into an industrial powerhouse. The selection below is an amazing relic of a period characterized by the expansion of railroads and steamboat lines, rampant land speculation, and people's belief that they could change the landscape of America itself to better fit their economic needs. The characters in Twain's novel share a somewhat benevolent personal dishonesty and a naive willingness to suspend their disbelief and put aside their normal wariness of overly optimistic schemes for getting rich in the sleepy, unremarkable, and out-of-the-way town of Stone's Landing.

Stone's Landing Becomes the City of Napoleon—on Paper

Nobody dressed more like an engineer than Mr. Henry Brierly. The completeness of his appointments was the envy of the corps, and the gay fellow himself was the admiration of the camp servants, axmen, teamsters, and cooks [that worked for the railroad]. . . .

Harry shouldered his [surveyor's] rod and went to the field, tramped over the prairie by day, and figured up results, with the utmost cheerfulness and industry, and plotted the line on the profile paper, without, however, the least idea of engineering, practical or theoretical. Perhaps there was not a great deal of scientific knowledge in the entire corps, nor was very much needed. They were making what was called a preliminary survey, and the chief object of a preliminary survey was to get up an excitement about the [rail]road, to interest every town in that part of the state in it, under the belief that the road would run through it, and to get the aid of every planter upon the prospect that a station would be on his land.

Mr. Jeff Thompson was the most popular engineer who could be found for his work. He did not bother himself much about details or practicabilities of location, but ran merrily along, sighting from the top of one divide to the top of another, and striking "plumb" every town-site and big plantation within twenty or thirty miles of his route. In his own language he "just went booming."

This course gave Henry an opportunity, as he said, to learn the practical details of engineering, and it gave Philip a chance to see the country, and to judge for himself the prospect of a fortune it offered. Both he and Harry got the "refusal" [right of refusal for purchase] of more than one plantation as they went along, and wrote urgent letters to their Eastern correspondents, upon the beauty of the land and the certainty that it would quadruple in value as soon as the road was finally located. It seemed strange to them that capitalists did not flock out there and secure this land.

They had not been in the field over two weeks when Harry wrote to his friend, Colonel Sellers, that he'd better be on the move, for the line was certain to go to Stone's Landing. Any one who looked at the line on the map, as it was laid down from day to day, would have been uncertain which way it was going; but Jeff had declared that in his judgment the only practicable route from the point they then stood on was that that town would be the next one hit.

"We'll make it boys," said the chief, "if we have to go in a balloon." And make it they did. In less than a week, this indomitable engineer had carried his moving caravan over slues and branches, across bottoms and along divides, and pitched his tents in the very heart of the city of Stone's Landing. . . .

The fellows turned out of the tents, rubbing their eyes, and stared about them. They were camped on the second bench of the narrow bottom of a crooked, sluggish stream, that was some five rods wide in the present good stage of water. Before them were a dozen log cabins, with stick and mud chimneys, irregularly disposed on either side of a not very well defined road. . . .

"This, gentlemen," said Jeff, "is the Columbus River, alias Goose Creek. If it was widened, and deepened, and straightened, and made long enough, it would be one of the finest rivers in the Western country."

. . . As the sun rose and sent his level beams along the stream, the thin stratum of mist, or malaria, rose also and dispersed, but the light was not able to enliven dull water nor give any hint of its apparent fathomless depth. Venerable mudturtles crawled up and roosted upon old logs in the stream, their backs glistening in the sun, the first inhabitants of the metropolis to begin the active business of the day. . . .

"Welcome to Napoleon . . . [said the mayor]. . . ."

While the engineer corps went to the field, to run back a couple of miles and ascertain, approximately, if a road could ever get down to the Landing, and to sight ahead across the Run, and see if it could ever get out again, Colonel Sellers and Harry sat down and began to roughly map out the city of Napoleon on a large piece of drawing paper.

"I've got the refusal of a mile square here," said the Colonel, "in our names, for a year, with a quarter interest reserved for the four owners."

They laid out the town liberally, not lacking room, leaving space for the railroad to come in, and for the river as it was to be when improved.

The engineers reported that the railroad could come in, by taking a little sweep and crossing the stream on a high bridge, but the grades would be steep. Colonel Sellers said he didn't care so much about the grades, if the road could only be made to reach the [grain] elevators on the river. The next day Mr. Thompson made a hasty survey of the stream for a mile or two, so that the Colonel and Harry were enabled to show on their map how nobly that would accommodate the city. Jeff took a little writing from the Colonel and Harry for a prospective share, but Philip declined to join in, saying he had no money, and didn't want to make engagements he couldn't fulfill.

The next morning the camp moved on, followed till out of sight by the listless eyes of the group in front of the store, one of whom remarked that "he'd be doggoned if he ever expected to see that railroad any more."

Source: Richard N. Current and John A. Garraty, eds., *Words that Made American History Since the Civil War.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965, pp. 84–86.

12. THE PREFACE TO *HOUSEKEEPING IN OLD VIRGINIA* BY MARION CABELL TYREE (1877)

Originally written in 1877, *Housekeeping in Old Virginia* contained contributions concerning domestic economy from 250 housewives, who were distinguished for their skill in the culinary arts and other branches of keeping a home. The preface of this edition clearly shows that the attitude of white Southern women, and many among the elite throughout the country, had not changed appreciably a full decade after the end of the Civil War. Southern graciousness was still the hard coin of American hospitality and housekeeping.

Preface

Virginia, or the Old Dominion, as her children delight to call her, has always been famed for the style of her living. Taught by the example of her royal colonial governors, and the numerous adherents of King Charles, who brought hither in their exile the graces and luxuriousness of his brilliant court, she became noted among the colonies for the princely hospitality of her people and for the beauty and richness of their living. But when at length her great son in the House of Burgesses sounded the cry of war, and her people made haste to gird themselves for the long struggle, her daughters, not to be outdone either in services or patriotism, set about at once the inauguration of a plan of rigid retrenchment and reform in the domestic economy, while at the same time exhibiting to their sisters a noble example of devotion and self-sacrifice.

Tearing the glittering arms of King George from their side-boards, and casting them, with their costly plate and jewels, as offerings into the lap of the Continental Congress, they introduced into their homes that new style of living in which, discarding all the showy extravagance of the old, and retaining only its inexpensive graces, they succeeded in perfecting that system which, surviving to this day [1877], has ever been noted for its beautiful and elegant simplicity.

This system, which combines the thrifty frugality of New England with the less rigid style of Carolina, has been justly pronounced, by the throngs of admirers who have gathered from all quarters of the Union around generous boards of her illustrious sons, as the very perfection of domestic art.

It is the object of the compiler of this book, for she does not claim the title of author, to bring within the reach of every American housekeeper, who may desire it, the domestic principles and practices of these famous Virginia homes.... The book, after great care in its preparation, is now offered to the public with much confidence. All that is here presented has been so thoroughly tested, and approved by so many of the best housekeepers in Virginia, that she feels it must meet with a cordial and very general reception at the hands of all accomplished housewives throughout the land, and will supply a long-felt and real need.

If she shall thus succeed in disseminating a knowledge of the practices of the most admirable system of domestic art known in our country; if she shall succeed in lightening the labors of the housewife by placing in her reach a guide which will be found always trusty and reliable; if she shall succeed in contributing something to the health of American children by instructing their mothers in the art of preparing light and wholesome and palatable food; if she, above all, shall succeed in making American homes more attractive to American husbands, and spare them a resort to hotels and saloons for those simple luxuries which their wives know not how to provide; if she shall thus add to the comfort, to the health and happy contentment of these, she will have proved in some measure a public benefactor, and will feel amply repaid for all the labor her work has cost.

Source: Marion Cabell Tyree, ed., *Housekeeping in Old Virginia.* Louisville, KY: John P. Morton and Company, 1879, preface.

13. *PROGRESS AND POVERTY* OR THE *SINGLE TAX* (1879)

In 1869, Henry George (1839–1897) made his first business trip to New York City. As a newspaperman, he was very observant of his surroundings, and he was shocked by the glaring contrast between the extremes of wealth and poverty that he saw living side-by-side in the city. In California, he had witnessed much of the Golden State's wealth falling into the hands of just a few men—making them wealthy at the expense of the rest of society. His interest in economic and social questions was intensified by the widespread and long-lasting suffering that accompanied the Panic of 1873 and the depression that followed. In 1879, he wrote a book on the subject that defined the problem as he saw it and put forward a number of suggestions to rectify the situation. Among these was the concept of the single tax.

The book's full title was *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depression and of Increase of Want with a Increase of Wealth: The Remedy*, but it is better known as the *Single Tax* (1880). Herein George suggested that all taxation be abolished save a single tax on land values and rents. The book was very powerfully written, and made George popular as a lecturer and well enough known as a personality to run for mayor of New York City in 1886. He outpolled one of his rivals, Theodore Roosevelt, but lost to Abram Hewitt, who was elected. For the rest of his life George remained the leader of the Single Tax reform movement, which still exists in a number of forms today. It is George's description of the problem that is emphasized in the selection below.

Progress and Poverty

The Problem

The present century [nineteenth] has been marked by a prodigious increase in wealth-producing power. The utilization of steam and electricity, the introduction of improved processes and labor-saving machinery, the greater subdivision and grander scale of production, the wonderful facilitation of exchanges, have multiplied enormously the effectiveness of labor.

At the beginning of this marvelous era it was natural to expect, and it was expected, that labor-saving inventions would lighten the toil and improve the condition of the laborer; that the enormous increase in the power of producing wealth would make real poverty a thing of the past. Could a man of the last century—a [Benjamin] Franklin or a [Joseph] Priestley—have seen, in a vision of the future, the steamship taking the place of the sailing vessel, the railroad train of the wagon, the reaping machine of the scythe, the threshing machine of the flail; could he have heard the throb of the engines that in obedience to human will, and for the satisfaction of human desire, exert a power greater than that of all the men and all the beasts of burden of the earth combined; could he have seen the forest tree transformed into finished lumber . . . with hardly a touch of a human hand; the great workshops where boots and shoes are turned out by the case with less labor than the old fashioned cobbler could have put on a sole; the factories where, under the eye of a girl, cotton becomes cloth faster than a hundred stalwart weavers could have turned it out with their hand looms; could he have seen steam hammers shaping mammoth shafts and mighty anchors, and delicate machinery tiny watches; the diamond drill cutting through the heart of the rocks, and coal oil sparing the whale; could he have realized the enormous saving of labor resulting from improved facilities of exchange and communication—sheep killed in Australia eaten fresh in England, the order given by a London banker in the afternoon executed in San Francisco in the morning of the same day; could he have conceived of the hundred thousand improvements which these only suggest, what would he have inferred as to the social condition of mankind?

. . . And out of these bounteous material conditions he would have seen arising as necessary sequences, moral conditions realizing the golden age of which mankind has always dreamed. Youth no longer stunted and starved; age no longer harried by avarice; the child at play with the tiger; the man with the muck-rake drinking in the glory of the stars. Foul things fled, fierce things tame; discord turned into harmony! For how could there be greed where all had enough? How could vice, the crime, the ignorance, the brutality, that spring from poverty and fear of poverty, exist where poverty had vanished? Who should crouch where all were freemen; who oppress where all were peers?

. . . It is true that disappointment has followed disappointment, and that, discovery upon discovery, and invention after invention, have neither lessened the toil of those who most need respite, nor brought plenty to the poor. But there have been so many things to which it seemed this failure could be laid, that up to our time [1879] the new faith has hardly weakened. We have better appreciated the difficulties to be overcome, but not the less trusted that the tendency of the times was to overcome them.

. . . This fact–the great fact that poverty and all its concomitants show themselves in communities just as they develop into the conditions toward which material progress tends—proves that the social difficulties existing wherever a certain stage of progress has been reached, do not arise from local circumstances, but are, in some way or another, engendered by progress itself. . . . It is in the older and richer sections of the Union that pauperism and distress among the working classes are becoming most painfully apparent. If there is less poverty in San Francisco than in New York, is it not because San Francisco is yet behind New York in all that both cities are striving for? When San Francisco reaches the point where New York now is, who can doubt that there will also be ragged and barefooted children on her streets?

Source: Henry George quoted in Richard N. Current and John A. Garraty, eds., *Words That Made American History since the Civil War.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965, pp. 167–78.

14. ETIQUETTE FOR THE TABLE (1880s)

This set of instructive verses for children printed on card stock clearly endorses the attitude of late nineteenth-century parents that children be well-trained in terms of acceptable manners when at the table.

Young Folk's Etiquette for the Table

In silence I must take my seat,
And say my grace before I eat;

Must for my food with patience wait,
Till I am ask'd to hand my plate.

I must not speak a useless word,
For children should be seen—not heard;
I must not talk about my food,
Nor fret if I don't think it good.

My mouth with food I must not crowd,
Nor while I'm eating speak aloud;
Must turn my head to cough or sneeze,
And when I ask say "If you please."

When told to rise I must put
My chair away with noiseless foot,
And lift my heart to God above,
In praise for all His wondrous love.

Source: Sally Kevill-Davies, *Yesterday's Children, The Antiques and History of Childcare*. Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors' Club, 1998, p. 131.

15. ENTRIES FROM THE DIARY OF RUTH ANNA ABRAMS (1881)

Ruth Anna Abrams was the mother of nine children at age 39 when she penned her personal diary. Two years later she was dead. Written in 1881, this sample from the diary is presented with its original spelling and grammatical errors.

Thursday, October the 20th pleasant I Have sewed hard all day I made Charlie Mcgill a calico shirt I bought and made it for him a present this evening I cut out Alices shirt dress I am weary.

Teusday, October the 25th clear and pleasant. I worked on Addas and Alices dresses they both think theres ought to be made first I will make both at once Anderson and the boys is husking corn The leaves are all bright colored and falling to the ground.

Wednesday, November the 2th dark and rainey This afternoon I finished Addas dress and fixed Lafes bed tick. I have finished fourteen garments this week big and little I have kept buisey all day and sewed some after night.

Tuesday, December the 6th still the sun refuses to shine Dark and sullen looks the cloud but it is not cold. I cut the skirt of Doras red brocaded dress but I fear my eyes are to weary to finish it. I am hardly stout enough to do all the work for so large a family and take care of the little ones.

Source: Roderick Kiracofe, *Cloth & Comfort, Pieces of Women's Lives from Their Quilts and Diaries*. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1994, p. 20.

16. A SNIPPET FROM A DOLL'S LIFE (1880s)

The author of this poignant piece was Edith Stratton Kitt, who as an adult wrote about her life growing up in Arizona in the 1880s.

Mabel had a fine rag doll with a bisque head and many fine clothes which had belonged to our great-grandmother. Dolls did not, however, particularly appeal to me. Once I was given a doll with a china head, but she did not last long. I took her down to the corral to watch the cowboys brand calves, and she got excited and fell off the fence and broke her head.

Source: Roderick Kiracofe, *Cloth & Comfort, Pieces of Women's Lives from Their Quilts and Diaries*. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1994, p. 18.

17. FROM HAND-SEWN TO MACHINE-SEWN (1867–1899)

The following short excerpts are the simplest of statements of how technological advances affected the home, especially with respect to sewing. The first is from Lois Lenski's autobiography. The second is from Anne Whitwell, who wrote to her adult daughter in 1867, and the last is from Edith White reminiscing as an adult.

Lois Lenski

I began to sew for my dolls when I was six [1899]. Mama showed me how to cut a pattern, set in sleeves, how to gather a skirt to put in a belt, how to make buttonholes, how to do hemstitching. She said, "If you are going to learn to sew, you might as well do it the right way." The box of scraps from her own dressmaking was my treasure box.

Source: Roderick Kiracofe, *Cloth & Comfort, Pieces of Women's Lives from Their Quilts and Diaries*. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1994, p. 50.

Anne Whitwell

I wish I was one of those sassy ones that never gets in a fret over anything. Didn't this sewing machine help me along fast. I never mean to sew by hand any more if I can help it.

Source: Presented in Roderick Kiracofe, *Cloth & Comfort, Pieces of Women's Lives from Their Quilts and Diaries*. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1994, p. 14.

Edith Wharton

I was permitted to have material with which I cut out, fitted, and made on the sewing machine a dress for my sister when I was eleven. Of this I was justly proud.

Source: Roderick Kiracofe, *Cloth & Comfort, Pieces of Women's Lives from Their Quilts and Diaries*. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1994, p. 51.

18. DANIEL CARTER BEARD'S ADVICE TO AMERICAN BOYS (1882)

In the following excerpts from Daniel Carter Beard's *The American Boy's Handbook*, the author describes the benefits to a boy of having a dog and of going camping.

Every Boy Deserves a Dog

It is true that a boy can do without a canine companion and live to enjoy life, but he is almost incomplete; he lacks something; he has lost a gratification, a harmless, pleasant experience, and the loss leaves an empty space in his boyhood life that nothing can ever quite fill up. A boy without a dog is like an unfinished story. What your left hand is to your right, a boy's dog is to the boy. More particularly is all this true of the lad who lives either in the country or within walking distance of forest and stream. . . .

Going Camping

The next best thing to really living in the woods is talking over such an experience. A thousand little incidents, scarcely thought of at the time, crowd upon my mind, and bring back with them the feeling of freedom and adventure so dear to the heart of every boy. Shall I ever enjoy any flavor earth can afford as we did our coffee's aroma? The flapjacks—how good and appetizing! The fish—how delicate and sweet! And the wonderful cottage of boughs, thatched with the tassels of the pine—was there ever a cottage out of a fairy tale that could compare with it?

In fancy I can see it now. There stands the little cot, flooded with the light of the setting sun; those whom built it and use it for habitation are off exploring, hunting, fishing, and foraging for their evening meal, and the small, shy creatures of the wood take the opportunity to satisfy the curiosity with which they have, from a safe distance, viewed the erection of so large and singular a nest.

The boys will soon return, each with his contribution to the larder—a fish, a squirrel, a bird, or a rabbit, which will be cooked and eaten with better appetite and enjoyment than the most elaborate viands that home could afford. And though such joys are denied me now, I can, at least, in remembering them, give others an opportunity to posses similar pleasures.

Source: Daniel Carter Beard, *The American Boy's Handbook.* Boston, MA: David R. Godine, 1882, pp. 148, 223.

19. LINA AND ADELIA BEARD ON ACTIVITIES FOR GIRLS (1887)

In the following excerpts from *The American Girls Handbook, or How to Amuse Yourself and Others* by Lina Beard and Adelia B. Beard, the authors describe the benefits of a walking club for girls, rules for more healthful exercise, and the pleasures of a door-step party.

The Walking Club

A sound of girlish voices is suddenly heard in the quiet village streets, as our Walking Club, issuing from the house of one of its members, starts off on the first tramp of the season. The gay chatter and bubbling laughter blend with the twittering and chirping of the birds fluttering among the budding trees, and all the merry sounds seem in perfect harmony with the youthful gladness of the bright morning.

There is a subtle power and exhilaration in the spring sunshine that stimulates the blood, and sends it tingling through our veins, as with light-springing steps we quickly leave the village behind us and penetrate into the outlying country, stopping now and then to secure a branch of the downy pussy-willow or the brilliant red blossoms of the maple, and again to admire a distant view where the trees seem enveloped in a hazy mist of delicate color; on we go, exploring sequestered spots or entering into the woods in search of early wild flowers.

Although possibly timid as individuals, as a club we are brave enough; for a party of fourteen or sixteen girls, including our merry little chaperon, may go, with impunity, where it would not be so pleasant for one to venture alone. Once a week all through that delightful spring the club might have been seen, now upon a road leading in this direction, now in that. And, often as we stepped aside to allow a carriage to pass, its occupants would lean forward smiling, and waving their hands in greeting; for the moment, perhaps, feeling in sympathy with the vigorous young life that preferred this mode of locomotion to being carried about on the downiest cushions of the easiest carriages. . . .

It was not until the ever-increasing heat of the sun, and our own languid disinclination to much exertion, warned us that the mildness of spring had passed, that we concluded to disband for summer. In the fall we again fell into rank, and came home from our walks laden with the gorgeous trophies of autumn, as we had once carried in triumph the tasseled branches and dainty flowers of spring. We continued our tramps into early winter, when the frosty crispness of the air made it very bracing, and the brisk exercise of walking brought the healthy color to cheek and lip of the young pedestrians.

Such a club as this, which at the same time promotes health, good spirits, and sociability, is one that most girls will enjoy and derive benefit from.

Rules to Promote Better Walking

TO MAKE THE EXERCISE OF WALKING HEALTHFUL, AND THEREFORE THE MORE ENJOYABLE, THESE RULES SHOULD BE OBSERVED

1st. Carry the body erect on the hip, the shoulders thrown back, the chest raised, and the head square on the shoulders.

2nd. Breathe through the nose while walking rapidly, otherwise the mouth will become dry and the breath short.

3rd. Wear loosely fitting clothes that will permit a free motion of the limbs, and shoes with broad, moderately thick soles and low, broad heels. In all cases girl's skirts should be supported from the shoulders, and in walking any distance it is absolutely necessary for comfort that there should be no weight upon the hips.

The Door-Step Party

In the State of Kentucky . . . at dusk . . . after the heat of the day is spent, and the air, although not cool, is a degree or two less hot, the population of the town makes itself visible. Ladies and children clad in the thinnest of white and light colored muslin gowns, emerge from the houses to sit upon piazza and door-step, and there welcome husband, father, and brothers of the family upon their return from business; that business which is never neglected no matter what the thermometer may register. After tea the door-steps are once more taken possession of, and to enter the house again until ready to retire for the night, is not to be thought of. Friends and neighbors making social calls are received and entertained informally upon the door-steps, and sometimes when the party becomes too large for the steps to accommodate, chairs are placed upon the pavement immediately in front of the door, and no one feels, while occupying one of these seats, that the position is at all public or conspicuous.

Hatless and bonnetless as all of the ladies and children are, the warmth of the evenings making all head coverings and extra wraps unnecessary and uncomfortable, the streets present a gay and fête-like appearance seldom seen in our eastern towns. . . .

Now is just the time for a door-step party . . . a modest fête . . . a simple way of entertaining one's friends of a summer evening when the heat will not permit of the exertion of active games. The delightful out-door surroundings give it a novel charm and make it entirely different from the frolics usually indulged in during the winter season. Because the entertainment is not noisy it need not be the less enjoyable, and a party of bright, merry girls will derive plenty of amusement and fun from the quiet games of a door-step party . . . that are suitable for an occasion of this kind.

Source: Lina Beard and Adelia B. Beard, *The American Girls Handbook, or How to Amuse Yourself and Others*. Boston, MA: David R. Godine, 1887, pp. 28–30, 31, 151–53.

20. THE GOSPEL OF WEALTH (1889)

Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919) was a massively successful businessman—his wealth was based on the provision of iron and steel to the railways, but also a man who recalled his roots in Scotland before his immigration to the United States. To resolve what might seem to be contradictions between the creation of wealth, which he saw as proceeding from immutable social laws, and social provision, he came up with the notion of the gospel of wealth. He lived up to his word, and gave away large portions of his fortune to socially beneficial projects, most famously by funding libraries. His approval of death taxes might surprise modern billionaires.

The Gospel of Wealth

The problem of our age is the administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. . . . The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us today measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Maecenas [a rich Roman patron of the arts]. The "good old times" were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as today. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both—not the least so to him who serves—and would sweep away civilization with it. . . .

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. The question then arises—and, if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal—What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few? And it is of this great question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that fortunes are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns from which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not wealth, but only competence, which it should be the aim of all to acquire.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It can be left to the families of the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered during their lives by its possessors. Under the first and second modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchial countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to descend to succeeding generations unimpaired. The condition of this class in Europe today teaches the futility of such hopes or ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies or from the fall in the value of land. . . . Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, for the sons, men may well hesitate, for it is no longer questionable that great sums bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families and of the state, such bequests are an improper use of their means.

As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before it becomes of much good in the world. . . . The cases are not few in which the real object sought by the testator is not attained, nor are they few in which his real wishes are thwarted. . . .

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. . . . Of all forms of taxation, this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the state, cannot thus be deprived of its proper share. By taxing estates heavily at death, the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life.

This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society should always have in view, as being that by far most fruitful for the people. . . .

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes: but in this way we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony—another ideal, differing, indeed from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellow citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the sole agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer—doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

Source: Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review,* June 1889, No. 391, Volume 148: pp. 653, 657–62.

21. CHRISTMAS DAY MENU (1890)

The following menu for Christmas dinner comes from an 1890 edition of *Godey's Lady's Book*.

Raw Oysters
Bouillon
Fried Smelts................................Sauce Tartare
Potatoes a La Maitre d' Hotel
Sweetbread Pates........................Peas
Roast Turkey...............................Cranberry Sauce
Roman Punch
Quail with Truffles......................Rice Croquettes
Parisian Salad
Crackers and Cheese
Nesselrode Pudding....................Fancy Cakes
Fruit...Coffee

Raw Oysters

Have blue-point oysters; serve upon the half shell, the shells being laid upon oyster plates filled with cracked ice; six oysters and a thick slice of lemon being served upon each plate.

Bouillon

Put into a pot three pounds of shin beef, one pound of knuckle of veal, and three quarts of water, and simmer gently. As soon as the scum begins to rise, skim carefully until it quite ceases to appear. Then add salt, two carrots, the same of onions, turnips, and a little celery. Simmer gently four hours, strain, and serve in bouillon cups to each guest.

Fried Smelts

Clean about two dozen smelts, cut off the gills, wash them well in cold water, and then dry them thoroughly. Put in a pinch of salt and pepper in a little milk, into which dip your smelts, and then roll them in cracker dust. Put into a frying pan some lard, in which, when very hot, fry your smelts a light brown. Also fry some parsley, which place around your fish, and serve with Sauce Tartare.

Sauce Tartare

Put the yolks of two eggs in a bowl with salt, pepper, the juice of a lemon, and one teaspoonful of dry mustard. Stir with a wooden spoon, and add by degrees—in very small quantities, and stirring continuously—a tablespoonful of vinegar; then, a few drops at a time, some good oil, stirring rapidly all the time, until your sauce thicken, and a half a pint of oil has been absorbed. Chop one pickle and a tablespoonful of capers, also chop a green onion and a few tarragon leaves, and mix with your sauce.

Potatoes a La Maitre D'hotel

Wash eight potatoes, and boil them in cold water with a pinch of salt. When thoroughly done, peel them cut them in thin round slices; put them—with three ounces of butter, a pinch of salt, pepper and a nutmeg, the juice of a lemon, and a tablespoonful of chopped parsley—in a saucepan on the fire, and, when very hot, serve.

Sweetbread Pates

Boil four sweetbreads, and let them become cold; then chop them very fine, add about ten mushrooms, also chopped fine. Mix with these a quarter pound of butter, half a pint of milk, a little flour, pepper, salt, and a little grated nutmeg. Put upon the fire, stir until it begins to thicken, then put in puff-paste that has been prepared, and bake until light brown.

Peas

Open a can of peas, soak in clear water for half an hour, then put upon the fire in clean water, let them boil up hard, drain well and serve with butter, pepper and salt.

Roast Turkey

Clean and prepare a medium sized turkey for roasting. Cut two onions in pieces, and put them in a saucepan with two ounces of butter, and color them slightly. Grate a pound of bread into fine crumbs, add the bread to your onions, the turkey's heart and liver chopped very fine, quarter of a pound of butter, salt, pepper, a pinch of thyme, and mix all well together. Stuff the turkey with this mixture, sew up the opening through which you have introduced the stuffing, and put it to roast, with a little butter on top and a wineglassful of water; roast an hour and a half; strain your liquor in the pan, pour over your turkey, and serve.

Cranberry Sauce

Take one quart of cranberries, pick and wash carefully, put upon the fire with half a teacupful of water, let them stew until thoroughly broken up, then strain and add one pound and a quarter of sugar; put into a mould and turn out when cold.

Roman Punch

Put in a saucepan on the fire three-quarters of a pound of sugar with three pints of water, boil ten minutes, then put aside to become cold. Put in a freezer, and when nearly frozen, stir into it rapidly a gill of rum and the juice of four lemons. Serve in small glasses.

Rice Croquettes

Take one cupful of rice, wash and boil it, and let it get thoroughly cold. Beat up with it one egg, a teaspoonful of sugar and the same of melted butter, salt and a little nutmeg. Work this mixture into the rice, stirring until all is well mixed and the lumps worked out. Make, with floured hands, into oblong rolls about three inches in length, and half an inch in diameter. Coat these thickly with flour, and set them in a cold place until needed. Fry a few at a time in hot lard, rolling them over as they begin to brown to preserve their shape. As each is taken from the fire, put into a colander to drain and dry.

Parisian Salad

Cut in small pieces six cold boiled potatoes, the same quantity of beets, and also of boiled celery—both cold. Mix the yolks of four hard boiled eggs with two tablespoonfuls of anchovy sauce, press through a sieve; add, little by little, four tablespoonfuls of oil, one tablespoonful of mustard, two tablespoonfuls of vinegar, a few tarragon leaves chopped fine, two pinches of salt, two of pepper, and the whites of four hard boiled eggs, cut in pieces, mix all well together, and serve.

Crackers and Cheese

Place on separate dishes, and serve with the salad.

Nesselrode Pudding

Remove the shells from two dozen French chestnuts, which put in a saucepan with a little water, then peel off the skin, and put the chestnuts in a saucepan on the fire with a pint of water and one pound of sugar. Boil them until very soft, then press them through a sieve; the put them in a saucepan with one pint of cream, in which you mix the yolks of four eggs. Just before boiling put your mixture through a sieve, add an ounce of stoned raisins, an ounce of currants, two sherry glasses of sherry wine, and freeze it like ice-cream. When frozen, cut four candied apricots, four candied green gages, half an ounce of citron in small pieces, three ounces of candied cherries; mix them thoroughly into the pudding, which is put into a mould, a thick piece of paper on top, and the cover securely shut down upon it. Put some cracked ice, mixed with two handfuls of rock salt, into a bowl, in the middle of which put your mould, covering it entirely with ice and salt; let it remain two hours, then turn it out of the mould, first dipping it into warm water.

Macaroons

Put half a pound of almonds in boiling water, remove the skins, then put the almonds in cold water, then put them in the oven to dry. Pound them to a paste, adding the white of an egg; then add a pound and a half of powdered sugar, again pound well, adding the whites of two eggs. Spread on a pan a sheet of white paper, pour the mixture into little rounds somewhat smaller than a fifty cent piece, place them on top of the paper in your pan, about an inch and a half apart. Put them in a gentle oven for twelve minutes, the door of the oven shut; at the end of that time, if they are well colored, remove them from the oven, let them become cold, turn the paper upside down, moisten it with a little water and remove the macaroons.

Fruit

Arrange grapes, apples, bananas and oranges upon fancy dishes, with gaily colored leaves and ivy branches around them.

Coffee

Take one quart of boiling water, one even cupful of freshly ground coffee, wet with half a cupful of cold water, white and shell of one egg. Stir into the wet coffee the white and shell, the latter broken up small. Put the mixture into the coffee pot, shake up and down six or seven times hard, to insure thorough incorporation of the ingredients, and pour in the boiling water. Boil steadily twelve minutes, pour in half a cupful of cold water, and remove instantly to the side to settle. Leave it there five minutes; lift and pour off gently the clear coffee. Serve in small cups, and put no sugar in the coffee. Lay, instead, a lump in each saucer, to be used as the drinker likes.

Source: *Godey's Lady's Book*, December 1890.

22. THE REPORT ON THE MARINE GUARD AT THE LEGATIONS AT PEKING (BEIJING) DURING THE BOXER REBELLION (1900)

Lasting from 1899 to 1901, the Boxer Rebellion was an antiforeign peasant-based movement in China that sought to end outside influence on Chinese trade, politics, religion, and technology. Westerners called the insurgents boxers because of the martial arts exercise that they practiced. In June 1900, the Boxers entered Peking (Beijing), where they killed over 200 foreigners, including diplomats, and forced the rest to stand siege in the compound reserved for foreign legations. The following is a U.S. Marine report on the uprising.

HEADQUARTERS U.S. MARINE CORPS,
Washington, D.C., September 29, 1900.

In the early part of the year [1900], when the danger to the members of the various foreign legations in Peking was first apprehended on account of the "boxer" disturbances in China, which were rapidly becoming more extensive, a marine guard, consisting of 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 25 privates, under command of Capt. John T. Myers, U.S.M.C., of the U.S.S. *Oregon,* was sent to Peking to guard the legations. Captain Myers left the *Oregon* with his command May 24, 1900. The exact date of his arrival at Peking is not known. On May 29, 1900, Capt. Newt H. Hall, U.S.M.C., and a marine guard consisting of 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, and 23 privates from the U.S.S. *Newark,* was sent to Tientsin, China, and thence to Peking on May 31, 1900, to reinforce Captain Myers' command. This small guard, aggregating only 56 in number, has remained in Peking guarding the legations during the long and terrible siege to which they were subjected by the Chinese; and the meager reports which have so far been received show that the marines under Captain Myers have not only performed the duty assigned them efficiently, but with the utmost bravery and gallantry.

The first official information received concerning the marine guard at Peking was contained in a cablegram from Rear-Admiral Remey to the Navy Department, dated Taku, August 19, 1900, as follows:

TAKU, 19th. Authentic report Peking 15th from Latimer. Troops moving on Imperial City; clearing out Tartar City. All Americans who remained in Peking are well. There have been no deaths among them except one child. Captain Myers has recovered from wound, has typhoid fever, crisis passed, now convalescent. Assistant Surgeon Lippett was wounded, left upper leg bone fractured, leg saved, now recovering. Following killed during siege in Peking: Sergt. J. Fanning, Privates C.B. King, J.W. Tutcher, J. Kennedy, R.E. Thomas, A. Turner, H. Fisher. Wounded: Private J. Schroeder, elbow, severe and dangerously ill, fever; Seaman J. Mitchell, wound upper arm, severe but recovering; all others wounded and sick have returned to duty. Casualties Major Biddle's command attack San Tan Pating: First Lieutenant Butler, chest; Private Green, wrist; Private Warrell, right temple; all slight. Reported from Chinese sources Royal family have escaped and en route to Sianfu.

The brigadier-general commandant has since been furnished, by reference from the Navy Department, with copies of a dispatch from the United States consul at Chefoo, China, inclosing memoranda relating to the situation in Peking up to July 21, 1900. Copies of this dispatch and the memoranda enclosed are appended to my report.

The following are extracts, taken from the memoranda referred to, relating to the work done by the American marines.

[Extract of cablegram from "Coltman" to "Fernstalk, Boston."]

American marines still hold vital position city wall commanding legations, after brilliant sortie July 3; Captain Myers driving back hordes of Kansuli troops; he slightly wounded. Captured flags, arms.

In the memorandum quoting the gist of other messages relating to the situation in Peking appears the following:

July 3 Captain Myers's American marines made wonderful sortie, capturing guns and standards; he was wounded slightly. Chinese also badly defeated when they attempted night attack. Foreigners holding Legation street from French to American legations, and British on north, all working at barricades, trenches, and fighting and nearly worn out. Chinese seem to be short of ammunition. Our marines have fought like tigers against fearful odds. Only Chinese cowardice prevented their hordes of savages massacring our nationals.

Under date of August 23, 1900, Maj. W. P. Biddle, U.S.M.C., commanding marines in China, forwarded to the brigadier-general commandant a letter from the United States minister to China, Hon. E. H. Conger, transmitting a copy of the resolution passed by the American missionaries besieged in Peking expressing "their hearty appreciation of the courage, fidelity, and patriotism of the American marines, who so bravely and tenaciously held the key to our salvation during the whole of the trying time." From Minister Conger's letter of transmission it seems that he attributes the safety of the besieged members of the legations to the courageous and indefatigable defense maintained by the United States marines.

It would seem by the reports that Captain Myers and his small body of marines succeeded in holding a dangerous and almost untenable position on the city wall, in the face of overwhelming numbers, and also that he made a brilliant sortie, driving back hordes of Chinese, on which occasion he was slightly wounded. Captain Myers's courage and gallantry merit the highest commendation, and I will in a short time recommend to the Department that he be given proper recognition for his bravery in the presence of the enemy. . . .

Respectfully forwarded to the brigadier-general, commandant, United States Marine Corps headquarters, Washington, D.C.

Legation of the United States
Peking, China, August 20, 1900.
W.P. BIDDLE,
Major, U.S.M.C., Commanding.

Source: W. P. Biddle, "The Boxer Rebellion and the U.S. Navy, 1900–1901." Accessed August 2007. URL: http://www.history.navy.mil/faq/faqs86-1.htm.

23. *THE JUNGLE* BY UPTON SINCLAIR (1906)

Upton Sinclair, a progressive reformer from the turn of the century, wrote *The Jungle* in 1906. Early in his career, he made a quiet study of the Chicago stockyards, meat-packing houses, and the railroad hub that served them. He began to write his novel about what he had seen detailing all the most gruesome aspects of the meat industry. The novel was an amazing success selling 150,000 copies, and moving President Theodore Roosevelt to order an investigation of the meat-packing industry. Within a year, Congress had passed the Pure Food and Drug Act and a strong set of meat inspection regulations. The selection below is descriptive of what a visitor like Sinclair would have seen in the 1890s.

The Jungle

A full hour before the party [of emigrants] had reached the city they began to note the perplexing changes in the atmosphere. It grew darker all the time, and upon the earth the grass seemed to grow less green. Every minute, as the train sped on, the colors of things became dingier; the fields were grown parched and yellow, the landscape hideous and bare. And along with the thickening smoke they began to notice another circumstance, a strange pungent odor. They were not sure that it was unpleasant, this odor; some might have called it sickening, but their taste in odors was not developed, and they were only sure that it was curious. Now, sitting in the trolley car, they realized that they were on their way to the home of it—that they had traveled all the way from Lithuania to it. It was now no longer something far off and faint, that you caught in whiffs; you could literally taste it, as well as smell it—you could take hold of it, almost, and examine it at your leisure. They were divided in their opinions about it. It was an elemental odor, raw and crude; it was rich, almost rancid, sensual, and strong. There were some who drank it in as if it were an intoxicant; there were others who put their handkerchiefs to their faces. The new emigrants were still tasting it, lost in wonder, when suddenly the car came to a halt, and the door was flung open, and a voice shouted—"Stockyards!"

They were left standing upon the corner, staring; down a side street there were two rows of brick houses, and between them a vista: half a dozen chimneys, tall as the tallest of buildings, touching the very sky—and leaping from them half a dozen columns of smoke, thick, oily, and black as night. It might have come from the center of the world, this smoke, where the fires of the ages still smolder. It came as if self-impelled, driving all before it, a perpetual explosion. It was inexhaustible; one stared waiting for it to stop, but still the great streams rolled out. They spread in vast clouds overhead, writhing, curling; then, uniting in one giant river, they streamed away down the sky, stretching a black pall as far as the eye could reach.

Then the party became aware of another strange thing. This, too, like the odor, was a thing elemental; it was a sound, a sound made up of ten thousand little sounds. You scarcely noticed it at first—it sunk into your consciousness, a vague disturbance, a trouble. It was like the murmuring of the bees in the spring, the whisperings of the forests; it suggested endless activity, the rumblings of a world in motion. It was only by an effort that one could realize that it was made by animals, that it was the distant lowing of ten thousand cattle, the distant grunting of ten thousand swine. . . .

There is over a square mile of space in the yards, and more than half of it is occupied by cattle pens; north and south as far as the eye can reach there stretches a sea of pens. And they were all filled—so many cattle no one had ever dreamed existed in the world. Red cattle, black, white, yellow cattle; old cattle and young cattle; great bellowing bulls and little calves not an hour born; meek-eyed milch [dairy] cows and fierce, long-horned Texas steers. The sound of them here was as of all barnyards of the universe; and as for counting them—it would have taken all day simply to count the pens.

. . . [A]nd what will become of all these creatures? . . . [T]hey will be killed and cut up; and over there on the other side of the packing houses are more railroad tracks, where the cars come to take them away. . . . There were two hundred and fifty miles of track within the yards. . . . They brought about ten thousand head of cattle every day, and as many hogs, and half as many sheep—which meant some eight or ten million live creatures turned into food every year. One stood and watched, and little by little caught the drift of the tide, as it set in the direction of the packing houses. There were groups of cattle being driven into chutes, which were roadways about fifteen feet wide, raised high above the pens. In these chutes the stream of animals was continuous; it was quite uncanny to watch them, pressing to their fate, all unsuspicious—a very river of death. Our friends were not poetical, and the slight suggested to them no metaphors of human destiny; they only thought of the wonderful efficiency of it all. The chutes into which the hogs went climbed high up—to the very top of the distant buildings, and . . . the hogs went up by the power of their own legs, and then their weight carried them back through all the processes necessary to make them into pork. . . . They use everything about the hog except the squeal. . . .

Source: Upton Sinclair quoted in Richard N. Current and John A. Garraty, eds., *Words that Made American History Since the Civil War.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965, pp. 278–80.

This page intentionally left blank

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DECADE—1860–1900

As the following census figures show, the population of the United States grew by almost 45 million persons between 1860 and 1900, with the rate of growth being relatively steady across the period.

1860	31.4 million
1870	38.6 million
1880	50.2 million
1890	63.0 million
1900	76.2 million

Source: United States Bureau of Census

APPENDIX 2: PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES—1861–1901

Listed below are the presidents of the United States who held office between 1861 and 1900, with their party affiliations and their terms of service.

Abraham Lincoln[1]	Republican	1861–1865
Andrew Johnson	National Union[2]	1865–1869
Ulysses S. Grant	Republican	1869–1877
Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	1877–1881
James A. Garfield[3]	Republican	1881
Chester A. Arthur	Republican	1881–1885
Grover Cleveland	Democrat	1885–1889

Benjamin Harrison	Republican	1889–1893
Grover Cleveland	Democrat	1893–1897
William McKinley[4]	Republican	1897–1901

[1] Assassinated in office; shot on April 14 and died on April 15, 1865
[2] Andrew Johnson, a Democrat, was elected in 1864 on the National Union ticket with Republican Abraham Lincoln
[3] Assassinated in office; shot on July 2 and died on September 19, 1881
[4] Assassinated in office; shot on September 6 and died on September 14, 1901
Source: www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents

APPENDIX 3: VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES—1861–1901

Listed below are the vice presidents of the United States who held office between 1861 and 1901, with the president under whom they served, their party affiliation, and their terms of service.

Hannibal Hamlin	Lincoln	Republican	1861–1865
Andrew Johnson[1]	Lincoln	National Union[2]	1865
Office Vacant	Johnson		1865–1869
Schuyler Colfax	Grant	Republican	1869–1873
Henry Wilson	Grant	Republican	1873–1875[3]
Office Vacant	Grant		1875–1877
William Almon Wheeler	Hayes	Republican	1877–1881
Chester A. Arthur[4]	Garfield	Republican	1881
Office Vacant	Arthur		1881–1885
Thomas A. Hendricks	Cleveland	Democrat	1885[5]
Office Vacant	Cleveland		1885–1889
Levi P. Morton	Harrison	Republican	1889–1893
Adlai E. Stevenson	Cleveland	Democrat	1893–1897
Garret A. Hobart	McKinley	Republican	1897–1899[6]
Office Vacant	McKinley		1899–1901
Theodore Roosevelt[7]	McKinley	Republican	1901

[1] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of Abraham Lincoln on April 15, 1865
[2] Andrew Johnson, a Democrat, was elected in 1864 on the National Union ticket with Republican Abraham Lincoln
[3] Resigned from office
[4] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of James Garfield on September 19, 1881
[5] Died in office on November 25, 1885
[6] Died in office on November 21, 1899
[7] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of William McKinley on September 14, 1901
Source: http://americanhistory.about.com/library/charts/blchartpresidents.htm

APPENDIX 4: SECRETARIES OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES—1861–1905

Listed below are the secretaries of state of the United States who held office between 1861 and 1905, with the president who appointed them, their party affiliation, and their terms of service.

William H. Seward	Lincoln/Johnson	Republican	1861–1869
Elihu B. Washburne	Grant	Republican	1869
Hamilton Fish	Grant	Republican	1869–1877
William M. Evarts	Hayes	Republican	1877–1881
James G. Blaine	Garfield/Arthur	Republican	1881
Frederick T. Frelinghuysen	Arthur	Republican	1881–1885
Thomas F. Bayard	Cleveland	Democrat	1885–1889
James G. Blaine	Harrison	Republican	1889–1892
John W. Foster	Harrison	Republican	1892–1893
Walter Q. Gresham	Cleveland	Democrat	1893–1895
Richard Olney	Cleveland	Democrat	1895–1897
John Sherman	McKinley	Republican	1897–1898
John Hay	McKinley/T. Roosevelt	Republican	1898–1905

Source: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/po/1682.htm; Mihalkanin, Edward S. *American Statesmen: Secretaries of State from John Jay to Colin Powell.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

APPENDIX 5: CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT—1861–1901

Listed below are the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court who served between 1861 and 1901, with the president who appointed them and their terms of service.

Roger B. Taney	Jackson	1836–1864
Salmon P. Chase	Lincoln	1864–1873
Morrison R. Waite	Grant	1873–1888
Melvin W. Fuller	Cleveland	1888–1910

Source: Kermit L. Hall, ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

This page intentionally left blank

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Abbott, E. C., and Helena Huntington Smith. *We Pointed Them North: Recollections of a Cowpuncher.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939.

Adams, Henry. *The Education of Henry Adams.* New York: The Modern Library, 1999.

Adams, James Truslow, ed. *Album of American History.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

Ahlstrom, Sydney A. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972.

Albion, Robert G., and Jennie B. Pope, *Sealanes in Wartime.* Portland, ME: Archon Books, 1968.

Alden, Carroll S., and Allan Westcott. *The United States Navy.* New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1945.

Alexander, Eveline M. *Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866–1867.* Edited by Sandra L. Myres. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977.

Alexander, George E. *Lawn Tennis: Its Founders and Its Early Days.* Lynn, MA: H. O. Zimman, 1974.

American Federation of Labor. *Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902.

Appelbaum, Diana Karter. *The Glorious Fourth: An American Holiday, An American History.* New York: Facts On File Publications, 1989.

———. *Thanksgiving: An American Holiday, An American History.* New York: Facts On File Publications, 1984.

Applegate, Jesse. *A Day with the Cow Column in 1843.* Chicago, IL: Caxton Club, 1934.

Armitage, Susan, and Elizabeth Jameson, eds. *The Women's West.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Asbury, Herbert. *The French Quarter: An Informal History of New Orleans with Particular Reference to Its Colorful Iniquities.* New York: A. A. Knopf, 1936.

Atkins, Annette. *Harvest of Grief: Grasshopper Plagues and Public Assistance in Minnesota, 1873–1878.* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984.

Bar, Paul. *The Principles of Antiseptic Methods Applied to Obstetric Practice.* Philadelphia, PA: P. Blakiston, Son & Co., 1887.

Barnard, Edward S. *Reader's Digest Story of the Great American West.* Pleasantville, NY: The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1977.

Barney, William L., ed. *A Companion to 19th-Century America.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Bartlett, Richard A. *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776–1890.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Bauer, K. Jack. *A Maritime History of the United States: The Role of America's Seas and Waterways.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

———. *Soldiering: The Civil War Diary of Rice C. Bull.* Novato, CA: Presidio, 1977.

Beard, Daniel Carter. *The American Boy's Handbook.* Boston, MA: David R. Godine, 1882.

Beard, Lina, and Adelia B. Beard. *The American Girls Handbook, or How to Amuse Yourself and Others.* Boston, MA: David R. Godine, 1887.

Beecher, Catharine E., and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Bellinger, Martha Fletcher. *A Short History of the Theater.* New York: Henry Holt, 1927.

Beringer, Richard E. *The Elements of Confederate Defeat: Nationalism, War Aims, and Religion.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988.

Better Homes and Gardens. *Heritage Cookbook.* Des Moines, IA: Meredith Corporation, 1974.

Bierley, Paul E. *John Philip Sousa, American Phenomenon.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1973.

———. *The Works of John Philip Sousa.* Columbus, OH: Integrity Press, 1984.

Black, Brian. *Nature and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century American Life.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Bork, Robert H. *The Antitrust Paradox: A Policy at War with Itself.* New York: Basic Books, 1978.

Bradley, Glenn D. *The Story of the Pony Express: An Account of the Most Remarkable Mail Service Ever in Existence, and Its Place in History.* Chicago, IL: A. C. McClurg, 1913.

Brewer, Priscilla J. *From Fireplace to Cookstove: Technology and the Domestic Ideal in America.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

Brinton, Daniel G., and George H. Napheys. *Personal Beauty.* Springfield, MA: W. J. Holland, 1870. Reprint Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1994.

Brock, Thomas D. *Robert Koch, A Life in Medicine and Bacteriology.* Madison, WI: Science Tech Publishers, 1988.

Broder, Sherri. *Tramps, Unfit Mothers, and Neglected Children: Negotiating the Family in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Brown, Dee. *The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West.* New York: Bantam, 1958.

Browne, Francis F. *Bugle-echoes: Collection of Poetry of the Civil War Northern and Southern.* New York: White, Stokes & Allen, 1886.

Browne, Ray B., and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Bryant, Samuel W. *The Sea and States: A Maritime History of the American People.* New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1967.

Bullock, James D. *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe.* 2 vols. New York: Putnam's, 1884.

Burgess, William W. *The Voyages of Capt. W. W. Burgess, 1854–1885.* Plymouth, MA: Jones River Press, 2003.

Burke, Edmund H. *The History of Archery.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971 [c1957].

Butterfield, Roger. *The American Past: A History of the United States from Concord to Hiroshima, 1775–1945*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947.

Cadenhead, I. E., Jr. *Benito Juarez*. New York: Wayne Publication, Inc. 1993.

Cameron, Kenneth W. *The Massachusetts Lyceum During the American Renaissance*. Hartford, CT: Transcendental Books, 1969.

Camp, Walter. *American Football*. New York: Arno Press, 1974 (c1891).

———. *Football Facts and Figures. A Symposium of Expert Opinions on the Game's Place in American Athletics*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894.

Campbell, Edward D. C., Jr., and Kym S. Rice, eds. *A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War and the Confederate Legacy*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

Canney, Donald L. *The Old Steam Navy: Frigates, Sloops, and Gunboats, 1815–1885, Vol. 1*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1990.

Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. *Annotated Catalogue of Books Used in Home Libraries and Reading Clubs*. Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Library, 1905.

Cary, John H., and Julius Weinberg, eds. *The Social Fabric, American Life from the Civil War to the Present*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Casper, Scott E., Joan Chaison, and Jeffery D. Groves, eds. *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Castello, Julio Martinez. *Theory of Fencing: Foil, Sabre, Dueling Sword*. New York: St. Marks Printing Corporation, 1931.

Chase, Gilbert. *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966.

Chudacoff, Howard P. *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Cimbala, Paul A. *The Freedmen's Bureau: Reconstructing the American South after the Civil War*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing, 2005.

Citro, Constance F., and Robert T. Michael, eds. *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1995.

Clark, Victor S. *History of Manufactures in the United States*. 3 vols. New York: Peter Smith Publishers, 1949.

Clay, C. F., trans. *Secrets of the Sword by the Baron de Bazancourt*. Bangor, ME: Laureate Press, 1998.

Clinton, Catherine. *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Coe, Sophie D., and Michael D. Coe. *The True History of Chocolate*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

Cohen, Hennig, and Tristram Potter Coffin, eds. *The Folklore of American Holidays*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research Company, 1987.

Collins, Frank D. *Popular Sports, Their Origin and Development*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally & Company, 1935.

Collins, Joseph. *Bacon, Beans and Galantines: Food and Foodways on the Western Mining Frontier*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986.

Collinson, Frank. *Life in the Saddle*. Edited by Mary Whatley Clarke. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Colt, Mrs. Miriam (Davis). *Went to Kansas*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1862.

Coy, Owen Cochran. *The Great Trek*. Los Angeles, CA: Powell Publishing Company, 1931.

Crawford, Richard. *America's Musical Life: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001.

Crook, George. *General George Crook: His Autobiography*. Edited by Martin F. Schmitt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

Croushore, James H., ed. *A Volunteer's Adventure, by Captain John W. De Forest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949.

Current, Richard N., and John A. Garraty, eds. *Words That Made American History since the Civil War*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965.

Curtis, Susan. *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Custer, Elizabeth Bacon. *Tenting on the Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Custer, Gen. George A. *My Life on the Plains: Or, Personal Experiences with Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Dahlhaus, Carl. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Dalzell, G. W. *The Flight from the Flag: The Continuing Effect of the Civil War upon the American Carrying Trade*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

Dalzell, Robert F. *Enterprising Elite, The Boston Associates and the World They Made*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Dary, David. *Seeking Pleasure in the Old West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.

Davidson, Marshall B. *Life In America*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951.

Davis, William C., ed., *Secret History of Confederate Diplomacy: Edwin De Leon, Late Confidential Agent of the Confederate Department of State in Europe*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.

Deer, Mark. *A Dog's History of America: How Our Best Friend Explored, Conquered, and Settled a Continent*. New York: North Point Press, 2004.

DiCerto, Joseph J. *The Pony Express: Hoofbeats in the Wilderness*. New York: F. Watts, 1989.

Dick, Everett. *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854–1890: A Social History of the Northern Plains from the Creation of Kansas & Nebraska to the Admission of the Dakotas*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937.

Dolson, Hildegarde. *The Great Oildorado, The Gaudy and Turbulent Years of the First Oil Rush: Pennsylvania, 1859–1880*. New York: Random House, 1959.

Donald, David H., Jean H. Baker, and Michael F. Holt. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Rev. ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 2001.

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. 1845. Reprint, New York: Penguin, 1968.

Du Bois, William E. B. *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1956.

Duffy, John. *A History of Public Health in New York City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.

Dwyer, Richard A., and Richard E. Lingenfelter, *Songs of the Gold Rush*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.

East, Charles, ed. *Sarah Morgan: The Civil War Diary of a Southern Woman*. New York: Touchstone, 1991.

Eisler, Benita, ed. *The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women (1840–1845)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977.

Elkort, Martin. *The Secret Life of Food*. Los Angeles, CA: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 1991.

Elliott, Jock. *Inventing Christmas: How Our Holiday Came to Be*. New York: Abrams, 2002.

England, J. Merton, ed. *Buckeye Schoolmaster: A Chronicle of Midwestern Rural Life 1853–1865*. Bowling Green, OH: State University Popular Press, 1996.

Fahs, Alice. *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Farragher, John Mack. *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Era of Expansion, 1800–1848*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969.

Feinstein, Stephen. *Louis Pasteur, the Father of Microbiology*. Berkeley Heights, NJ: MyReportLinks.com Books, 2008.

Finson, Jon. *Voices That Are Gone: Themes in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Song*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Fischer, Claude S. *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992.

Fite, Emerson David. *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*. Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1976.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002.

Foner, Philip S. *American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth-Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

Forbis, William H. *The Old West: The Cowboys*. New York: Time Life Books, 1973.

Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Franklin, John Hope. *Reconstruction after the Civil War*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Freemon, Frank R. *Gangrene and Glory: Medical Care during the American Civil War*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Frémont, John C. *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.

Furia, Philip. *The Poets of Tin Pan Alley: A History of America's Great Lyricists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Gard, Wayne. *Frontier Justice*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949.

Gardner, Brian. *The East India Company*. New York: Dorset Press, 1971.

Garland, Hamlin. *Boy Life on the Prairie*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1959.

———. *Son of the Middle Border*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1925.

Gatewood, Willard B., Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898–1903*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

Geers, Edward Franklin. *Ed Geers' Experience with the Trotters and Pacers*. Buffalo: The Matthews-Northrup Company, 1901.

George, Henry. *Protection or Free Trade: An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor*. New York: Henry George and Co., 1886.

Glass, Andrew. *The Sweetwater Run: The Story of Buffalo Bill Cody and the Pony Express*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Glazer, Tom. *A Treasury of Civil War Songs*. Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard Corporation, 1996.

Goetzmann, William H. *Exploration and Empire, The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. New York: The History Book Club, 1966.

Goldman, Marion S. *Gold Diggers & Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981.

Goldstein, Jonathan. *Philadelphia and the China Trade 1682–1846*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978.

Grattan, C. Hartley. *The Three Jameses: A Family of Minds*. New York: New York University Press, 1962.

Green, Harvey. *The Light of the Home*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Griffith, Ernest S. *A History of American City Government: The Conspicuous Failure, 1870–1900*. New York: Praeger, 1972.

Gross, Linda P., and Theresa R. Snyder. *Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005.

Grover, Kathlyn, ed. *Dining in America: 1850–1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.

———. *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840–1940*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

Gwin, Minrose C., ed. *Cornelia Peake McDonald: A Woman's Civil War. A Diary with Reminiscences of the War from March 1862*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

Gyory, Andrew. *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Hague, Parthenia Antoinette. *A Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama During the Civil War*. Reprint Bedford, TX: Applewood Books, 1995.

Haines, T. L., and Levi W. Yaggy. *The Royal Path of Life: Or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness*. Chicago, IL: Western Publishing House, 1876.

Hall, Kermit L., ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Handy, Robert T., ed. *The Social Gospel in America: 1870–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Hankins, Barry. *The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Hardee, W. J. *Hardee's Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*. New York: J. O. Kane, Publisher, 1862.

Harding, Bertita Lonarz de. *Phantom Crown*. Mexico City: Ediciones Tolteca, S. A., 1967.

Hareven, Tamara K., and Maris A. Vinovskis. *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Harris, Townsend. *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul General and Minister to Japan*. With an introduction by Mario Emilio Cozena. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2007.

Harvard Boat Club. *Principles of Rowing at Harvard by the Executive Committee of the Harvard Boat-Club for the Year Ending 1873*. Cambridge, MA: Welch, Bigelow, and Company, 1873.

Haskell, E. F. *Civil War Cooking: The Housekeeper's Encyclopedia*. Mendocino, CA: R.L. Shep, 1992.

Hayward, John. *Gazetteer of the United States*. Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffant and Co., 1853.

Hazen, Margaret Hindle, and Robert M. Hazen, *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America*, 1800–1920. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987.

Heath, Ernest Gerald. *A History of Target Archery*. Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1973.

Hechtlinger, Adelaide. *American Quilts, Quilting and Patchwork.* Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1974.

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds. *Daily Life of Civilians in Wartime Early America, From the Colonial Era to the Civil War.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Heininger, Mary L. *A Century of Childhood, 1820–1920.* Rochester, NY: Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984.

Hennesey, James. *American Catholics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Hewitt, Barnard. *Theater USA, 1668 to 1957.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959.

Hine, Robert V. *Community on the American Frontier: Separate But Not Alone.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Holmes, Kenneth L., ed. *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell. *Stagecoach East: Stagecoach Days in the East from the Colonial Period to the Civil War.* Edited by Peter T. Rohrbach. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983.

Hooker, Richard J. *Food and Drink in America: A History.* New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1981.

Howarth, Stephen. *To Shining Sea, A History of the United States Navy, 1775–1991.* New York: Random House, 1991.

Hunt, Gaillard. *As We Were, Life in America, 1814.* Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House Publishers, 1914. Reprinted in 1993.

Hunter, Louis C. *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780–1930.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Husband, Julie, and Jim O'Loughlin. *Daily Life in the Industrial United States, 1870–1900.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Hutton, Alfred. *The Sword Through the Centuries.* Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002.

Jackson, Richard. *Popular Songs of Nineteenth-Century America: Complete Original Sheet Music for 64 Songs.* New York: Dover Press, 1976.

Jansen, David. *Tin Pan Alley . . . The Golden Age of American Popular Music from 1886 to 1956.* New York: Fine, 1988.

Jenkins, Susan, and Linda Seward. *The American Quilt Story: The How-to and Heritage of a Craft Tradition.* Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1991.

Jewett, Charles. *Manual of Rules for Child-bed Nursing.* Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Eagle Press, 1889.

Johnson, Clifton. *Old-Time Schools and School-books.* New York: Dover Publications, 1963.

Johnson, Dorothy M. *The Bloody Bozeman.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971.

Johnson, Laurence A. *Over the Counter and On the Shelf: Country Storekeeping in America 1620–1920,* ed. Marcia Ray. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company Publishers, 1961.

Jones, Howard. *Mutiny on the Amistad.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Jones, Mary Ellen, ed. *The American Frontier: Opposing Viewpoints.* San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1994.

———. *Daily Life on the Nineteenth Century American Frontier.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Jordan, Ervin L., Jr. *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995.

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. *500 Nations: An Illustrated History of North American Indians*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.
Kaser, David. *Books and Libraries in Camp and Battle: The Civil War Experience*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
Kaufman, Stefan H. E. *Concepts in Vaccine Development*. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996.
Kelly, R. Gordon, ed. *Children's Periodicals of the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
Kevill-Davies, Sally. *Yesterday's Children, The Antiques and History of Childcare*. Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors' Club, 1998.
King, Gilbert. *The Art of Golf Antiques: An Illustrated History of Clubs, Balls, and Accessories*. Philadelphia, PA: Courage Books, 2001.
Kingman, Daniel. *American Music: A Panorama*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1990.
Kiracofe, Roderick. *The American Quilt*. New York: Clarkson Porter, 1993.
———. *Cloth & Comfort, Pieces of Women's Lives from Their Quilts and Diaries*. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1994.
Kittredge, Henry C. *Shipmasters of Cape Cod*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1935.
Lane, Rose Wilder. *Woman's Day Book of American Needlework*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962.
Larcom, Lucy. *A New England Girlhood*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986.
LaRocca, Donald J. *The Academy of the Sword: Illustrated Fencing Books, 1500–1800*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.
Leckie, William H. *The Buffalo Soldier, A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.
Leech, Margaret. *Reveille in Washington*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.
Levenstein, Harvey Q. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
Lewis, Thomas A. *The Guns of Cedar Creek*. New York: Bantam, 1991.
Lingenfelter, Richard, Richard A. Dwyer, and David Cohen, eds. *Songs of the American West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
Livermore, Mary A. My *Story of the War: A Woman's Narrative of Four Years' Personal Experience*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1995.
Lothrop, Margaret M. *The Wayside: Home of Authors*. New York: American Book Company, 1968.
Louisiana State Museum. *Playthings of the Past: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Toys*. New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, 1969.
Lovell, John. *Black Song: The Forge and the Flame; The Story of How the Afro-American Spiritual Was Hammered Out*. New York: Macmillan, 1972.
Luchetti, Cathy. *Home on the Range: A Culinary History of the American West*. New York: Villard Books, 1993.
———. *Women of the West*. In collaboration with Carol Olwell. St. George, UT: Antelope Valley Press, 1982.
Lupiano, Vincent DePaul, and Ken W. Sayers. *It Was a Very Good Year: A Cultural History of the United States from 1776 to the Present*. Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams, 1994.
Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. New York: Dover, 1987. Reprint of the 1890 edition.
Marcy, Randolph B. *The Prairie Traveler, A Hand-book for Overland Expeditions*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1993. Reprint of the 1859 edition.

Marten, James. *The Children's Civil War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Mason, Philip P., ed. *Copper Country Journal, The Diary of Schoolmaster Henry Hobart, 1863–1864.* Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

Massey, Mary Elizabeth. *Women in the Civil War.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.

Mauriceau, François. *The Diseases of Women with Child, and in Child-bed.* New York: Garland Press, 1985.

Mautz, Carl. *Biographies of Western Photographers: A Reference Guide to Photographers Working in the 19th-Century American West.* Nevada City, CA: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1997.

McAuley, James. *The New and Improved Broad Sword Exercise, As Recently Taught at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y.* Columbia, SC: Printed at the Telescope office, 1838.

McClary, Andrew. *Toys with Nine Lives, A Social History of American Toys.* North Haven, CT: Linnet Books, 1997.

McClinton, Katherine Morrison. *Antiques of American Childhood.* New York: Bramhall House, 1970.

McDonald, Douglas. *Virginia City and the Silver Region of the Comstock Lode.* Carson City: Nevada Publications, 1982.

McGeer, Michael E. *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

McGuire, Judith W. *Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War by a Lady of Virginia.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

McIntosh, Elaine N. *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective.* Westport, CT: Greenwood/Praeger Press, 1995.

McMath, Robert C., Jr. *American Populism: A Social History, 1877–1898.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

McMorris, Penny. *Crazy Quilts.* New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984.

McNeil, Keith, and Rusty McNeil, *Civil War Songbook.* Riverside, CA: McNeil Music, Inc., 1999.

Megquier, Mary Jane. *Apron Full of Gold: The Letters of Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1849–1856.* Edited by Robert Glass Cleland. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1949.

Mendenhall, Thomas C. *A Short History of American Rowing.* Boston, MA: Charles River Books, 1980.

Meredith, Roy. *Mathew Brady's Portrait of an Era.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982.

Metchnikoff, Elie. *The Founders of Modern Medicine: Pasteur, Koch, Lister.* Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.

Miers, Earl Schenck, ed. *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary, by John B. Jones, 1861–1865.* New York: Sagamore Press, 1958.

Mihalkanin, Edward S. *American Statesmen: Secretaries of State from John Jay to Colin Powell.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Miles, Gen. Nelson A. *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles.* New York: Da Capo Press, 1969.

Millis, Walter. *Arms and Men, A Study of American Military History*. New York: A Mentor Book, 1956.
Milner, Clyde A., Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss. *The Oxford History of the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Mintz, Steven. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
Mitchell, Patricia B. *Cooking for the Cause*. Chatham, VA: Sims-Mitchell House, 1988.
Mitchell, Thomas G. *Indian Fighters Turned American Politicians: From Military Service to Public Office*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2003.
Mitford, Jessica. *The American Way of Birth*. New York: Dutton, 1992.
Mondale, Sarah, and Sarah B. Patton, eds. *School: The Story of American Public Education*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
Monroe, Lewis B. *Public and Parlor Readings: Prose and Poetry*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1871.
Morison, Samuel Eliot. *By Land and By Sea*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.
Moskow, Shirley Blotnick. *Emma's World: An Intimate Look at Lives Touched by the Civil War Era*. Far Hills, NJ: New Horizon Press, 1990.
Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines*. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930–1968.
Myres, Sandra L., ed. *Ho for California! Woman's Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1980.
———. *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
Nabokov, Peter, ed. *Native American Testimony: An Anthology of Indian and White Relations: First Encounters to Dispossession*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
Nasaw, David, ed. *Andrew Carnegie, The "Gospel of Wealth" Essays and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.
____________. *Children of the City: At Work and at Play*. Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday, 1985.
National Livestock Association. *Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry of the United States*. [1904]. New York: Antiquarian Press, 1959.
Natkiel, Richard, and Anthony Preston, *Atlas of Maritime History*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1986.
Neihardt, John. *Black Elk Speaks*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1932.
Nelson, Paula M. *After the West Was Won: Homesteaders and Town-Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900–1917.* Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986.
Nevin, John Williamson. *The Anxious Bench*. Chambersburg, PA: printed at the publication office of the German Reformed Church, 1844.
Nevins, Allan, ed. *The Diary of Philip Home, 1828–1851*, Vols. I & II. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1927.
Newton, Steven H. *Lost for the Cause, The Confederate Army in 1864*. Mason City, IA: Savas Publishing Company, 2000.
Nicholls, David, ed. *The Cambridge History of American Music*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
Noel, Evan Baillie. *A History of Tennis*. Mansfield Center, CT: Martino Publishers, 2007.
Nye, David E. *Electrifying America: The Social Meanings of New Technology, 1880–1940*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.
Nye, Russell B. *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830*. New York: Harper & Row, 1960.

———. *The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America*. New York: Dial Press, 1970.
Nylander, Jane C. *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home 1760–1860*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993.
O'Connor, Richard. *The Cactus Throne*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1971.
Ogle, Maureen. *Ambitious Brew, The Story of American Beer.* New York: Harcourt, Inc. 2006.
O'Neil, Sunny. *The Gift of Christmas Past, A Return to Victorian Traditions*. Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1981.
Parkman, Francis. *The Oregon Trail.* New York: Lancer books, 1968. Reprint of the 1849 edition.
Patterson, Gerard A. *Debris of Battle: The Wounded of Gettysburg*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997.
Paul, James Laughery. *Pennsylvania's Soldiers' Orphan Schools*. Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart Publisher, 1876.
Paul, Rodman Wilson. *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848–1880*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963.
Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986.
Peper, George. *Golf in America: The First One Hundred Years*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1988.
Petersen, William J. *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*. New York: Dover Publications, 1968, c1937.
Peyer, Bernd C. *The Tutor'd Mind, Indian Missionary-Writers in Antebellum America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.
Pierce, B. Byron. *National Cowboy Hall of Fame Chuck Wagon Cookbook*. New York: Hearst Books, 1995.
Pollard, Edward A. *Southern History of the War.* New York: Fairfax Press, 1990. Reprint of the 1866 edition.
Posner, Richard A. *Antitrust Law.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Abridged ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.
Quay, Sara E. *Westward Expansion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
Rader, Benjamin. *American Sports: From the Age of the Folk Games to the Age of the Spectators*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.
Rae, W. F. *Westward By Rail.* New York: Promontory Press, 1974.
Rains, Anthony John. *Edward Jenner and Vaccination*. London: Priory Press, 1974.
Randall, J. G. and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Boston, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1961.
Ransom, J. Clinton. *The Successful Man in His Manifold Relation with Life*. New York: J. A. Hill & Co., 1889.
Reef, Catherine. *Alone in the World: Orphans and Orphanages in America*. New York: Clarion Books, 2005.
Rehwinkel, Alfred M. *Dr. Bessie*. St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1963.
Rickey, Don , Jr. *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
Riis, Jacob A. *How the Other Half Lives, Studies Among the Tenements of New York*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890.
Riley, Glenda. *Frontierswomen: The Iowa Experience*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981.

Roberts, Robert. *The House Servant's Directory, An African American Butler's 1827 Guide*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006.

Roosevelt, Theodore. *Memories of the American Frontier*. New York: Westvaco, 1977.

———. *Theodore Roosevelt, an Autobiography*. New York: The Macmillian Company, 1913.

Root, Waverly, and Richard de Rouchemont. *Eating in America*. New York: William Morrow, 1976.

Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

Rosenbloom, Joshua L., and Gregory W. Stutes. *Reexamining the Distribution of Wealth in 1870*. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2005.

Rowe, William Hutchinson. *The Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring*. Augusta, ME: Bond Wheelwright, n.d.

Rowland, K. T. *Steam at Sea: The History of Steam Navigation*. New York: Praeger Publishing, 1970.

Royce, Sarah. *A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California*. Edited by Ralph Henry Gabriel. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1932.

Ruede, Howard. *Sod-House Days: Letters from a Kansas Homesteader, 1877–78*. Edited by John Ise. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966.

Ruggles, Steven, and Russell R. Menard. *Public Use Microdata Sample of the 1850 United States Census of Population: User's Guide and Technical Documentation*. Minneapolis, MN: Social History Research Laboratory, 1995.

Rutkow, Ira M. *Bleeding Blue and Gray: Civil War Surgery and the Evolution of American Medicine*. New York: Random House, 2005.

Sablosky, Irving. *What They Heard: Music in America 1852–1881, from the Pages of Dwight's Journal of Music*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986.

Safford, Carleton L., and Robert Bishop, *America's Quilts and Coverlets*. New York: Weathervane Books, 1974.

Sanchez-Eppler, Karen. *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Sandoz, Mari. *The Beaver Men, Spearheads of Empire*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978.

Sanford, Mollie Dorsey. *Mollie: The Journal of Mollie Dorsey Sanford in Nebraska and Colorado Territories, 1857–1866*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959.

Savage, William A., Jr. *The Cowboy Hero: His Image in American History and Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.

———. *Cowboy Life: Reconstructing an American Myth*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975.

Sawey, Orlan. *Charles A. Siringo*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1981.

Schabas, Ezra. *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Scharf, J. Thomas. *History of the Confederate States Navy*. New York: Fairfax Press, 1887.

Schenone, Laura. *A Thousand Years Over a Hot Stove*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003.

Schlissel, Lillian. *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*. New York: Schocken Books, 1982.

Schlissel, Lillian, Byrd Gibbons, and Elizabeth Hampsten. *Far from Home: Families of the Westward Journey*. New York: Schocken Books, 1989.

Schmitt, Martin, ed. *General George Crook: His Autobiography*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

Schob, David E. *Hired Hands and Plowboys: Farm Labor in the Midwest, 1815–1860*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

Schollander, Wendell, and Wes Schollander. *Forgotten Elegance: The Art, Artifacts, and Peculiar History of Victorian and Edwardian Entertaining in America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Seelye, John, ed. *Horatio Alger, Jr., Ragged Dick and Struggling Upward*. New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1985.

Sewell, Richard H. *A House Divided: Sectionalism and the Civil War, 1848–1865*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Shrock, Joel. *The Gilded Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Silber, Irwin. *Songs of the Civil War*. New York: Dover Publications, 1995.

Simons, Gerald, ed. *The Blockade: Runners and Raiders*. Alexandria, VA: Time Life Books, 1983.

Siringo, Charles A. *A Lone Star Cowboy*. Santa Fe, NM: n.p., 1919.

———. *A Texas Cow Boy, or Fifteen Years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony*. Chicago, IL: Siringo and Dobson, 1886.

Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Smith, Linda Wasmer. *Louis Pasteur: Disease Fighter*. Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow Publishers, 2008.

Smith, Merritt Roe, and Leo Marx, eds. *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994.

Smith, Page. *The Nation Comes of Age: A People's History*. 4 Volumes. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981.

Snow, Jennifer C. *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America, 1850–1924*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Spaulding, Lily May, and John Spaulding, eds. *Civil War Recipes: Recipes from the Pages of Godey's Lady's Book*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.

Stampp, Kenneth. *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877*. New York: Knopf, 1965.

Stark, Francis R. *The Abolition of Privateering and the Declaration of Paris*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1897.

Stern, Philip Van Doren. *The Confederate Navy: A Pictorial History*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962.

Stewart, Elinore Pruitt. *Letters of a Woman Homesteader*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1914.

Stewart, James Brewer. *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Stirn, Carl P. *Turn-of-the-Century Dolls, Toys, and Games: The Complete Illustrated Carl P. Stirn Catalog from 1893*. New York: Dover Publications, 1990.

Strasser, Susan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1982.

Strong, George Templeton. *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952.

Sullivan, Audrey G. *19th Century South Jersey Camp Meeting, South Seaville, New Jersey*. Fort Lauderdale, FL: Sullivan, 1980.

Sullivan, Walter. *The War the Women Lived: Female Voices from the Confederate South*. Nashville, TN: J. S. Sanders, 1995.

Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Sweet, Leonard I. *The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983.

Teaford, Jon C. *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870–1900*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Tebbel, John and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Thomas, Emory M. *The American War and Peace, 1860–1877*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Thorp, N. Howard. *Songs of the Cowboys*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1966.

Time Life Books. *The Glory and Pageantry of Christmas*. Maplewood, NJ: Hammond Incorporated, 1963.

Time Life Books. *The Pioneers*. New York: Time, Inc., 1974.

Time Life Books. *Time Life Book of Christmas*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1987.

Time Life Books. *Voices of the Civil War*. New York: Time Life, 1995.

Timmons, Todd. *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Tinling, Marion, ed. *With Women's Eyes: Visitors to the New World, 1775–1918*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Titcomb, Timothy. *Lessons in Life, A Series of Familiar Essays*. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1861.

Toll, Robert. *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Topping, Elizabeth A. *What's a Poor Girl To Do?: Prostitution in Mid-Nineteenth Century America*. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2001.

Trager, James. *The Food Chronology*. New York: Henry Holt, 1995.

Travers, Sam. *Christmas in the Old West*. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 2003.

Trelease, Allen. *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan, Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*. New York: Harper, 1971.

Trollope, Frances. *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2003.

Twain, Mark (Samuel Clemens). *The Innocents Abroad*. New York: Penguin Putnam, 1980.

Tyree, Marion Cabell, ed. *Housekeeping in Old Virginia*. Louisville, KY: John P. Morton and Company, 1879.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785–1812*. New York; Vintage Books, 1990.

Underwood, Kathleen. *Town Building on the Colorado Frontier*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Utley, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West. 1846–1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964.

———. *Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867–1868*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

Valencius, Conevery Bolton. *The Health of the Country, How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*. New York: Perseus Books Group, 2002.

Van Der Plas, Rob. *Cycle History: Proceedings of the 5th International Cycle History Conference*. San Francisco: Bicycle Books, 1995.

Van Dyke, Paul A. *The Canton Trade, Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.

Van Hoesen, Walter H. *Early Taverns and Stagecoach Days in New Jersey.* Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *The Antebellum Period.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

———. *Daily Life in Civil War America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

———. *Daily Life in the Age of Sail.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.

———. *Encyclopedia of the Antebellum South.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

———. *Family Life in Nineteenth-Century America.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Wagner, Tricia Martineau. *It Happened on the Oregon Trail.* Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2005.

Wallace, J. H. *Wallace's American Trotting Register.* New York: G. E. Woodward, 1871–1891.

Ware, John F. W. *Home Life: What It Is, and What It Needs.* Boston, MA: Wm. V. Spencer, 1864.

Ware, Joseph E. *The Emigrants' Guide to California.* New York: De Capo Press, 1972. Reprinted from the 1849 edition.

Wechsberg, Joseph. *The Lost World of the Great Spas.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979.

Weisberger, Bernard A. *The LIFE History of the United States: Steel and Steam, Volume 7: 1877–1890.* New York: Time Life Books, 1975.

Weiskopf, Herman. *The Perfect Game: The World of Bowling.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. 1978.

Weissman, Judith Reiter, and Wendy Lavitt. *Labors of Love: American Textiles and Needlework, 1650–1930.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

West, Elliot. *Growing Up with the Country.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

West, Elliot, and Paula Petrik, eds. *Small Worlds: Children and Adolescents in America, 1850–1950.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

West, Richard S., Jr. *Mr. Lincoln's Navy.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957.

Wheeler, Keith. *The Townsmen.* New York: Time Life Books, 1975.

White, Richard. *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Whitehurst, Clinton H. *The U.S. Merchant Marine: In Search of an Enduring Maritime Policy.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1983.

———. *The U.S. Shipbuilding Industry: Past, Present, and Future.* Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1986.

Whitney, David C. *The American Legacy: A Pageant of Great Deeds and Famous Words.* Chicago: J. G. Ferguson Publishing Company, 1975.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Williams, Susan. *Food in the United States, 1820s–1890.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

———. *Savory Suppers & Fashionable Feasts: Dining in Victorian America.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Wilson, Harold S. *Confederate Industry: Manufactures and Quartermasters in the Civil War.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.

Wise, Stephen R. *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.

Wish, Harvey. *Society and Thought in Early America: A Social and Intellectual History of the American People Through 1865*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950.
Wolff, Leon. *Lockout: The Story of the Homestead Strike of 1892*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1965.
Woodruff, Philip. *The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders*. New York: Schocken Books, 1964.
Woodward, C. Vann, ed. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.
Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.
Woodward, George E. *Victorian City and Country Houses: Plans and Designs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1996.
———. *Woodward's Architecture and Rural Art*. New York: Privately printed, 1868.
———. *Woodward's National Architect*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.
Wyman, Walker D. *Frontier Woman: The Life of a Woman Homesteader on the Dakota Frontier*. River Falls: University of Wisconsin–River Falls Press, 1972.
Zanger, Mark H. *The American History Cookbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

Albin, Maurice S. "The Use of Anesthetics during the Civil War, 1861–1865." *Pharmacy in History* 42, nos. 3–4 (2000): 99–114.
Allin, Lawrence C. "The Civil War and the Period of Decline, 1861–1913." In *America's Maritime Legacy: A History of the U.S. Merchant Marine and Shipbuilding Industry since Colonial Times*, ed. Robert A Kolmarx. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979.
Andrews, Jean Marie. "Nineteenth Century Base Ball." *Early American Life* XXXII, no. 4 (August 2002).
Aron, Cindy S. "The Evolution of the Middle Class." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
Bash, Wendell H. "Differential Fertility in Madison County New York, 1865. In *Studies in American Historical Demography*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.
Bennett, Sarah, "Words to a Woman." *Advocate and Family Guardian* 31. no. 3 (February 1, 1865).
Berry, Stephen W. "The South: From Old to New." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
Bishop, Morris. "The Lower Depths of High Education." *American Heritage* XXII, no. 1 (December 1969).
Brekus, Catherine A. "Interpreting American Religion." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America*, ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
Cable, Mary. "Damned Plague Ships and Swimming Coffins." *American Heritage* (August 1960).
Carnegie, Andrew. "Wealth." *North American Review* 148, no. 391 (June 1889).
Chudacoff, Howard P. "Newlyweds and Family Extension." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America*, eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.
Cook, Fred J. "The Slave Ship Rebellion." *American Heritage* (Feb. 1957): 60–64, 104–15.

Davis, Allen F. "The Settlement House." In *The Social Fabric, American Life from the Civil War to the Present,* eds. John H. Cary and Julius Weinberg. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Duffy, John. "Science and Medicine." In *Science and Society in the United States,* eds. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Easterlin, Richard A., George Alter, and Gretchen A. Condran. "Farms and Farm Families in Old and New Areas: The Northern States in 1860." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America,* eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Engerman, Stanley L. "Changes in Black Fertility, 1880–1940." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America,* eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Erisman, Fred. "St. Nicholas." In *Children's Periodicals of the United States,* ed. R. Gordon Kelley. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Fisher, Gordon M. "From Hunter to Orshansky: An Overview of Unofficial Poverty Lines in the United States from 1904–1965." (A paper presented October 28, 1993 at the Fifteenth Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management in Washington, D.C. available from the Department of Health and Human Services.)

Fitzpatrick, Michael F. "The Mercy Brigade." *Civil War Times Illustrated* (October 1997).

Forbes, W. Cameron. "Houqua: The Merchant Prince of China. 1769–1843." *Bulletin of the American Asiatic Association* 6 (December 1940): 9–18.

Glasco, Lawrence. "Migration and Adjustment in the Nineteenth-Century City: Occupation, Property, and Household Structure of Native-Born Whites, Buffalo, New York, 1855." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America*, eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Graulich, Melody. "Violence against Women: Power Dynamics in Literature of the Western Family." In *The Women's West,* eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Harger, Charles Moreau. "Cattle-Trails of the Prairies." *Scribner's Magazine* (June 1892): 732–42.

Hill, Peter J. "Old West Violence Mostly Myth," *The Arizona Republic* (June 19, 2007).

Hochfelder, David. "The Communications Revolution." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America,* ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Holley, J. M. "History of the Lumber Industry," *La Crosse Wisconsin Chronicle* (October 21, 1906).

Holzer, Harold. "Photographs on Tin: The Ferrotype Endures." *The Antique Trader Annual of Articles* X (September 1979).

Jameson, Elizabeth. "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West." In *The Women's West,* eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Jefferson, Dorothy L. "Child Feeding in the United States in the 19th Century." In *Award Essays: A Compilation of Essays,* by Lydia J. Roberts. Chicago, IL: American Dietetic Association, 1968.

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. "The Custer Myth." *Life* 71, no. 1 (July 2, 1971).

Kenny, Kevin. "The Development of the Working Classes." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America,* ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Levin, Alexandra Lee. "Miss Knight Abroad." *American Heritage* XI, no. 3 (April 1960): 15.

Lord, Francis A. "The United States Military Railroad Service: Vehicle to Victory." *Civil War Times Illustrated* (October 1964).

Mitchell, C. Branford. "Pride of the Seas." *American Heritage* (December 1967).

Modell, John. "Family and Fertility on the Indiana Frontier, 1820." In *Studies in American Historical Demography,* ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Nadeau, Remi. "Go it, Washoe!" *American Heritage* X, no. 3 (April 1959): 37.

Osterud, Nancy, and John Fulton. "Family Limitation and Age at Marriage." In *Studies in American Historical Demography,* ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Reynolds, Robert L. "The Coal Kings Come to Judgment," *American Heritage* XI, no. 3 (April 1960).

Rogers, Jack B., and Robert E. Blade. "The Great Ends of the Church: Two Perspectives," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 76 (1998).

Semonche, John E. "American Law in the Nineteenth Century, 1867–1900." In *A Companion to 19th-Century America,* ed. William L. Barney. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Smith, Daniel Scott, and Michael S. Hindus. "Premarital Pregnancy in America." In *Studies in American Historical Demography,* ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Sorg, Eric V. "Annie Oakley." *Wild West* (February 2001).

Stewart, George R. "The Prairie Schooner Got Them There." *American Heritage* XIII, no. 2 (February 1962).

Swartwelder, A. C. "This Invaluable Beverage: The Recollections of Dr. A. C. Swartwelder." *Civil War Times Illustrated* (October, 1975).

Taylor, Alan. "James Fenimore Cooper's America." *History Today* 46, no. 2 (February 1996).

Tice, Douglas O. "Bread or Blood: The Richmond Bread Riot." *Civil War Times Illustrated* (February 1974).

Tosh, John. "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home." *History Today* (December 1996).

Uhl, Robert. "Masters of the Merchant Marine." *American Heritage* (April 1983).

Uhlenberg, Peter R. "A Study of Cohort Life Cycles." In *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America,* eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Unidentified author. "The Needs of Working Women: Homes for Working-Girls." *Arthur's Lady's Home Magazine* 37, no. 1 (January 1871).

Watkins, Francis Marion. "The Story of the Crow Emigrant Train of 1865." *The Livingston Chronicle* (January 1935).

Wells, Robert V. "Demographic Change and the Life Cycle of American Families." In *Studies in American Historical Demography,* ed. Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

West, Patricia. "Irish Immigrant Workers in Antebellum New York: The Experience of Domestic Servants at Van Buren's Lindenwald." *The Hudson Valley Regional Review: A Journal of Regional Studies* 9 no. 2 (September 1992): 9.

Wik, Reynold M. "Science and American Agriculture." In *Science and Society in the United States,* eds. David D. Van Tassel and Michael G. Hall. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1966.

Wolff, Leon. "Labor in the Gilded Age." In *The Social Fabric: American Life from the Civil War to the Present,* eds. John H. Cary and Julius Weinberg. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Wood, Alice L. "The History of Artificial Feeding of Infants." In *Award Essays: A Compilation of Essays*, ed. Lydia J. Roberts. Chicago, IL: American Dietetic Association, 1968.

DATA SOURCES

http://americanhistory.about.com/library/charts/blchartpresidents.htm
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/po/1682.htm
http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents
U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

INTERNET SOURCES

Beaumont, Gustave de. "On Marriage in America: Beaumont's letter to his family." URL: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/FEM/beaumont.htm (accessed May 2007).

Biddle, W. P. "The Boxer Rebellion and the U.S. Navy, 1900–1901." URL: http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq86-1.htm (accessed August 2007).

Dunaway, Wilma A. "Slavery and Emancipation in the Mountain South: Sources, Evidence and Methods," Virginia Tech, Online Archives. URL: http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/faculty_archives/mountain_slavery/civilwar.htm (accessed July 2008).

Echols, Michael. "American Civil War Surgical Antiques: The Private Collection of Dr. Michael Echols." URL: http://www.braceface.com/medical/index.html (accessed October 2007).

Faust, Drew Gilpin. "The Civil War Homefront." URL: http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/rthg/chap6.htm (accessed July 2007).

Gregory, E. David. "A. L. Lloyd and the English Folk Song Revival, 1934–44." *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music (1997)*. URL: http://cjtm.icaap.org/content/25/v25art2.html (accessed July 2007).

Haines, Michael. "Fertility and Mortality in the United States." *EH.Net Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert Whaples. URL: http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/haines.demography (accessed May 2007).

Rudyard Kipling, *American Notes* (1891) URL: http://www.chicagohs.org/fire/queen/pic0521.html (assessed July 2007).

Lower East Side Tenement Museum Encyclopedia. URL: http://www.tenement.org/Encyclopedia (accessed May 2007).

Perkins, Robert. "Diplomacy and Intrigue, Confederate Relations with the Republic of Mexico, 1861–1862." URL: http://members.tripod.com/~azrebel/page11.html (accessed August 2007).

Roosevelt, Theodore. "Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography." URL: http://www.bartleby.com/55/13.html (accessed July 2007).

Stewart, James. "The Economics of American Farm Unrest, 1865–1900." *EH.Net Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert Whaples. URL: http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/stewart.farmers (accessed May 2007).

"The Sherman Antitrust Act, Text." URL: http://www.antitrustupdate.com/Statutes/SL-ShermanAct.html Sections 1–4 (accessed December 2007).

Tocqueville, Alexis de. "Letter to his sister, describing courtship and marriage habits of the Americans." URL: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/FEM/tocqueville.htm (accessed May 2007).

University of Virginia, Historical Census Browser. URL: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/state.php (accessed May 2007).

Whaples, Robert. "Child Labor in the United States." *EH.Net Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert Whaples. URL: http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/whaples.childlabor (accessed May 2007).

CUMULATIVE INDEX

Boldface numbers refer to volume numbers. A key appears on all verso pages.

1: 1763–1861 3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900 4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861 **3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900 **4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

This page intentionally left blank

EDITORS

General Editor
Randall M. Miller
St. Joseph's University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Volume Editors
James M. Volo
Sacred Heart University
Fairfield, Connecticut

Dorothy Denneen Volo
Norwalk Public Schools
Norwalk, Connecticut

This page intentionally left blank

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

Recent Titles in
The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

The Civil War
Paul A. Cimbala

Civilians in Wartime Europe, 1618–1900
Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey, editors

The Vietnam War
James E. Westheider

World War II
G. Kurt Piehler

Immigrant America, 1870–1920
June Granatir Alexander

Along the Mississippi
George S. Pabis

Immigrant America, 1820–1870
James M. Bergquist

Pre-Columbian Native America
Clarissa W. Confer

Post-Cold War
Stephen A. Bourque

The New Testament
James W. Ermatinger

The Hellenistic Age: From Alexander to Cleopatra
James Allan Evans

Imperial Russia
Greta Bucher

3

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN AMERICA, WORLD WAR I, AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION, 1900–1940

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

Francis J. Sicius
VOLUME EDITOR
Randall M. Miller
GENERAL EDITOR

The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

GREENWOOD PRESS
Westport, Connecticut • London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Greenwood encyclopedia of daily life in America / Randall M. Miller, general editor.
p. cm.—(The Greenwood Press daily life through history series, ISSN 1080–4749)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
ISBN 978–0–313–33703–1 (v. 1)
ISBN 978–0–313–33704–8 (v. 2)
ISBN 978–0–313–33705–5 (v. 3)
ISBN 978–0–313–33706–2 (v. 4)
1. United States—Civilization—Encyclopedias. 2. United States—Social life and customs—Encyclopedias. 3. United States—Social conditions—Encyclopedias. I. Miller, Randall M.
E169.1.G7553 2009
973.03—dc22 2007042828

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2007042828
ISBN: 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
978–0–313–33703–1 (vol. 1)
978–0–313–33704–8 (vol. 2)
978–0–313–33705–5 (vol. 3)
978–0–313–33706–2 (vol. 4)
ISSN: 1080–4749

First published in 2009

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881
An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
www.greenwood.com

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48–1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

COPYRIGHT ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The publisher has done its best to make sure the instructions and/or recipes in this book are correct. However, users should apply judgment and experience when preparing recipes, especially parents and teachers working with young people. The publisher accepts no responsibility for the outcome of any recipe included in this volume.

Dedicated to Mary T. Griesser

CONTENTS

TOUR GUIDE: A PREFACE FOR USERS

During the time of the American Revolution, the writer Hector St. Jean de Crevecouer asked the fundamental question that has dogged Americans thereafter: "What then is this new man, this American." Countless students of American history have searched every aspect of political, economic, social, and cultural history to discover "this American." In doing so, they have often focused on the great ideas that inspired a "free people" and defined public interest since the inception of the United States; the great events that marked American history; and the great changes wrought by democratic, industrial, communications, and other revolutions shaping American life, work, and identities. And they have been right to do so. But more recently other students of history have insisted that finding the *real* American requires looking at the details of everyday life. Therein, they argue, Americans practiced what mattered most to them and gave meaning to larger concepts of *freedom* and to the great events swirling about them. The ways Americans at home and at work ordered their daily life have become the subject of numerous community studies and biographies of the so-called common man or woman that were created by combing through all manner of personal accounts in diaries, letters, memoirs, business papers, birth and death records, census data, material culture, popular song, verse, artistic expression, and, indeed, virtually any source about or by common folk.

But making sense of so much individual study and providing a clear path through the history of Americans in their daily life has waited on a work that brings together the many and diverse ways Americans ordered their individual worlds at home and at work. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* promises such a synthesis; it also promises to find "this American" in what Americans ate, who they courted and married, how they raised their children, what they did at work, where they traveled, how they played, and virtually every aspect of social life that Americans made for themselves. As such, it brings to life "this American" on his or her own terms. It also suggests that by discovering the ordinary it becomes possible to understand that extraordinary phenomenon of the American.

Features and Uses

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America is a reference work and guide that provides up-to-date, authoritative, and readable entries on the many experiences and varieties of daily life of Americans from the dawn of the republic through the first years of the twenty-first century. In spanning the roughly 250 years from the mid-eighteenth century to the new millennium, the four volumes of *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* employ both a chronological and a topical, or thematic, approach. Doing so invites many uses for the volumes as reference guides; as touchstones for inquiries to a host of questions about the social, cultural, economic, and political history of Americans and the nation; and, taken together, as a broad view of daily life in the United States.

Users can read the articles separately or as a running narrative, depending on interest and need. The organization of the work collectively according to time period and within each volume according to time period, geography, daily activity, and group allows readers to explore a topic in depth, in comparative perspective, and over time. Also, because each section of each volume opens with a synthetic overview for purposes of historical context, the material in each section becomes more readily linked to larger patterns of American social, cultural, economic, and political developments. By structuring the volumes in this manner, it becomes possible to integrate and apply the encyclopedia within modern and flexible pedagogical frameworks in the classroom, in the library, and in home-schooling settings.

Cross-referencing within the articles and the cumulative subject index to the encyclopedia found at the back of each volume together expand the reach of individual topics across time and in different places. Thus, for example, the discussion of marital patterns and habits in the antebellum period of the nineteenth century, which includes mentions of courtship patterns, marriage rites, family formation, parenting, and even divorce, easily bridges to treatments of the same topics in other periods. Likewise, a reader wanting to compare foodways as they developed over time might move easily from representations of the early American "down-home" cooking of a largely agricultural society, through the increased portability and packaging of foods demanded by an urbanizing society during the nineteenth century, to the recent preference for such paradoxes in food choices as fresh foods, exotic foods, and fast food in the post-industrial United States.

Readers might go backward as well as forward, or even sideways, in following their interests, looking for the roots and then growth and development of habits and practices that defined and ordered the daily lives of Americans. In doing so, they might discover that each successive modern society has had its own search for the simpler life by trying to recover and reproduce parts of a supposedly more settled and serene past. They also will discover not only the changes wrought by ever more modern means of production, transportation, communication, and social and economic organization but also some striking continuities. Old ways often continue in new days. Americans have been a people on the go from the beginning of the nation and have become more so over time. As such, staying in touch with

family and friends has ever been central to Americans' sense of place and purpose in organizing their lives. Whether carrying a daguerreotype image while heading west or to war in the nineteenth century, shooting photos with a Kodak camera from the late nineteenth century well into the twentieth century, or taking pictures with a video camera, a digital camera, or even with a cell-phone in the twenty-first century, Americans sought ways to keep visual images of the people, animals, possessions, and places that mattered to them. Letter writing also has become no less important a means of communication when the words move electronically via e-mail than when they were scratched out with a quill pen on paper. The encyclopedia provides a ready way to measure and map such social and cultural patterns and developments.

In its organization and with its reference supports, the encyclopedia encourages such topical excursions across time. Thus, the encyclopedia promises ways to an integrated analysis of daily life and of the core values, interests, and identities of Americans at any one time and over time.

Sidebars (found in volumes 3 and 4, and called Snapshots), chronologies, illustrations, and excerpts from documents further enrich each volume with specific examples of daily life from primary sources. They add not only "color" but also significant content by capturing the sense of a particular people or place in song, verse, speech, letters, and image and by giving voice to the people themselves. Readers thus engage Americans in their daily life directly.

The life and use of the encyclopedia extends beyond the physical volumes themselves. Because the encyclopedia derives much of its material from the vast resources of the Greenwood Publishing Group archive of works in ongoing series, such as the *Greenwood Press Daily Life Through History* Series and the *Daily Life in the United States* Series, to name the two most prominent, and on the many encyclopedias, reference works, and scholarly monographs making up its list, and on the many document-based works in its collection, the encyclopedia includes up-to-date and reliably vetted material. It also plugs into the *Greenwood Daily Life Online* database, which ensures a continuous expansion, enhancement, and refinement of content and easy searching capabilities. In that sense, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America,* like the American people, literally exists in a constant state of renewal to live beyond its original creation.

Organization and Coverage

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America has a wide sweep in terms of time, topics, and themes related to the ordering of the daily lives of Americans. It also includes the many and diverse Americans, understanding that no one experience or people spoke or speaks for the variety of daily lives in the United States or explains even the unity of common experiences many different Americans have had and sought. That said, the encyclopedia is not a simple fact-by-fact description of every group or daily activity conducted in the United States. The encyclopedia

is consciously selective in topics and coverage, with an eye always to relating the most significant and representative examples of the daily lives of different Americans.

The coverage of particular people and topics varies due to the availability of sources by and about them. Thus, for example, such peoples as the Iroquois, Cherokee, and Lakota Sioux get more explicit notice than, say, the Shoshone, simply because they left a fuller record of their lives and were observed and written about, or painted or photographed, in their daily lives more fully than were some other Native peoples. Then, too, the daily life of immigrant peoples receives extensive coverage throughout the volumes, but the extent and depth of coverage varies due to the size of the group and, more important, due to the available source material about any particular group. Thus, for example, when combined, the several major governmental and foundation studies of eastern and southern European immigrant groups in industrial America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rich tradition of publishing ethnic newspapers, the relating of personal lives in memoirs and oral histories, and a conscious effort to recover an immigrant past by the children and grandchildren of the first generation all explain the wider focus on such groups as representative types for their day. We simply know much about such people at work and at home. Such coverage of some people more fully than others does not mean any one experience counts more than others. It is, rather, mainly a matter of the critical mass of information at hand.

The encyclopedia includes all age groups in its coverage, but, again, the documentary record is richer for people coming of age through their adult lives into retirement than it is for the very young or the very old. Then, too, more is known about the daily lives of the upper classes than the lower classes, the privileged than the underprivileged, and the free than the unfree. The encyclopedia boasts significant inclusion of the many diverse American people, irrespective of wealth, circumstance, race or ethnicity, religion, or any other marker, and, indeed, it makes special effort to embrace the fullest range and diversity of experiences of daily life from birth to death.

The four volumes, each of which was edited by a prominent specialist or specialists in the field, are arranged by time periods as follows.

- Volume 1: The War of Independence and Antebellum Expansion and Reform, 1763–1861; edited by Theodore J. Zeman
- Volume 2: *The Civil War, Reconstruction, and Industrialization of America, 1861–1900*; edited by James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo
- Volume 3: *The Emergence of Modern America, World War I, and the Great Depression, 1900–1940*; edited by Francis J. Sicius
- Volume 4: *Wartime, Postwar, and Contemporary America, 1940–Present;* edited by Jolyon P. Girard

Each volume follows a similar format in that it organizes the material into seven principal topics, which are then generally divided into the following subtopics.

Those subtopics are sometimes arranged in a different order within the volumes due to emphasis, but they remain continuous throughout the encyclopedia.

1. *Domestic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Men, Women, Children, Pets, Marriage, and so on.
2. *Economic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Work, Trade, Class and Caste, Urban and Rural Experience, and so on.
3. *Intellectual Life:* Covering such subtopics as Science, Education, Literature, Communication, Health and Medicine, and so on.
4. *Material Life:* Covering such subtopics as Food, Drink, Housing, Clothing, Transportation, Technology, and so on.
5. *Political Life:* Covering such subtopics as Government, Law, Reform, War, and so on.
6. *Recreational Life:* Covering such subtopics as Sports, Music, Games, Entertainment, Holidays and Celebrations, and so on.
7. *Religious Life:* Covering such subtopics as Religion, Spirituality, Ritual, Rites of Passage, and so on.

Users are guided through this enormous amount of material not just by running heads on every page but also by *concept compasses* that appear in the margins at the start of main topical sections. These compasses are adapted from *concept mapping*, a technique borrowed from online research methods and used in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*. The concept compasses will help orient readers in the particular volume they are using and allow them to draw connections among related topics across time periods. Following is an example of a concept compass:

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

The individual volumes also have several variations in their internal arrangements and coverage of topics that speak to the particular chronological period under review. Volume 1, for example, does not begin at a fixed date, as do the other volumes, and it covers a longer time period than any of the other volumes. Its primary

focus is on the period from the American Revolution through the Civil War, but it also looks back in time in its descriptions of many elements of daily life that continued from the preindustrial colonial period through the first rumblings of the so-called market revolution of the early nineteenth century. It does so to provide not only an understanding of the continuities in many aspects of life—from the ways people raised crops and livestock, manufactured and sold goods, organized family life, worshipped, and practiced the rituals of birth, marriage, and death, to name several—but also to mark the changes wrought by the age of revolutions that came with new understandings of political, economic, social, cultural, and even parental authority following the American Revolution. In the subsequent volumes, there is some overlap in terms of beginnings and endings for the chronological periods because social history does not have neat markers as does American political history with its election cycles. Each of the final three volumes covers roughly a half-century of time, reflecting the growing complexity of life in the modern era.

The encyclopedia covers the whole of the United States. The geography of the United States has expanded mightily over time, but the importance of geographical identity within the United States has varied at different times and more recently has declined. The first three volumes recognize the salience of regional variations in defining daily life and break the material, in varying degrees, into regions within the United States (e.g., Northeast, South, Midwest, Pacific West). But the fourth volume, covering the last half of the twentieth century—by which time a national market, telecommunications, and popular culture had done much to break down regional identities and create a national culture—discounts the importance of region in many areas of daily life. To be sure, as Volume 4 reveals, regional identities still persisted, even pridefully so, in "the South" and "the West" especially, but throughout the United States the rhythms of life moved in strikingly similar ways in a nation increasingly knit together by interstate highways, television, and, more recently, by the Internet and by a mass consumption economy and culture. Class, race, and occupation, more than regional cultures, now count more in defining daily life and social ties. Religion, too, matters much in ordering individual lives and distinguishing groups from one another in the United States, easily the most "churched" nation in the industrial world. In some cases, particular subtopics disappear from successive volumes because Americans at different times gave up particular ways of working and living or because the representative ways of working and living changed, from those of an agricultural world to those of an industrial and urban one and then to a postindustrial suburban one, for example.

Throughout the encyclopedia the most basic ways people arranged their daily life make up the principal content of the volumes. But the coverage of any topic is not constant. Take time, for example. It is useful to note that historically over time, *time* literally has been speeding up for Americans. Americans who lived by Nature's times of season and sunrise and sunset occupied a different world than people who have made time a commodity to be metered out in nanoseconds for purposes of productivity and even pleasure. The multiplicity of clocks and watches made possible by the industrial revolution, the imposition of factory time in the workplace, the dividing of the nation into time zones demanded by the railroads, the breakdown of time ordered by the moving assembly line, the collapse of time realized by

telecommunications and then the radio, and the more current compression of time by microchips in all manner of computers, cell phones, and gadgetry that seemingly now run daily life and work—all this change in understanding and managing time transformed not only the pace but also the direction of life. Each volume marks the changing of time, the ways people used their time, and the times. Thereby, the attention to matters of time becomes a topic of growing importance with each successive volume of the encyclopedia.

Finally, in terms of coverage and content, the encyclopedia combines a *macro* with the *micro* view of daily life. External factors such as wars, natural disasters (e.g., fires, floods, hurricanes and tornados, ice storms, and droughts), epidemic diseases, environmental transformation, economic and political change, and population movements profoundly affected how, where, and why people lived as they did and, indeed, even which people lived at all. The Revolutionary War and the Civil War, for example, uprooted countless people from their homes as armies tramped about, armies that also liberated enslaved people who then used the upheavals to run to freedom or to fight for it. Daily life for refugees, for the "freedpeople," for the losers of political power and economic advantage was altered to its core by war. Dealing with the loss of loved ones in the Civil War changed the ways many Americans approached the meaning and management of death—in embalming, in funerary practices, in memorializing the dead, in shifting family responsibilities in the wake of a parent's death. The total mobilization of World War II touched every American household, and the G.I. Bill that came with it opened up opportunities for education, home ownership, and medical benefits that helped make possible a middle-class life for many Americans. So, too, massive floods, such as the 1927 flooding of the Mississippi River basin, swept away people, possessions, and patterns of living across a wide swath. Government actions also influenced, even determined, people's daily life. The many New Deal programs that insured bank accounts; underwrote home mortgage loans; brought electricity to rural America; built dams for hydroelectric power and economic development; constructed roads, bridges, airports, and public buildings; encouraged the arts, music, and literature, and so much more left a physical, social, and cultural imprint that still matters in Americans' daily living. Thus, relating the *macrohistory* of larger historical events and developments to the ways such factors informed and influenced the *microhistory* of individual daily life is essential to understanding the dynamics and consequence of changes and continuities in the daily life of Americans. The panoramic perspective plots the landscape of social history, while the microscopic examination observes its many forms. All that said, the primary focus of this encyclopedia remains on what students of social and cultural history term "the infinite details" of Americans' social and material arrangements in their daily life. The title tells the tale.

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America, in the end, still makes no claim to comprehensiveness in trying to bring in all Americans and all manner of life. No reference work dare do so. Recognizing such a limitation rather than retreating from it, this encyclopedia serves not only as an introduction to the varied and complex American peoples in their daily lives but also as an invitation to bring other peoples into view, which responsibility, one hopes, the students and teachers using this encyclopedia will assume.

A Note on the Conception and Creation of the Encyclopedia

The encyclopedia is the product of many hands. It is both a collective work and, in its separate volumes, also very much an individual one. The encyclopedia was developed collectively by editors at Greenwood Press, who originally sought to provide a companion encyclopedia to the very successful six-volume *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*, which covered the world from prehistory to the end of the twentieth century. The editors at Greenwood also sought to capitalize on the many reference works and individual volumes Greenwood Press has published on various aspects of daily life in the United States. At Greenwood, Michael Herman conceived of the idea for such an encyclopedia and drafted the broad design for it. John Wagner then stepped in and in many essential ways translated idea into product. He helped recruit volume editors, managed relations with the editors by means of correspondence and providing sample materials and other forms of guidance, read the individual volumes for content and fit regarding the collective set, and managed the details of moving manuscripts to production.

Each author/editor assumed the primary, almost complete, responsibility for his or her individual volume. Early in the planning process, several author/editors gathered by correspondence and even in person to discuss the scope of the work, to mark off the time boundaries of the individual volumes, to agree on essential topics, and more. The general editor coordinated such discussions; guided the works in progress; read the individual volumes for content, coverage, and fit with the other volumes and overall purpose and design of the encyclopedia; and in other ways moved production along. It is important to note that each author/editor has assumed principal responsibility for the content of his or her volume, from selecting, arranging, and editing the articles, to getting permission to use materials, to providing the context for the articles, to fact-checking and proofreading the volume, to ensuring the highest quality in content and presentation. The general editor thus disclaims any responsibility for the specific content of or in any volume. The individual author/editor's name on the title page of each volume places the responsibility where it deservedly should rest, with the true creators. It also is important to note that in creating each volume, the author/editor did much more than compile, collate, and arrange materials derived from other sources. Each author/editor wrote the introductions to the respective volumes, the introductions to the subsections of each volume, the transitions within each article excerpting materials from other sources, the headnotes in each volume, and some of the text in each volume. Because of the uneven, or even nonexistent, source material on daily life for the two volumes treating the twentieth century, both Francis Sicius and Jolyon Girard wrote much original material. This was so much so in Girard's case that he became more author than editor of Volume 4.

In sum, then, the creation of this encyclopedia mirrors the American experience. It was, and is, an example of the nation's guiding principle of continuous creation as a people—e pluribus unum. It also is a recognition that people make history. We hope that by discovering the American people in their day-to-day lives and the life they have sought to create and live, readers will find that elusive "new man, this American" and themselves.

—Randall M. Miller

This page intentionally left blank

VOLUME EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume covers a period when the velocity of American life moved from the speed of a horse-and-buggy to that of an airplane. The final frontier was closed, and Americans looked to the future of a country that would become increasingly urbanized. Technology entered people's lives as never before. Houses became electrified; automobiles became a necessity; and radios brought music, drama, comedy, news, and even the president into Americans' living rooms. One-room schoolhouses became consolidated learning centers, sports nationalized, and government entered daily life in ways never dreamed of a generation earlier. In the midst of this whirl of change Americans attempted to anchor themselves in time-honored traditions. As this volume will demonstrate, while change became the norm in the first decades of the twentieth century, Americans in many ways clung to their regional traditions in order to navigate through this sea of transformation.

Documenting this American drama has been an adventure. I made new discoveries as well as remembered old stories told by my family around the dinner table years ago. I would like to thank Randall Miller for giving me the opportunity to make this journey, and for his careful editing and theme-enhancing suggestions. His voice was wise, encouraging, and constant throughout the process and without his help the final product would have been much less than it is. Finally my deepest gratitude goes to my wife Isabel Valenzuela, whose good humor, intelligent comments, and loving support brought me to the end of this journey intact. Despite all this help some blunders may remain, and those of course are mine alone.

Francis J. Sicius
St. Thomas University
March, 2008

This page intentionally left blank

CHRONOLOGY: 1900–1945

1900

January 29	The American League, consisting of eight baseball teams, is organized in Philadelphia with teams from Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis.
February 1	The first of the famous Brownie cameras is introduced. It sells for $1 and uses film that sells for 15 cents a roll. For the first time, the hobby of photography is within the financial reach of virtually everyone.
April 30	Hawaii is organized as a U.S. territory.
August 23	Booker T. Washington forms the National Negro Business League in Boston, Massachusetts.
November 3	The first automobile show in the United States opens at Madison Square Garden in New York City under the auspices of the Automobile Club of America.
November 6	Republican President William McKinley is reelected, defeating Democrat William Jennings Bryan, who had also been his opponent in 1896.

1901

March 1	The Pan American Exposition opens in Buffalo, New York.
March 4	William McKinley is inaugurated president for the second time.
April 25	New York becomes the first state to require automobile license plates; the fee is $1.
September 6	Anarchist Leon Czolgosz shoots President McKinley while the president is attending the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York.
September 14	President McKinley dies and is succeeded by Vice President Theodore Roosevelt, who becomes the 26th president of the United States.
October 16	President Theodore Roosevelt invites black leader Booker T. Washington to the White House.
November 16	A cartoon appears in the *Washington Star,* prompting the Teddy Bear Craze, which started when President Teddy Roosevelt refused to kill a captive bear tied up for him to shoot during a hunting trip to Mississippi.

1902

January 1	The first Rose Bowl football game is held in Pasadena, California, with the University of Michigan beating Stanford 49–0.
March 4	The American Automobile Association is founded in Chicago.
March 29	Thirty-eight-year-old Henry Ford leaves the Detroit Automobile Company and begins his search for backers for his new Ford Motor Company.
April 14	James Cash Penney (J. C. Penney) opens his first Golden Rule Store for clothes, shoes, and dry goods in Kemmerer, Wyoming.
May 12	Over 100,000 miners in northeastern Pennsylvania call a strike and keep the mines closed all summer.
June 9	The first Automat restaurant opens at 818 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
November 18	Brooklyn, New York, toymaker Morris Michton names the teddy bear after President Teddy Roosevelt.

1903

July 23	The Ford Motor Company sells its first automobile.
October 1	By a score of 7–3, the Pittsburgh Pirates defeat the home team Boston Pilgrims (later renamed the Red Sox) in the first modern World Series game. Boston, however, goes on to win the series, five games to three.
December 1	*The Great Train Robbery,* the first western film, is released.
December 17	The first airplane flight occurs at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, when the Wright brothers' Flyer I flies for 12 seconds.

1904

February 23	The United States acquires control of the Panama Canal Zone for $10 million.
April 30	President Theodore Roosevelt officially opens the St. Louis World's Fair.
May 14	The first Olympic games to be held in the United States open in St. Louis, Missouri.
August 16	New York City begins building Grand Central Station.
October 4	New York City subway service begins.
November 8	Theodore Roosevelt defeats Democrat Alton B. Parker to win the presidency in his own right.

1905

February 7	Congress grants statehood to Oklahoma, which becomes the 46th state to enter the Union.
February 23	The Rotary Club is founded in Chicago.
March 3	The U.S. Forest Service is formed.

September 22	Race riots in Atlanta, Georgia, kill 10 blacks and 2 whites.
December 16	The U.S. entertainment trade publication *Variety* publishes its first weekly issue.

1906

April 18	At 5:12 A.M., San Francisco is devastated by an 8.2 earthquake.
June 29	President Theodore Roosevelt signs a bill creating Mesa Verde National Park in southwestern Colorado.
June 30	President Theodore Roosevelt signs into law the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act.
August 13	At Fort Brown, Texas, some 10–20 armed men attack an all-black army unit; the attack results in a shooting rampage that leaves one townsperson dead and one police officer wounded.
August 22	The first Victor Victrola is manufactured.
December 10	President Theodore Roosevelt becomes the first American to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

1907

July 18	Florenz Ziegfeld's "Follies of 1907" premiers in New York City.
August 28	Two Seattle teenagers begin a telephone message service that grows to become the United Parcel Service (UPS).
September 29	The foundation stone is laid for the Washington National Cathedral.
October 27	Union Station is opened in Washington, D.C.
December 6	The worst mining disaster in U.S. history occurs as 362 men and boys die in a coal-mine explosion in Monongah, West Virginia.
December 7	The first Christmas Seals are sold in Wilmington, Delaware, to help the fight against tuberculosis.
December 31	For the first time, a ball is dropped in New York City's Times Square to signal the arrival of the new year.

1908

February 18	The first U.S. postage stamps in rolls are issued.
March 4	The New York State Board of Education bans the act of whipping students in its schools.
October 1	The Ford Model T, the first car for millions of Americans, hits the market at a cost of $825.
November 3	Republican William Howard Taft is elected the 27th president of the United States, defeating three-time Democratic nominee William Jennings Bryan.
December 25	Jack Johnson of Texas knocks out Tommy Burns to become the first black world heavyweight boxing champion.

1909

February 12	The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is founded.
February 16	The first subway car with side doors goes into service in New York City.
March 4	President William Howard Taft is inaugurated during a snowstorm that drops 10 inches of snow on Washington, D.C.
May 31	The NAACP holds its first conference at the United Charities Building in New York City.
August 2	The first Lincoln-head pennies are minted.

1910

February 8	The Boy Scouts of America is incorporated in Washington, D.C., by William D. Boyce, a wealthy Chicago publisher who learned of the "scouts" on a trip to England the previous year.
March 17	The Camp Fire Girls organization is formed in Lake Sebago, Maine.
March 23	The first auto race occurs at the Los Angeles Motordrome, the first U.S. auto speedway.
April 3	Alaska's Mt. McKinley, the highest mountain in North America, is climbed.
April 21	Author Mark Twain, who was born as Samuel Langhorne Clemens, dies at the age of 74 in Redding, Connecticut.
May 18	Earth passes through the tail of Halley's comet, which has been visible in the night sky for some weeks. Entrepreneurs peddle "comet gas masks" for people worried about Earth's passage through poisonous cyanogen gas in the comet's tail.
June 16	The first Father's Day is celebrated in Spokane, Washington, by Mrs. John Bruce Dodd. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge recommends that it be celebrated as a national holiday.
June 25	Congress establishes a postal savings system in U.S. post offices, effective January 1, 1911; the system pays 2 percent interest on deposits not to exceed $2,500.
July 4	African American boxer Jack Johnson knocks out white champion James J. Jeffries in a heavyweight boxing match; the media had dubbed Jeffries "the Great White Hope" to keep an African American from winning the heavyweight crown.
July 24	James MacGillivray publishes the first account of the mythical lumberjack Paul Bunyan in the *Detroit News*.
August 9	Alva Fisher patents the first complete, self-contained electric washing machine.
August 20–21	The Great Idaho Fire kills 86 people and destroys some three million acres of timber in Idaho and Montana.
October 1	A bomb explodes at the *Los Angeles Times* building, leaving 21 dead and several injured.

November 12	In the first movie stunt, a man jumps into the Hudson River from a burning balloon.

1911

March 11	Charles Kettering creates the first successful electric self-starter for Cadillac.
March 18	Former President Theodore Roosevelt opens Roosevelt Dam in Phoenix, Arizona, the largest dam in the United States to date.
March 25	In New York City, the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire kills over 140 immigrant workers. Thirteen girls survive the fire that breaks out on the top three floors of the 10-story Asch Building as the workday is ending.
May 15	The U.S. Supreme Court orders the dissolution of Standard Oil Company, ruling it is in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act.
August 15	Procter and Gamble unveils its Crisco shortening.

1912

January 6	New Mexico enters the Union as the 47th state.
January 10	The world's first flying-boat airplane, designed by Glenn Curtiss, makes its maiden flight at Hammondsport, New York. Curtiss is the first licensed pilot and Orville Wright is the second.
January 12	In Lawrence, Massachusetts, over 20,000 textile factory workers go on strike to protest wage cuts.
February 3	New U.S. football rules are set: the field is shortened to 100 yards; touchdowns become six points instead of five; four downs are allowed instead of three; and the kickoff is moved from midfield to the 40-yard line.
February 14	Arizona becomes the 48th state to enter the Union.
March 27	The first cherry blossom trees, a gift from Japan, are planted in Washington, D.C.
April 14	The luxury liner *Titanic* strikes an iceberg in the North Atlantic and sinks with the loss of over 1,500 lives.
August 7	The Progressive Party nominates Theodore Roosevelt for president.
October 14	Theodore Roosevelt, former president and Bull Moose Party candidate, is shot at close range by an anarchist in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Although wounded, Roosevelt continues with his speech.
November 5	Woodrow Wilson becomes the first Democrat to be elected president since 1892, when he defeats incumbent Republican William Howard Taft and former President Theodore Roosevelt, who runs an independent campaign.

1913

January 15	The first telephone line between Berlin and New York is inaugurated.

February 3	The 16th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, providing for a federal income tax, is ratified.
March 15	President Woodrow Wilson holds the first open presidential news conference.
April 8	The 17th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, requiring direct election of senators, is ratified.
April 26	Thirteen-year-old Mary Phagan is killed at an Atlanta pencil factory. She had stopped to pick up her check on her way to Peachtree Street to see a Confederate Memorial Day Parade. Leo Frank, a Jewish factory manager, is falsely accused of raping and murdering the young working-class girl.
September 10	The Lincoln Highway (U.S. 30) opens as the first paved coast-to-coast highway.
October 7	Henry Ford adapts the assembly line method to automobile manufacturing, which reduces production time for a single car from 12 hours to 93 minutes. Output more than doubles and the price of the Model T is reduced from $600 to $550.
October 10	The Panama Canal is completed when President Woodrow Wilson, by pressing an electric button at the White House in Washington, D.C., triggers a blast that explodes the Gamboa Dike.
December 23	The Federal Reserve Act is signed by President Woodrow Wilson. The Owen-Glass Act establishes the decentralized, government-controlled banking system in the United States known as the Federal Reserve.
December 29	The first movie serial, the *Adventures of Kathlyn,* premiers in Chicago.

1914

January 5	Henry Ford announces that he will pay a minimum wage of $5 a day and share with employees $10 million of the previous year's profits.
April 4	*The Perils of Pauline* is shown for the first time in Los Angeles.
April 20	The "Ludlow Massacre" occurs as soldiers kill 45 during a mine strike in Ludlow, Colorado. Colorado militiamen called in by John D. Rockefeller Jr. to settle the strike torch a tent camp of 1,200 striking miners.
May 1	President Woodrow Wilson issues a proclamation designating the second Sunday in May as the first national Mother's Day.
July 11	Babe Ruth signs with the Boston Red Sox; he earns $2,900 in his rookie season.
July 15	Vaudevillian Henry Fox introduces the fox-trot in the Ziegfeld Follies.
July 28	Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia, thereby initiating World War I in Europe.
August 5	Cleveland, Ohio, installs the first electric traffic lights.
August 13	Carl Wickman founds Greyhound, the first U.S. bus line, in Minnesota.
December 8	*Watch Your Step,* the first musical revue to feature a score composed entirely by Irving Berlin, opens in New York.
December 21	The first feature-length silent film comedy, *Tillie's Punctured Romance,* is released.

1915

January 12	The U.S. Congress establishes Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado.
January 21	The first Kiwanis Club is formally founded, in Detroit, Michigan.
February 8	D. W. Griffith's silent movie epic about the Civil War, *The Birth of a Nation,* premiers at Clune's Auditorium in Los Angeles.
February 20	President Woodrow Wilson opens the Panama-Pacific Expo in San Francisco to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal.
April 5	African American boxer Jack Johnson (1878–1946), the heavyweight champion since 1908, loses the heavyweight championship in Cuba to Jess Willard in the 26th round.
May 1	The luxury liner *Lusitania* leaves New York Harbor for a voyage to Europe. Warnings are issued by the German government in New York City newspapers that it regards the refurbished liner a battle target.
May 6	Babe Ruth makes his pitching debut with the Boston Red Sox and hits his first home run, but Boston loses to the New York Yankees 4–3 in 15 innings.
May 7	Almost 1,200 passengers die when the British liner *Lusitania* is torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine. The incident causes an upsurge of anti-German feeling in the United States.
May 17	The National Baptist Convention is chartered.
May 28	John B. Gruelle patents the Raggedy Ann doll.
July 28	10,000 blacks march down 5th Avenue in New York City to protest lynching.
August 17	Leo Frank, a Jewish factory manager, is lynched by a mob of anti-Semites in Cobb County, Georgia. Frank had been convicted in the killing of Mary Phagan, a 13-year-old girl who worked at his pencil factory. Georgia Governor John M. Slaton, believing Frank innocent, had commuted his death sentence to life imprisonment in June.
September 22	Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, holds its first class, and Xavier University, the first African American Catholic college, opens in New Orleans, Louisiana.
October 4	Dinosaur National Monument in Colorado and Utah is established.
October 9	President Woodrow Wilson becomes the first president to attend a World Series game.
October 12	Ford Motor Company manufactures its one millionth Model T automobile.
October 23	25,000 women march in New York City demanding the right to vote.
November 19	Joe Hill, a labor leader and songwriter, is executed for murder.
December 4	The Ku Klux Klan receives a charter from Fulton County, Georgia.

1916

January	The five-member white Dixie Jazz Band from New Orleans led by Nick LaRocca cuts its first jazz records—"Darktown Strutters' Ball" and "Indiana"—for Columbia Records in New York City.

January 28	Louis D. Brandeis, a private practice attorney and leader in the U.S. Zionist movement, is appointed by President Woodrow Wilson to the U.S. Supreme Court, thus becoming the first Jewish justice.
February 5	Enrico Caruso records "O Solo Mio" for the Victor Talking Machine Company.
March 9	The forces of Mexican revolutionary General Francisco "Pancho" Villa raid Columbus, New Mexico.
April 20	Wrigley Field in Chicago opens.
June 1	The National Defense Act increases the strength of the U.S. National Guard by 450,000 men.
June 15	President Woodrow Wilson signs a bill incorporating the Boy Scouts of America.
June 17	American troops under the command of General Jack Pershing march into Mexico as General Pershing leads an unsuccessful punitive expedition against Francisco "Pancho" Villa.
July 4	Nathan's Famous Hot Dogs opens a stand at Brooklyn's Coney Island and holds a hot dog eating contest as a publicity stunt that becomes an annual event.
September 11	The "Star Spangled Banner" is sung at the beginning of a baseball game for the first time in Cooperstown, New York.
October 27	The first published reference to "jazz" appears in *Variety*.
November 7	President Woodrow Wilson is reelected over Republican challenger Charles Evans Hughes, but the race is so close that the final outcome is not known until November 11; Montana Republican Jeannette Rankin, a lifelong feminist and pacifist, becomes the first woman elected to Congress.

1917

January	The film *The Spirit of '76*, produced by Robert Goldstein, opens in Los Angeles. Goldstein is later arrested and convicted under the Espionage Act for producing an anti-British film.
January 19	The Zimmermann Note, a coded message sent to Germany's minister in Mexico, proposes an alliance between Germany and Mexico in the event war should break out between the United States and Germany. Intercepted and made public by the British, the telegram hastens U.S. involvement in World War I.
April 2	President Woodrow Wilson delivers his war message before a joint session of Congress and recommends that a state of war be declared between the United States and the Imperial German government.
June 15	At the urging of President Woodrow Wilson, Congress passes the Espionage Act, which makes it a crime for a person to interfere with the operation or success of the U.S. military or to promote the success of the enemies of the United States.
July 20	The U.S. draft lottery for World War I goes into operation.
October 23	American troops fire their first shot in battle in Europe.

October 24	The Bolshevik Revolution begins in Russia.
December 26	As a wartime measure, President Wilson places railroads under government control, with Secretary of War William McAdoo as director general.
December 28	The *New York Evening Mail* publishes a facetious and fictitious essay by H. L. Mencken on the history of the bathtub in America. Mencken claims, for example, that Millard Fillmore was the first president to have a bathtub installed in the White House.

1918

January 8	President Woodrow Wilson delivers his "Fourteen Points" address proposing the idea of a League of Nations. Mississippi becomes the first state to ratify the proposed 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibiting the sale, manufacture, or transportation of liquor.
January 27	*Tarzan of the Apes,* the first Tarzan film, premiers at the Broadway Theater in New York City.
March	A flu epidemic begins at Fort Riley, Kansas, where 48 men die.
May 14	Sunday baseball becomes legal in Washington, D.C.
May 15	The U.S. Post Office and the U.S. Army begin regularly scheduled airmail service between Washington and New York through Philadelphia.
June 28	The U.S. Marines take the Bois de Belleau in fighting on the Western Front in Europe.
September 11	The Boston Red Sox beat the Chicago Cubs in six games to win the World Series.
October	In a deadly month for Americans, some 195,000 Americans die of the worst global epidemic of the century; the cities of Baltimore and Washington run out of coffins.
October 8	Sgt. Alvin C. York single-handedly eliminates 35 machine guns, kills more than 20 Germans, and takes 132 members of a Prussian Guards regiment prisoner. A modest man, York shrugs off his heroic actions, saying, "It's over; let's forget it."
November 11	A truce is signed ending World War I, the so-called "war to end all war."
December 1	President Woodrow Wilson orders all U.S. breweries to shut down to save grain for the war effort.

1919

January 16	Nebraska, Wyoming, and Missouri become the 36th, 37th, and 38th states to ratify the 18th Amendment, the Prohibition Amendment.
January 18	The Versailles Peace Conference opens in France with President Woodrow Wilson in attendance.
March 15–17	The American Legion is founded in Paris by members of the American Expeditionary Force.
May 2	The first U.S. air passenger service starts.

June 14	The U.S. Congress passes the 19th Amendment granting suffrage to American women.
July 24	A race riot in Washington, D.C., leaves 6 dead and 100 wounded.
July 27	A race riot erupts in Chicago, killing 15 whites and 23 blacks and injuring 500.
August 23	The "Gasoline Alley" cartoon strip premiers in the *Chicago Tribune*.
October 1	In baseball's World Series, the Chicago White Sox face the Cincinnati Reds in a best-of-nine games series. The White Sox intentionally throw the series to satisfy gamblers in what becomes known as the Black Sox Scandal.
October 2	President Woodrow Wilson suffers a stroke that leaves him partially paralyzed.
October 8	The U.S. Senate and House of Representatives pass the Volstead Prohibition Enforcement Bill, which enforces the ban on the sale or consumption of alcoholic beverages.
October 17	The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) is created.
November 10	The American Legion holds its first national convention in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

1920

January 2	Some 2,700 arrests are made in raids in 33 American cities as part of a campaign against political radicals and labor agitators, spearheaded by the Department of Justice under Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.
January 3	The Red Sox sell Babe Ruth to the New York Yankees for $100,000, twice the amount of any previous player transaction.
January 4	The Negro National League, the first black baseball league, is organized by Rube Foster.
February 14	The League of Women Voters is founded in Chicago to encourage women's participation in government.
June 12	Republicans in Chicago nominate Warren G. Harding for president and Calvin Coolidge for vice president.
June 13	The U.S. Post Office Department rules that children may not be sent by parcel post.
July 6	The Democrats end their convention in San Francisco with the selection of James Cox of Ohio and running mate Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
August 2	Marcus Garvey presents his "Back to Africa" program in New York City.
August 18	Tennessee becomes the 36th state to ratify the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees the right of all American women to vote.
November 2	Republican Warren G. Harding is elected the 29th president of the United States, decisively defeating Democrat James Cox, governor of Ohio. The first radio broadcast in the United States is made from Pittsburgh, where Westinghouse has built a radio station on its factory roof. KDKA in Pittsburgh broadcasts returns from the Harding-Cox presidential election.

November 20	The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson.
November 25	Radio station WTAW of College Station, Texas, broadcasts the first play-by-play description of a football game between the University of Texas and Texas A&M; the first Thanksgiving Parade is held in Philadelphia.
November 28	The film *The Mark of Zorro,* with Douglas Fairbanks, opens in New York City at the Capitol Theater.
December 24	Enrico Caruso gives his last public performance, singing in Jacques Halevy's *La Juive* at the Metropolitan Opera in New York.

1921

March 4	Warren G. Harding is sworn in as the 29th president of the United States.
March 6	The National Association of the Moving Picture Industry announces its intention to censor U.S. movies.
April 2	Albert Einstein makes his first visit to the United States.
July 2	Heavyweight Jack Dempsey defeats Georges Carpentier of France in New Jersey in the first million-dollar gate boxing match.
August 25	The United States, which never ratified the Versailles Treaty ending World War I, finally signs a peace treaty with Germany.
September 8	Margaret Gorman of Washington, D.C., is crowned the first Miss America in Atlantic City, New Jersey.
October 5	The World Series is broadcast on radio for the first time. The New York Giants beat the New York Yankees five games to three in the best-of-nine contest.
October 23	The Green Bay Packers play their first NFL game and beat Minneapolis 7–6.

1922

February 5	The *Reader's Digest* begins publication in Pleasantville, New York.
April 12	A San Francisco jury acquits actor Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle in his third murder trial following two hung juries.
April 15	Wyoming Democratic Senator John Kendrick introduces a resolution that begins the Teapot Dome investigation, one of the most significant investigations of a public scandal in Senate history.
April 18	The office of Will Hays, head of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), announces that Roscoe Arbuckle is banned from working in motion pictures, effective immediately.
May 30	The Lincoln Memorial is dedicated in Washington, D.C., by Chief Justice and former president William Howard Taft.
June 14	Warren G. Harding becomes the first president heard on radio, as Baltimore station WEAR broadcasts his speech dedicating the Francis Scott Key memorial at Fort McHenry.
November 4	The U.S. Postmaster General orders all homes to get mailboxes or relinquish delivery of mail.

1923

January 2	A Ku Klux Klan attack on a black residential area of Rosewood, Florida, kills eight people. This all-black town, a north Florida community of 120 people, is burned to the ground.
February 22	U.S. transcontinental airmail service begins.
March 2	The first issue of the weekly periodical, *Time*, appears on newsstands.
April 18	The first game is played in Yankee Stadium, with the Yankees defeating the Boston Red Sox 4–1.
July 4	Jack Dempsey beats Tommy Gibbon in 15 rounds for the heavyweight boxing title.
August 2	Following a return trip from Alaska, and a bout with food poisoning, 57-year-old President Warren G. Harding dies in San Francisco at the Palace Hotel of a "stroke of apoplexy."
August 3	Vice President Calvin Coolidge is sworn in as the 30th president of the United States.
August 13	U.S. Steel Corporation initiates an eight-hour workday.
October 25	The Teapot Dome scandal comes to public attention as Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, subcommittee chairman, reveals the findings of the past 18 months of investigation. His case will result in the conviction of Harry F. Sinclair of Mammoth Oil, and later of Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall, the first cabinet member in American history to go to jail.

1924

January 9	Ford Motor Company stock is valued at nearly $1 billion.
February 12	George Gershwin's symphonic jazz composition, "Rhapsody in Blue," premiers at Carnegie Hall in New York City.
February 22	President Calvin Coolidge delivers the first presidential radio broadcast from the White House.
May 10	J. Edgar Hoover is appointed head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) at the age of 29.
May 21	Fourteen-year-old Bobby Franks is murdered in a "thrill killing" committed by Nathan Leopold Jr. and Richard Loeb.
June 2	Congress passes the Snyder Act, which grants full U.S. citizenship to all American Indians born in the United States.
June 9	"Jelly-Roll Blues" is recorded by blues great Jelly Roll Morton.
July 11	After 103 roll calls, the Democrats bypass New York Governor Alfred E. Smith and William G. McAdoo of California and nominate John W. Davis of West Virginia and Charles Bryan, brother of William Jennings Bryan, to run against Calvin Coolidge.
August 5	The comic strip "Little Orphan Annie" by Harold Gray debuts in the *New York Daily News*.
November 4	President Calvin Coolidge is elected to a full term in his own right.

1925

February 21	The first issue of the *New Yorker* magazine, founded by Harold Ross, hits the newsstands.
March 2	State and federal highway officials develop a nationwide route numbering system and adopt the familiar U.S. shield-shaped number marker.
April 10	The novel *The Great Gatsby,* by F. Scott Fitzgerald, is first published by Scribner's of New York.
July 10	The "Scopes Monkey Trial" begins in Tennessee.
July 26	William Jennings Bryan dies five days after assisting the prosecution in the Scopes Monkey Trial.
August 8	The first national congress of the Ku Klux Klan opens, with some 200,000 members marching in Washington, D.C.
October 16	The Texas School Board prohibits the teaching of evolution.
November 28	The WSM *Barn Dance,* later known as the *Grand Ole Opry,* the Nashville, Tennessee, home of country music, makes its radio debut.

1926

April 16	The new Book of the Month Club sends out its first selection: *Lolly Willows or The Loving Huntsman* by Sylvia Townsend Warner.
May 18	Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson vanishes while visiting a beach in Venice, California; she reappears a month later, claiming to have been kidnapped.
August 23	The death of silent film actor Rudolph Valentino causes worldwide hysteria, with several women reportedly committing suicide, and riots breaking out in New York as thousands of fans try to view the body.
September 9	The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) is created by the Radio Corporation of America.
September 17	A hurricane hits Miami and Palm Beach, Florida, killing almost 500 people and marking the beginning of the end of the Florida land boom.
September 23	Gene Tunney defeats Jack Dempsey for the World Heavyweight Boxing championship in Philadelphia.
October 31	Magician Harry Houdini dies in Detroit as a result of a ruptured appendix.

1927

February 23	President Calvin Coolidge signs the Radio Act, a bill creating the Federal Radio Commission, forerunner of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).
March 2	Babe Ruth signs a three-year contract with the New York Yankees for a guarantee of $70,000 a year, thus becoming baseball's highest-paid player.
May 21	Charles Lindbergh lands at Le Bourget Field in Paris after a 33.5-hour nonstop flight, the first solo transatlantic flight from Roosevelt Field on New York's Long Island.
May 25	Henry Ford stops production of the Model T and begins producing the Model A.

June 30	Clarence Birdseye, after years of experimentation, receives a patent for packing fish, meat, or vegetables into waxed cardboard containers, then flash-freezing them under pressure, reducing freezing time from 18 hours to 90 minutes.
September 30	Babe Ruth hits his 60th home run of the season off Tom Zachary in Yankee Stadium, breaking his own Major League record for most home runs in a season.
October 6	The era of talking pictures arrives with the opening of *The Jazz Singer,* starring Al Jolson singing and dancing in blackface.
October 28	Pan Am Airways launches the first scheduled international flight.
December 4	Duke Ellington opens at the Cotton Club in Harlem.

1928

January 31	Scotch tape is first marketed by the 3-M Company.
February 28	Smokey the Bear is created.
March 19	*Amos 'n' Andy* debuts on radio with the NBC Blue Network.
June 14	The Republican National Convention in Kansas City nominates Herbert Hoover for president on the first ballot.
June 28	New York Governor Alfred E. Smith is nominated for president at the Democratic National Convention in Houston.
November 6	For the first time, presidential election results are flashed on an electronic sign outside the *New York Times* building; Republican Herbert Hoover decisively beats Democrat Alfred E. Smith.
November 18	The first successful sound-synchronized animated cartoon, Walt Disney's "Steamboat Willie," starring Mickey Mouse, premiers at the Colony Theater in New York City.

1929

February 14	In Chicago, the "St. Valentine's Day Massacre" occurs in a garage of the Moran gang, as seven rivals of Al Capone's gang are gunned down.
March 4	Herbert Hoover is inaugurated as the 31st president of the United States.
May 16	Hollywood stages an awards event at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel that will become the Academy Awards extravaganza. The movie *Wings* wins the best production award, while Emil Jennings and Janet Gaynor are named best actor and best actress.
October 24	"Black Thursday," the first day of the stock market crash, sees the Dow Jones average drop 12.8 percent as 13 million shares changed hands.
October 29	"Black Tuesday" sees panicked survivors dump 16 million shares on the stock market, wiping out $30 billion in paper value in one day; the Great Depression begins.
December 31	Guy Lombardo and his Royal Canadians play "Auld Lang Syne" as a New Year's Eve song for the first time.

1930

February	President Herbert Hoover says that the worst effects of the Depression will be over within 90 days and that "prosperity is just around the corner."
February 24	President Herbert Hoover tells Congress to cut spending or face a 40 percent tax increase.
May 24	A poll shows that the majority of Americans favor the repeal of Prohibition.
July 31	The radio show *The Shadow* is broadcast for the first time.
August 11	A severe drought cuts U.S. corn output by nearly 700 million bushels.
October 8	The Philadelphia Athletes defeat the St. Louis Cardinals 7–1 to win the World Series.
November 5	Sinclair Lewis (1885–1951) becomes the first American to win a Nobel Prize in literature.

1931

February 21	Alka Seltzer is introduced.
March 25	In Alabama, nine young black men, arrested for riding a freight train, are taken to Scottsboro. Victoria Price (age 21) and Ruby Bates (age 17), who had worked as prostitutes in Huntsville, are also found on the train dressed as boys. The nine black men are soon charged with raping the two white women while riding on the freight train.
May 1	The 102-story Empire State Building opens in New York City.
October 4	The comic strip "Dick Tracy," created by Chester Gould, debuts.
October 24	Al (Alphonse) Capone, a Prohibition-era Chicago gangster, is sentenced to 11 years in prison for tax evasion.
October 26	Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* premiers in New York City.

1932

March 1	Charles Lindbergh Jr., the infant son of Charles and Anne Lindbergh, is kidnapped from his nursery at the family home near Princeton, New Jersey.
May 12	The character of Goofy first appears in "Mickey's Revue" by Walt Disney.
May 21	Amelia Earhart makes her first transatlantic solo flight from Newfoundland to Ireland.
May 29	World War I veterans begin arriving in Washington, D.C., to demand cash bonuses that they are not scheduled to receive for another 13 years.
June 16	President Herbert Hoover and Vice President Charles Curtis are renominated at the Republican National Convention in Chicago.
June 17	The U.S. Senate defeats a cash-now bonus bill as some 10,000 veterans mass around the Capitol.
July 1	New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt is nominated for president at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Roosevelt breaks precedent by flying to Chicago to accept the nomination in person.

July 28	Under orders from President Herbert Hoover, shacks built at Anacostia Flats in the shadow of the nation's Capitol by World War I veteran demonstrators are burned.
July 30	The Summer Olympic Games open in Los Angeles.
October 2	The New York Yankees win the World Series against the Chicago Cubs in four games.
November 8	New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Democrat, defeats incumbent Republican President Herbert Hoover.
November 28	Groucho Marx performs on radio for the first time.
December 2	*The Adventures of Charlie Chan* is first heard on the NBC Blue radio network.
December 21	Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers make their first movie together, *Flying Down to Rio*.
December 27	Radio City Music Hall opens in New York City.

1933

February 6	The 20th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is declared in effect. The Lame-Duck Amendment changes the inauguration date of congressmen from March 4 to January 3.
February 10	The first singing telegram is introduced by the Postal Telegram Company in New York.
February 15	President-elect Franklin Roosevelt escapes an assassination attempt in Miami. Giuseppe Zangara, an unemployed New Jersey bricklayer from Italy, fires five pistol shots at the back of Roosevelt's head from only 25 feet away. While all five rounds miss Roosevelt, one hits Mayor Anton Cermak of Chicago, who dies from the wound.
February 17	*Newsweek* magazine is first published by Thomas J. C. Marchtyn under the title *News-Week*.
February 20	Congress passes the 21st Amendment repealing Prohibition.
February 28	Francis Perkins is appointed Secretary of Labor by president-elect Roosevelt; Perkins becomes the first woman to serve in the cabinet.
March 4	Franklin D. Roosevelt is inaugurated to his first term as president in Washington, D.C.
March 5	President Franklin D. Roosevelt orders a four-day bank holiday to stop large amounts of money from being withdrawn from the banks.
March 12	President Franklin Roosevelt delivers the first of his radio "fireside chats," telling Americans what is being done to deal with the nation's economic crisis.
March 20	Giuseppe [Joe] Zangara is electrocuted for the murder of Anton Cermak, the mayor of Chicago, whom Zangara killed while trying to assassinate president-elect Franklin Roosevelt in Miami.
March 22	President Franklin Roosevelt signs a measure to make wine and beer containing up to 3.2 percent alcohol legal.

March 31	Congress authorizes the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to relieve rampant unemployment.
April 7	Prohibition ends when Utah becomes the 38th state to ratify the 21st Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.
May 18	The Tennessee Valley Authority Act is signed by President Franklin Roosevelt.
May 27	Walt Disney's Academy Award–winning animated short *The Three Little Pigs* is released.
June 6	Richard M. Hollingshead Jr., an auto products salesman, opens the first drive-in movie theater, in Camden, New Jersey.
June 16	Congress passes the National Recovery Act (NRA); the U.S. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) becomes effective.
November 9	President Franklin Roosevelt sets up the Civil Works Administration as an emergency Depression agency to provide jobs for the unemployed.
December 17	In the first world championship football game, the Chicago Bears defeat the New York Giants, 23–21.

1934

February 15	The U.S. Congress passes the Civil Works Emergency Relief Act, allotting new funds for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.
February 22	The romantic comedy *It Happened One Night,* starring Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert, opens at New York's Radio City Music Hall.
April 19	Shirley Temple appears in her first movie.
April 28	President Franklin Roosevelt signs the Home Owners Loan Act, saving thousands from foreclosure.
May 9	The San Francisco waterfront strike begins. The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), headed by Australian immigrant Harry Bridges, shuts down seaports in Washington, Oregon, and California for three months.
May 23	Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow are shot some four dozen times in an early morning police ambush by Texas Rangers as the couple drives a stolen Ford Deluxe along a road in Bienville Parish, near Sailes, Louisiana. This ambush ends the most spectacular manhunt seen in America up to that time.
May 28	The Dionne quintuplets—Annette, Cecile, Emilie, Marchie, and Yvonne—are born to Elzire Dionne at the family farm in Ontario, Canada.
June 9	Donald Duck makes his first screen appearance.
July 22	John Dillinger is shot to death by federal agents outside Chicago's Biograph Theater.
November 22	"Santa Claus Is Comin' to Town" is first heard on Eddie Cantor's show.
December	Parker Brothers purchases the game of Monopoly from George Darrow and rewrites the rules.

1935

April 8	The Works Progress Administration (WPA) is approved by Congress. The WPA creates low-paying federal jobs to provide immediate relief. The WPA puts 8.5 million jobless to work on projects as diverse as constructing highways, bridges, and public buildings, and arts programs like the Federal Writers' Project.
May 24	The first Major League Baseball game played at night takes place at Cincinnati's Crosley Field as the Reds beat the Philadelphia Phillies 2–1.
May 27	The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*, declares President Franklin Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional.
August 14	The Social Security Act becomes law.
September 2	A hurricane slams into the Florida Keys, claiming more than 400 lives.
September 8	Senator Huey P. Long, "the Kingfish" of Louisiana politics, is shot and mortally wounded in Baton Rouge.
October 10	*Porgy and Bess* debuts at the Alvin Theater on Broadway in New York City.
November 9	United Mine Workers president John L. Lewis and other labor leaders form the Committee for Industrial Organization to represent unskilled industrial workers.

1936

January 4	*Billboard* magazine publishes its first music hit parade.
January 15	The nonprofit Ford Foundation is incorporated.
January 29	The first members of baseball's Hall of Fame—Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Honus Wagner, Christy Mathewson, and Walter Johnson—are named in Cooperstown, New York.
April 3	Bruno Hauptmann, the man convicted of kidnapping and killing the Lindbergh baby, is executed.
June 30	Margaret Mitchell's novel, *Gone With the Wind,* is published in New York City.
August 9	American sprinter Jesse Owens wins his fourth gold medal at the Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany.
August 24	President Franklin Roosevelt gives the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) authority to investigate fascists and communists.
October 16	American Eugene O'Neill wins the Nobel Prize for literature.
November 3	President Franklin Roosevelt is reelected for a second term in a landslide over Republican challenger Alfred M. "Alf" Landon.
November 17	Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy are an overnight success on radio.
November 23	*Life* magazine hits the newsstands for the first time.
November 28	"Pennies From Heaven" by Bing Crosby hits #1 on the pop singles chart.
December 30	The United Auto Workers Union stages its first sit-down strike at the Fisher Body Plant No. 1 in Flint, Michigan.

1937

May 6	At 7:25 P.M., the giant German airship (dirigible or zeppelin) *Hindenburg* bursts into flames and crashes to the ground as it attempts to dock with a mooring mast at Lakehurst Naval Air Station in New Jersey.
May 27	The newly completed Golden Gate Bridge connecting San Francisco and Marin County, California, is opened.
May 30	The Memorial Day Massacre occurs; 10 union demonstrators are killed and 84 wounded when police open fire in front of the South Chicago Republic Steel plant.
June 1	Amelia Earhart and navigator Fred Noonan depart from Miami Municipal Airport in a Lockheed 10E Electra airplane; she is last heard from one month later trying to find tiny Howland Island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean.
June 22	Joe Louis becomes heavyweight champ by knocking out Jim Braddock.
August 14	The Appalachian Trail is dedicated.

1938

January 3	The March of Dimes is established by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to fight polio.
February 4	The Thornton Wilder play *Our Town* opens on Broadway.
June 1	Superman makes his first appearance in D.C. Comics' Action Comics Series issue #1.
June 22	Heavyweight boxing champion Joe Louis knocks out Max Schmeling in the first round of their heavyweight rematch at New York City's Yankee Stadium.
October 30	On a Sunday night, Orson Welles and his troupe of actors in the Mercury Theater touch off mass panic with a CBS dramatic radio adaptation of H. G. Wells's 1898 novel of Martian conquest, *The War of the Worlds*.

1939

March 21	Singer Kate Smith records "God Bless America" for Victor Records; she had introduced the song on her radio program in 1938.
March 28	Philip Barry's *Philadelphia Story* premiers in New York City.
April 9	On Easter Sunday Marion Anderson sings a triumphant outdoor concert at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., before a crowd of 75,000 and a radio audience of millions.
April 30	The New York World's Fair, billed as a look at "the world of tomorrow," officially opens.
May 1	D.C. Comics introduces Batman.
June 30	Frank Sinatra makes his first appearance with the Harry James band.
August 15	The MGM musical *The Wizard of Oz* premiers at Grauman's Chinese Theater in Hollywood, California.

September 1	World War II begins, as the Germans attack Poland with their strategy of *Blitzkrieg*, or lightning war.
September 5	President Franklin Roosevelt declares the neutrality of the United States in World War II.
October 24	Nylon stockings are sold publicly for the first time in Wilmington, Delaware.

1940

February 7	Walt Disney's second feature-length movie, *Pinocchio*, premiers in New York City.
February 10	Glenn Miller's "In The Mood" is the nation's #1 hit; the "Tom and Jerry" cartoon, created by Hanna and Barbera, is debuted by MGM.
February 12	The radio play *The Adventures of Superman* debuts on the Mutual Network.
February 29	*Gone With the Wind* wins eight Academy Awards, including best picture of 1939.
March 31	New York's La Guardia Airport is officially opened to the public.
June 28	The Republican Convention, held in Philadelphia, nominates Wendell L. Willkie for president.
July 18	The Democratic National Convention in Chicago nominates President Franklin Roosevelt for an unprecedented third term in office.
July 27	Bugs Bunny makes his official debut in the Warner Brothers animated cartoon *A Wild Hare*.
September 16	President Franklin Roosevelt signs into law the Selective Training and Service Act, which sets up the first peacetime military draft in U.S. history.
October 15	Charles Chaplin's first all-talking comedy, *The Great Dictator,* a lampoon of Adolf Hitler, opens at two theaters in New York City with Chaplin and his wife, costar Paulette Goddard, making appearances in both locations.
November 5	President Franklin Roosevelt wins an unprecedented third term in office, beating Republican challenger Wendell L. Willkie.
November 13	The Walt Disney animated movie *Fantasia* has its world premiere in New York City.
November 25	The cartoon character Woody Woodpecker debuts with the release of Walter Lantz's *Knock Knock*.

1941

January 6	President Franklin D. Roosevelt asks Congress to support the Lend-Lease plan to help supply the Allies.
January 20	Franklin D. Roosevelt is inaugurated for a third term as president.
May 1	The motion picture *Citizen Kane,* directed by and starring Orson Welles, premiers in New York City.

May 7	Glenn Miller and his orchestra record "Chattanooga Choo Choo" for RCA Victor; it becomes the first gold record in history.
July 17	The longest hitting streak in baseball history ends when New York Yankee Joe DiMaggio goes hitless for the first time in 57 games.
October 3	The film *The Maltese Falcon*, starring Humphrey Bogart as detective Sam Spade, opens.
December 7	Japan launches a surprise aerial attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.
December 8	The United States declares war on Japan.
December 19	The U.S. Office of Censorship is created to control information about World War II.
December 22	British Prime Minister Winston Churchill arrives in Washington for a wartime conference with President Franklin Roosevelt.

1942

January 2	The Philippine capital of Manila is taken by Japanese forces.
February 2	A *Los Angeles Times* column urges security measures against Japanese Americans.
February 9	President Franklin D. Roosevelt reemploys Daylight Saving Time (DST) in the United States; it remains in effect until September 30, 1945.
February 19	President Franklin Roosevelt signs executive order 9066, which gives the military the authority to relocate and intern Japanese Americans.
June 13	President Franklin Roosevelt creates the Office of War Information.
July 22	Gasoline rationing begins.
August 13	Walt Disney's animated feature *Bambi* premiers at Radio City Music Hall in New York City.
September 1	A federal judge upholds the wartime detention of Japanese Americans as well as Japanese nationals.
September 25	The War Labor Board orders equal pay for women in the United States.
October 3	President Franklin Roosevelt establishes the Office of Economic Stabilization and authorizes controls on farm prices, rents, wages, and salaries.
October 29	The Alaska Highway is completed.
November 13	The minimum draft age is lowered from 21 to 18.
November 23	The film *Casablanca* premiers in New York City.
December 2	A self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction is demonstrated for the first time at the University of Chicago.

1943

February 9	President Franklin Roosevelt orders a minimal 48-hour workweek in war industries.
March 29	Meat, butter, and cheese rationing begins.

June 9	The withholding of U.S. income tax deductions from salaries is authorized.
June 14	The U.S. Supreme Court rules schoolchildren cannot be compelled to salute the flag of the United States if doing so would conflict with their religious beliefs.
June 20	A race riot erupts in Detroit; federal troops are sent in to quell the violence that results in 34 dead and 600 wounded.
September 27	Bing Crosby, the Andrews Sisters, and the Vic Schoen Orchestra record "Jingle Bells" for Decca Records.
October 14	The Radio Corporation of America sells the NBC Blue radio network to businessman Edward J. Noble, who renames the network the American Broadcasting Company.

1944

April 3	The U.S. Supreme Court rules that black citizens are eligible to vote in all elections, including primaries. The *Smith v. Allwright* decision declares "white primaries" unconstitutional.
June 6	D-Day—a million Allied troops, under the overall command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, move onto five Normandy beachheads over three weeks.
June 28	The Republican National Convention, meeting in Chicago, nominates New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey for president and Ohio Governor John W. Bricker for vice president.
July 1	Delegates from 44 countries begin meeting at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, where they agreed to establish the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.
July 20	President Roosevelt is nominated to run for a fourth term by the Democratic Party.
August 14	The government allows the manufacture of certain domestic appliances, such as electric ranges and vacuum cleaners, to resume on a limited basis.
November 7	Democratic President Franklin Roosevelt wins an unprecedented fourth term in office, defeating Republican challenger Thomas E. Dewey.
November 11	Private Eddie Slovik is convicted of desertion and sentenced to death for refusing to join his unit in the European Theater of Operations.
December 15	Bandleader Glenn Miller, a U.S. army major, is lost in a single-engine plane flight over the English Channel en route to Paris.
December 18	The U.S. Supreme Court upholds the wartime relocation of Japanese Americans.
December 23	General Dwight D. Eisenhower confirms the death sentence of Private Eddie Slovik, the only American shot for desertion since the Civil War.

1945

February 11	President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin sign the Yalta Agreement, which effectively divides Europe into two camps.

March 15	Bing Cosby and Ingrid Bergman are winners at the 17th Academy Awards along with the film *Going My Way*.
April 12	President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32nd president of the United States, dies of a cerebral hemorrhage in Warm Springs, Georgia, at age 63. Vice President Harry Truman becomes the 33rd president of the United States.
May 8	VE Day—Germany surrenders, assuring victory in Europe for the Allies.
May 26	The United States begins dropping firebombs on Tokyo.
August 6	Hiroshima, Japan, is struck with the uranium bomb, Little Boy, from the B-29 airplane, *Enola Gay*, piloted by Col. Paul Tibbets of the U.S. Air Force along with 11 other men.
August 8	President Truman signs the United Nations Charter.
August 9	The 10,000-pound plutonium bomb, Fat Man, is dropped over Nagasaki, Japan. It kills an estimated 74,000 people.
August 14	Japan agrees to surrender.
August 15	This date is declared VJ Day, and gasoline and fuel oil rationing end in the United States.
September 2	The Japanese government signs the Instrument of Surrender aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri*, officially ending World War II.
September 5	Iva Toguri D'Aquino (1916–2006), a Japanese American suspected of being wartime radio propagandist "Tokyo Rose," is arrested in Yokohama, Japan. In 1949, she is tried in San Francisco and convicted for having spoken "into a microphone concerning the loss of ships." Although sentenced to 10 years in prison, she serves only six months.
October 29	The first ballpoint pen is sold by Gimbel's Department Store in New York for a price of $12.
November 23	Most U.S. wartime rationing of foods, including meat and butter, ends.

1

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: THE UNITED STATES, 1900–1940

The Progressive Age and Theodore Roosevelt

Never had events marked the beginning of a century so clearly. On September 14, 1901, William McKinley, the last president of the nineteenth century and the first one elected in the new century, died from gunshot wounds suffered eight days prior at the Buffalo World's Fair, and 42-year-old Theodore Roosevelt (TR) succeeded him to become the youngest man to hold the office of president. Although the assassination of McKinley was tragic, many, including TR himself, recovered quickly, and a collective cheer rose from those who had championed progressive reform in government, business, family life, labor, conditions of women, and the environment. Mark Hanna and the stalwarts in the Republican Party may have complained about the "damn cowboy" in the White House, but the Progressive reformers rejoiced knowing that they had one of their own in the presidency, and now, they believed, the new century could truly begin. Under Teddy Roosevelt's aegis, Progressivism, which had been a loosely organized coalition of reformers who worked locally or regionally, soon became part of the national agenda.

Who were these Progressives? Historians have been debating that since the word was first used in the mid-1890s to describe reformers whose agendas crossed geographic, political, educational, and racial lines. Women joined the movement, often, as equals in expertise and interests, and, although Progressivism has been described as largely a middle-class movement, captains of industry as well as laborers joined its ranks.

Despite their eclecticism, Progressives had much that drew them together. First of all, they shared an idea, which philosopher William James defined as pragmatism.

James and the pragmatists saw ideas as organic and therefore subject to Darwinian principles of natural selection and survival. Those theoretical designs that proved functional survived; those that did not died. Pragmatism determined that the central question of an idea was not, "is it true?" but rather, "does it work?" Secondly, the Progressives all accepted a psychological theory called behaviorism. The theory took its name from the belief that environment shaped (or as some even argued, determined) behavior, which meant that social, economic, cultural, and political influences and institutions could form and condition behavior. The conviction of these behaviorists was best expressed in the famous quote by the psychologist John Watson, who wrote that if given "a dozen healthy infants, and my own specified world to bring them up in," he could train any of them to be whatever he wanted, whether a "doctor, lawyer, even beggar man, and thief regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors." Although Watson admitted that his claim was "going beyond my facts," it illustrated the early twentieth-century confidence of behaviorists in the validity of their ideas (Watson 1930, 104).

Progressives believed that modern social science and social philosophy, correctly applied, could tame the tumultuous economic and social upheavals of the late nineteenth century. Caught amidst the convolutions created by massive immigration, the abuses of the factory system and workers' reaction to it, city bosses who undermined the democratic system, and corporate magnates who scoffed at the law, Progressives longed for a more orderly world that in their memory had existed in their childhood. In that remembered, if also idealistic, world, cities were well-managed living spaces, political leaders were true public servants, and employers and workers shared republican values. Local factories produced for local consumption, and fair competition and the eternal laws of supply and demand controlled their prices. In their world everyone spoke English, and those new immigrants that arrived accepted American values and quickly assimilated because they came from the same Anglo-Germanic soil as had the founding fathers.

From the Progressive point of view, events of the post–Civil War era had overturned their imagined world. Cities teemed with tenements, new immigrants without democratic traditions readily traded their vote to corrupt city bosses for personal favors, and small independent factories had merged into large conglomerates that choked competition and exploited their employees. Masses of workers had organized and threatened class war against these corporations and their oppressive labor policies. Progressives saw disruption of natural order everywhere, and they set out to bring order back to a world in terrible disarray. This sentiment, although primarily a middle-class phenomenon, had adherents that transcended geography, race, and class and became a powerful national political movement in the United States.

Some of the first Progressives were social workers who fought on the front line in the battle against the great inequities suffered by those living in cities without a social infrastructure to support them. Thanks to these workers and to the camera skills of Jacob Riis, middle-class Americans learned that they had a social problem in the cities. Awakened to the horrible conditions in the slums and tenement houses of America's cities, women took the lead in the early Progressive movement. Led by the example of people like Chicagoan Jane Addams, women began to demand a greater voice in social affairs. Some, like Addams, left their comfortable middle-class homes to live among the poor immigrants in settlement houses where they taught English, cared for children, provided food and shelter, and did whatever they could to alleviate the daily crises that occur in the lives of the destitute. They lived like "the early Christians," said one settlement worker, sacrificing their lives in service to the poor. Addams's Hull House was the most famous of the settlement houses, but at the turn of the century there were over a hundred such places across the nation, and they formed a powerful political base of activists who played an instrumental role in the development of the social legislation of the Progressive movement.

Women's clubs across the nation organized and lobbied for reforms as varied as temperance, child labor laws, "good government," women's voting rights, even birth control. The men followed, and soon the political structures within every state began to feel the pressure of this eclectic and widespread grassroots movement that everyone agreed to call Progressivism. Reform governments were elected across the country. Progressives such as Gifford Pinchot in Pennsylvania, Hiram Johnson in California, and Robert M. La Follette in Wisconsin won governorships, and state legislatures with Progressive majorities passed laws designed to improve social conditions. Many of these states pressed for common goals: control of monopolies, which distorted the eternal laws of supply and demand; education for all children, especially the immigrants so that they might learn to be good Americans; reform of local government; anti-vice laws, workman's compensation, and labor protection, especially for women and children. Good behaviorists that they were, they also concerned themselves with purifying the physical environment. They battled for new sewage and trash systems in the urban centers of the country. They also fought for pasteurized milk for children, for mass inoculation campaigns, and extermination of the hookworm in the South. They fought for more open space in the cities and expansion of the national park system in the countryside.

Sometimes this struggle went too far. In some cities, for example, in the name of cleaning up local government, Progressives drove city bosses from power, which effectively removed a powerful political voice for the poor urban immigrant. And in the South, good government and honest elections became an argument for disenfranchisement of blacks. On the other hand, blacks in the South did not have to depend on white middle-class Progressives to lead their struggle for social justice. They had their own advocates, such as Ida B. Wells, who used journalism and speaking to launch an antilynching campaign, which raised the national consciousness of the terrible wave of terrorism waged by whites against blacks at the turn of the century. Although she never realized her goal of a national antilynching bill, in 1896 she did establish the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), which advocated reforms in education, housing, and health care for blacks while they continued their campaign against lynching.

Black Americans also had a powerful advocate in Booker T. Washington, whose nonthreatening advocacy of technical education for blacks attracted a great deal of white philanthropy for his Tuskegee Institute, which, in addition to being a center for black education, became a focal point in the struggle for civil rights in the first decades of the twentieth century. Less accommodating than Washington, but articulate and passionate in his struggle for human dignity for African Americans, was W.E.B. Du Bois, who refused to accept Washington's premise that the road to equality lay in creating an economic and technical army of blacks on which the white power structure would become dependent. He refused to accept second-class citizenship for blacks, even as a temporary strategy, and demanded equal opportunities for all, which would allow the "Talented Tenth" of blacks to gain the power necessary to lift up the masses. He aligned himself with Progressive middle-class whites and blacks, and together in 1909 they formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization that took the fight for civil rights into the courtrooms. Their work would culminate in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954, which ended 60 years of state-mandated segregation in public school systems in the South.

Many Progressives were also influenced by the myriad socialist and utopian writers of the nineteenth century, who emboldened them to explore more radical solutions to contemporary social problems. Though not everyone followed the example of some states that elected socialist mayors, legislators, and governors (e.g., John Altgeld, the governor of Illinois, whom *Harper's Weekly* described as an "ambitious and unscrupulous . . . communist"), many did follow the socialist example of establishing ownership over such public essentials as water, sewage, public transportation, and electricity.

Religion also played a role in the emerging social consciousness that contributed to the Progressive movement. Persuaded by Baltimore's Archbishop James Cardinal Gibbons, Pope Leo XIII reversed the traditional papal stand against labor unions and also issued an encyclical entitled *Rerum Novarum*, which defended the workers' rights to a living wage. And many Christian ministers began to turn their flocks away from the idea that poverty was the result of personal depravity and toward the concept that to follow Christ's example meant they should work to bring the kingdom of God to Earth, which meant bringing social justice to everyone. This movement soon became known as the Social Gospel and was preached by important Protestant scholars like Walter Rauschenbusch, who from his ministry in the Hell's Kitchen section of New York convinced many fellow Christians that the gospels called them to service to the poor.

The Era of Theodore Roosevelt

After more than a decade of struggles fought at the local and state levels, the Progressives in 1901 finally had a champion in the White House. Teddy Roosevelt shared the Progressive belief that once cleansed of its corruption and entrusted to skilled professionals, a government of the best men using the best systems could bring order out of the disorderly nineteenth century and restore responsibility, efficiency, and integrity to the country. Like most Progressives, TR wanted a proactive government to replace the time-worn concepts of laissez-faire. In his energy and optimism over the capacity of Americans to realize progress through a systematic and educated attack on all social, political, and economic problems, he came to embody the Progressive ideal. Like many Progressives, he envisioned an empowered federal government that would be entrusted to act in the public interest, favoring no special interest or business. Those embracing this idea believed that government would speak for them in the unruly world of machine politics, big business, and big labor. An empowered federal government would be trusted to act for the little person, who had no alliance with large corporations or labor unions. Government representatives would be honest brokers, because an informed and honest public would elect them. In their view of things, cleaning up the ballot to ensure that the voting process was uncorrupted and that it attracted the right kind of men in office was critical. In many ways these Progressives were hardly that; for in reality they wanted to take the country back to a more ordered, bygone era, ideally when educated men made decisions for the common good, when favoritism and power held minor sway, and where fair play prevailed. Their collective memory of the past helped Progressives form their image of the future.

Roosevelt led the way by mobilizing the latent power of the presidency to promise a "Square Deal" to the American people. Republican boss Mark Hanna had told the sometimes impetuous TR to go slowly. But this man, who now added the presidency to his list of conquests that included the apprehension of cattle rustlers out West, confrontations with young toughs on the streets of New York, and the capture of Spaniards on San Juan Hill, could hardly restrain himself.

But without a Progressive mandate, and with a balky conservative Congress, Roosevelt had to choose his crusades carefully. He had no fight with big business per se and indeed thought that the well-managed corporation was the natural product of capitalism's development. But as a moralist, the politician Roosevelt also believed that both big business or corporations and big labor in the form of unions should act responsibly. Failing to do so threatened the public, whose only recourse was the government. Following the pragmatic model of the age, Roosevelt's ideas evolved in response to conditions.

The first opportunity for TR to test his philosophy of federal government came in 1902 when, as winter approached, he intervened in a coal strike for the public good. Suggesting that he might call in the army to run the mines if the unions and mine owners could not reach a bargain, he convinced both sides to accept a 10 percent wage hike, and Americans had coal to warm them that winter. In that same year he also launched an antitrust lawsuit against the giant Northern Securities Company, which held a monopoly over one of the nation's largest railroad systems and connected the northeastern states to the Pacific Northwest. Northern Securities, owned by J. P. Morgan Company and other powerful interests, had, through its excesses in controlling prices, become a political metaphor for the evil of trusts. Roosevelt took them on. Upon hearing of the investigation, Morgan suggested to Roosevelt that they each send their lawyers to meet and straighten things out. The president demurred, and two years later the Supreme Court ordered the company dissolved. TR gained a reputation as a "trust-buster" for his use of the 1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act and his willingness to take on businesses abusing their power. He preferred negotiation and regulation to legal action. Nevertheless, Roosevelt and his successor William Howard Taft went on to bring suit against 44 giant companies, including Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company, and established the precedent of using federal authority to regulate business competition. Roosevelt also joined the Progressive attack against the food industry, which was endangering American health with poorly processed foods, and launched the National Park System to preserve at least some of the nation's natural heritage and protect it from the exploitative hands of big business.

In 1912, the Progressive mantle passed to Woodrow Wilson, the reform governor of New Jersey and former president of Princeton University. Wilson represented a change in the guard of the old Democratic Party, which had nominated the Nebraskan populist William Jennings Bryan for three of the previous four presidential campaigns. Although incumbent president William Howard Taft was the Republican nominee, Wilson's real opponent was Roosevelt. Roosevelt, who had left national politics in 1909, returned to the political scene in 1912. Disillusioned with his handpicked successor William Howard Taft, whom he believed had let the Republican Party drift away from its Progressive agenda, Roosevelt tried to wrest control of the Republican Party from him, but he failed. Rejected by anti-Progressive forces that controlled the political machinery of his own party, Roosevelt accepted the nomination of a third party, the Progressive Party, which, with a big game hunter and outdoorsman at the top of their ticket, became known as the Bull Moose Party after Roosevelt said he was as fit as a "bull moose" to take on the 300-pound Taft. Taft, the Republican candidate, almost became a nonissue in the campaign.

The real contest was between Wilson and Roosevelt, and the argument was not pro- or anti-Progressivism, but rather whose view of Progressivism should prevail. Wilson espoused the "New Freedom," which emphasized the need for government to restore fair competition, while Roosevelt called for the "New Nationalism," which accepted large corporations as an invariable fact, which necessitated regulation that only big government could provide. By 1912, TR also had moved toward accepting more radical Progressive ideas such as laws restricting child labor, establishing a minimum wage and maximum hours for workers, and protecting workers' health and safety on the job. Wilson defeated Roosevelt, but together these two candidates garnered over 10.4 million votes to Taft's 3 million. Adding the Socialist Party vote of roughly one million to the Progressive vote provided a strong mandate for an activist, reform-minded government. Clearly the American people had accepted the view that the complexities of the modern world demanded a proactive government that was socially and economically relevant to their lives.

Woodrow Wilson's Domestic Policy

Upon election as president, Woodrow Wilson rolled up his Progressive sleeves and went to work to establish what he had called in his campaign a "New Freedom" for the American people. An admirer of the British parliamentary system, Wilson was a policy-driven president who likened his role to that of the British prime minister, who initiated and proposed programs and legislation. He cajoled and persuaded Congress to lower the tariff, which he thought aided large corporations and hurt the average person. Tariffs had climbed steadily upward for half a century and continued upward during the Taft administration, despite Taft's efforts to lower them. Finally, in 1913, the trend was reversed when the Congress, now with a Progressive majority, passed the Underwood Tariff, which represented the largest reduction since the Civil War. Wilson also asked for and received a graduated income tax limited to the corporations and the wealthiest Americans. In fairness to Taft, it should be noted that he shepherded the 16th Amendment into being, which made the new tax law constitutional. Some historians have called this amendment and the tax law that followed the most significant piece of legislation of the twentieth century. Whether or not that is true, this legislation did change the financial basis of the country. For more than a century since its inception, land sales and tariffs had provided the federal government's primary source of income. From 1913 onward, however, the cost of running the U.S. government increasingly would become a direct expense of its citizens and corporations.

Wilson followed this momentous change with another. He established a Federal Reserve Board, which would take control of the money supply out of the hands of private bankers and put it into the hands of the government. Other progressive reforms instituted by Wilson included a new antitrust act to break price fixing by large corporations and to end the practice of having individuals sitting on the board of more than one corporation. He also took leadership on a Child Labor Act, an eight-hour-day law for railroad workers, and low-cost loans to farmers. In addition, he used his presidential influence to help establish the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), which created a bipartisan executive agency to oversee big business. When all was said and done, it appeared that Wilson had come closer to Teddy Roosevelt's ideas of an empowered federal government, with enhanced regulatory powers to control large corporations, than his own ideas of limiting corporate size to create a more decentralized competitive economy. As far-reaching and energetic as his program was, he never could fully implement his domestic plan, because soon after entering office, foreign affairs drew him into the international arena.

Overseas Expansion and the Mexican Revolution

In 1898, when the U.S. Navy destroyed the Spanish fleet, and the army mopped up a war that had been going on in Cuba intermittently for 30 years, the country announced to the world its presence as an emerging international power. In 1903

President Teddy Roosevelt confirmed U.S. intentions by taking control of the Panama Canal Zone and then spearheading the building of a canal that would connect the two great oceans of the world under the watchful eye of the American navy. "I took the Canal Zone!" Roosevelt boasted. "While congress debated I took the Canal Zone and as they continue to debate the canal is being built." Like its domestic policy, racism was woven into the fabric of Progressive diplomacy. Progressives developed a unique Social Darwinist rationalization for their imperialism by concluding that the Anglo-Saxon "race" had produced a superior society, and the movement of all the world should be toward that ideal. According to the Progressive worldview, other "races," especially non–Western European ones, were inferior and more prone to corruption, mismanagement, poor health systems, and inferior educational systems. Even the predominant interpretation of history taught at most American universities usually carried a title such as the "Progress of Western Civilization," which argued the premise that society had steadily progressed westward from the Greeks, to the Romans, to the French, to the English, and finally to the Americans. The conclusion of this thesis was that there was no being on earth intellectually or socially superior to the white male living on the East Coast of the United States. This privilege carried responsibility to bring the benefits of capitalist Christian civilization to the rest of the inferior world.

In 1899, *McClure's* magazine published a poem written by Englishman Rudyard Kipling that captured the sentiment and spirit that drove American expansionist ambition. Titled "The White Man's Burden," Kipling's poem called upon Americans to assume their proper role as white Europeans in the great race for empire and in the holy commission to save the world.

It was in this intellectual context that the United States entered the international stage, where it expected to be received as an equal partner at the turn of the century. In one sense this idea, with its subtle racism and its sense of social obligation, can be described as typically Progressive, but in another sense it demonstrated the persistence of an idea as old as the Puritan founding fathers, who strove to build, in John Winthrop's words, "A City on a Hill," an example to the world. However, in Wilson's brand of missionary diplomacy, rather than wait for conversion by example, his activist design exported and implanted American interests and institutions across the globe.

Wilson not only held both Puritan and Progressive beliefs, he had taught them to undergraduates at Princeton; now, as president, he would teach those values to the world. "We are chosen, " he declared, "and prominently chosen to show the way to nations of the world how they should walk in the paths of liberty." His first opportunity came in Mexico,

Snapshot

The White Man's Burden

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.
Take up the White Man's burden—
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain,
To seek another's profit
And work another's gain.
Take up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine,
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
(The end for others sought)
Watch sloth and heathen folly
Bring all your hope to nought.
Take up the White Man's burden—
No iron rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,

where in 1910 a revolution designed to overthrow the aged dictator Porfirio Diaz pushed the country to the brink of chaos and civil war. Out of the turmoil emerged Victor Huerta, the hero of the landed class, who had murdered the popular revolutionary leader Francisco Madero and taken control of Mexico at about the same time Wilson became president. Populists rebelled against Huerta's dictatorship and, in the name of their slain leader, launched a civil war against him and his followers. Although most European nations supported Huerta as the legitimate leader of Mexico, Wilson's politics of morality would not allow him to support a "government of butchers." After prohibiting the sale of arms to Huerta's government, Wilson threw his support to the rebel leader Venustiano Carranza, who immediately, in a burst of patriotic fervor and political sagacity, declined the offer of support. Wilson, for all his knowledge as a political scientist and historian, could not measure the strength of Mexican nationalism and the harm that his offer would do to Carranza.

Rejected by Carranza, Wilson pursued Huerta's downfall on his own. Landing troops first in Tampico and afterwards in Veracruz, the U.S. invasion disrupted the Huerta government sufficiently to allow Carranza to take control of the country. Bruised by Carranza's rejection, Wilson for a while supported the bandit revolutionaries Pancho Villa and Emilio Zapata, but soon he rejected this flight from reality and recognized Carranza. Angry at the U.S. rejection, Villa launched raids against the United States, and for two years American forces under General "Black Jack" Pershing pursued Villa unsuccessfully along and sometimes across the Mexican border. When the smoke finally settled, it was obvious that Mexican–American relations had sunk to their lowest level in 70 years.

Snapshot (continued)

The roads ye shall not tread,
Go, make them with your living
And mark them with your dead.
Take up the White Man's burden,
And reap his old reward—
The blame of those ye better
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
"Why brought ye us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"
Take up the White Man's burden—
Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloak your weariness.
By all ye will or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you.
Take up the White Man's burden!
Have done with childish days—
The lightly-proffered laurel,
The easy ungrudged praise:
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers.

From McClure's Magazine*, February 12, 1899.*

World War I

For a time, events in Mexico distracted Wilson from the drama that was occurring across the Atlantic. For a century, aside from two small skirmishes, Europe had been at peace, but for the last quarter of that century many had been spoiling for war. Swelling populations, expanding international trade, neocolonialism, and emerging nationalism were all combining to strain the European nations' tolerance for one another. The Industrial Revolution made arms manufacturers more efficient and abundant, and technology improved the range and firepower of weapons and ships. Soon every major industrial power of Europe was boasting of its new weapons, which included long-range Howitzer cannons, machine guns, and steel-plated warships. As the new century opened, even the new invention, the airplane, was being redesigned as a war machine. As added insurance, the major powers of Europe entered into secret alliances, to ensure their advantage if war should break out.

These new inventions soon banged into gear in July 1914 when the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the throne of the sprawling Austro-Hungarian empires, while visiting Serbia, was shot by a Serbian nationalist. Austria demanded concessions that would have smothered an emerging Serbian nationalism. Serbia, although much weaker than Austria, bravely rejected the ultimatum, knowing that a strong Russia stood by in their support. Austria was aware of Russian support of Serbia but did not back down because it knew it enjoyed German support. The Russians were not afraid of the Germans because they secretly had an alliance with the English and the French. The Germans were not afraid of this alliance because they had a war plan that promised to put them in Paris six weeks before the Russians could even mobilize the Eastern Front. So, all the parties, convinced of their advantages, went to peace discussions in August with scant intention of working for peace. Soon all of Europe was at war. It would become a world war, because European nations had spent most of the nineteenth century extending their influence around the globe.

Wilson looked from afar with a feeling of hope and superiority—hope that the war would bring old regimes crashing down, and the superiority of knowing that American ideas of democracy would prevail in a new order. To become the leader of this new order at the end of the conflagration, Wilson believed that America must remain above the war. He reminded his fellow citizens, many of whom had recently migrated from the countries now at war with each other, that Americans must remain neutral in thought and deed.

Resisting early pressure precipitated by effective British propaganda, indiscriminant German submarine attacks, strong economic and cultural links to England, and his own Anglophile tendencies, Wilson refused to enter the war on the side of the French and British allies. He entered the 1916 election with the slogan, "He has kept us out of war," and he promised American mothers (although most could not yet vote) that he would not send their sons to die on a foreign battlefield. Accelerated events and amplified pressures soon made that promise an empty one. Slowly Wilson was pushed to the view that the moral thing to do was not to stay above the

Snapshot

Veracruz

More than 60 years after Wilson ordered the invasion of Mexico, while Mexico was threatened with financial collapse, poet-songwriters Warren Zevon and Jorge Calderón reminded Americans of their unsettling history with their neighbors to the south.

I heard Woodrow Wilson's guns
I heard Maria crying
Late last night I heard the news
That Veracruz was dying
Someone called Maria's name
I swear it was my father's voice
Saying, "If you stay you'll all be slain
You must leave now you have no choice
Take the servants and ride west
Keep the child close to your chest
When the American troops withdraw
Let Zapata take the rest."

I heard Woodrow Wilson's guns
I heard Maria calling
Saying "Veracruz is dying
And Cuernavaca's falling

Aquel día yo juré
On that day I swore
Hacia el Puerto volveré
To the port I will return
Aunque el destino cambió mi vida
Although destiny changed my life
En Veracruz moriré
In Veracruz I shall die
Aquel día yo juré

I heard Woodrow Wilson's guns
I heard them in the harbor
Saying "Veracruz is dying."

fracas but to join the war against the reactionary forces of Germany. The greatest persuasion for Wilson was the German use of submarines.

Invoking the principles of neutrality that harkened back to the early republic, Wilson issued a proclamation of neutrality in which he insisted on the protection and inviolability of Americans, their goods, and their properties from warring parties. He also asserted that Americans had the right to travel unmolested even in war zones, and as a neutral nation, America declared its right to trade with all belligerents. Geographic reality complicated this outward claim of commercial equanimity. England was physically closer to the United States than Germany, and there was no belligerent nation situated between England and the North American continent. Consequently, American products flowed freely to English ports. On the other hand, getting to Germany's single port of Bremen became a tricky maneuver. After crossing the Atlantic, American ships had to navigate the North Sea, which the British had been successfully blockading. During the first year of the war, trade with England increased as trade with Germany fell dramatically. When England had spent all it could, it began to borrow from American banks and the American economy boomed. By 1916, while trade with England and France expanded dramatically (from $800 million in 1914 to $3 billion in 1916), trade with Germany diminished to a trickle (Davidson, et al. 2001, 749). To counteract the British naval and commercial advantage, the Germans developed the submarine, with which they patrolled off the coast of England.

On May 7, 1915, the Germans sank the British luxury liner *Lusitania*. Among the passengers who died that day there were 128 Americans. Disregarding the facts that the *Lusitania* flew the British flag; that, as the Germans had warned, the ship most likely carried war munitions, thus making it a legitimate target; and that the Germans had warned Americans in newspaper notices to stay off British ships, Americans were outraged. Former president Theodore Roosevelt called the attack an act of piracy, which had to be avenged. The rage was fueled by an attack on two other ships that resulted in the loss of American lives. In March 1916, when the *Sussex,* a French ferryboat carrying passengers, was sunk, an enraged Wilson issued an ultimatum threatening war with Germany if it continued to sink unarmed ships without warning. The doves in Germany still had the upper hand, and Germany promised not to sink any more ships without warning. However, just as tensions seemed to be easing, Wilson and the United States discovered the so-called Zimmerman Note, a telegram revealing that the Germans had offered the Mexicans an alliance, which promised that in the event of war with America, if Mexico would attack the United States, Germany would provide guns, troops, and money to recover the Mexicans' lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Americans were shocked to learn that the Germans would try to persuade the Mexicans to attack and that they would ever consider such an offer.

Finally in early 1917, the German hawks prevailed, reasoning that America was, by virtue of trade with Britain, already de facto in the war, and believing that their U-boats and military advances could knock the British and French out of the war before the United States could be sufficiently mobilized to be a factor in the conflict.

Germany decided to rescind the *Sussex* pledge and launch all-out submarine warfare. This new phase of the war included sinking all ships, including American ships perceived to be heading to an enemy port. The Germans announced to the world that they would institute this policy effective January 31, 1917. It did not take long for an incident and a cause for war to emerge, and on April 2, 1917, America entered the conflict.

Some say that the Great War, as it was called, ended Progressivism. Others call it the "Flowering of Progressivism." If by Progressive government one means the use of government bureaucracy to order, organize, and regulate every aspect of economic and public life, then the latter is true. Leaders of industry promised to create efficiently and rapidly a great American war machine; however, initial efforts to mobilize large corporations in the war effort failed due to mismanagement and competing interests. For example, the United States never built the "Great Fleet" it promised, and "liberty engines" designed to replace worn airplane motors were sitting on New York shipping docks when the war ended. It soon became evident that national mobilization required coordination and direction that only the federal government could provide. During the war years Wilson even more completely adopted the New Nationalism of Roosevelt by creating executive-appointed agencies to regulate and even manage the economy in the public interest.

A U.S. government poster from the Office of Public Information urging people to raise their own food during World War I. President Woodrow Wilson contributed to the effort by grazing sheep on the White House lawn. Library of Congress.

Overnight, myriad bureaucracies were created to coordinate the war effort. Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street wizard, headed up the War Industries Board, which coordinated production, allocated scarce materials, set up work rules, and organized purchasing and distribution systems across the country. Herbert Hoover headed the Food Administration Board, which mobilized both consumers and producers of food. Convinced of the benefits of volunteerism over enforced regulation, Hoover launched a huge publicity campaign to encourage families to buy Liberty Bonds, eat and drink less, and plant "victory gardens." There were "wheatless Mondays," "meatless Tuesdays," and "porkless Saturdays." But probably the greatest sacrifice for many came on September 9, 1917, when under order of the president, empowered by the Lever Act, the liquor distilleries in the nation shut down. Beer and wine could still be purchased and consumed, but the war had given the latent forces of Prohibition the pretext and the power to realize a goal they had been seeking for decades, a country free of the horrors of demon rum.

The Fuel Administration was created to develop and implement energy conservation, and a Committee on Public Information was formed to explain to people how to think about the war. Knowing that Americans were not eager to enter this conflict, and fearing immigrant and ethnic division once the United States took sides, Wilson commissioned California publicist George M. Creel to launch a major propaganda battle for "the minds of men." Unlike other wartime organizations that contained an advisory board, supervisory board, and board of Cabinet members, the Committee on Public Information was a one-man show directed by Creel, who single-handedly ran the propaganda agency that employed over 150,000 persons. Creel mobilized every form of communication possible under the 1917 sun. He issued orders to newspapers listing what types of stories could and could not be printed, and he supplied them with stories. Some of these releases were pure propaganda, such as one that reported that excessive beer drinking by the Germans was responsible for their tendencies to commit atrocities; and others were upbeat, accompanied by still photos of people cheerfully participating in the war effort. He organized the motion picture industry, which produced short buoyant films with titles such as *Pershing's Crusaders, America's Answer,* and *Under Four Flags.* Creel also enlisted artists and cartoonists, resulting in the creation of an American art form, which became emblematic of the era. Among the most famous of these works was James Montgomery Flagg's Uncle Sam poster declaring "I Want You For the U.S. Army," which has become an American icon.

James Montgomery Flagg's famous "I Want You" army recruitment poster from 1917. Library of Congress.

Creel also enlisted an army of speakers dubbed "four minute men," who gave short, upbeat speeches about the war effort in theaters, public meetings, and churches throughout the country. In some cases the propaganda effort of the government far exceeded expectation and created a wave of intolerance and sometimes violence against anyone (especially Germans) suspected of not supporting the war effort. Sauerkraut became liberty cabbage, frankfurters became hot dogs, and patriotic little boys tortured German breeds of dogs. The Poetry Society of America showed their superiority to the Hun by expelling the German American poet George Sylvester Viereck, and works by Richard Wagner and Ludwig von Beethoven were removed from orchestral performances. Dr. Karl Muck, conductor of the Boston Symphony, was forced to resign, but not until after he directed the orchestra in the "Star Spangled Banner." In Washington, D.C., the police superintendent warned Dr. Muck that if he attempted to fulfill a contract by playing in the district he would be subject to arrest. In the hysteria, any voice against war was scorned. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was hailed for punching a pacifist lobbyist and knocking him to the floor, and Senator Robert La Follette was burned in effigy for voting against the war.

The government showed little more tolerance than its enraged citizens. Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts, which made it a federal offense to speak against the war, denounce the draft, complain about wartime taxes, or say anything derogatory about the war effort. Under the law 1,532 persons were arrested for disloyal comments. Ninety-eight members of the International Workers of the World were sentenced to prison for speaking out against the war, as well as a number of leading socialists including Eugene V. Debs and Rose Pastor Stokes. Socialist Victor

Snapshot

Eugene V. Debs Responds to His Conviction under the Espionage Act

Upon being convicted for espionage, Eugene Debs, when asked if he had any final words for the court, said the following.

> Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it, and while there is a criminal element I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free. (Zinn 2001, 368)

Berger, elected to Congress in 1918, was also indicted under the Espionage Act.

To shore up an unprepared army, Congress passed the Selective Service Act, which initiated the first draft since the Civil War. Over 24 million men registered for the draft, of which 3 million would eventually serve. Upon arriving in Europe, American soldiers soon discovered the horrors of trench warfare. For four years men had been living, fighting, and dying in ditches six to eight feet high that ran from the northeastern corner of France almost to the border of Switzerland. Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen had been slaughtering each other at close range in battles that demanded that young men armed with bayoneted rifles charge against a barbed wire-protected trench full of other young men armed with bayoneted rifles and machine guns. The men continued their attack until they died or machine gun barrels melted or warped. They then jumped over barbed wire into the trench where they engaged in hand-to-hand combat with their enemy. "Victory" meant moving the trench line back into enemy territory a few yards. Over the course of the war over 15,000 miles of trenches were dug and over four million young men died, of whom 116,500 were Americans. One battle at the Somme River emphasized the horror of it all. In just over a month of fighting, a million men died there. When the battle finally ended, the British generals could boast that they had gained seven miles of territory.

The American army that went to Europe reflected the change that had come to the collective face of the United States in the five decades that had passed since their last total war. Blacks, new immigrants, and women filled the ranks of the American Expeditionary Force that went to France under General Pershing. Although they represented 10 percent of the population, black soldiers represented 13 percent of the wartime army. Much to their disappointment, relatively few of these men saw combat duty. Although many might welcome this less dangerous status, it was received with disappointment among many blacks, who were aware that they were relegated to noncombatant status because of a policy that addressed white southerners' fears of black men receiving training in arms. Under American leadership, African American combatants served with mixed results for various reasons; however, under French command, the all-black 369th infantry regiment boasted an illustrious war record: it served 191 days at the front, the longest of any American regiment, and all members received the *croix de guerre* (war cross) from the French in recognition of their bravery under fire.

Newly arrived immigrants also contributed to the American war effort, as foreign-born men made up almost one-fifth of the American wartime army. Army officials worried that, despite their willingness to serve, foreign-born troops remained too far outside the mainstream culture to understand why they had to fight against the Germans. To ensure that the message reached the troops, camp commanders organized patriotic celebrations intended to bridge the cultural gap. Although there were language problems to be overcome and there were sporadic displays of nativist prejudice, the experience for the immigrant in the army was generally a positive one for all concerned (Keene 2006, 100–104).

Snapshot

An Immigrant Soldier's Experience

In their post-war recollections many foreign born soldiers felt satisfied with the service they rendered to their adopted country in the time of war. Louis Van Iersal from the Netherlands summed up the significance of serving in such a polyglot force by noting that he learned to get along and respect all people. When Van Iersal entered the military, he did not speak English. His fluent German and French, however, proved quite valuable for the American army in France. Van Iersal received the *croix de guerre* for infiltrating German lines and convincing a German officer to surrender his force of 60 men. He was also awarded the medal of honor for going behind enemy lines to gather information and then successfully warning his battalion that the Germans planned a heavy bombardment on their position. The thousands of lives that Van Iersal saved due to both his bravery and his distinct linguistic skills offer just one example of how the American army benefited from the unique abilities and dedication of foreign-speaking soldiers (Keene 2006, 113).

Women also served overseas, not only as nurses on the front line (over 200 were decorated for duty under fire, and 35 died), but also in skilled jobs as translators, telephone operators, and clerks. "For days I was on duty from eight in the morning until ten at night," recalled telephone operator Grace Banker, handling calls that transmitted status reports from the front and commands from headquarters. "But it seemed worth while when we gazed at the prison pen filling up with German prisoners." Despite women's wartime contributions, the press wrote more often about women's graceful and delicate female image of "hello girls" than their mastery of machines or contributions to the army's advance in battle. As in other situations where women find themselves in the company of men in the workplace, they suffered discrimination and sexual harassment; but they weathered the storm, and when they returned home they found their wartime skills, especially nursing and telephone operation, to be in great demand in a booming economy (Keene 2006, 114–20).

By the time the Americans arrived in Europe, both sides had been bled white. The fresh young troops from the United States, though inexperienced and undisciplined, made the difference. In the spring of 1918, the Germans were 50 miles from Paris; by September, although the French and English still carried the bulk of the load, the weight of the new American troops proved overwhelming and the tired and battered German army fell into retreat. The American navy also contributed to the cause by participating in a convoy system, which rendered the submarines ineffectual. But by far the greatest contribution of the Americans was the propaganda value of Wilson's "Fourteen Points." From the moment the United States entered the war Wilson began to envision the peaceful, prosperous world that would follow. His Fourteen Points called for: no recrimination, free trade among nations, freedom of the seas, open treaties openly arrived at, self-determination for the Balkan states, and an association of nations that would guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of all nations great and small.

With their army in retreat, a seemingly endless flow of fresh young troops arriving on the other side, the vast production power of the United States now enlisted on the Allied side, and food supplies and civilian morale growing low, the Germans decided to sue for a peace based on Wilson's Fourteen Points. Much to Wilson's surprise, and the Germans' dismay when they met at Versailles, they discovered that the Allied forces of Europe had no intention of using Wilson's plan as an outline for peace. Disappointed but determined, Wilson held tenaciously to each of his principles until the vindictive victors chipped them away one by one. Finally, only the proposal for a League of Nations remained, and this Wilson refused to relinquish. Meanwhile, the victorious nations ignored a century of growing animosity and tension in all of Europe and declared Germany the sole perpetrator of the Great War. Therefore, reparations for the war fell on Germany. No one was sure what the war cost, but an immediate payment of $33 billion seemed adequate for the moment. When the draft of the peace treaty was handed to the German delegates in Versailles, they were horrified and then indignant, and when they returned to Germany, the treaty was met by violent opposition. It finally passed the Reichstag by the smallest of majorities when enough moderates became convinced that Germany could not continue the war.

Back in the United States, Americans were fighting another enemy, a great flu pandemic. Apparently the virus (an unknown factor at the time) had returned with the army from Europe. The first person with symptoms was a soldier in Kansas, but the disease, which many were calling "the Spanish Disease," soon spread from coast to coast, reaching its high point in the Northeast in October 1918. Unsure how the disease was spread, health workers tried many solutions to quell it. In New York City they experimented with a vaccine, while in other places like Schenectady, New York, the mayor ordered that "all schools, theaters, moving picture houses, churches, lodges, and places of public meeting and entertainment be closed until further notice" (Wells 2000, 187–89). By the time the scourge had worn itself out, over 675,000 Americans had died, but that number paled when compared to the worldwide number, estimated at 25 million (Davidson, et al. 2001, 760–62).

Wilson had his own bout with the epidemic while in Europe, but survived and returned to his country to discover that his fellow Americans were eager to forget the war and get on with the business of peace. The treaty that Wilson brought home with his beloved League of Nations still intact was rejected by the Senate, which believed that the League threatened American sovereignty. In response, Wilson wore himself out traveling back and forth across the country trying to rally support for his League.

Meanwhile, American soldiers began returning home to a country that had changed radically in a short two years. Industries, which prospered during the war years, had altered the demography of the country. Women had entered factories doing men's jobs, sometimes for the first time. Mexicans crossed the borders in droves to fill the demand for semiskilled workers. Blacks left the farms and towns of the South in great numbers seeking higher-paying jobs in the North. They brought their culture with them. Jazz and blues made their way up the Mississippi River to Chicago and other midwestern cities, and then east on the rails to New York City.

Many women went back to their homes after the war, but blacks did not return south, and their "Great Migration" of 1917 and 1918 continued into the new decade.

This exodus transformed the social and cultural complexion of America's larger cities and set the stage for a greater migration that continued through the first half of the century. Many whites reacted violently to the presence of newly arrived African Americans. Anti-black riots in Chicago, Detroit, East St. Louis, and elsewhere portended troubled race relations in northern cities in the subsequent decades.

For Americans the Great War ended quickly, and there were many manifestations at home that the government-fueled war fever had not had enough time to dissipate. Indeed, 1919 became one of the most violent domestic years on record, as a wave of brutality broke out with race riots, labor unrest, bombings, political terrorism, and lynchings across the country. In Florida, whites burned the entire black town of Rosewood, and those that were not killed scattered, never to return again.

Much of the violence in the 1920s, especially in the lower Midwest and South, could be attributed to the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan, a Reconstruction-era terrorist group that found new life in the 1920s. The era of the new Klan began on Thanksgiving Day in 1915 on Stone Mountain, Georgia, just outside of Atlanta, where a group of 15 men burned a large wooden cross and declared their allegiance to the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Unlike the old Klan, which terrorized Northern carpetbaggers and newly emancipated blacks in the name of protecting the women and property of the defeated South, the new Klan fed on fears generated by liberated women, uppity blacks, immigrants, Catholics, and Jews, who the Klan and its supporters believed were threatening the very fabric of American life. The new Klan drew on the culture of a small-town America that could not fathom, let alone absorb, the myriad changes occurring in their country because of the ascendance of so many groups that seemed to threaten their idea of what America ought to be.

Klansmen paid entrance fees and dues, which entitled them to a secret initiation, a white pointy-headed robe, participation in secret meetings, and a secret handshake. On Saturdays the Klan organized family barbeques, which ended in song and the burning of a large wooden cross. They organized their women into groups called the Women of the Ku Klux Klan. They saw themselves as the protectors of traditional American culture. Members had to be white native-born Protestant males. Members were mostly from the middle and working classes and many lived on the edge of poverty. Their mission was to keep their communities free of foreign and corrupting influences. When boycotts and rumor-spreading failed to cleanse their community of offensive foreign elements, especially Jews, or to pacify uppity blacks, or chasten daring women, the Klan resorted to flogging, kidnapping, mutilation, and lynching. Although they claimed to hearken back to a more orderly old-fashioned world, the Klan spread through the United States using the kind of modern promotional techniques used by many pyramid-based sales organizations.

Although scorned by the sophisticated, the Klan successfully seized political control of legislatures in four states and elected governors in six states. A future U.S. Supreme Court judge was even included in their ranks. Since their spectrum of hate went beyond blacks to include immigrants, loose women, and radicals, their appeal spread throughout much of the nation. Wherever there was a group of people suspicious of individuals not like themselves, the Klan had successful membership

Members of the Ku Klux Klan parade on the streets of Washington, D.C., in 1926, with the dome of the U.S. Capitol in the background. Library of Congress.

drives. The Klan's rapid rise abated somewhat in the mid-1920s when, in November 1925, the grand dragon of Indiana, David Stephenson, was sentenced to life imprisonment for rape and second-degree murder. However, the Klan survived and continued to have a dominant influence in many communities well past mid-century and remained a vital force in the southerners' resistance to the post–World War II civil rights movement (Davidson, et al. 2001, 796).

Despite the home-grown nativist nature of much of the violence, the government responded by blaming the social upheaval on the "Reds" (the shorthand term for communists, anarchists, and socialists). Preoccupation with Reds had been precipitated by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which, beginning in 1917, had spread westward into Europe. Communists had even seized the Berlin government for a short time after the war. These events worried Americans, who feared that the breakup of old Europe would lead to social chaos and revolution throughout the continent. Americans also feared that their own soldiers returning from Europe had been corrupted by a degenerate Europe. Rumors of sexual liberty, social intermingling of the "races," gun-toting blacks being welcomed as heroes and treated as equals in Paris, and other social calamities, convinced many that they were witnessing the collapse of social order. The great pandemic, which soldiers had apparently brought to the North American shore, seemed to affirm this belief, and to some it provided a providential warning of the great dangers the country would face if Americans did not isolate themselves from the corrupt "Old World." The old American talisman of divine mission beamed once again, as politicians and preachers urged vigilance against the evils of decadence emerging from within and without.

In that context, A. Mitchell Palmer, the attorney general, began a campaign against political radicals. He launched raids across the country that led to the arrest or deportation of thousands of people suspected of anarchism, socialism, communism, or simple disloyalty. Over the course of a few months in late 1919 and early 1920, raids against radicals occurred in over 30 cities. Over 4,000 people were taken into custody, and hundreds of immigrants with radical ties as moderate as belonging to the Socialist Party were deported. In New York State five such socialists who had been elected to the state legislature were expelled.

The obvious abuse of power soon became repulsive to many, and, sensing the change in the electoral wind, politicians across the country railed against the government's repressive tactics. It became one of the issues leading to Democratic defeats in the November elections, as the man who would lead the Republicans in 1920, Senator Warren Harding of Ohio, denounced the actions of Attorney General Palmer, whose May Day, 1920 raids stirred up much havoc, but little evidence of revolution.

Meanwhile, Wilson continued traveling across the country campaigning for his League of Nations. In the midst of this crusade he suffered a debilitating stroke, and, like his battered body, the Progressive movement also for the moment became paralyzed. For over two decades, the Progressive movement had done much to improve government and make it responsive to the challenges of the new century. But as the second decade of the century came to an end, the movement seemed to have lost its vitality, and new forces were emerging in both parties.

One indication of this change was the successful passage of the 18th Amendment, which outlawed the sale and distribution of alcohol. An ironic legacy of Prohibition is that although it is generally viewed as reactionary, it captured many aspects of the Progressive mentality. Its proponents saw government as an instrument for social change, they believed in legislation to make people behave better, and they were sometimes racist and nativist. Examples of the latter two characteristics were the prohibitionists' assurances that the new law would improve the lot of the underclass, because the waves of immigrants in the North and the poor black farmers in the South comprised the largest group that abused alcohol and in turn abused their wives and families. Proponents of Prohibition (better known as the "Drys") also wrapped themselves in the mantle of patriotism, arguing that the new law was simply an extension of the restriction of alcohol production enforced during the successful war effort. The passage of this wartime measure had actually been the first national victory for the Drys in a decades-old campaign waged at the state level to rid the country of alcohol. The momentum of this victory carried them to a triumph, which would vanquish the "Wets" for more than a decade.

In 1920, Americans, weary of campaigns at home and abroad, elected a man who promised to let them rest and be normal for a while. And the United States entered a new era of prosperity and frivolity freed from the clutches of Puritans who hoped to redeem them.

The Roaring Twenties

In the 1920s, foreign affairs took a distant back seat to the excitement of life at home. Electricity, the gasoline engine, Hollywood, sports, airplanes, bootleg whiskey, and the radio provided more stimulating distraction than one could absorb. Reflecting in 1930 on the recently ended decade, Frederick Lewis Allen surmised that one could hardly believe that it was "Only Yesterday" that the technological wonders of the 1920s barely existed or were nonexistent. Everything created in the 1920s seemed better, and faster. Speed was a virtue, and time was the new grace that one saved to realize the better life ahead.

Boasting of their new time-saving electric devices, General Electric assured readers that "to save time is to lengthen life." And Westinghouse boasted that the conveniences and comforts provided by electricity were unknown to the previous generation. Leading all the new time-saving and life-extending distractions was the gasoline engine automobile. Although invented in Europe, it quickly became absorbed into the American culture. The principal man responsible for this revolution, Henry Ford, determined to build a car everyone could afford. Applying the new principles of "scientific management," which included an assembly-line factory and ruthless time management, Ford and his engineers by 1925 had brought the price of his Model T down to $290, a price the average middle-class family could afford. At the same time, Will Durant's General Motors Corporation, comprising a collection of fancier, less successful producers, using windfall profits garnered during the war, offered credit for those who wished to buy something more attractive than Henry Ford's, "any color as long as it's black" product. Durant offered luxury automobiles for a little down and a little a month. With Ford's economical model available to the prudent, and Durant's credit-driven luxury styles for the wealthy and/or frivolous, automobiles drove straight into the national culture and radically transformed the nation's social geography. Paved roads connected town to city and city to city. Highway motels, gasoline stations, and restaurants sprang up along once-deserted roads. Auto clubs were formed for the sole purpose of keeping the roads operable and lobbying for more roads. Dating patterns among the young changed. For many middle-class youth, Saturday evening was no longer spent on the front porch under the watchful eyes of parents, but huddled in a car reveling in unchaperoned intimacies.

Propelled by the new automobile industry, the radio, and a host of other labor-saving electrical devices, the 1920s boomed. "The business of America," declared Republican President Calvin Coolidge, "is business." Large companies took over smaller ones, national markets expanded dramatically, and large corporations replaced the small-town business model. Large universities opened schools of business, which taught the new techniques of management, production, and distribution. The new American icon was the businessman. Even Christianity turned to the business model. Bruce Barton's bestseller, *The Man Nobody Knows*, presented Jesus Christ as the successful entrepreneur who took 12 ordinary men and founded the "greatest organization on earth." Aimee Semple McPherson adapted the new technology to the old-fashioned American revival and brought this distinctive form of American spiritual theater into the twentieth century of glitter and mechanized magic. Her Angelus Temple in California boasted a 75-foot rotating cross, a radio station, a miracle room for discarded crutches, a cradle room for babies, Holy Land slide shows, circuses, and healing sessions. Her performances revolutionized evangelization. One reporter wrote, "Sister Amy [sic] offered sinners flowers, music, golden trumpets, red robes, angels, incense, nonsense, and sex appeal." Charles Parham's Azuza Street revivals in California, which began with the new century when the Holy Spirit descended on his followers, enabling them to speak in tongues, also continued to attract and affect thousands in the 1920s as many Americans sought the solace of spiritual comfort in a world that seemed to be spinning out of their control.

The fact that the new religious revivalism depended on clever marketing reflected a greater reality of the 1920s. For many, consumerism had become the new obsession, and the clever salesman the chief priest of this New Jerusalem. Utilizing behavioral psychologists, the advertising industry began developing sophisticated techniques of commercial promotion that were provocative, powerful, and positive. They promised everything a consumer would want: good looks, healthier bodies (even from smoking), popularity, and sex. Packard Automobile Company, for example, featured an ad that declared that "A man is known by the car he keeps" and depicted a successful-looking handsome man behind the wheel of his luxury car with a beautiful woman standing by the door yearning for an invitation to join him. The advertisers for Lucky Strike cigarettes promised that cigarettes would make you slimmer and more courageous. Doctors recommended Camel cigarettes for calming the nerves. Camels also promised natural charm and assured the user that "pleasure would always be at your side."

To fuel the consumer age that advertisers had created, easy credit became more widespread. General Motors had spearheaded this trend, but buying on credit soon spread from cars to toasters, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, watches, diamonds, and furs. Soon, with a little down and a little a month, Americans were luxuriating in items they never it was dreamed possible to own, and by 1929 national consumer debt jumped to twice the amount of the federal budget.

In the 1920s, sex became a household word, and the sophisticated set read or at least knew about Sigmund Freud. *Ego, id,* and *libido* became parlor words, and even women spoke openly about sex, birth control, and extramarital affairs. As the new decade opened, women finally became full-fledged citizens with the right to vote. But this movement fell short of the desired end of many women's rights reformers, who also wanted an equal rights amendment.

Despite their "liberation," women were still expected to remain in the home. The new domestic electric appliances promised freedom to do more than dust or mop, but advertisers still assumed that a woman's place was in the home. One of the ironies of the increased domestic technology was the expectation for a cleaner, better-managed home. With the new "time-saving" and "labor-saving" technology, middle-class homemakers began to let their maids go, but they ended up spending more time running the new machines of their modern houses than they had managing their helpers.

And the arrival of the Miss America pageant in 1921 reminded women that their chief asset remained their beauty. While men competed in sports and business, women competed in bathing suits. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, praised the winner of the first Miss America contest as the type of woman America needs—strong, red-blooded, able to shoulder the responsibilities of homemaking and motherhood (Davidson, et al. 2001, 786–87). Such thinking not only affected concepts of proper roles, but also contributed to disparities in pay and responsibilities in the workplace. Certain jobs such as sales clerks, stenographers, telephone operators, and elementary school teachers became identified as women's work. These jobs remained at lower pay scales then those identified as men's work, because they were deemed less strenuous and because of the assumption that men were permanently established in the workforce, whereas women only worked to supplement the family income until they got married or had children, when they would assume their true vocation as wife and mother.

Among the new businesses booming in the 1920s was the movie industry. The multi-reel feature-length film, which had been invented in the early part of the century, came to maturity in the 1920s and became America's favorite form of entertainment. Lavishly appointed, palatial theaters dotted the major cities, and Americans stood in line for their chance to enter these cathedrals of escape. By the end of the decade over 100 million people a week were going to the movies.

Mass consumption helped produce a mass culture. Probably the greatest contributor to this phenomenon was the film industry, which created national models of speech, fashion, and custom. In the 1920s, Hollywood became the focal point of a national conversation. Adding to the newly emerging mass national culture was the radio. For the first time Americans could share a contemporaneous collective experience. In 1922, Americans could listen to the results of the World Series together, and in 1924 they could listen in on events at the Republican and Democratic National conventions. Popular magazines in the 1920s also contributed to the development of mass culture. Among the earliest were *Reader's Digest,* which began its run in 1922, and *Time* magazine, which appeared in 1923. They were soon followed by dozens more such as *Newsweek, Life,* and the updated *Saturday Evening Post,* which brought the newest information on national and international events, society, and fashions into homes across the country.

Electrifying became an overused metaphor in the 1920s, and rightfully so. For it was electricity that propelled this newly emerging urban middle-class culture. However, in the 1920s much of America lay outside the realm of this new miracle. As late as 1935, only 10 percent of America's rural areas had electricity. Despite the fact that the 1910 census suggested that America was a predominantly urban country, until the 1920s, most cities remained culturally and economically close to their rural roots. Electricity changed that. Never before in American history had the distinctions between urban and rural been so clearly defined. The many American subcultures based on region, ethnicity, and religion that continued to exist could all be divided into two major cultures in 1920s America: rural and urban.

While New York's Broadway glistened with artificial electric light, farmers' children still read with kerosene lamps. While women in urban areas mastered the new household appliances, women in rural areas continued to rake their clothes across a scrubbing board. While the sophisticated urbanite sought comfort in the most recent psychological insights, rural America sought solace in a revitalized fundamentalism that rejected evolution and any science that questioned the fundamental truths of the Bible. They embraced a literal interpretation of the Bible, which helped them maintain a well-ordered though rigidly defined universe that continued under God's protective and watchful eye. The urban bourgeoisie may have created a heaven on earth, but the rural fundamentalist took comfort knowing that this was a passing world, the Devil's distraction, and that true rewards lay in the hereafter. Despite their isolation, those living in the rural areas of the country were well aware of the newly emerging urban culture. Rural Free Delivery, parcel post, the *Sears Roebuck Catalogue*, battery-operated radios, and Saturday trips to town (and the local theater) kept rural America within the web of the new culture, if only on the margins of it.

The airline industry marked its birth also in this decade. Propelled by government mail contracts, the entrepreneurs began to link the large cities in two- and three-passenger planes. The most dramatic event of the decade belonged to the new airline industry, when in 1927 Charles Lindbergh crossed the Atlantic in a solo flight and captured the world's imagination with a single-engine Ryan NYP, dubbed the *Spirit of St. Louis*. His film-star good looks and his modesty projected a quiet, unassuming can-do attitude, which Americans liked to imagine was their own. His flight also gave solace to those who feared that machines were taking control of their lives, for in this case man was truly in control of the machine, but with the machine he could realize previously unfathomable dreams.

Sporting events also caught the national attention. In addition to the 16 big-league baseball teams, minor leagues, semiprofessionals, and amateur baseball thrived in towns across the country. Baseball became the national pastime, as newspapers regularly reported box scores and accounts of games and personal anecdotes of players in the sports pages, and radio announcers brought live games into homes. In the 1920s Americans also became avid fans of college football, and it soon surpassed Major League Baseball in attendance. Major universities built stadiums that seated from 60 to 70 thousand people, and every Saturday in the fall these stadiums filled with fans eager to cheer their team on to a mythical national title. Radio played a large part in this phenomenon, as announcers made living legends of Red Grange, dubbed the "Galloping Ghost," and Notre Dame's "Four Horsemen." The national media also helped create legends in boxing, tennis, golf, and swimming, making this decade the "Golden Age of Sports."

Not everyone was caught up in what has been described as an age of wonderful nonsense. As mentioned earlier, rural America remained outside the din, as did the large immigrant populations of the cities, who clung to traditions of their villages and shunned the morality and manners of their new country. Ironically, one of the new inventions of the age helped keep immigrants out of the vortex of change. Radio stations in most major cities usually dedicated at least a few hours a week to ethnic programs that gave many immigrants at least a virtual connection to their roots.

Many intellectuals also recoiled from the materialism and perceived "progress" of the 1920s. They sought refuge in Greenwich Village and low-rent districts of other American cities to read, write, and create their own bohemian culture. Preeminent among this group were the young writers who went to Paris and settled in on the Left Bank, gathered at Gertrude Stein's salons, and lamented the conformity and emptiness of modern mechanized and regimented civilization. Among this group were Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Malcolm Cowley, and John Dos Passos. They had grown up, as Fitzgerald wrote, to "find all Gods dead, all wars fought, [and] all faiths in men shaken." Expatriate artists and writers discovered modernism in France, experimented with new forms of expression such as Dada, and created a new language in art.

The bitterest of all these disillusioned writers might have been Sinclair Lewis (the first American to win the Nobel Prize), who stayed in America. In his 1922 novel *Babbit,* Lewis satirized the absurd and blatantly dull life of Middle America. H. L. Mencken also railed against the ignorant middle class, whom he called the "Booboisie." His *American Mercury* magazine, which became a literary staple on college campuses, and his *The American Language,* a multivolume work on how English was spoken in the United States, helped remake American literature in the early to mid-twentieth century. The Algonquin (New York) Circle of writers and writers for the *New Yorker* magazine also contributed to the pages of satire directed against the gullibility and crassness of the American middle class. Not all of the great writers of the decade reveled in their angst. Disillusioned with the disillusioned, William Faulkner returned to his southern roots, where he explored the universal truths learned in a fictionalized postage stamp–sized Mississippi county that became the setting for a list of characters who told about the South and for whom the "past is never past." Faulkner received international recognition when readers noticed that these very localized and personalized stories held truths with universal human significance.

Disillusionment spread to the academic world also, where historians under the influence of Charles and Mary Beard began to see economic self-interest as the thread that tied together all American history. They insisted that even the most recent war, supposedly a noble cause that had seen the loss of so many lives, was fought for economic gain. According to the new revisionist history, the United States did not enter the war for democracy, but rather to ensure that a victorious England would pay back the millions owed to the house of Morgan.

The group, however, that had greatest reason to be disillusioned with the new America were the blacks. Despite some economic gains made in the Great Migration north during and after the war, African Americans remained the most underfed, underpaid, underemployed, and underhoused segment of the American population. They had also witnessed the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan and a decade that opened with a rash of riots and lynchings the level of which had not been seen since the bloody post–Civil War era. Out of the mire of this dreadful condition rose the voice of a young Jamaican, Marcus Garvey, who told his fellow Africans they were a mighty race. His voice was heard, and at the first national meeting of his United Negro Improvement Association over 25,000 supporters jammed Madison Square Garden in New York City to hear his words of defiance against white racism and his quest for a new African nation based on self-help and patronage of black-owned businesses.

Other black voices rose in this decade also to decry the myth of racial inferiority, and the white practice of segregation and social and economic degradation of blacks. W.E.B. Du Bois, editor of *Crisis* magazine, advocated equal opportunities for blacks and set the agenda for the NAACP, which he cofounded. He also published young black writers like Langston Hughes and Jean Toomer, who were part of a group of extremely talented men and women who gathered in local coffee-houses, parlors, and theaters in Harlem, New York, to discuss their writing, their art, and their music. The energy that emerged from this group gave rise to a movement that became known as the Harlem Renaissance. In addition to Hughes and Toomer, scores of brilliant black people descended on the uptown New York neighborhood to practice their art. Among the more famous were the writers Richard Wright, James Weldon Johnson, Claude McKay, Zora Neale Hurston, and Countee Cullen, and the artists Augusta Savage and Archibald Motley. The Harlem Renaissance was an African American movement, created, supported, and sponsored by African Americans. But within a short time word spread of the genius residing in that part of town and soon whites were taking the "A train" to Harlem to share in this cultural explosion. A few white patrons contributed and supported a few black writers, and many more went to listen to black performances at venues such as the Cotton Club. Among the "smart set," African American culture became a fad in the 1920s. Probably the most obvious manifestation of this new white fixation was the production and success of George Gershwin's opera based on the life of poor blacks in the rural South, *Porgy and Bess*.

Snapshot

"If We Must Die"

In 1919, as violence against blacks in the form of lynchings and riots spread across the United States, Claude McKay wrote a poem titled "If We Must Die," which is often considered one of the works that initiated the post–World War I African American literary flowering known as the Harlem Renaissance.

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, O let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
O kinsmen we must meet the common foe!
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

From the July 1919 issue of Liberator.

The fuel that energized the urbane 1920s was alcohol. Despite the fact that the 1920s Volstead Act forbade the production or transportation of alcohol, it flowed freely in the cities and in the back lands of rural America. Secret taverns called speakeasies flourished in the cities, and backwater stills in rural America pumped out gallons of sight-blurring liquid refreshment. Hip flasks tucked into garter belts or hidden in coat pockets accompanied couples to sporting events and dances. During this decade of Prohibition, a social revolution quietly occurred, as the male-dominated saloon of earlier decades gave way to the speakeasy where men and women drank together.

Sometimes seen as the last gasp of the faltering Progressives, Prohibition laid clear the class divisions that ran rampant in the United States. The middle class never had difficulty obtaining quality gin, rum, or whiskey from obliging neighbors in Canada or in the Caribbean. The poor, however, had to risk blindness and sometimes death to escape into an alcohol-induced refuge with moonshine locally made. Prohibition also increased the wealth and power of organized crime, as local gangs, following the corporate model, began to consolidate for the purposes of facilitating production and distribution of their product. The sale of illegal intoxicants became an important means of social mobility for some immigrant groups. Al Capone succinctly defined the class issue, which the Prohibition era magnified: "When I sell my product I'm bootlegging, when my clients serve it on Lake Shore Drive that's hospitality."

The decade of the 1920s also had its court cases "of the century." Each captured the imagination and attention of all Americans because each one could be seen as a metaphor for an aspect of American life in the 1920s. The first case to capture the national psyche was the Loeb and Leopold case, which took Americans into the inner workings of that new branch of study known as psychology. The case involved the murder of a young boy by two disturbed boys who may or may not have been sexually involved. Using psychological argument, defense lawyer Clarence Darrow saved these two young men from the certainty of a death sentence for their crime. The second case, the Sacco and Vanzetti murder trial, revealed the racial and ethnic tensions of urban America as well as the anti-immigrant emotion that swept the country during that decade, and, finally, the Scopes Monkey Trial put the struggle between modernism and fundamentalism, which was a variant of the rural versus urban argument, on the front pages of newspapers across America.

Encouraged by the recently formed American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), John T. Scopes, an unassuming high school biology teacher, challenged Tennessee's law that prohibited the teaching of evolution. Scopes was arrested, and the trial that ensued became a national spectacle. WGN radio in Chicago paid for a dedicated telephone line between the Dayton, Tennessee, courthouse and their station, and newspaper reporters from all over the country descended on the small town to see if the state of Tennessee would really enforce a law that prohibited the teaching of evolution in the classroom. William Jennings Bryan came up from Florida to help prosecute the case, and nationally known attorney Clarence Darrow defended Scopes. The climax of the trial came when Darrow put Bryan on the stand and made a mockery of fundamentalist belief. When the trial ended, Scopes was found guilty. Bryan died within the week, and urban America was convinced more than ever of the irredeemable backwardness of the rural South. H. L. Mencken, who was at the trial, described the South as an intellectual backwater, and blamed the southern preacher

> who unable to move ahead with the more intelligent people of the South flings himself against every evidence of genuine advancement. He is against teaching the sciences, in schools; he is against the fine arts; he is against every infiltration of culture from without. He wants to keep his power and he knows intuitively that he can keep it only by holding the populace at his own level. (Mencken 1960, 198–99)

Politically, the 1920s decade of prosperity was a Republican decade, as the stock market, personal income, and American economic prestige rose, and Democrats seemed irreparably split between Wets and Drys, urban and rural, and Southern Baptists and urban Roman Catholics. One wondered if a Democrat would ever see the inside of the White House again. As humorist Will Rogers commented, "I don't belong to any organized political party, I'm a Democrat."

With the leadership of businessmen like Andrew Mellon, who served as Secretary of the Treasury for three presidents in the 1920s, and a tax policy that helped provide the foundation for prosperity, the Republican Party seemed invincible. They made policy decisions that propelled America's economy, while Democrats squabbled among themselves. Businessmen were the icons of the era, and Republicans spoke their language, particularly Herbert Hoover, who as Secretary of Commerce created the "associational" model of business-government cooperation, which brought business leaders together to agree on broad policies of prices and wages to avoid the painful disruptions of labor unrest.

The affirmation of Republican dominance came in the 1928 election, when Herbert Hoover defeated Al Smith by taking 58 percent of the popular vote and 444 of the available 513 electoral votes. Hoover even did something no Republican predecessor since Reconstruction could ever do; he cracked the solidly Democratic South in his landslide victory. Pundits wondered if the Democratic Party had not reached its demise.

No one could guess that the jubilation among Republicans would not continue well into the future. For in 1928 and most of 1929 no one could have predicted that the great upheaval known as the Great Depression was on the horizon. Very few understood or even suggested that there were fundamental imbalances in the American economy that spelled disaster. For one, in a world moving away from international trade, American production depended more and more on American buying power, which could not keep pace with production. Secondly, some important parts of the economy—agriculture, for example—had never prospered in the 1920s. Also, there was some unwise speculation on the part of those who were enjoying the wealth. The Florida land boom was but one example of a speculative investment gone awry. Mark Sullivan wrote in *Our Times* that "All of America's gold rushes, all her oil booms, and all her free land stampedes dwindled by comparison with the torrent of migration pouring into Florida during the early Fall of 1925." By spring 1926 the bubble had burst and with it millions of speculated dollars, much of which was underwritten by New York bankers, were lost.

Despite these basic flaws in various sectors of the economy, in the popular mind causes of the economic disaster focused on Wall Street, which had in the 1920s become the barometer of American economic strength. During the boom years, everyone wanted to cash in on the new prosperity, and Wall Street offered the public the opportunity to become part of the great corporate machine that was driving American prosperity. Stocks were sold on margin, meaning that a person could buy 100 dollars worth of stock for 50 dollars. With the price going up every day, few bro-

Snapshot

A Florida Pioneer Remembers the Boom

Thelma Peters, who was 20 years old and living in South Florida during the Florida boom years, later recalled those heady days.

> Business areas, golf courses, a country club, marinas, apartment houses were on the blueprints. A 350 room ten story luxury hotel was to be built by a Detroit company at a cost of $2,000,000 on the Bay at the mouth of Arch Creek where there was a spectacular view of the Bay, and where it was stated the Atlantic Ocean would be visible from the balconies. First to go on the market was the Bay View Section, 3,500 lots for there the improvements were more advanced. The land had been cleared, the streets laid out though few were surfaced, street planting went along, and some sidewalks built. At the bay front a sea wall had been built a hundred yards from the shore awaiting fill, so some of the more expensive lots were still under water. The sale was set for December 4, 1925. It was flamboyantly advertised. The Shoreland Company had ten new Cadillac sedans purchased for the occasion lined up along Flagler street near the office. Within an hour after the sale opened all the lots facing the West Dixie Highway had been sold and before night some had been resold by their original purchasers at a good profit. In that one day, the sales amounted to $2,500,000.
>
> Within a few months that was small potatoes. The boom grew wilder and the purchasers more frantic. The next day was the sale of the Arch Creek property 1500 lots, again some under water, for the causeway, canals and boulevards were still largely a paper dream. Yet this sale over sold to two or more purchasers causing a nightmare of paperwork to unravel millions of dollars to be refunded. The sale was complete in one day bringing in the full value of the property $22,414,700. (Peters 1981, 292–93)

kers worried about giving credit based on speculation. Creditor and debtor alike had no doubt that margins would quickly be covered in the ever-rising stock market. But it didn't stop there—once the margin was covered, the stock bought on borrowed money was used as collateral to buy more stock. The formula seemed perfect. The country was filling up with millionaires and those who thought they were on their way, at least on paper.

Then in October 1929 it all came tumbling down in a collapse that remained almost as unexplainable as the ascent. In the spring of 1929, the Federal Reserve raised rates in an attempt to tighten money and reduce the amount of loans. As this occurred, people had to sell stocks to cover outstanding loans. As more stock was sold, stock prices declined and therefore their collateral value declined. This meant more loans had to be covered, which caused the selling of more stock. This was occurring quietly throughout the summer, and as long as it was private fortunes being lost there was no panic. In October, the loan crisis and the sale of stock it precipitated hit the major players and it all came to a head on October 24, 1929, thereafter known as Black Thursday. Stocks plummeted as 13 million shares were traded that day and three billon dollars were lost. To stop the flow, a group of bankers headed by J. P. Morgan got into the market at the beginning of the next week to bolster prices, but even the great house of Morgan proved to be but a finger in the dike. On Tuesday the bubble burst, and when the dust settled, stocks that had a collective value of $87 billion at the beginning of the year were now worth about $18 billion. Optimism was gone, capital was dried up, and confidence in the unending prosperity promised by Hoover and others was gone. The Depression had not yet arrived, but its harbingers certainly had settled in.

The Great Depression and the New Deal

During the 1928 presidential campaign, Hoover said, "We are nearer today to the ideal of the abolition of poverty and fear from the lives of men and women than ever before in any land." If ever a man seemed qualified to handle the country in the throes of economic depression, a word he coined, it was Herbert Hoover. In 1914, he directed food relief that fed over nine million Belgians, and at the end of the Great War he directed the American Relief Administration, which fed millions of starving Europeans. In Finland the word *to Hoover* meant to help. When he was nominated for the presidency in 1928, conservatives in the party were opposed because of his perceived hostility to laissez-faire government.

Hoover alone did not deserve to be blamed for the economic catastrophe of the Depression. Nevertheless, during the Depression Hoover's name entered the American lexicon as a synonym for failure, indifference, misfortune, and despair. Cardboard shanties on empty lots where thousands of homeless were forced to sleep were called "Hoovervilles." When a homeless mother bundled her child in newspapers to keep her warm she was covering her with a "Hoover blanket," and when thousands gathered in the great underground loading docks of Lower Wacker Drive in Chicago, they said they were staying in the "Hoover hotel." The president took the blame because he headed a government that was politically and bureaucratically unprepared for the crisis it faced. By the time the Depression had ended, an active interventionist socially concerned federal bureaucracy would replace laissez-faire government.

Although the Republicans had begun the drift away from laissez-faire at the beginning of the century, they were unable and unwilling to make the radical departure necessitated by the crisis at hand. Political leadership seemed to drift aimlessly while the country's economy sank deeper into the abyss. For the first three years of the Depression unemployment rose to 13 million, or 25 percent of the workforce, and 60 percent of American families lived below the minimum income necessary for the barest necessities, but Hoover and his party failed to take the leap of faith into deficit spending and government investment that many economists were advocating. Therefore, then and for decades thereafter, Americans held them responsible for the collapsing economy that continued to spiral downward under their watch. With the Depression deepening in 1930, Hoover did not remain indifferent. Understanding that public confidence was essential to a recovering economy, he promised, "prosperity is just around the corner." He rallied business leaders and urged them to pledge to maintain employment and wages. He authorized one billion dollars in public works, and in 1932, with banks failing at the rate of 70 a week, Congress passed and Hoover approved the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which could lend money to banks and their corporate debtors. Through the Glass-Steagall Banking Act passed the same year, the government added $2 billion to the money supply, making it easier for banks to loan money. Hoover even pushed a tax cut through Congress in 1932, but when that action threatened to create an unbalanced budget, he retreated and agreed to tax increases when just the opposite was needed. Also, in an attempt to protect American jobs he endorsed a higher tariff, which by reducing foreign trade proved equally disastrous.

Given their understanding of the economic universe, Hoover and his Republican colleagues did all they could to set the economy straight. Ultimately, they believed that the eternal forces of supply and demand would eventually equilibrate the economy and there was little more they could do. All their efforts betrayed a lack of understanding of the scale and complexity of the crisis. Hoover and his aides were products of almost two centuries of economic liberalism that believed the best government was that which governed least. They firmly believed that the current crisis represented a normal (albeit harsh) and necessary economic adjustment, and that prosperity would soon return. Whether they were correct or not, they created an image of a government indifferent to the pain of the average citizen, and this devastated the Republican Party. After Hoover's term ended, 20 years would pass before Americans would trust the Republicans in the White House again. But until they could make an electoral change, the American people could not look to the federal government for much help.

Some reacted with deep emotional depression, and some left their families and took to the roads. Men were especially distressed as they lost their jobs and sense of purpose. Women took on new responsibilities for keeping the household together by practicing economies in cooking and consumption, taking in work, postponing childbearing, and giving up entertainment outside the house. Most families stuck together, planted small gardens, bartered with neighbors, sewed up the holes in old clothes, put cardboard in their shoes and old blankets in their overcoats, and got by. Some got angry.

One such group was the "bonus" army, a collection of World War I veterans who in 1932 marched on Washington simply to ask the government to pay them money they had been promised as a bonus for enlisting in the war. Some 20,000 veterans came to Washington to petition Congress. When the House of Representatives voted against their request, most went home. But about 2,000 of them camped in Anacosta Flats with their families. When they refused to leave, Hoover ordered the U.S. army to drive them out, which they did with a vengeance, destroying and burning the camp and terrorizing the men and their families. This event was the last straw for many, and that fall the American people turned Herbert Hoover out of the White House.

Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR), the man who would replace Hoover as president, made a lot of people nervous. Walter Lippmann wrote:

> His mind is not very clear, his purpose is not simple. and his methods are not direct. . . . Mr. Roosevelt does not ring true. . . . He is no enemy of entrenched privilege. He is a pleasant man who, without any important qualification for the office, would very much like to be President. (Harrell, et al. 2005, 893)

Roosevelt may have had many detractors, but the truth remained that almost any Democrat could have been elected in 1932. When he entered office in March 1933, the country could have been no worse. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt remembered wondering if there was anything that could save the country. Twenty-five percent of the nation was unemployed, 30 million families had no means of support, and banks were closing daily. Children who lived near train tracks would walk along the rails gathering coal that fell from the coal car; men made gin in their bathtubs and sold it for 25 cents a half pint. People were getting by as best they could. Roosevelt had no real plan, but he did have what America needed; he exuded confidence. He also had the magical Roosevelt name (he was a cousin of Teddy Roosevelt), a sunny disposition, and a can-do attitude. And although from the upper class of American society, his own bout with polio provided him with a sense of solidarity with the millions at the time who felt they too had overwhelming obstacles to overcome. When Roosevelt took office the Depression was three years old, and in that span over 107,000 commercial and industrial businesses had collapsed, the Dow Jones Average had sunk from $125.43 to $26.82, banks were failing daily, and there were over 12 million people out of work. Americans looked to the optimist from New York to do something.

At his inauguration, speaking to a crowd of 100,000 and millions more listening on the radio, Roosevelt told Americans that they had "nothing to fear but fear itself." Whatever that meant, it made people feel that finally they had a government that would do something about the crisis. The first hundred days of Roosevelt's term were the most frenetic in the history of the presidency and Congress. To stop the run on banks, he declared a bank holiday and then pushed through legislation that would protect sound banks and insure depositors' money. To protect the fragile dollar, Congress also took the country off the gold standard.

To explain to the American people what he was doing, he got on the radio. By 1934, 60 percent of American households had a radio, which was often the centerpiece of the living rooms in most urban households. In rural areas, people got by with a two-dollar "crystal set" that could be purchased at the local hardware or general store. Every night families would gather around their radios to listen to variety shows, classical music, sporting events, news, or to discover what trick Molly had played on Fibber or what trouble Amos and Andy were getting into. In the South the *Grand Old Opry,* which had begun broadcasting out of Nashville in 1927, was a favorite. The next day at the office or over the back fence people would talk about radio characters as if they actually shared time with them the night before. Roosevelt understood the power of this new invention, and he knew how to use it. After pushing through the banking reforms and taking the country off the gold standard, on March 12, 1933, he began a practice he would use throughout his presidency. He entered the living rooms of the American people via the radio and talked to them directly. He called his talks "fireside chats." To the still unsophisticated listening audience it was as if the president had just come over to their house and sat down to explain the intricacies of bank solvency, deposit insurance, and the international gold standard. His strategy worked. When the banks opened the next day, deposits exceeded withdrawals even though Roosevelt's banking legislation had not yet passed Congress. In marked contrast to how the emerging totalitarian leaders of Europe used the new invention, placing loudspeakers on every corner to control what was heard and making broadcasts a collective experience, FDR's approach personalized the experience and made the intricacies of government seem more comprehensible to the average person.

Roosevelt's first hundred days would become a political benchmark by which future administrations would be measured, but such comparisons are meaningless if not unfair. Never had the country faced such a crisis at the beginning of a presidential term, and never again would there be such a flurry of legislative activity in such a short period of time. In an attempt to return depressed farm prices back to the parity of 1909–1914, the last time industrial and agricultural buying power were more or less equal, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), which would pay benefits to farmers for not producing at capacity. To have an immediate impact, with crops already in the ground and sows ready to farrow, farmers were paid to plow their crops back into the soil (over 10 million acres of corn) and slaughter their pigs (over 7 million). To help those in danger of losing their homes and on the brink of starvation, Congress passed the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA). Directed by a former social worker, Harry Hopkins, this agency utilized state, local, and private charities to distribute over a billion dollars to families in immediate danger of starvation or eviction from their homes.

Charity alone would not lift the country out of its economic malaise. The dignity of the workers of America had to be restored, as Hopkins argued, by paying them to do useful work. In response, the government began a series of various work programs, which would last right up to the beginning of World War II. Many criticized the programs for being inefficient, wasteful, and even exploitive of desperate people. But however one felt about the programs, the fact is they did restore a sense of self-worth to many and often provided a protective barrier, albeit a fragile one, from starvation and eviction for thousands of families. Starting with the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Progress Works Administration (PWA), and continuing with the National Youth Administration (NYA), which put young people to work, and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), whose employees included writers, artists, and scholars, and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which gave young men from cities the chance to get out in the fresh air planting trees and building parks and trails while earning money for their families, the government throughout the 1930s became the employer of last resort for hundreds of thousands of Americans. Although planned to be temporary, the agencies created to administer these temporary jobs became amalgamated into the ever-expanding federal bureaucracy and provided thousands with permanent employment.

FERA grants kept foreclosure away a month at a time; however, to put the American family and the housing industry on a more secure footing, a more permanent system had to be applied, and in 1934 Congress passed the Home Owners Loan Act, which made federally guaranteed home loans available. This agency would eventually become the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), which created amortized loans that made home ownership feasible for millions of Americans who had never dreamed of such a possibility.

The New Deal, as Roosevelt's policies were described, also revolutionized thought concerning regional development by creating the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which tamed the Tennessee River and used its energy to bring electricity, parks, jobs, and income to a large portion of the rural South. In the West, the government expanded a dam project begun by the Hoover administration and brought electricity, irrigation, and flood control to thousands in the Southwest while freeing them from the ravages of the wild Colorado River.

In 1935, Congress also established the Rural Electrification Agency (REA), which brought electricity to millions of rural Americans. No single act revolutionized the lives of so many as the REA. The cost of stringing electric wire to far-flung villages made it unprofitable for private industry; therefore, rural America remained in the dark without benefit of light bulbs, electric radios, and other new electric appliances; rural folk read by kerosene light, cooked with wood, and refrigerated with ice. In 1935, only 10 percent of rural America had electricity. Thanks to the REA, by 1939 that number had increased to 40 percent and by 1950, 90 percent of rural America had electricity and became connected to the technological rhythms of the country.

In the first months of the New Deal, the immediate focus had centered on the immediate relief of the effects of three years of poverty and unemployment. Families, as Harry Hopkins had pointed out, needed to eat every day, not in the long term, but Roosevelt's advisors and others in Congress understood that in the long run government must do what it could to resuscitate and reinvent the American capitalist system. To that end the administration embarked on what they thought would be more permanent economic reforms, and in 1934 Congress passed a plan known as the National Industry Recovery Act (NIRA), which called for voluntary state corporatism that would control prices, wages, supply, and demand. This plan would eventually be declared unconstitutional, but many of its provisions were later adopted as law and, contrary to fears at the time, its overall concept of the feasibility of increased wages, stable prices, and improved profits through full employment strengthened the American capitalist system and became part of future fiscal policy.

Snapshot

Ain't No Law That You Got to Go Hungry

Conservatives railed against the New Deal's experiment with socialism, and Nobel Prize–winning author Ernest Hemingway added his voice to the protest. He expressed these feelings in his novel *To Have and Have Not*. His comments may have surprised readers, since at the time of writing this work he had been recently published in the leftist *New Masses*. He also had been a vociferous and active supporter of the Spanish Republic, one of the great liberal causes of the 1930s. Hemingway's book is peppered with anti–New Deal comments; some even get personal, as, for example, the following: "Anyone would have to be a writer or a FERA [Federal Emergency Relief Act] man to have a wife look like that. God isn't she awful?" At one point in the novel Captain Harry Morgan tries to convince a friend who is working for the WPA to join him in a smuggling scheme, by telling him the following:

> You're making seven dollars and a half a week. You got three kids in school that are hungry at noon. You got a family that their bellies are hurt and I give you a chance to make a little money. . . . Let me tell you, my kids ain't going to have their bellies hurt and I ain't going to dig sewers for the government for less money than will feed them. . . . I don't know who made the laws but I know there ain't no law that you got to go hungry. (Hemingway 1936, 97)

Not all the New Deal's plans were successful, but at least it gave the American people the idea that the government was doing something. In the short span of a year, FDR's New Deal and his "alphabet soup" of agencies (as some described them) had revolutionized the American economy. Laissez-faire was dead, and the federal government had become an active senior partner in the business of running the American economy.

Indeed, from the beginning the genius of the New Deal was its experimental nature. Although not an ideologue, FDR embraced the philosophy of pragmatism—if an idea worked, it survived. New Deal programs at once called for seemingly contradictory actions such as belt tightening and deficit spending, for aid to workers and help to business, for regulation of business and promotion of free competition, for destroying farm products when people were hungry. FDR also drew on a wide range of people with varied interests for advice, and in the pressure cooker of the first hundred days almost any idea got a hearing and often support. Those who had ideas that survived remained as Roosevelt's advisors. They remained outside the regular cabinet and therefore politically and intellectually free to state their opinions. They came to be known as Roosevelt's "Brain Trust." The result of this open and free flow of ideas was often confusing and contradictory but also exhilarating and hopeful, and for this FDR was able to garner the support of the people. After voters enthusiastically affirmed the New Deal in the congressional elections of 1934, Will Rogers observed that the people were with him (Roosevelt) so much that even if he had burned down the capital they would say, "at least he got a fire started."

After a year of Roosevelt's Brain Trust fine-tuning the economy, the Depression had reached its fifth year, and although things began to look a little better Americans were growing impatient. Industrial production had declined in the second half of 1933, sputtered upward in early 1934, then slid back down in the second half of that year. The number of people on payroll had risen steadily in 1933 from 40 to 75 million but in mid-1935 slid backward to 65 million (Mitchell 1947, 447). Many were beginning to grow impatient with the process of recovery. Radicals on both the right and the left were gathering strong followings. Most accepted as fact the demise of the capitalist system but argued over which model the country ought to follow, that of Italy and Germany, or that of the new Soviet Union.

In California, the socialist Upton Sinclair was nominated for governor. In Louisiana, Huey Long was creating a new populist form of democratic politics, demanding that the government limit the size of fortunes and distribute the surplus to the people. Dr. Francis Townshend advocated a monthly payment of $200 to elderly Americans who would quit their jobs and promise to spend the money in 30 days. From his Little Flower church and broadcast station in suburban Detroit, Father Charles Coughlin, the "Radio Priest," who in 1933 had supported Roosevelt's policies as an embodiment of the papal encyclical on social justice, *Rerum Novarum,* began to attack Roosevelt. He claimed that the president was protecting "international bankers" (many believed that to mean Jews) who manipulated currency, causing havoc in the economy. He called on Roosevelt to nationalize the banks and expand the money supply, which would help the working class. Thanks to the radio, newsreels, and their own publications, all these critics had a national voice and following. For all their differences, these radical reformers struck a similar chord that rang true to many average Americans: the money supply was inadequate, the elderly needed a plan of financial aid, the unemployed needed assistance to keep their lives together until they could find work, and the terribly unequal distribution of wealth in the country needed to be adjusted.

The political instincts of Roosevelt were not deaf to the voices of protest. In 1935 he expanded public works projects, but more importantly he pushed for the passage of the Social Security Act, which would provide the unemployed with a partial income until they found a job and would provide retirees a monthly allowance that would allow them to live out their lives with dignity. And at the urging of New York Senator Robert Wagner, Roosevelt took a giant step in the direction of government support for the average worker when he pushed for the creation of the National Labor Relations Board. Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, by which the federal government guaranteed the rights of workers to organize and if necessary to strike. Armed with this new prolabor legislation, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) split from the older American Federation of Labor (AFL) and organized the industrial mass production workers, those considered unskilled by the craft union dominated by carpenters, electricians, and plumbers. CIO leaders first took on the steel industry, and then in their most famous action of the 1930s they took on General Motors. In this strike, to avoid being locked out and to prevent replacement workers from taking their positions, and taking a page from the successful civil disobedience tactics of Gandhi in India, the men sat down in the factories. The union won these strikes, and by 1941 every major automaker and U.S. Steel had been organized.

By 1936, the New Deal seemed to be working. Production was rising, unemployment was falling, and America was slowly recovering. In this process a quiet political revolution was unfolding, as the government assumed an active role in creating economic policy that regulated the workplace, business, wages, banking policies, and more. Some question the reforms of the New Deal and claim they did not change the system but rather saved it. Nevertheless, Roosevelt's New Deal had changed the federal government's relation to the economy in ways that his Progressive predecessors could only dream of.

Those who saw these changes as creeping socialism did not take this movement sitting down, and they rallied around the last bastion of laissez-faire in Washington, the U.S. Supreme Court. In his first term in office, Roosevelt did not have the opportunity to name a Supreme Court justice. He was the first president since James Monroe not to have had this opportunity, and in 1937 a politically conservative Court threatened to undo much of his legislation and thereby overturn every advance the New Deal had achieved. Conservatives chose the Court as the place where the final battle between laissez-faire and welfare capitalism would be fought. The Court had already declared the NIRA and the AAA unconstitutional, and by going after a minimum wage law in New York, Roosevelt had every reason to believe that now they were setting their sights on Social Security. With his second mandate in hand, Roosevelt decided something ought to be done about what he described as an "aging" and conservative Court. He proposed that every judge over 70 years old who had served on the bench for 10 years should retire and if he refused, the president could then appoint another judge to help with the workload. Such a policy might be repeated up to six times, which meant it might lead to adding up to six new judges to the Supreme Court.

Reaction to his plan was not what FDR expected. There was a huge public outcry against his attempt to "pack" the Supreme Court. As the debate raged, however, other events defused the issue. The Supreme Court got the message, and in 1937 it upheld Social Security and the Wagner Act, which had created the National Labor Relations Board. Also, one of the most conservative opponents of the New Deal, Justice Willis Van Devanter, resigned, and Roosevelt was finally able to appoint someone more sympathetic to his political philosophy. Pundits referred to the events as the "switch in time that saved nine." Other resignations followed so that before he died in 1945, after being elected president four times, Roosevelt was able to remake the Supreme Court into what became known as the New Deal Court through most of the next generation. But FDR paid a political price for his attempt at "court-packing." Conservatives who otherwise had ceased opposing him now cloaked themselves as protectors of the constitutional balance of powers and criticized FDR and his New Deal for coalescing so much power into the hands of the executive branch.

By the end of 1936, with the economy seemingly well on the way to recovery, Henry Morganthau, the Secretary of the Treasury, suggested that it was time to "strip off the bandages, throw away the crutches, and let the economy stand on its own feet." Roosevelt, eager to get the budget back into balance, ordered federal spending cuts and slashed welfare rolls. The economy responded by collapsing, and within six months of these cuts it appeared that the country was headed for a return to the quagmire of 1932. Roosevelt's actions in 1937 demonstrated that he never really accepted or understood the concept of deficit spending completely and never totally bought into the philosophy of John Maynard Keynes, whose theory was that governments should tax heavily in times of prosperity and spend that money in times of economic decline. Eventually the government would spend the country out of the economic downturn, not because of their conversion to Keynesian economics, but rather because of events on the other side of the Atlantic.

The Coming of World War II

Across the Atlantic a few countries were following Keynesian economics, but the spending was not on public works, but rather on armaments, and as the United States, England, and France floundered in the 1930s, Germany, with mass expenditures on armaments, created a strong, vibrant economy. England, France, and the United States wanted to leave the Great War behind. Conversely, Germany's new leader, Adolf Hitler, reminded his people of the war every day, and in the collective war memory that he and his Nazi party fabricated, Germans were victims, not the aggressors. In the Nazi interpretation of recent history, communists, international bankers, Jews, and the Weimar government that in 1919 had voted in favor of the Versailles Treaty had betrayed Germany.

The betrayal was a significant element of the new philosophy Hitler had borrowed from Benito Mussolini. Mussolini called his new political economic system fascism. The communists had gotten it all wrong, preached Mussolini. Conflict between worker and capitalist was not inevitable. Both had greater common interests, which were represented by the nation. Together worker and capitalist should struggle to create a greater Italy in the tradition of ancient glories of Rome. For this system to work, Mussolini declared, the people must have a trusted leader who embodied the nation and its values. This leader would have no ulterior motives; his only desire would be the emergence of the nation into greatness. Worker and capitalist would both have

Snapshot

New York World's Fair of 1939

For those that could afford to go to New York in 1939, another World's Fair opened its doors. It had been planned as a celebration of the future and the exciting prospects of a world of science. But for most Americans the world of science was coming under question. It had brought many gifts but also many more new burdens. Scientific management had promised greater and more efficient production and distribution of goods, but it had not saved them from a catastrophic economic depression. Science had brought technological advance, but now those advances were being used to decimate Europe for a second time in a generation. The automobile and radio were certainly blessings, but what about the fragmentation that accompanied these inventions? What had happened to community and to family in the new age of technology? The New York World's Fair of 1939 did not attract the large numbers expected. Whether it was because Depression-burdened Americans still couldn't afford it or because its message did not resonate, historians still debate.

faith in the leader and his ministers. Conflicts between workers and owners over such things as working conditions or pay would be resolved by the leader and his ministers, who would advise him on what is best, not simply for workers or capitalists, but for the nation.

In this line of thinking, those who did not go along with the leader's decisions were no longer disgruntled workers or reactionary managers, but rather they were enemies of the state. In Italy, Benito Mussolini emerged as this trusted leader or *Il Duce;* in Germany, it was Hitler, known as *Der Fuehrer.* Hitler, following Mussolini's model, turned Germany into a well-oiled fascist machine. Production soared, prosperity returned to Germany, and most Germans saw Hitler as their savior. For fascism to work, it must have a viable national myth, which serves as a glue to bond the disparate members of the nation together. For Italy it was a return to the glories of ancient Rome; for Germany it became the myth of Aryan supremacy and their betrayal by non-Aryans. According to the Nazis, there were many non-Aryan betrayers in Germany: communists, gypsies, and Catholics to name a few, but the people that became the focal point of their anger were the Jews. In the 1930s in Germany, to be a patriot meant also to be anti-Semitic, and the country that up to that time had been the most hospitable to the children of Moses now became their greatest enemy.

Poster showing the Trylon and Perisphere buildings for the 1939 New York World's Fair. Library of Congress.

Americans watched events in Europe with suspicion, yet they were not eager to get involved in another war. Even when Germany helped the Spanish military overthrow the legitimate government of Spain in a bloody civil war, the Americans declared themselves neutral. The successful end of the Spanish Civil War in their favor in the spring of 1939 convinced the fascists of Germany that the time was right to implement their plans of expansion. And a few months later in September 1939, Hitler invaded Poland. After a winter of false negotiations and military maneuvering, the war broke out again in April and within six weeks the German army handed all of Western Europe over to the Nazis. England now stood alone against the combined fascist powers of Europe. Still Americans remained neutral. Although an internationalist who understood the threat Germany represented, Roosevelt could not lead where the people would not follow. Isolationism dominated the collective American mind. With popular spokesmen such as Charles Lindbergh arguing for an "America First" policy, there was little Roosevelt could do.

Without the necessary political support for more decisive action, he did everything in his power to put the economic and military strength of the United States at the disposal of the British, and in 1940 he signed the Lend-Lease Act, which would lend, lease, or otherwise dispense arms to countries whose defense was vital to the United States. In explaining this new policy in a fireside chat, Roosevelt likened his actions to a man lending a neighbor a hose when his house is on fire. But more than a garden hose would be needed to quell the conflagration in Europe. While Roosevelt searched for means to get American aid to Europe and for an opportunity to engage the Nazis and come to the aid of England, events in Asia were drawing the country closer to war, and more rapidly than they expected.

Since 1932, when the Japanese had invaded Manchuria and set up a puppet government there, the United States had been quietly using diplomatic and economic pressure on Japan to convince them to abandon their imperialist designs on China. The Japanese ignored diplomatic pressure, even withdrawing from the League of Nations in 1933, and continued their policy of expansion, insisting that just as the United States in the Monroe Doctrine had claimed a right to determine the political destiny of the Western Hemisphere, they had a right to maintain a political and economic sphere of influence in Asia. Finally, in 1941, when the Japanese, taking advantage of a neutralized French government controlled by their German allies, marched into French Indochina, Roosevelt took action. He froze Japanese assets in the United States and announced an embargo on petroleum and metal scrap products being shipped to Japan. This action put those in favor of war with the United States in control of the Japanese government, and on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked American bases in the Pacific. The following day Roosevelt asked for a declaration of war against Japan, and within a week Japan's ally Germany declared war on the United States. For the second time in a generation the United States found itself embroiled in a world war.

The second time Americans went to war in Europe, there were no songs, no fanfare, simply a grim determination to finish what their fathers had started. In the winter of 1942, the world looked rather grim. Nazi Germany controlled all of Europe, and they were meeting little resistance as they rolled into the Soviet Union, which stood alone against the seemingly unstoppable force of the Third Reich. In the Pacific, the Japanese surprise attack had given them temporary dominance in the region and they were threatening an attack on and occupation of Australia.

Although news on the battlefront was bleak, at home determined Americans went to work to build the most formidable arsenal the world had ever seen. By 1943, the American industrial output exceeded that of the Axis powers, and Americans were producing planes, tanks, and guns much faster than enemies could destroy them. The massive war production created unprecedented economic and demographic changes in the United States. During the war the average weekly income increased by 70 percent—while inflation rose 47 percent—and for the first and only time in American history there was a downward redistribution of income. The share of the nation's wealth taken by the top 5 percent of the population declined from 22 to 17 percent, with most of the difference going to the bottom 40 percent. Also during the war years, people migrated around the country as never before. Some nine million Americans moved to the cities that offered jobs in the newly burgeoning defense industry. In addition to the traditional urban destinations of the North and Midwest, Americans also moved to the Pacific and Gulf Coast, and in the process they created an entirely new demographic region that became known as the Sunbelt.

The new prosperity of the war years also set off a consumer boom. With higher incomes and rationing restrictions, Americans had money to spend. Although the restrictions of war limited access to high-ticket items such as cars and houses, Americans did spend their money on entertainment, and theater revenues soared. Americans also used their extra income to hoard rationed items such as sugar, coffee, spices, rubber goods, golf balls, clothing, and shoes. The shortage of male labor brought countless women into jobs where they had not been seen before, which forced Americans to change their attitudes toward gender roles in the workplace. Women took positions as metal workers, millers, welders, lumberjacks, and machinists. One of the lasting icons to emerge from the war is the Norman Rockwell poster of "Rosie the Riveter," an attractive girl pictured baring her muscular bicep while telling American women, "We can do it!"

Black Americans used World War II to attack discrimination more directly than they had ever done before. In 1941, as the government was preparing for war, A. Phillip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, threatened a massive march on Washington unless Roosevelt issued an executive order banning discrimination in the defense industry and armed forces. Roosevelt acceded to the demand, and as a result, by war's end, two million African Americans were employed in war-related jobs. These job opportunities outside the cotton South added another chapter in the history of black migration, as over 800,000 southern blacks moved to the urban North, Midwest, and West in the 1940s.

By the time World War II began, German Americans had been well assimilated into the American culture, and they did not suffer the same prejudices experienced in World War I. This time American nativists directed their venom against the Japanese, especially in the Pacific West, where the war fanned smoldering anti-Asian feelings. Bowing to this prejudice, President Roosevelt ordered the relocation of 120,000 Japanese Americans to 10 hastily built camps that were nothing more than shacks surrounded by barbed wire. These detention camps remained in operation until March 1946, and not until 1983 did the government officially admit its mistake and pay compensation to survivors (Harrell, et al. 2005, 976–78). When the war ended, Americans knew that they had entered a new, much more complicated world. Women had entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers and in positions they had never held before. African Americans had left the South for northern and western cities as they had never done in previous eras, and they were demanding with a more militant voice rights that had been denied for far too long. Seemingly benevolent science, which in previous decades had entertained, fascinated, and promised an ever-improving life, had, in one moment over Hiroshima, become demonic. And Americans had defeated one totalitarian menace only to be confronted with a new challenge from international communism. On the other hand, wages were rising, birthrates were at an all-time high, and Americans who had learned to accept change seemed willing to face the challenges of a not-too-certain future.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Davidson, James West, William E. Gienapp, Christine Leigh Heyrman, Mark H. Lytle, and Michael B. Stoff, *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the United States*. Boston: McGraw Hill, 2001.

Harrell, David Edwin, Edwin S. Gaustad, John B. Boles, Sally Foreman Griffith, and Randall Miller. *Unto a Good Land: A History of the American People*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005.

Hemingway, Ernest. *To Have and Have Not*. New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1937.

Keene, Jennifer. *American Soldiers Lives: World War I*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Mencken, H. L. *On Politics: A Carnival of Buncombe*. New York: Vintage Books, 1960.

Mitchell, Broadus. *Depression Decade: From New Era through New Deal 1929–1941*. New York: Harper Torch Books, 1947.

Peters, Thelma. *Biscayne Country, 1870–1926*. Miami, FL: Banyan Books, 1981.

Watson, John B. *Behaviorism*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1930.

Wells, Robert. *Facing the King of Terrors: Death and Society in an American Community 1750–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2001.

2

THE NORTHEAST

Overview

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the northeast quadrant of the United States comprising New York and New England remained the most densely populated and wealthiest sector of the country. Over half of the nation's 106 million people lived in the Northeast and the per capita income was higher than in any other part of the country.

In the first four decades of the twentieth century, five major events defined the history of the Northeast: immigration, urbanization, war, technological innovation, and the Great Depression. Populations of the urban Northeast swelled as immigrants, especially southern and eastern Europeans, filled the major cities of the Northeast. Most of these new immigrants came through the new federal immigration processing center at Ellis Island, New York.

During World War I and continuing for over the next half century, great numbers of blacks migrated northward, leaving the dismal life of tenant farming, Jim Crow laws, and urban poverty in the South for the promise of a better life in the urban Northeast. Previously small black sections within the cities of the Northeast would be transformed into large lively African American communities. One major result of this migration in New York was the blossoming of Harlem and the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s.

In addition to immigration, three major technological changes took place in the early twentieth century that revolutionized American culture: electricity in the home, the automobile, and the radio. The introduction of electricity into the home changed house designs, revolutionized housework, and put lights into children's rooms, allowing them to read into the night. For better or worse, by 1914 the automobile, thanks to Henry Ford and his efficient assembly-line production and effective marketing, was no longer a plaything for the rich but a part of many middle-class families. The family car brought people and places closer together, enabling weekly trips to places that were once prohibitively far for a weekend jaunt. On the other

Ellis Island, in New York Harbor, where thousands of immigrants to the United States were processed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Library of Congress.

hand, it separated the nuclear family as the automobile became for the middle class, as it had become for the privileged rich, an expression of independence and freedom. It did not take long for young people to begin using the family car as a dating place where they could have some time alone and away from adult supervision. In the 1920s the radio changed the way people saw the world by bringing that world literally into their living rooms. Events that only a few years prior were read about a day after they occurred (such as presidential elections and baseball games) were now being heard as they happened.

In 1917, the United States entered a "war to end all war" to "make the world safe for democracy," as President Wilson declared. Many Americans took up the cause, growing victory gardens, rationing gas, abstaining from strong spirits, and hating the Germans. For many, the war evoked a new sense of national community; however, it also divided some Americans across immigrant and ethnic lines.

In 1920, decades of women's organizing, petitioning, and demonstrating culminated in the passage of the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote. Both those who had predicted disaster and those who had predicted the dawning of a new age of political reform and morality with women's enfranchisement were disappointed and surprised to learn that women ended up splitting into factions and voting in patterns similar to their male counterparts.

In the same year women won the right to vote, they, along with the men, lost their right to buy or drink alcohol in public places. In a flurry of postwar enthusiasm and conservative Protestant exhortation, Americans attempted the "noble experiment" of closing the saloons and drying up America. A new dawn was predicted: sober men would become more industrious and, in turn, the country would become more productive and prosperous. Men would stay home at night, making the family stronger and, in turn, the country stronger. Noble or not, the experiment failed, especially in the urban Northeast where immigrant and ethnic cultures and urban "moderns" rejected the imposition of largely small-town, rural "middle America's" values on their habits. Although, statistically, national consumption of alcohol decreased, the long-term success of the experiment hinged on local support and law enforcement, which in many areas of the Northeast remained less than enthusiastic. In the urban Northeast, speakeasies, clubs, and a host of distributors provided illegal alcohol to thirsty clients. Organized crime capitalized on the demand for beer and wine especially to muscle in and control large distribution systems in the cities.

The industrialized Northeast, except for New England, which saw their textile mills move to the South closer to the raw material of their industry and to cheaper unorganized labor, experienced economic prosperity in the 1920s. Propelled by the new technology of the automobile, radio, and electricity, the Northeast went through a period of exceptional economic growth in this decade. Out of this economic explosion came AT&T, RCA, General Electric, Westinghouse, and other corporations based in the Northeast that would dominant the American economy for the next 50 years.

At the end of the 1920s the boom that helped define the decade ended in a terrible economic crash, the worst the nation had ever experienced. The urban industrial areas of the country felt the crash worse than other areas and the Northeast worst than most. Soup kitchens and breadlines and shelters for the homeless tried to soften the blow in an era when the federal government's policy remained hands-off during times of economic crisis. Economically, the decade of the 1930s became one of the most terrible the Northeast had ever experienced. However, by the end of the decade, through new federal economic policies established by the New Deal and the economic stimulation provided by government spending for a new war on the horizon, the industries of the Northeast once again by 1940 were supporting a growing and prosperous economy. Workers were taking home regular paychecks, the flood of foreclosures abated, and Americans were once again on the road to the promised land of economic security. They had survived the Great Depression, but a greater threat to democracy and the American way of life lay just over the horizon in Europe, where democratic government had been crushed under the iron boot of totalitarianism. By 1940, Great Britain stood alone against this threat, and the English looked to their long-time ally, the United States, for assistance. For the second time in a generation, Americans would find themselves embroiled in world war. This section will explore the changes to daily life of the people of the Northeast as technology, mass migration, war, and economic depression propelled them through one of the greatest periods of change in the nation's history.

Domestic Life

FAMILY LIFE

No aspect of American life changed more radically in the first decades of the twentieth century than the family. Many factors precipitated this change, including the move from rural settings to urban ones, the new technology entering the home, and the changing perceptions of the role of women in modern life. In the urban Northeast, large families were no longer an asset and, as families moved to cities, the number of children decreased. This decline was especially true among the middle class. Homes of immigrants still remained full of children, as did the houses of the urban poor regardless of their origins. In some cases the power of tradition overwhelmed the new trend toward smaller families, and in other cases children remained an economic necessity, for as soon as they were able, the children of the poor were often sent out to find work to help support the family.

As the population of the Northeast became more urbanized, attitudes toward marriage also changed. In many urban middle-class families, the motivation for marriage itself changed also as women began to demand more than simple economic security from the relationship. Indeed, new sociological and psychological studies suggested that the well-adjusted family was one that women found to be emotionally and socially fulfilling. As expectations for a happy marriage increased, so did the desire to leave unfulfilling marriages. Divorce rates increased rapidly in every decade of the twentieth century except the Depression decade of the 1930s.

In the urban Northeast, as young people were exposed to a greater number and variety of potential partners, the decision to marry was cast in a new light. Marriage had traditionally been regarded as a partnership established for economic, educational, and welfare purposes as much as a social relationship, but during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, additional forces, including birth control, new attitudes toward child rearing, and an emphasis on individual personal development and fulfillment, influenced the expectations and function of the family in middle-class urban America. One by-product of these changing values in marriage was the reduction in the number of children born to a typical urban middle-class family. Increasingly women's magazines and journals emphasized not only the female role of the loving mother, but also that of caring and careful home manager.

By the 1920s, the urban middle-class wife was a "homemaker," in charge of the family budget and running an efficient, clean household aided by the new appliances and improved time management. In urban areas and even some rural areas, institutions assumed educational and welfare responsibilities traditionally relegated to the preindustrial or rural family, and more people were involved in work settings where cash wages allowed individuals to purchase daily necessities that in an earlier era had been provided at home. As a result, different expectations of marriage began to develop. After 1890, native-born men and women married earlier. Contraception provides the key to the increase in early marriage among the middle class at the turn of the century. In the late nineteenth century marriage had been postponed for economic reasons as men and women, especially in the newly emerging urban population, delayed marriage in order to permit men to work for a time without the burden of providing for a growing family. Delayed marriage also served as a form of birth control by limiting the amount of fertile years that a couple lived together. By the twentieth century, growing knowledge and availability of contraception alternatives permitted family planning after marriage rather than before. Birth control allowed husband and wife to delay first birth and, just as important, to space subsequent births according to family goals and resources. By 1920, a low urban birthrate was positively and strongly correlated with a high marriage rate among the young.

Indeed, birthrates declined among middle-class white women in the first decade of the century from 3.5 to 2.3 children per family.

Like the sharp decrease in family size, the increase in early marriage showed the new potential for planning and cooperation within marriage. As husband and wife gained control over family life, the companionship possibilities in marriage were freed from earlier restraints. Marriage could become first a relationship between two people rather than a necessary and determinant step toward family formation. Contraception thus broke down rigid traditional roles and definitions in the family.

The idea of the "modern" family emerged, popularized by psychologists, social service professionals, and educators. These experts determined that a successful marriage was based primarily on affection and companionship. As a result of these changing attitudes, divorce began to be seen as an alternative to a marriage that was not emotionally fulfilling. Some but not all states eased divorce requirements, and in the Northeast divorce increased from 1 in 18 marriages in 1880 to one in six in the 1920s. But this trend did not signify a decline in a desire to be married. Remarriage became much more common than in previous eras when divorce was a rarity. The 1930 census reported that only 1 percent of adults listed their current status as divorced. People were not turning against marriage; rather they were expressing a desire to have a happy and fulfilling family life, and if disappointed in one attempt they were willing to try again. As the new century unfolded, emotional and sexual satisfaction was replacing economic security as the standard of marital choice and contentment (Kyvig 2002, 134–36; Fass 1977, 68–69).

The rising frequency of divorce among the urban middle class caught the attention of the Progressives of the new century. In Boston the New England Divorce Reform League, founded in 1881, lobbied for more legislative curbs on divorce and sponsored studies to investigate the "family problem." In 1906, Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker of Pennsylvania hosted a National Divorce Congress attended by delegates from 42 states. Although they drafted a set of rigid divorce laws designed to become national law, the proposals were rejected in Congress. Despite the determination of Progressives and Christian leaders to create uniform national legislation that would check the soaring divorce rate, the legal status of divorce remained a state issue. Church groups played an important role in the process of defining marriage laws. In New York, for example, an alliance between a strong Catholic Archdiocese of New York and an equally powerful Episcopalian bishop persuaded the New York legislature to maintain highly restrictive divorce laws. Similar coalitions produced the same results throughout the Northeast.

Modern ideas of marriage were not limited to the urban middle class; the phenomenon was also occurring in the rural areas of the Northeast. However, in the rural Northeast the reasons for one modernizing trend, birth control, were most often connected to economics. In some cases the diminishing availability of arable land in the Northeast reduced the possibility for men to make a living off the land and resulted in postponement of marriage until later in life. Even when young people took the economic risk and did marry, they often decided to practice birth control in order to maintain a smaller, more manageable family. Poor nutrition in rural areas also may have contributed to a reduction of female fertility in the first decades of the twentieth century. Whatever the reasons—social and intellectual in urban areas or economic in rural areas—throughout the Northeast, female fertility continued a decline that had begun in the nineteenth century and would continue until World War II.

When African American families migrated from the South to the urban Northeast, their numbers declined also. The average African American family in the South contained five people, while those in the North had four members. In addition to declining size, the black family in the North faced numerous challenges that threatened its ability to function as a viable unit. Contributing to family instability was a variety of problems including high delinquency, unemployment, and substandard living conditions. Documenting the combined impact of forced relocation, economic exploitation, and institutional racism, which caused havoc and disorganization in black urban areas, black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier explained that problems of black urban families were socially constructed rather than culturally inherited (Reich 2006, 544).

Urban immigrants from Europe resisted modernizing trends in the family. Many who came to the cities had come from rural areas of their own countries where, like those living in the countryside in the United States, they resisted the intellectual and social fashions of the cities. When they arrived in the United States, they held to traditions centuries old that served to insulate the immigrant families somewhat from the social experiments going on around them, and to bind them together in what they viewed as an ever more fragmenting world. For the most part they continued to have large families and, well into the twentieth century, they continued to celebrate religious festivals that reconnected the generations and brought family members back to long-abandoned neighborhoods at least for a day. Catholics especially, under the rigid marriage guidelines of the Church, were less likely to witness the breakup of the family. And Italians, although by tradition not as cowed by the Church as other immigrants, did have a litany of saints that helped and supported the family in time of crisis. Among these spiritual helpers were saints who found lost articles, others who helped sell a house, and various others who alleviated family sickness. Young girls even had a saint who protected their virginity.

The explanation for differences in fertility between classes or between ethnic women and native-born American women is complex. In part it may have to do with religious tradition or class concerns about the costs or advantages of having children. But certainly a part of the explanation was simply lack of sufficient information. Oral interviews with working women around the turn of the century suggest that few women of that class knew of mechanical methods of birth control like the diaphragm. For family limitation they relied on abortion or abstinence. In fact, some of the women recalled that abortion was much more commonly talked about among them than contraception as a means of birth control (Degler 1980, 221–22).

As people began to live longer, poverty among the elderly became a serious problem and another burden on families of every class, as children were expected to care for poverty-stricken aged adults. The Social Security Act of 1935 eventually addressed the problem of old age and survivor needs, though it hardly provided the resources to meet the growing needs and expectations of America's aging population. It was not until the 1940s that the first payments to the elderly were made, and few people were covered in any case. Helping the elderly remained a personal obligation, with states and local government providing assistance in varying degrees.

American family life was severely challenged by the Great Depression. Many families, in the Northeast as elsewhere, planted gardens and did home canning, pickling, and baking. They ate less meat and more beans and pancakes. Women returned to making their own clothes, and men did their own home repairs. Families bought day-old bread from the bakery, repaired their shoes with cardboard, and relined coats with old blankets. Confronted with the loss of jobs and income, families struggled to pay mortgages, rents, and bills. Many suffered deprivation, hardship, and humiliation. Men especially suffered terrible blows to their pride when they could no longer see themselves as the "breadwinners" of the family.

Despite these trials, most families remained intact. The divorce rate actually declined in the 1930s. Some historians suggest a more scrutinized view of this statistic would reveal that divorces declined because of the costs involved, and they point out that frequently men just left their families without formal legalities. Desertion and abandonment became "the poor man's divorce," and the number of such incidents soared during the Depression era. The Depression also affected the number of marriages during the decade. Many couples decided not to start families and, as a result, marriage rates plunged, and birthrates fell to their lowest in the nation's history. Whereas the population had grown by 16 percent in the 1920s, the growth plummeted to 7 percent in the 1930s. The generation born in the 1930s would be the smallest of the century.

MEN

As in earlier periods, patriarchy remained the central concept for understanding men's lives. Throughout the century, in the United States, men reaped the benefits of a social system that provided them with a dominant position in the family, in politics, and in the economy. This position did not go unchallenged. Throughout the century American women gained social, economic, and political power. But such things as the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the increase in the numbers of women workers in factories, shops, stores, and offices, and new laws giving women the power to divorce and claim full custody of children did not eliminate men's overriding power. Thus, although feminist groups made inroads against the system, the basic assumptions of patriarchy remained largely intact. One can see this in terms of wages. Regardless of education, qualifications, and experience, men made more money than women for the same work.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, before Prohibition caused its immediate if only temporary demise, the saloon was a bastion of masculinity. From the sawdust floors, to the boxing posters on the wall, to the all-male presence (except for prostitutes relegated to the back room), the saloon was a man's world. It represented a male culture that still dominated society but was slowly losing ground to female emancipation and equality. In the male world of the first two decades of the twentieth century the local saloon provided a retreat from the world of women and children. The saloon supported the stereotypical masculine image, separate and unfettered by the chains of domesticity. Saloons provided many services for men. First of all they were centers of political organization. In New York, for example, at the turn of the century 11 of 24 aldermen were saloonkeepers. They also formed the basis of community in many working-class neighborhoods as a place where people of similar ethnic background, class, and occupation could gather. The neighborhood saloon also served as a private club rather than a public place. At the saloon many men received mail and messages, made deposits, and sometimes got loans, ate, and even slept. Men played cards, sang, played musical instruments, got live sports information from a ticker tape, and engaged in boisterous, raucous, and often coarse conversation. Since working men of similar occupations gathered together at many saloons, they also served as employment agencies, putting prospective employers in contact with potential employees.

Although in the late nineteenth century the Knights of Labor prohibited saloonkeepers from joining their union, by the new century many unions used bars as their meeting places. In Buffalo, New York, for example, in the first decades of the twentieth century 63 of 69 unions met in bars. In New York in the pre-longshoreman union era, saloonkeepers hired dockworkers. Saloons often provided the working man with his best and sometimes only meal of the day for free. Most saloons offered a free lunch, and in Boston, saloons were required by law to offer free food to their patrons. So for five cents, the price of a beer, a man could have a lunch far better than what most eating establishments were offering for five times that price, and without the beer. Some bartenders would serve heavily salted food, which caused men to buy more than one beer to wash down the free food. Finally, saloons in the early decades of the century served as models of manhood for young boys, who would gather at the doorways of bars to watch with fascination what the men were doing inside (Kingsdale 1973, 472–89).

The writer Jack London recalled this boyish fascination as he passed a number of saloons daily while he was delivering newspapers.

> In saloons life was different. Men talked with great voices, laughed great laughs, and there was an atmosphere of greatness. Here was something more than everyday where nothing happened. Here life was always very live and sometimes even lurid. . . . Great moments these, for me, my head filled with all the wild valiant fighting of the gallant adventurers of sea and land. There were no big moments when I trudged along the street throwing my papers in at doors, but at the saloons even the sots, stupefied sprawling across tables or in the sawdust were objects of mystery and wonder. (London, 1989, 24)

In the African American community, traditional concepts of masculinity and manhood became one of the motivating factors that precipitated the great black migration to the North. Disenfranchisement, segregation, and economic marginalization militated against the African American male's claim to manhood. In the South, most black men could not vote, which continued as a gender-specific privilege during the first two decades of the twentieth century; the tenant farmer's economic dependence on white landowners took the male privilege of breadwinner away from many blacks in the South; then, too, the humiliating Jim Crow laws also militated against the black man's sense of self-worth and pride. Given this reality, the advertised egalitarianism and economic opportunities of the urban North attracted black males to the region. Letters to black newspapers frequently repeated the themes stated in the following letter: "I will gladly take a position in a northern city or county where a man is a man." Although the black migration experience encompassed black men and women of all ages, classes, and skill levels, black males were the first and the largest group to migrate in the years around World War I, when the great black migration north began (Reich 2006, 544).

WOMEN

In the urban areas of the Northeast, the twentieth century ushered in a new age of individuality for young women. This great leap forward in women's involvement in the work economy occurred primarily between 1900 and 1910, as there would be little percentage increase of women working between 1910 and 1930. The movement into the workplace freed young women from the social customs reinforced by family, church, and community. In the city the young urban woman could individualize her own moral norms. The phenomenon of the liberated working girl dominated the themes addressed by those concerned with domestic tranquility. As early as 1904, the family in peril became the theme of many magazine articles. Dorothy Dix observed in 1913, "there have been so many changes in the conditions of life over the last twenty years that the parent of today is absolutely unfitted to decide the problems of life for a young woman today." In fact, she pointed out, the "whole social and economic position of women has been revolutionized since mother was a girl." Magazine articles lamented the passing of the home daughter, as the modern women preferred the blessed anonymity of the city to dying of what felt like asphyxiation at home. Women's individualization was occurring because, whether married or single, employed or not, women were spending more time outside the home.

And a sexual revolution was well underway. In 1900, Wellesley College, in Massachusetts, reflecting the morals of the time, forbade a junior prom, because it did not want the women mixing with "promiscuous" young men. A mere 16 years later, *Puck* magazine featured a young girl with puckered lips urging the reader to "Take it from me." A popular song of 1916 entitled "Dangerous Girl" proclaimed, "You dare me, you scare me, and I like you more each day." In 1915, Dorothy Dix noted that it was literally true that the average father did not know who was taking his daughter out, and she lamented the terrible things that were going on in the back seats of cars, which she called the "devil's wagon." The change in morals that decidedly occurred in the decade from 1910 to 1920 became embodied in the flapper. The flapper was young, whether in fact or fancy, self-assertive, and independent. She joined men as a comrade, and the differences in behavior of the sexes narrowed. She cropped her hair, wearing it in a short bobbed style, and wore dresses that emphasized a boyish figure. She conscientiously became desexualized. This style, often attributed to the postwar era, actually had its beginning a decade earlier. In the Northeast, the Boston *American* defined the "1914 girl as a slim boy-like creature with narrow hips." This new style deemphasized hips and bust. By 1914, even Newport ladies, models of decorum in fashion, were wearing short hair. Although the flapper's speech, her interest in thrills and excitement, her dress, and her aggressive sexuality made her less feminine in the traditional sense, she paradoxically became more attractive to the opposite sex.

A major contributing factor to the changing status of women was changing attitudes toward women's sexuality. Sexuality became part of a woman's physical attributes and an aspect of her emotional expression. And the emphasis on sex highlighted the new marriage ideals, which equalized some rights, responsibilities, and roles between men and women in marriage. The legitimization of female sexuality and the pointed sexualization of marriage were perhaps the most significant departures of the marriage literature of the 1920s, for they reflected specific changes that had already taken place and in turn implicated all facets of marital interaction. Behind this change was the increase in availability and knowledge of contraception. With contraception, female sexuality could be freed from its necessary connection with motherhood. As long as childbirth was implicit in sexual relations, sexual intercourse defined woman's role as submission, obedience, and childbearing. Women fulfilled "marital duties" by submitting to their husbands in the effort to conceive. Contraceptives, however, permitted women to be sexual partners first and mothers second, if and when husband and wife chose that role for her. Contraception released men and women from imposed roles and permitted new choices in roles and relationships (Fass 1977, 69–72).

The emergence of the film industry in the 1920s also had a great influence on the perception and portrayal of the "modern" woman. Films with contemporary urban settings were especially likely to feature restless young women, single or married, eager to escape the home and obtain status equal to men. Nevertheless, with threats of censorship in many communities, the triumph of conventional virtue, after some audience-attracting misconduct, proved to be a constant theme. Even a free-spirited and apparently sexually liberated female star such as Clara Bow in *The Plastic Age* (1925) or *It* (1927) demonstrated in the end that chaste goodness under the surface of her outwardly naughty behavior would win her man. Films also provided a source of sexual information for young adults when none other was available. One young woman reported that she learned to close her eyes while being kissed from observing actresses on the screen doing it. A young man confessed that he learned to kiss a girl on the ears, neck, and cheeks as well as the mouth from the movies. And a 16-year-old sophomore revealed, "I know love pictures have made me more receptive to love making, I always thought it rather silly until these pictures where there is always so much love and everything turns out all right in the end, and I kiss and pet much more than I would otherwise" (Kyvig 2002, 95–96).

Another contributing factor to the liberation of women were the so-called kitchen and housework revolutions, which were well underway by 1909. Electricity radically altered the lives of urban women after the turn of the century. After lights, electric irons became one of the first acquisitions for newly wired homes. Then came the vacuum cleaner. These new inventions, along with canned goods and prepared foods, transformed women's work habits in the house. Images of women in magazines from 1900 to 1920 document changes in womanhood. In 1900, the middle-class women in magazine advertisements appear well-rounded with soft billowy hair, delicate hands, and motherly expressions. By 1910, the idealized woman in advertisements changed. She was depicted with a more active figure and in more activity outside the home. One ad presented a woman on the telephone saying, "Yes drive over right away, I'll be ready. My housework? That's all done! How do I do it? I just let electricity do my work these days."

Women were expressing their desire for freedom in other ways. Smoking in public and drinking with men in bars (and speakeasies in the Prohibition 1920s) were becoming fashionable, at least for middle- and upper middle-class women. New dance styles motivated by the syncopated rhythms of black music also became the rage in the urban Northeast.

Women's newfound sexuality and liberation did not occur without a backlash. In 1913, a New York grand jury outlawed the turkey trot and kindred dances that were deemed too sexually inviting. In Boston, the mayor ordered the removal of a showgirl from a store window where she was posing cross-legged on a sofa. And in both Boston and New York, advocates of contraception, Van Allyson and Margaret Sanger, were arrested for distributing birth control information to women. A number of states in the Northeast created film commissions to pass judgment on the decency of films. The Pennsylvania commission, for example, forbade films that included nudity, prolonged passion, women drinking, or infidelity.

An important milestone in the movement toward women's sexual, domestic, and social liberation arrived with the passing of the 19th Amendment in 1920. In the Northeast, the amendment met strong resistance from rural, immigrant, and Catholic populations who often feared it as an assault on traditional family values and a threat to social cohesion. Only in New York did both legislative assemblies vote unanimously in favor of the amendment. In Delaware, Vermont, and Connecticut, the governors refused to call special sessions to vote for the amendment. Despite the myriad debates over how the women's vote would change society, the results were disappointing. Women tended to vote and divide over issues the same way that men did. Still, the amendment had symbolic weight, if only as an assertion of women's status as fully empowered citizens.

The American woman had been the social stabilizer of the nineteenth century, and changes in her behavior underlined the overall changes taking place in society in the new century. The new woman of the twentieth century redefined equality. The new woman demanded not only political and economic rights, but a much more threatening and subtle freedom, the right to self-expression, self-determination, and personal satisfaction. To traditionalists this smacked of immorality, self-indulgence, and irresponsibility. Asking for more than merely to have a man choose her for a wife and the mother of his children, the new woman expected to be satisfied as a lover and companion, and she insisted on more freedom and honesty within the marriage. To conservatives, rural and small-town Americans, and various immigrant and religious groups of the Northeast, all this appeared to portend the collapse of noble womanhood, as it had been understood. Such groups worried that once released from previous controls and well-defined roles, women risked the danger of succumbing to a path from which there was no return, of teetering on the edge of sexual promiscuity. The change in female behavior was especially apparent in the cities. Indeed, the *Literary Digest* warned country girls of the dangers of migrating to the city for work. Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) had signaled the danger of a woman giving herself over to the pleasure and the allures of city living. The "new woman" of the 1920s only intensified such worries in fact (Fass 1977, 23–24).

To be sure, women of color also joined in the new freedoms of their gender, but the majority of black women migrating from the South to the Northeast often left children and husbands behind out of economic necessity, not in search of gender equality. The most common life for a black urban woman was working in the home of a white middle-class family. This created a working situation that deprived black women of their privacy and continued their isolation from their own families. In the 1920s African American women in the urban Northeast struggled, not to leave household service for better jobs, but to leave "live-in" circumstances in order to have time off and an opportunity to reunite with their families. Once they did reunite, they often encountered problems of segregation in housing and prejudice in the workplace, problems they felt they had left behind in the South, continuing to plague their families (Reich 2006, 288–89).

CHILDREN

The movement to the cities and the new technology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also affected children. For one thing, there were fewer children per capita in middle-class families. As people began moving to the cities, they discovered that children were a liability, not an asset as they had been in rural and farm communities. And with the increasing availability of birth control information and women's new sexual assertiveness, urban families were becoming smaller. Those children who were born in this era benefited from the emphasis on love-centered child rearing, social science guidance emphasizing rewards over punishments, and new technology that made homes healthier and more comfortable living spaces. Electric lights on Christmas trees began to appear as early as 1882, and by the 1890s children's toys such as electric-powered model trains for boys and lighted doll houses for girls began to appear. The appearance of electric lights in the house stimulated reading at home. Children could not be left alone with dangerous gaslights or candles, but they could easily and safely read by electric light without supervision.

In rural areas, life revolved around the family, but as families moved to urban settings, children discovered expanding opportunities for extrafamilial activities that gave them more opportunity to meet and interact with peers. Some of these groups such as the YMCA, YWCA, the Boy Scouts, and the Girl Scouts were designed to keep maturing young males and females away from each other, occupying them in outdoor activities and crafts for hours each week. Schools also sponsored social activities such as dances and proms.

For the urban poor there were other outlets. City boys tried as best they could to maintain control of their traditional playing areas. At the turn of the century, for example, boys continued to swim off public or private docks despite the danger of polluted water, drowning, or arrest. Most swimming was without suits; one old New York swimmer remembered that swimming was legal in the East River "provided one wore one's underwear." Young athletes mainly relied on the streets in front of their homes for their entertainment. As George Burns reminisced,

> Our playground was in the middle of Rivington Street. We only played games that needed very little equipment, games like kick the can, hopscotch, hide and go seek, follow the leader. When we played baseball we used a broom handle and a rubber ball. A manhole cover was home plate, a fire hydrant was first base, second base was a lamppost and Mr Gitletz, who used to bring a kitchen chair down to sit and watch us play, was third base. One time I slid into Mr Gitletz, he caught the ball and tagged me out. (Riess 1991, 127)

The most popular game for young boys was baseball. It was America's pastime and second-generation immigrant youth loved the game, which was not only fun, but proved that they were not greenhorns but true Americans. On the fringes of the city in the new suburban areas, makeshift ball fields sprang up on empty lots everywhere, but in the inner city, the lack of playing space limited the possibilities for a normal game. Consequently, few immigrants made it to the big leagues in the first decades of the century. Ball playing there was constricted to cognate games like stickball, and they had to develop special rules to conform to the idiosyncrasies of their playing area (for example, anything hit to left field is an out). Other factors also limited the playing time of the urban poor and immigrant, such as working a regular job, Hebrew school, parental opposition, and limited community support.

Settlement houses and community centers in the inner city often provided space for young boys to play indoors. Consequently, sports that could be played in limited space like boxing and basketball became very popular among the poor and immigrants in the urban Northeast. Whereas baseball produced few ethnic stars in the period 1900–1920, boxing was dominated by the Irish, and then the Italians, and later urban blacks. Basketball followed a similar development determined by class or race.

Among young urban blacks in the Northeast, access to semi-public or public sports facilities was limited by expense, free time, accessibility, and discrimination. In the Northeast black YMCAs were established in Brooklyn, Boston, and New York. The most popular sports among young black males were prize-fighting and baseball.

Among the middle class, sport and games were only some of many diversions for young people. From the 1900s through the 1930s middle-class youth engaged in a school culture more than any generations before them. One positive result of this was a radical increase by 1940 in the number of 18-year-olds who were staying in school long enough to obtain a high school diploma. With more people finishing high school, more went to college. From 1910 to 1930 the number of 18–20-year-olds enrolled as students increased from 114,228 to 228,342 nationwide.

Collegiate social life flourished in the 1920s. Since college students had substantial hours of free time to spend with one another, free from the company of their elders, they devoted themselves to their own entertainment. Attendance at school events grew popular, and going to movies and dances more so. For young adults, the thrill of doing things that their parents might not approve of sent them to speakeasies. Dating and sexual exploration remained at the top of most students' lists of favorite diversions. Student social life set the collegiate culture apart, drew attention to innovations in fashion and conduct, and provided a model for behavior of high school students and young people already at work.

In the 1930s, college life took on a more serious tone. More puzzled and concerned over contemporary conditions than their immediate predecessors, many students became involved in political and economic discussions. Some were drawn by their professors or their own analysis to advocate reformist or even radical political solutions to the nation's economic woes. More students had to find part-time jobs to keep themselves in school, leaving less time for the leisure activities that had been a hallmark of college life in the 1920s. Still despite the Depression or perhaps because of it, more people enrolled in college than ever before. At the end of the Depression decade there were 400,000 more students enrolled in colleges and universities than there had been when the decade began (Kyvig 2002, 148–49).

PETS

In the Northeast, as Americans moved from rural to urban environments, their relations to their animals changed also. People remained close to their animals but in different ways. Farm chores in the rural environment, which included helping a cow deliver a calf, shoveling mountains of manure out of a barn, and sticking a hand under a hen to check her eggs, necessitated familiarity with each animal's needs and habits. As people and their animals moved into an urban environment, intimacy remained, but animals were no longer producers of commodities or commodities themselves. The urban animal or pet represented a source of amusement and companionship, not economic necessity. Pets often shared living space with their owners, and many pets enjoyed petting, holding, and cuddling, contacts that society otherwise only permitted between adults and young children, close relatives, or lovers. Despite this domestic familiarity, family dogs and cats (then as now the most popular of pets) in the early twentieth century lived more of their lives outdoors than indoors.

Well into the twentieth century, many city and suburban houses had outbuildings that were the pet's primary shelter. This was especially true if the animals were large or still worked for their owners. For example, owners needed cats to prowl attics and sheds and hunt rodents that lived off goods in the pantry, spilled livestock feed, and family trash. Rabbits, bantam chickens, and fancy pigeons usually lived in outbuildings or outdoor hutches because of their numbers and the mess they made. Doghouses ranging from elaborate miniature versions of human dwellings to a large wooden barrel laid on its side with a hole cut in one end as a door were common features of house yards. To keep them from wandering, dogs were often chained to their houses at least part of the time. During the warm months in the Northeast, dogs and cats were more likely to live outside because of the fleas they harbored (Grier 2006, 61–63).

By the early twentieth century, public health officials in the largest urban centers had turned their attention to remaking cities into orderly, healthier environments with safe water, clean streets, and regular trash pick-up. In this context the urban tramp cat was no longer a joke or even an unpleasant yet acceptable fact of life. Cities had needed them, but now the misery of half-starved feral cats and increasing if sometimes misguided public concern about cats as carriers of disease, including poliomyelitis, led to new efforts to control their numbers. Whether or not populations of stray cats had increased drastically in those years as advocates of control claimed, it is true that hundreds of thousands of cats were captured and killed between 1890 and 1910.

By 1911, the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), founded in 1866, killed upwards of 300,000 cats annually, most of which were kittens. Philadelphia disposed of 50,000 and Boston destroyed another 25,000 that same year. The author of a *McClure's* magazine article that startled readers with those figures excoriated pet owners who abandoned their cats for the summer or refused to euthanize unwanted kittens. "It does not fit in with the decencies of civilization," he criticized, "that so much living and dying should go on casually in lofts and cellars and coal pockets and vacant houses." By the turn of the century, many cities of the Northeast had created agencies that attempted to save stray dogs and cats rather than simply destroy them. The Animal Rescue League of Boston, and the Ride a WEE Home in New York, among other animal protection agencies, were committed to saving as many abandoned pets as possible through adoption (Grier 2006, 216).

As in other aspects of life in the twentieth century, pet care became commercialized. The Spratts Company of England was the first to manufacture dog food, which it began marketing in the United States in the last decades of the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century American companies in the Northeast got into the competition. Potter and Washington, a Massachusetts company that specialized in hygienic health foods for family use, introduced Old Grist Mill Dog and Puppy Bread around 1905. The makers mixed their special whole grain flour with beef bone meal, rice, and vegetables and baked them into cakes. They also offered a special Boston terrier biscuit. The A. C. Daniels Company of Boston began to offer medicated dog bread as an aid for convalescent or chronically ill pets. Canned dog food, which first appeared in the 1910s, also developed as a regional business.

Factory locations were determined by proximity to sources of meat and meat by-products. There was an abundance of meat by-products for dogs, especially after the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act that determined that certain meats and their by-products were not fit for human consumption. The packers of wet dog food always depended on multiple animal sources for their meat. Horse meat became available in large quantities in the first decades of the twentieth century as the American cities turned from horse-drawn vehicles to electric trolleys and gas-powered trucks and automobiles. The Hugo Strauss Packing Company of Brooklyn offered Purity dog food, composed of solid horse meat, and Laddie Boy Kennel Ration offered a mixture of horse meat, cereals, and cod liver oil. In addition to food products, the market in the 1920s and 1930s was deluged with pet care products. By the 1930s owners could buy dog scrubbers that attached to a bathroom faucet and dispensed flea soap. Another breakthrough was the discovery of pyerthum, or flea powder.

Connected to marketing of dog products was their training. As early as 1878 books on dog training for pet owners began to appear. By the 1920s, the companion dog was an increasingly regulated creature, and a wider range of typical behaviors—chasing cars, approaching other dogs, pulling on the leash, and urinating on neighbors' shrubbery—were now defined as unacceptable. Ralston Purina Company began publishing books with titles like *Dog Etiquette*. In 1936, the American Kennel Club instituted standards for highly codified obedience competitions. While only a handful of family dogs ever competed, this development suggests even more self-conscious improvement in dogs' behavior as an outlet for leisure time, and for orderly urban and suburban living. At least a few dog owners now felt they needed the advice of multiple experts when once they had simply known what to do with their pets.

Memorializing animals also became a part of American culture in the twentieth century. On the farm and in the open suburbs departed pets were often buried on the grounds somewhere without much ado. In congested cities of the Northeast most deceased pets simply went out with the household trash. This undoubtedly caused much distress, but there was no alternative. By the end of the 1890s, however, well-to-do pet lovers in greater New York had an option. In 1896, a small animal veterinarian practicing in Manhattan, Dr. Samuel Johnson, allowed a grieving client to bury her dog in a corner of his apple orchard in rural Hartsdale, New York. After a reporter friend publicized the burial, Dr. Johnson began to receive many more requests. The graveyard soon began to look like many picturesque cemeteries for people of the era, a place of repose for grieving survivors. Hartsdale Cemetery became a corporation to guarantee its existence into perpetuity, and it was soon imitated in other areas of the urban Northeast.

Singing canaries continued to be a popular pet in the twentieth century. Their breeding was an important cottage industry in Europe that no longer affected the Canary Island bird population. Breeders in the Harz Mountains in Germany provided the largest number of birds. They shipped out over 4,000 birds weekly. George Holden, owner of a grand pet store in New York City, informed his customers that the strongest canaries were held for the long trip to America. "Few ladies," he noted, "while caressing their pets and bestowing on them daily delicacies, imagine for a moment what dangers the feathered immigrants have passed in their younger days." In 1914, Philadelphia's Cugley and Mullen offered its best birds, golden opera singers, for $5.00, while an ordinary male canary cost $2.50. Among other favorite small pets were goldfish. Following a tradition that had begun in the mid-nineteenth century, households of the twentieth century often had a small glass globe with a short-lived goldfish that served as an "animated ornament." Commercial goldfish farming seems to have been the first successful aquaculture business in America. By the 1870s, fish farms had been established on Long Island, and goldfish were shipped throughout the United States from this northeastern breeding farm (Grier 2006, 245–47, 251–52).

Economic Life

WORK AND WORKPLACE

In the first four decades of the twentieth century, the number of people engaged in manufacturing remained steady. In 1900, 1.8 million people or 15 percent of the population of the Northeast were employed in manufacturing. By 1920, that figure rose to two and a half million people, which represented 14 percent of the population. In 1930, the first full year of the Great Depression, 2 million or 10 percent were employed in manufacturing, and in 1940, 1.9 million people or 9 percent of the population of the Northeast were engaged in manufacturing. By the mid-1920s, one of eight American workers was somehow engaged in the production, sales, service, or fueling of American automobiles, making that business the biggest American industry. At the end of the economic boom of the 1920s, the northeastern area of the United States (anchored by New York and Boston) had the highest annual per capita income in the country, about $1,000. Farmers in the Northeast made about $366 annually (U.S. Census 1920, 1930).

The nature of work, particularly in the industrial sector, was dramatically changed by the increased use of electricity. In 1905, less than 10 percent of all automated power nationally was electrical, but thereafter usage grew so rapidly that by 1930 the figure reached 80 percent. Electricity could drive small motors, reducing the need for elaborate systems of drive shafts, gears, and belts linking every factory mechanism to a central power source. Electricity could coordinate a series of machines with automatic feeding devices and moving belts, and it could also regulate other systems of production with temperature gauges, flow meters, shut-off devices, and other control mechanisms. The growing application of time-motion studies, based on Frederick W. Taylor's "scientific management," fit neatly with the shift to electricity to coordinate or run more complicated processes and order systems. Likewise, electric mixers and cranes sharply reduced the need for unskilled heavy labor. Although electrification displaced many workers, it did not reduce employment. Instead, it fostered new enterprises and created demand for different kinds of labor, for the most part semi-skilled, clerical, or service work. Electrification of the workplace helped account for the great surge in productivity per American worker in the 1920s and 1930s (Kyvig 2002, 55–56).

TRADE AND MARKETS

In 1919, enjoying an immense cash surplus from World War I profits, General Motors founder Will Durant established the General Motors Acceptance Corporation (GMAC) as a means of financing his automobiles. Credit buying soon spread to other areas of the American economy and revolutionized buying and marketing in the 1920s. Credit had always been available at the local general store in rural areas, and since the late nineteenth century it was available in city department stores, but GMAC made consumer credit possible for myriad larger durable goods.

Soon everything from cars to washing machines and vacuum cleaners could be bought for a little down and small monthly payments. Where previously Americans had been weaned on nostrums concerning the avoidance of debt, now ad men, salesmen, and marketers urged Americans to "increase your credit." Among America's middle class the measure of one's worth was not what one did or made, but what the family consumed (Kyvig 2002, 29–31).

Adding to the marketing boom of the 1920s was the radio. Radio advertising at first consisted of sponsoring entire programs. Advertisers counted on boosting sales by virtue of the good will generated by having their brand name associated with a popular program. Initially, broadcasters and advertisers alike were reluctant to intrude upon an audience by describing a specific product, much less proclaiming its virtues or indicating a price, but the potential power of radio as a marketing instrument overcame the early hesitation. Taking advantage of the preoccupation with hygiene, commercial advertising gave new emphasis to cleanliness and introduced new "social diseases" of body odor and bad breath, which could be cured with their products. Lifebuoy soap featured a man with "b.o." who luckily discovered what they were saying behind his back and saved himself future embarrassment and social ostracism by lathering up with Lifebuoy soap. Similar strategies were used for toothpaste and mouthwash. Listerine reached into an obscure medical journal to discover the word "halitosis" and produced a mouthwash that could rescue victims from this terrible affliction. Colgate initially dominated the toothpaste market, but Pepsodent sales skyrocketed after the company began sponsoring the popular radio show, *Amos 'n' Andy*.

Cigarette manufacturers devised new ad campaigns to keep their brands in the public's mind and to sustain the surge in cigarette use spurred by World War I military service and the disappearance of alcohol. "I'd walk a mile for a Camel" ads began appearing in 1921. Women smoking, formerly a sign of dubious character, was now encouraged as a symbol of newly achieved equality and youthful vigor. Ads depicted smokers as invariably attractive, fashionable, and healthy. And more specific reassurances such as "Not a cough in a carload" helped per capita cigarette consumption double during the 1920s.

The first decades of the century saw other marketing innovations, most of which were directed toward women and the home. Processed foods such as Van Camp's beans and Campbell's soup promised to reduce time spent in the kitchen; and vacuum cleaners, electric irons, and washing machines promised to reduce the time spent keeping the house tidy (Kyvig 2002, 128–30, 190–94).

CASTE AND CLASS EXPERIENCE

During the First World War over 500,000 African Americans migrated to northern cities looking for jobs that had been promised to them in wartime industry, and many of these migrants ended up in the Northeast urban corridor. This massive influx into cities caused tension with working-class whites competing for the same jobs, and sometimes space to work and play. Tensions ran high between the newly arrived African Americans and the native white population and also other newly arrived immigrants, particularly those from southern Italy.

As southern Italians moved into the Northeast, especially Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, at the turn of the century they experienced a level of racial prejudice not experienced by other European groups that had preceded them. These olive-skinned, kinky-haired, southern Italians represented a genetic ambiguity that upset previous American notions of black and white. Most Americans would have agreed with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who found the "Teutonic Italians" of northern Italy acceptable but who could not welcome the dark-skinned southerners whom nativists would have described as lazy, criminal, sexually irresponsible, and emotionally volatile.

Jack London's mother advised her son to avoid the Italians. "My mother had her theories," he recalled:

> First, she steadfastly maintained that brunettes and all the tribe of dark eyed humans were deceitful. Needless to say, my mother was a blond. Next she was convinced that the dark eyed Latin races were profoundly sensitive, profoundly treacherous, and profoundly murderous. Again and again I heard her state, that if one offended an Italian, no matter how slightly and unintentionally, he was certain to retaliate by stabbing one in the back. That was her particular phrase, "stab you in the back." (London 1989, 14)

Among the derogatory names for Italians arriving at the turn of the century was "Guinea," implying their connection to the African slaves who had come from Guinea in western Africa. The Dillingham Commission's report on immigration to the 61st Congress in 1910 did not even include Italians in the white race. Described as *mezzogiorno* ("mid-day" people because of their dark tanned skin) by their northern compatriots, southern Italians struggled with blacks for jobs at the bottom of the social scale. In cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, southern Italians began taking over professions such as barber, bricklayer, garbage remover, and restaurateur, formerly the domains of blacks. This set the background for the most intense immigrant rivalry of the period from 1900–1940, especially in cities of the Northeast. Historian Arnold Shankman divides the black–Italian relationship into three periods prior to World War II: the first period from 1880 to 1900 of intense rivalry over housing and jobs, a second period of relative peace and accommodation from 1900 to 1930, then the third period from 1930 to 1936 of renewed competition spurred on by the Great Depression. The third period of animosity was also aggravated by Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia (Orsi 1992, 313–47).

URBAN AND RURAL EXPERIENCE

One of the most important defining events of the first decades of the twentieth century, along with war and immigration, was the population shift from rural to urban areas of the country. In the Northeast, urbanization was a trend that had begun before the Civil War era. Census information documents the remarkable growth in the major cities of the Northeast in the last decades of the nineteenth century. From 1870 to 1890, for example, the city of New York grew from 1.4 million to 2.8 million, which represented a growth of over 100 percent, while the state in general grew from 4.8 to 6 million, a growth of 36 percent. A look at Boston, another major city in the region, reveals similar numbers. Boston grew from 270,00 to 611,000, or 122 percent, in the two post–Civil War decades, while the state of Massachusetts grew from 1.5 million to 2.2 million or 46 percent. This trend continued into the twentieth century and accelerated as major urban areas of the Northeast became home to a new wave of immigrants arriving around the turn of the century.

Differences between urban and rural life are as old as the republic. In the new century, however, because of revolutions in technology, corporate management, and transportation, cities were changing and adapting rapidly to a new life, while rural areas seemed to remain the same. Cities, where young innocent girls worked next to men, many of whom were immigrants, where saloons could be found on every corner, and where dance halls and nickelodeons thrived, seemed to those of rural America to be threatening the very moral fabric of the country. On the other hand, the city dweller who could read the latest news from his daily paper, and a decade later could listen to the radio, and could go downtown to see the latest films, and discover the latest fashions, and read the latest magazines, began to see the rural dweller as someone hopelessly mired in a passé irrelevant world.

The self-proclaimed spokesman in the 1920s of the superiority of the city over rural life was H. L. Mencken, a Baltimore writer and publisher of magazines such as *The Smart Set,* who waged his personal war against prejudice, bigotry, and ignorance, which he believed was cultivated in the decaying soil of rural America. Often referring to the inhabitants of rural America as "yokels," Mencken believed that rural Americans, with their best blood all drained to the cities, were probably hopelessly uneducable. Sound ideas make no more sense to them, he chortled, than decent drinks. But "educate them we must," he insisted, and although "the job of enlightening [the yokel] may be difficult, it should be worth trying. . . . For in the long run," he asserted, "the cities of the United States will have to throw off the hegemony of these morons. They have run the country long enough," he protested, "and made it sufficiently ridiculous. Once we get rid of camp meeting rule," he concluded, "we'll get rid simultaneously of the Klan, the anti saloon league and the Methodist board of temperance, prohibition, and public morals, and we'll get rid of [those politicians who] flatter and fawn over the hookworm carriers to further their own fortunes" (Mencken 1960, 213).

One aspect of life that dramatically drew differences between urban and rural life was the family. A White House Conference in 1932 discovered in the middle-class urban family a pattern emphasizing emotional ties and unity that differed from an existing rural pattern stressing discipline, authority, and hierarchical responsibilities. Urban children, for example, confided in parents much more frequently than rural children and were decidedly less hostile to parents. Children in urban families were punished less frequently, and open demonstrations of affection like kissing were more common. So, too, children in urban families were less often incorporated into a household work routine with specific allocation of chores and responsibilities than were children on the farm. Urban families required a minimal number of tasks, usually related to the care of one's own things, rather than active participation in a family work regime. Urban families shied away from elaborate household routines of all kinds and engaged in fewer activities as a unit. Church going, for example, was a less common family activity in the city than in the country. There was altogether less physical interaction and a larger measure of personal independence granted to urban children, who were given time and occasion to engage in extensive extrafamilial activities, especially with peers.

The average urban adolescent was away from home between four and six evenings every week. Rural adolescents, in contrast, were home much more frequently. Urban adolescents were granted a large measure of independence. In describing different patterns of family organization, the White House report concluded, "At one extreme is the family with harsh and stern methods of control . . . [with] little effort on the part of the parent to understand the child or gain his confidence. At the other extreme is the family with guidance rather than punishment as the means of control and a sympathetic understanding of children." By the 1920s and 1930s, middle-class urban families were clearly moving in the direction of the latter norm.

Democratically integrated, and emotionally bound together, middle-class urban families had become small, informal, emotionally intense, and private units. A very specific kind of family style had developed among the native urban middle class. Families were small, planned, and actively concerned with the welfare of the children. Women expected that marriage and family would provide them with a variety of personal satisfactions and a scope for personal expression. Children were less tied into a household routine of work and play and were permitted to partake freely in peer-centered activities. The decline in family size in urban areas resulted from this new sense of family. To the urban family that was to a larger degree a unit of consumption than production, children were not an economic asset, whereas rural children were usually incorporated into a work routine in which they could contribute their part to a productive enterprise. In this rural context, the father was production director, manager, and instructor as well as parent.

This description of the native middle-class family does not hold for the masses of lower-class immigrants living in cities. No doubt the children of immigrant families were sent to work at an early age and they were expected to contribute their meager salaries to the family income. Nevertheless, from childhood to adulthood, a gulf in manners of life, education, family, labor, and entertainment between rural and urban societies grew much deeper in the first half of the twentieth century (Fass 1977, 88).

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND HUNTING AND FISHING

From the mid-nineteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth century, economic forces had been drawing dairy farmers into the commercial farming industry. Many farmers in the Northeast sought a cash crop that would be suitable for intensive mixed farming on relatively poor but high-priced land and that would also shelter them in some way from competition with products grown on the better, cheaper land further west. Production of fluid milk for consumption in the large cities of the Northeast filled this need. Drawing on a long tradition of providing milk, cheese, and other dairy products, farmers in the Northeast expanded such activities as market demand, improved transportation, especially trucks and refrigerated railroad cars, and changing production techniques such as better feed, pasteurization, and mechanized milking made dairy farming profitable. Distribution was limited until refrigerated cars expanded the market reach from a mere 10- to 30-mile range in the nineteenth century to as far as 275 miles away by 1910 (Bateman 1968, 255–73).

On the morning of August 10, 1913, the Boston *Post* headlined its lead story "Naked He Plunged into Main Woods to Live Alone Two Months." The article that followed told how six days previously Joseph Knowles, a husky part-time illustrator in his mid-forties, had disrobed in a cold drizzle at the edge of a lake in northeastern Maine, smoked a final cigarette, shaken hands around a group of sportsmen and reporters, and trudged off into the wilderness. The *Post* explained that Knowles had gone into the woods to be a primitive man for 60 days. He took no equipment of any kind and promised to remain completely isolated, living off the land "as Adam lived."

For the next two months Joe Knowles was the talk of Boston. He provided information about his experiment with periodic dispatches written with charcoal or birch bark. These reports printed in the *Post* revealed to an astonished and delighted public that Knowles was succeeding in the planned reversion to the primitive. Using heat from the friction of two sticks, he obtained fire. Clothing came from woven strips of bark. Knowles's first few meals consisted of berries, but soon he varied his diet with trout, partridge, even venison. On August 24, a front-page banner in the

Post announced that Knowles had lured a bear into a pit, killed it with a club, and fashioned a coat from its skin.

When on October 4, 1913, a disheveled but healthy Knowles finally emerged from the Maine woods extolling the virtues of the primitive way of life, he was swept up in a wave of enthusiasm. His triumphant return to Boston included stops at Augusta, Lewiston, and Portland with speeches before throngs of 8 to 10 thousand people. The cheers persisted in spite of a fine of $205, which the unyielding Maine Fish and Game Commission imposed on Knowles for killing a bear out of season. But Maine's welcome paled next to Boston's. The city had not had a hero like the "modern primitive man" in a generation. Thousands lined the streets through which his motorcade passed. Still clad in bearskin, Knowles went to Boston Common, where an estimated 20,000 persons waited. Even when the *Post*'s rival newspaper the Boston *American* presented evidence that Knowles was a fraud whose wilderness saga had actually occurred in a secret snug cabin, a vociferous denial arose in reply. Quite a few Americans wanted to believe in the authenticity of the "Nature Man."

The most significant fact about the Joe Knowles craze was that it occurred at all. One hundred fifty years earlier, or even 50 years earlier, anyone undertaking such an intentional and complete reversion to the primitive would have been thought demented. Aside from a few artists and writers, Americans before Knowles's generation regarded the wild as something alien and hostile. Their energies were largely directed to conquering wilderness and destroying savages in the name of progress, religion, and indeed survival.

But, by 1890, the census takers had told Americans that the frontier was closed. The last dangerous Indians had been subdued at Wounded Knee, and the wilderness had been transposed into gardens and farms. With the passing of the frontier there was a collective nostalgia for the untamed wilderness and a sense of something being lost in the American tradition. Clear cutting had mowed down woodlands, and unplanned growth and the use of chemicals in manufacturing and even agriculture polluted many water sources in the Northeast. The disappearance of various birds associated with America's noble past added to a sense of urgency. In three widely read articles published in the *Atlantic Monthly* between 1896 and 1906, historian Frederick Jackson Turner suggested that the nation had reason to be alarmed at the distance it had come from its primitive past. Turner's articles verbalized a concern that went beyond the readership of the *Atlantic Monthly*, prompting at the turn of the century an interest in developing a national park system to save the last of the American wilderness. The state constitution of New York in 1894 declared that the purpose of the Adirondack State Park would be to preserve the American wilderness. And in 1895 the New York legislature created the Fisheries, Game and Forest Commission to take on functions related to fish and game regulations, hunting seasons, and poaching. Similar actions were taken in other states of the Northeast as well as the rest of the nation, as legislators responded to the concerns of many Americans that in losing the wilderness the country was losing at least a part of its soul. These events, along with the founding of the Boy Scouts in 1910 to give boys representing the next generation a chance to return to the wilderness, document a dramatic change in the thinking of many Americans, who were now more concerned with preserving the wilderness than with taming it (Nash 1966, 517–37).

Intellectual Life

SCIENCE

Perhaps the most curious folk hero of the early twentieth century was a scientist, Albert Einstein. From the moment he first visited the United States in 1921, the mild-mannered and eccentric physicist captivated the American public. The disheveled, odd-looking Einstein became synonymous with the word *genius*. Few scientists, much less the general public, understood Einstein's theories of relativity, made public in 1905 and 1916 and formulated in the deceptively simple equation $E = mc^2$. When the scientist visited President Warren G. Harding in 1923, the *New York Times* reported in a comically understated headline: "Einstein Idea Puzzles Harding." Einstein's theory of relativity illustrated that time, space, and motion are not absolute but rather are relative to the observer and the observer's motion. Relativity posited a radically different universe from the orderly machine described by Isaac Newton more than two hundred years earlier. The Einsteinian universe seemed shockingly relativistic compared to the orderly Newtonian universe it replaced (Harrell, et al. 2005, 864).

During much of the twentieth century, scientific invention and technological advancement in the United States were integrally tied to the nation's intense entrepreneurial spirit. Perhaps like all great scientists and experimenters in the past, Americans like Thomas Alva Edison sought to move science and technology forward to (among other things) make money. Edison's invention of the incandescent light bulb in 1879 marked the beginning of its practical use. Edison and his laboratory assistants quickly thereafter developed lamp sockets, household wiring, and generators to make electric lighting systems functional. In 1882, Edison began offering home electric generators. In the same year he also opened in New York City the first central generating station to provide power over utility lines. Within two years 500 homes and several thousand businesses were using electric lights. Also by the beginning of the twentieth century, direct current arc lamp streetlights had replaced older gas-powered lighting systems in cities in the Northeast and elsewhere. Electrically driven streetcars, industrial machinery, and elevators for new high-rise buildings appeared as well (Kyvig 2002, 55–56). In the end, the Westinghouse alternating current proved safer and more economical than direct current in supplying electricity for homes and businesses. But whatever the method, electricity remade daily lives in urban America.

EDUCATION

By 1900, compulsory attendance at a public or private school was universal in the Northeast. According to the 1920 census, 85.7 percent of children aged 5 to

17 years old in the Northeast were in private or public schools. This percentage would rise to 95.5 percent by 1940. The average school year was 35 weeks in length. While segregation was not the law outside of the South, most communities in the Northeast experienced de facto segregation, because in urban areas the tradition of neighborhood-based schools continued. In the poorer sections of cities, however, schools were as diverse as their neighborhoods. John Loftus, principal of an elementary school in Brooklyn, described his school in 1920 as typical of the area, being large and overcrowded, with a significant foreign-born, shifting population.

When the century began, students in the Northeast were learning much the way their grandparents did, that is, by rote memory and recitation. Recalling his classroom days around the turn of the century, one person recalled, "the drill was very thorough in what was then called mental arithmetic." In this drill a student had to stand on his feet and think quickly and accurately before the gaze of the whole class and his teacher, who fired questions such as, "How many square inches in a piece of paper six inches long and four inches wide," or "reduce to lowest terms: 12/16; 24/36; 28/49." These tests in addition, multiplication, and division were designed and thought to be a good form of mental gymnastics. After the math session the students' attention turned to spelling. One Buffalo student recalled spelling as the *pièce de resistance* and test of scholarship in all district schools. Teachers often raised the art of spelling to a competition called spelling bees, where students stood along a classroom wall facing another group of students. They stood until they misspelled a word. The last person standing was declared the champion speller. "Bees" were held between classmates, between different classes, even between different schools. Disputes were adjudicated by the *Webster's Blue Back Speller,* which entered the American classroom in the late eighteenth century and was still around to greet students in the early twentieth. Published in the United States by the D. Appleton Company, by 1890 it was the company's best-selling book, reaching the 90 million mark that year. Not restricting itself to spelling, the book also included moral lessons for its young readers. A typical sentence in the book advised, "If good words and gentle means will not reclaim the wicked, they must be dealt with in a more severe manner."

Ranking with spelling and arithmetic as studies good for mental discipline stood the study of grammar. For hours students would drill and memorize parts of speech and their use. "Grammar," declared Clarence Darrow, "was a hideous nightmare. I tried and tried but even now can hardly tell an adjective from an adverb, and I do not know that I care." Equally important to grammar, spelling, and mathematics was the art of writing. By the 1890s, good handwriting became considered a sign of social class, and a key to upward mobility. This belief continued well into the twentieth century, as farmers, laborers, mechanics, and others who worked with their hands and who wanted their children to have white-collar jobs urged them to practice their handwriting. Neat penmanship was a requirement to be a bookkeeper or a clerk in a government office and thus promised a working-class child a more refined occupation and a foothold into the middle class. Every day, students took out paper and pen and practiced their cursive writing. The Palmer teaching method promoted by Austin Palmer in the early 1900s soon became the most popular handwriting system in the United States. Under it, students were taught to copy a uniform style of cursive writing with rhythmic motions. Left-handers were usually made to use their right hands. Whether in rural or urban areas, in the first decades of the century, the school day maintained the same monotonous demands of repetition, memorization, and recitation (Sullivan, 1927, vol. 2, 120–37).

In the 1920s, with the advent of the school bus, consolidation became possible, and improvement in education came rapidly as it became possible to bring students from a wide area to one central location. Consolidated schools allowed teachers to concentrate in specific subjects or age groups, and they permitted students to attend classes with people of equal age and abilities. By the end of the 1920s the number of one-teacher schools had dropped by 25 percent, and by the end of the 1930s it had dropped by half. Those one-room schools that remained were for the most part in rural areas, not in the predominantly urban Northeast.

Teaching methods also changed radically in the 1920s as a curriculum based on indoctrination, repetition, drills, and conformity gave way to a project- or activity-based curriculum. Typical of the new style were the following classroom activities outlined by the principal of a Brooklyn elementary school:

1. *Conference and Discussion*. Holding frequent class or small conferences providing real discussion by children with other children.
2. *Trips and other exploratory activities*. Providing experiences outside the class or school.
3. *Research activities*. Raising problems and placing responsibility on children to seek solutions in their textbooks or wherever else they can be found.
4. *Dramatic experiences*. Making believe, playing store or travel bureau, writing and acting plays and performances, reproducing plays in books, giving puppet shows.
5. *Construction activities*. Reproducing in miniature the signal features of whatever is being studied.
6. *Pictorial and graphic representations and interpretation*. Illustrating with maps, charts, scrapbooks, logs, or other written, visual, or graphic records.
7. *Culminating Activities*. Organizing exhibits or assembly programs or demonstrations for other classes or parents.
8. *Evaluation Activities*. Preparing summaries, outlines, reviews, reports, tests, and listing most important things to remember.

"These activities are not to be isolated," the principal advised, "trips for example are one form of research." He also suggested that, "In all of the procedures the children should have as large a responsibility as possible." The Brooklyn principal's directives show that in a very short time education in grammar schools, at least in some sections of the urban Northeast, had come a very long way (Loftue 1943, 71–72).

Increasing the quality of schools meant raising requirements for qualified teachers. By World War I, at least a two-year associate's degree was required to teach in grammar schools, and a four-year degree was required for high school teachers. In larger urban areas of the Northeast, school curriculum expanded beyond science, reading, history, and mathematics, and some high schools began to offer vocational education in agriculture, home economics, and mechanical arts such as wood and metalwork. Attention also began to be paid to music and physical education. One area that declined in these decades was foreign language, as the rising tide of postwar isolationism found its way into the classroom.

The increase in high school graduates, together with the growing demand for better-educated teachers, helped stimulate a rise in college attendance in the 1920s and 1930s. The number of 18–21-year-olds attending college doubled between 1919 and 1940 from 8 percent to 16 percent and overall enrollment grew from 600,000 to 1.5 million. The private and elite colleges and universities more prominent in the northeastern states, generally smaller to begin with and often restricted to a single sex, grew more slowly than the public ones. These elite schools regularly excluded or severely limited the admission of immigrants, Jews, and African Americans. All but the latter found public institutions, especially urban schools such as City College of New York, more hospitable.

Like secondary schools, colleges and universities underwent curriculum reform and expansion in the years between the wars. As the number of faculty tripled, the variety of courses increased proportionately. Courses and programs such as business, engineering, fine arts, and education, and new approaches to the study of human society such as anthropology, political science, and social science were added to the traditional liberal arts courses.

In this era, W.E.B. Du Bois, born on February 23, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, began a revolution in African American scholarship. After receiving a bachelor's degree from Harvard in 1890, Du Bois immediately began working toward his master's and doctoral degrees. His doctoral thesis, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in America,* remains an authoritative work on that subject and is the first volume in Harvard's Historical Series.

In 1896, with his doctorate degree behind him, Du Bois accepted a special fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania to conduct a research project in Philadelphia's seventh ward slums. The outcome of this work was published as *The Philadelphia Negro*. This was the first time such a scientific approach to studying social phenomena was undertaken, and as a consequence Du Bois became acknowledged as a father of social science.

After the completion of the study, Du Bois accepted a position at Atlanta University and for the next 13 years there he wrote and studied Negro morality, urbanization, Negroes in business, college-bred Negroes, the Negro church, and Negro crime. He also repudiated the widely held view of Africa as a vast cultural cipher by presenting a historical version of complex, cultural development throughout Africa. His work became the cornerstone of all the work done on black studies in the ensuing decades, and every black studies academic program that currently exists owes a great intellectual debt to Du Bois (http//:www.duboislc.org/man.html).

LITERATURE

In literature the century opened with a new movement called naturalism. One of the leading figures of this movement was Theodore Dreiser, who used the Northeast as the setting for some of his work, which searched for some pattern of order other than theological, romantic, or idealistic in what he perceived to be the prevailing chaos. In his most famous work, *Sister Carrie,* which is set in Chicago (although it could have been New York or any other large city of the Northeast), he presents individuals as powerless figures caught between their own animal natures and the pressures of their social environment. In addition to Dreiser, other popular writers of the prewar era included naturalist Jack London and Stephen Crane, who despite dying at age 29 in 1900 remained popular in the first decades of the new century.

Books that raised social consciousness were also popular in America in the first decade of the twentieth century. Among them were Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906), which exposed abuses in the meatpacking industry; Frank Norris's *The Octopus* (1901), which revealed the unethical practices of the Southern Pacific Railway; Ida Tarbell's *The History of Standard Oil* (1904), which warned of the power and abuses of monopolies; and Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), which raised middle America's consciousness of the slum conditions suffered by America's urban poor.

Finley Peter Dunne's fictional Mr. Dooley, the barkeeper, and his friend Mr. Henissy shared humorous folk philosophy with the readers of the daily newspapers of the first decades of the twentieth century. Mark Sullivan, author of *Our Times,* noted that "Mr. Dooley was not only popular but a useful institution to a whole generation of American Life." He supplied Americans with folk philosophy, wisdom, and compact common sense, and to public figures he provided a good dose of satire. After Theodore Roosevelt wrote an account of his exploits in the Spanish American war, Mr. Dooley proclaimed, "If I was him I'd call the book 'Alone in Cubia' [sic]." And as far as building monuments to heroes was concerned, Mr. Dooley believed that when a grateful republic builds an arch to a conquering hero they ought to build it of brick so that we can have something convenient to hurl after him when he has passed by (Sullivan 1927, vol. 1, 290, 340).

In the postwar era, American reading tastes changed; naturalist influences of Dreiser and London continued, especially in the writing of Ernest Hemingway, but other young writers of the 1920s and 1930s, like F. Scott Fitzgerald and John Dos Passos wrote popular novels such as *The Great Gatsby* (1925) and *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), which caused Americans to look inward and critically take measure of their own changing values. In the 1930s, as economic hardship gripped most Americans, novels with a social message such as Hemingway's *To Have and Have Not* (1937) and John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (1939) became popular once again, and even Margaret Mitchell's dreamy and romantic journey into the antebellum South, *Gone with the Wind* (1936), had a message for the Depression-wracked country: like those southerners who saw their lives destroyed by the Civil War, those who were broken by the Depression could rise up again. As the heroine Scarlett O'Hara proclaimed "Tomorrow is another day!"

In the 1920s, the black neighborhoods of Harlem in New York City witnessed a flourishing of various arts, particularly literary. Dozens of writers, led by Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen and novelists Claude McKay and Zora Neale Hurston, created an impressive body of new literature dealing with the African American perspective and experience. The philosopher Alain Locke gathered some of the best black writing into a 1928 book titled *The New Negro*. Two years later in *Black Manhattan*, James Weldon Johnson underscored the progress African American intellectuals were making. The visual art of the Harlem Renaissance was an attempt at developing a new African American aesthetic in the fine arts. African American painters, sculptors, and graphic artists set out to establish their artistic community mainly through improvisation and style. Believing that their life experiences were valuable sources of material for their art, these artists created an iconography representative of the Harlem Renaissance era. Thematic content included Africa as a source of inspiration; African American history, folk idioms, music, and religion all figured into the art, as did a keen sense of social injustice. The main factors contributing to the development of the Harlem Renaissance were African American urban migration, trends toward experimentation throughout the country, and the rise of radical African American intellectuals.

The Harlem Renaissance transformed African American identity and history, but it also transformed American culture in general. Never before had so many Americans read the thoughts of African Americans and embraced the African American community's productions, expressions, and style. Their collective efforts not only established this new African American identity, but also contributed significantly to the development of modern American culture.

COMMUNICATION

Newspaper and magazine reading was a widespread activity in an era when it remained the best means to obtain low-cost, detailed, up-to-date information about what was happening in the world beyond a person's immediate reach. Cheap mass-distribution newspapers appeared in the late nineteenth century, and by the end of the century great rivalries such as those between the Boston *American* and the Boston *Post,* and the New York *Herald* and the New York *Journal* developed among the major publishers in the big cities. Such competition often led to the publication of outlandish stories that critics decried as "yellow journalism." By the 1920s, the ratio of the number of copies of newspapers sold to the total population stood at one to three. The advent of the newspaper syndicates and the expansion of wire services meant that other than local matters, the same stories, written by Associated Press, Hearst, or Scripps-Howard, would routinely appear in newspapers across the country. While across the country more than two thousand daily and six thousand weekly newspapers, each with their own editorial position, were being published, throughout the period the bulk of the news came from relatively few sources.

Magazines were just as available as newspapers to a widely read public. Nearly 4,500 periodicals were published each year by 1925, with a combined circulation of 180 million copies per issue. Thanks to Rural Free Delivery, which was established in 1896, rural families also shared the benefits of the rapid rise of newspaper and magazine publication. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the urban middle class enjoyed magazines such as *McClure's,* a New York magazine that exposed wrongdoers in the public arena. In 1902, *McClure's* hired Lincoln Steffens to do an exposé on corruption in politics in the major cities of America; the magazine also hired Ida

Tarbell to investigate the excesses of the Standard Oil monopoly, and Ray Stannard Baker to expose the transgressions of the U.S. Steel Trust. In response to what he considered the heavy-handedness of these exposés, President Theodore Roosevelt called them "muckrakers," a name that stuck throughout the century. In the rural Northeast, the preferred magazines were those that provided farm and livestock information; the most popular of these publications included *Grit, Farm Journal,* and *Rural New Yorker.*

During the golden age of magazines, from 1890 until 1915, a number of developments converged to enable Northeast publishers, such as *McClure's,* and its chief competitors, *Munsey's* and *Cosmopolitan,* to spread their message across the nation. Postal rates decreased, while Rural Free Delivery rapidly expanded. High-speed presses were becoming commonplace, and Frederic Ives's perfection of halftone photoengraving enabled magazines to print high-quality illustrations at a fraction of their original cost. The middle-class market for inexpensive periodical literature expanded, causing advertising revenues to soar as manufacturers scrambled for a share of the profits. By 1903, the yearly flow of customer goods exceeded 25 billion dollars, and magazines and newspapers soon accommodated this tremendous growth by becoming the central medium for commercial advertisement. Economic and technological factors enabled the magazine business to thrive. Inexpensive periodicals flooded newsstands, and had an "unprecedented . . . influence on the social scene." During the 1920s and 1930s, new advertising-laden magazines catering to middle-class urban and suburban readers continued to appear, among them *Time* (1923), *Better Homes and Gardens* (1924), *The New Yorker* (1925), *Life* (1936), and *Look* (1937). *Look* and *Life* were new magazines that appeared rather late and that developed in response to the new communication rival, radio. *Look* and *Life* magazines relied on striking photographs more than text to provide the public with something radio could not: visual images of newsworthy events and people. But radio would revolutionize communication by bringing live events into the family home, an accomplishment that no magazine could rival (Kyvig 2002, 190–92).

Much of the pioneer experimentation in radio occurred in the Northeast. The first known radio program in the United States was broadcast by Reginald Aubrey Fessenden from his experimental station at Brant Rock, Massachusetts, on Christmas Eve of 1906. Two musical selections, the reading of a poem, and a short talk apparently constituted the program, which was heard by ship wireless operators within a radius of several hundred miles. In 1915, Lee Fe Forest, using the vacuum tube equipment he had developed during the previous decade, began broadcasting phonograph music and lectures in New York. In 1916, he broadcasted the Harvard–Yale football game and the presidential results, including an incorrect report that Woodrow Wilson had been defeated. Also in 1916 in New York, David Sarnoff proposed as entirely feasible the broadcasting of music, lectures, news, and sports over several channels to radio music boxes that combined receivers and loudspeakers. In Pittsburgh at 8:00 P.M. on November 2, 1920, Westinghouse station KDKA went on the air, broadcasting from the roof of the company's factory. KDKA was the first station to obtain a government license to operate a general broadcasting company. Soon Westinghouse established stations throughout the Northeast, providing regular programming in music, news, and sports to listeners. In the fall of 1919, the Radio Corporation of America was formed with government encouragement and the support of the General Electric Corporation (G.E.).

One of radio's early and important influences was the development of an appreciation for classical music. Once introduced to classical music, the general public took a liking to it, and between 1928 and 1939 the number of professional symphony orchestras in the country increased from 10 to 17. Including the number of part-time or less professional ones in smaller cities, the number came to 286. And whereas music instruction in public schools was almost unheard of before 1920, by 1940 there were 30,000 school orchestras and 20,000 bands. Some radio stations even had their own orchestras, such as the NBC Symphony Orchestra led by the internationally renowned conductor Arturo Toscanini. In 1932, Texaco Oil Company began sponsoring weekly performances from the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. It was also through the radio that Americans became familiar with regional music, which until the radio could only be heard where it had originated. In addition to music, drama and comedy became regular fare on the radio. The first shows were largely directed at middle-class women and were broadcast in the daytime hours when it was assumed that the stay-at-home audience would be primarily female. Thus advertisers of domestic products dominated the airwaves. These shows thus received the pejorative name of "soap operas."

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Ever since the Civil War, a belief in the importance of keeping clean had been spreading in the United States as a result of new theories, which related germs and disease to dirt and spoiled food and sewage. The increased availability of piped water and indoor plumbing in the post–Civil War era gave way in the early twentieth century, at least among middle-class families, to the dedication of an entire room in the house as a separate toilet and bathroom. World War I stirred further concern about personal hygiene. The shocking rejection as physically unfit of nearly one-third of World War I draftees called notice to the deficiencies in American hygiene.

Further anxiety was aroused by the influenza epidemic of 1918–1919. This worldwide scourge was one of the most fatal in history. Estimates put the number of dead at 20 million worldwide and perhaps as many as 500 thousand in the United States. Appearing first on the Eastern Seaboard in military bases, it spread quickly across the country as World War I came to an end. On September 19, 1918, the *New York Times* raised suspicions that the epidemic was part of a germ warfare plan launched by the Germans. At another point it was suspected that it was a variant of the pneumonic plague that had been present in China since 1910 and had been brought to the United States in 1918 by 200,000 "coolies" who entered the United States in 1918 in transit to France. All these rumors fueled the rising anti-immigration feelings that would lead to strong anti-immigration laws in the 1920s. Finally health officials decided the flu originated in Spain and it became known by that name. On September 25, the Schenectady *Union Star* ran a report, "Spanish Disease Hits Schenectady," and in the month of October the town lost 325 people to the disease. While the disease reached its peak that month, the local governments in the Northeast ordered all schools, movie theaters, churches, lodges, and places of entertainment closed. Newspapers began to print rules of hygiene along with reports on the death toll. Of every 1,000 affected with the disease, 19 died. In Philadelphia the normal death rate went up 700 percent and there was a shortage of coffins until J. G. Brill, the streetcar makers, began making them in their woodworking shop. Workers stayed home or worked in staggered shifts to avoid public congestion. Shipyards and munitions factories in the Northeast shut down. People also avoided streetcars and stopped using the telephone.

The city bacteriologist of New York City announced on October 2 that he had discovered an antiflu serum, and a similar announcement came from Dr. Warren Stoen, the city bacteriologist of Schenectady, New York. The local paper reported that the vaccine "is proving highly effective." Responding to the news, 12,362 people in Schenectady were vaccinated. By the end of the month the worst had passed. By November 4, churches, schools, and theaters throughout the Northeast reopened, and what local papers described as the worst epidemic in history had passed. By early 1919 the pandemic vanished as spontaneously as it had erupted, but for years thereafter it would haunt Americans. Everyone knew someone who had died from the pandemic, and for years thereafter it left a train of Bright's disease, cardiac illness, and pulmonary tuberculosis (Wells 2000, 187; Sullivan 1927, vol. 5, 652–53).

The epidemic accelerated a concern for hygiene that had been developing since the early years of the century. In the early 1900s, elementary schools' curricula began to include health classes, which instructed children to wash their hands before each meal, brush their teeth twice a day, and practice other habits of cleanliness. Commercial advertising of deodorants, bath soaps, and toothpaste also raised personal hygiene consciousness, and the new electric household appliances like the vacuum cleaner and washing machine in electrified urban areas helped women wage war against dirt in the home. Practices of women's personal hygiene also changed with the mass production of sanitary napkins, which by the turn of the century could be purchased from the *Sears Roebuck Catalogue*. In the 1920s, Kimberly Clark Company began advertising a mass-produced disposable sanitary napkin it called Kotex. Originally a middle-class measure of refinement, the product transcended class by the 1930s and was used by working-class and immigrant women as well (Kyvig 2002, 128–30).

Revolutions in medical technology, and the major social changes occurring in the first third of the twentieth century, radically altered the mission of hospitals, especially in the urban areas. In response to the growing need for health services, particularly in the cities, in 1904 Dr. John Brannan promised that the greatest hospital in the world would be erected in New York City. With those words he unveiled plans for the rebuilding of Bellevue Hospital. The project would take 10 years and $11 million to accomplish and when completed would cover three city blocks and house

3,000 patients. The hospital was a reflection of what the residents of large American cities had come to expect. Like public libraries, parks, waterworks, subways, and great bridges, the new hospital was an expression of urban vitality and resourcefulness. Around the same time, the great and ancient private New York City Hospital also made a historic decision. Resisting pressures by some members of the board to relocate to White Plains, the city decided to seek a new location in Manhattan, where they could continue their mission to serve the people of New York City.

Both of these hospitals were responding to challenges the new century brought them. Up until the twentieth century, a hospital could provide little more remedial care for a person than could be received at home. But with the advance of scientific medicine at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, including the use of antiseptics and anesthetics during surgery, introduced at the end of the nineteenth century, and the introduction of the x-ray in the first decade of the twentieth century, blood transfusions in the 1920s, and antibiotics in the 1930s, new technology rapidly transformed the field of medicine, and hospitals from the first decade of the twentieth century onward began to provide a scientific health care that homes could not provide. Prior to the twentieth century, a hospital was basically a place to rest, and middle- and upper-class patients preferred to remain at home to recover or die, rather than expose themselves to the germs, diseases, and odors of the hospital wards dominated by the working class. But as science expanded, so too did the possibilities for surviving illness, and the hospital alternative began to appear more favorable.

This explosion of medical technology transformed the mission of hospitals. Until the twentieth century, public and private hospitals shared a common mission. Regardless of the source of funding—philanthropy in the case of private hospitals, and taxes in the case of public hospitals—the purpose of each was to provide a place of rest and recovery for the poor. An occasional wealthy patient might check into a private hospital from time to time, but this was not the normal patient. As technology made hospital care more complex, and care became more specialized and more expensive, private and public hospitals began to move into separate spheres in search of funding. The private hospitals such as New York City Hospital, depending on private funding, saw patient revenue as a new source of income and would create such innovations as the semi-private room and health insurance in order to court middle- and upper-class patients. The public hospitals such as Bellevue also built alliances with universities, providing patients and space in return for qualified doctors and new technology. And to increase public funding, they began to offer high-quality health care to the poor for little or no cost. Being publicly funded, public hospitals would also be less resistant to the social changes of the first decades of the twentieth century. They would admit female physicians, they would integrate, and they would accept unionization long before private hospitals did so (Opdycke 1999, 17–39).

In the Northeast, cities large and small began to see health care as a public responsibility. In 1905, for example, Schenectady issued a series of health codes regulating a variety of health matters. Perhaps the most important of these was the effort to provide a cleaner, healthier food supply. In 1909, the Schenectady Bureau of Health claimed that its efforts since 1905 to inspect milk producers and dealers deserved credit for reduced infant mortality. By 1917 northeastern towns and cities required milk to be sold in sealed containers and to be pasteurized. Education joined science in the fight to improve life expectancy. A campaign to control tuberculosis in 1908 combined direct action such as fumigation with a broad effort made to inform the public of the causes of tuberculosis. Diphtheria, one of the few diseases that could be cured by an antitoxin developed in 1894, was also aggressively attacked through education and injection. The campaign began in 1909 but was not considered a success until 1926, because many parents, especially immigrants, refused to call a doctor in time to avail their children of the free antitoxin. Schenectady's public health measures seem to have been remarkably successful, and in 1920 it was considered a model city regarding public health (Wells 2000, 181–82).

THE NORTHEAST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Material Life

FOOD

In upper middle- and middle-class homes in the Northeast, eating patterns began to change in the new century. Well-to-do Americans in urban areas, particularly in the Northeast, made French cuisine fashionable. The diet included various entrées with sophisticated sauces, soups, salads, and desserts. French diets demanded servants for preparation and serving, so the French menu became a symbol of status in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The urban middle class attempted to copy this style as much as they were able. With less domestic help the middle class made use of the rapidly developing convenience of processed foods. Fine cuts of meat previously only available on a daily basis from the local butcher were becoming available in packaged and processed form from the great meatpacking companies led by Armour and Swift. Professional bakers, canners of fruits and vegetables, processors of dairy products led by Sealtest and Borden, all contributed to the ever more sophisticated and varied processed food industry, which made practically everything edible available in some packaged form or another at reasonable prices. By the end of the 1930s, even frozen foods were available to the consumer fortunate enough to have a freezer in which to store them. Sugar refiners completed this processed meal diet. After World War I, with the decline of immigration and thus the decline of servants in middle-class households, more families came to depend on the convenience of processed food as food preparation became part of the housewife's responsibility. Immigrant families resisted the trend in modernization and continued to eat foods familiar to them. Italians and Chinese especially would remain steadfast in their eating habits, and eventually many of their foods would be assimilated into the American cuisine.

As the urban workforce expanded, eating the midday meal outside the home became common practice. In the first decades of the century before Prohibition, the neighborhood saloon often provided the working man with his best meal of the day. For the price of a beer, usually five cents, saloons in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York offered bread or crackers, bologna or weinerwurst, stewed tomatoes, salad, pickles, onions, radishes, soup, and meat stew. In Boston, saloons were compelled by law to offer something to eat free of charge. With the passage of the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act that quickly followed, the saloons of America closed and with them the free lunch for the working class. Prohibition also affected the culinary habits of the middle and upper classes as French restaurants and cooking, both of which depend heavily on wine, could not survive without this essential product.

Snapshot

Horn & Hardart's Automats

A coin-operated glass-and-chrome wonder, Horn & Hardart's Automats revolutionized the way Americans ate when they opened up in Philadelphia and New York in the early twentieth century. In a country where the Industrial Revolution had just taken hold, eating at a restaurant with self-serve vending machines rather than waitresses, and art deco architecture instead of stuffy dining rooms was an unforgettable experience. The Automat served freshly made food for the price of a few coins, and no one made a better cup of coffee. By the peak of its popularity—from the Great Depression to the postwar years—the Automat was more than an inexpensive place to buy a good meal; it was a culinary treasure, a technical marvel, and an emblem of the times.

In the 1920s, when Prohibition not only took away alcohol but also the free lunch, a new phenomenon, the fast-service restaurant, emerged. The number of restaurants that opened in the 1920s tripled the number that had existed before that decade. In the Northeast, the leaders of this industry were Howard Johnson's New England Seafood Restaurants, and in New York and Philadelphia Horn and Hardart's, which introduced the coin-operated cafeteria restaurant called the Automat.

After 1910, in major cities of the Northeast, pasteurized milk was rapidly entering the diet, improving the health of children and lowering infant mortality rates. Other aspects of children's food in the urban Northeast also changed dramatically as baby foods, or well-pureed fruits, vegetables, and even meats were being processed and sold in small bottles for the exclusive use of babies six months and older.

With the end of Prohibition in 1933, the saloons reopened to an enthusiastic clientele in the urban Northeast. Although the free lunch was not as common as it had been, the beer flowed freely and for this, thirsty northeasterners were grateful.

Whether rich or poor, young or old, everyone in New York City ate at Horn & Hardart's Automats; this photo is from 1936. AP Photo/HO/Courtesy of The Museum of the City of New York/Berenice Abbot.

DRINK

By the turn of the century beer had become the beverage of choice for most men. Consumption of beer per capita had increased from 2.7 gallons in 1850 to 29.53 gallons in 1899. The usual place of consumption for this beer was the local saloon. In 1915 New York had over 10,000 licensed saloons, or one for every 515 persons. Boston, with a population of less than half a million at the turn of the century, counted 277,000 people (over half the population) entering saloons on any given day. Other cities of the Northeast could boast similar numbers. The doors of these saloons closed with the passage of the 18th Amendment, which attempted to change the drinking habits of millions of Americans.

By some estimates, alcohol consumption was cut in half by Prohibition. From the outset, however, enforcement was unenthusiastic, understaffed, and underfunded. In large cities of the Northeast, as elsewhere, speakeasies or underground taverns opened and prospered. The new speakeasies, unlike the saloons that preceded them, welcomed women. Prohibition also changed drinking habits by reversing a 50-year-old trend toward beer. Liquor, which was more easily transportable, easier to conceal, and brought greater profits to suppliers, became much more available than beer and became the beverage of choice. The era of Prohibition contributed new words to the American vocabulary, such as *speakeasy*, *hip flask*, and *bathtub gin*. Probably the most profound effect that Prohibition had in the long run was that it provided opportunities for the growth of organized crime, which traces its economic take-off to this era (Davidson, et al. 2001, 795).

Steve Brodie's bar in New York City, c. 1895. The Granger Collection, New York.

The new film industry did not leave the Prohibition campaign without commentary. In so doing it left a permanent collective memory of this era, which is reinforced by moving image documents. "No picture [about the 1920s] would be considered properly finished," observed one New York film reviewer, "without a number of scenes depicting the shaking up and drinking down of cocktails and their resulting effect on those who partake of them." In a representative sample of 115 films from 1930, liquor was referred to in 78 percent of them and drinking depicted in 66 percent. Further analysis of 40 of those films reveals that while only 13 percent of male villains and 8 percent of female villains could be seen consuming alcohol, no less than 43 percent of heroes and 23 percent of heroines were shown doing so. Moviegoers could hardly avoid the impression that drinking was widespread and that Prohibition violation was socially acceptable (Kyvig 2002, 97).

HOUSING

Electric wiring at the turn of the century, along with indoor plumbing, added substantially to the cost of house construction. To keep house prices stable while adding these new technologies, builders cut costs by reducing the size and number of rooms in the average house. Early twentieth-century house plans began to eliminate formal front parlors, merging them with the family sitting room to create a single living room, often opening directly to the dining room. Large entrance halls were eliminated or reduced in size. In a moderately priced two-story house there were usually only three downstairs rooms: living room, dining room, and kitchen. In the Northeast a familiar form of architecture, the row house, remained the dominant form of moderate-priced housing and fit the new demand for reduction in space. The row house had first appeared in the United States in the 1700s in Philadelphia and continued to be the dominant family architectural form in that city well into the twentieth century. This style was also adapted in the northeastern cities of Boston and New York.

An important influence on housing, which began in the early twentieth century in the Northeast, was the emergence of the black ghetto, which began when real estate and financial institutions along with property owners, managers, and neighborhood property owners' associations actively pursued policies, legal and illegal, that restricted African Americans to ghetto housing. While real estate agents refused to show or rent properties outside of the ghetto, white financial organizations refused loans for black home building or purchase. White neighborhood improvement or protective associations, real estate interests, and homeowners placed racially restrictive covenants on neighborhood properties prohibiting blacks and others from buying or renting in those areas. State and local governments failed to enforce antidiscrimination laws, and police often ignored physical attacks against blacks who attempted to move outside of restricted areas. In the Northeast, ghettoes first appeared in New York and then Philadelphia around 1915. Population growth stimulated by the great black migration and restrictive living areas caused housing prices to skyrocket in some ghettoized areas of the urban Northeast. As a result, blacks paid almost twice as much in rent as their white counterparts living in similar housing outside the ghetto. Nonetheless, institutional development within the ghetto exploded: newspapers, businesses, and professionals increased to serve the expanding population. In Harlem and elsewhere a cultural renaissance stimulated by artists, writers, and musicians demonstrated a cultural vitality that contrasted with worsening housing conditions. Ghetto residents revealed other positive adaptations to difficult conditions by taking in boarders, and holding parties to obtain rent money for someone in need (Reich 2006, 340–41).

CLOTHING

Machine-made mass-produced clothing had become common in the late nineteenth century, but at first it was largely confined to exterior garments for adult males. Much women's and children's clothing continued to be made at home. Making their own and their children's garments had been considered one of the major responsibilities of a woman. After World War I, this practice changed rapidly, especially among middle-class women, who in the first decades of the century had remained reluctant to adopt manufactured ready-to-wear clothes.

Women's fashions changed radically after 1908 but then remained basically the same through the 1920s. The optimum style with little variation was a modified sheath straight up and down and clinging. In 1912, the president of the New York Cotton Exchange commented that the virtual elimination of undergarments for women and the clinging fashions had reduced the amount of fabric used by at least 12 yards for each female. By the 1920s plunging bodices and backs were also in vogue. In the early 1930s full-figured women came back into fashion and with it styles that emphasized bosoms and hips.

The last type of clothing to make the transition from predominantly homemade to manufactured proved to be undergarments. Both men and women had dressed in winter flannel and summer cotton "union suits" with knee-length or longer underdrawers and shirts that were long-sleeved in winter and short-sleeved in summer.

By the early twentieth century, the fashion of girls and women was shifting away from the stiff corsets of fabric bone and steel designed to severely pinch the midsection and heighten the appearance of ample hips and chest. The corset was at least loosened, if not replaced by a less restrictive one-piece fabric waist or camisole, still intended to accentuate a small waist and large bust (Kyvig 2002, 120–21).

An important technological invention that contributed to the demise of the corset was the bicycle. Although versions of the bicycle had been around for decades, only in the 1890s did the introduction of the safety bicycle generate mass appeal and consequently mass production. Women responded enthusiastically to this new craze. For proper breathing during bicycle excursions, many women abandoned their corsets for the first time. For those reluctant to go that far, corset manufacturers provided alternative designs that were shortened to the waist and constructed with less-constricting fit. By the middle of the 1890s some daring women even rode their bicycles in divided skirts or breeches called knickerbockers (Hill 2004, 22–23).

A new undergarment given the French name *brassiere* came into use shortly before the Great War. The first brassieres were designed to flatten the breast for the chemise or flapper dress just beginning to be popular, especially among women who wanted to deemphasize their reproductive role and assert their independence. Gradually, as fashion evolved in the 1930s, and designs once again emphasized motherhood, bras to shape and emphasize the roundness of breasts were developed, and in the 1930s bra cups in standard A, B, C, and D sizes appeared (Kyvig 2002, 120).

World War I dietary habits also changed fashion. In the late nineteenth century right through the first decade of the twentieth century, when getting enough to eat was often still a challenge and the understanding of good nutrition was limited, being stout was a sign of health, success, and beauty. Late nineteenth-century clothing had tended to emphasize or even create a plump figure. Both men's and women's clothing had featured layers of heavy fabrics, padded shoulders, and a loose fit. Women's dresses, normally with flared and pleated ankle-length skirts, were made fuller by being worn over petticoats. Around the turn of the century, as more women began to work outside the home, simpler styles such as tailored suits or long dark skirts without petticoats and white blouses (or shirtwaists) became common. Just before World War I, fitness rather than girth emerged as the standard for male attractiveness, and therefore male fashions began moving toward defining a more slender body. The war accelerated this tendency. Wartime shortages of food and fabric stirred government conservation efforts, and the Wilson administration sought to educate people on the advantages of eating less and consequently weighing and wearing less. Good nutrition was reflected in erect posture, healthy-looking skin, shiny hair, and a slender figure. These characteristics replaced plumpness as signs of beauty.

Snapshot

A Philosophy of Clothes

The following excerpt from Theodore Dreiser's novel *Sister Carrie* (1900), about a wayward country girl, offers a philosophy of women's clothes.

> A woman should some day write the complete philosophy of clothes. No matter how young, it is one of the things she wholly comprehends. There is an indescribably faint line in the matter of man's apparel which somehow divides for her those who are worth glancing at and those who are not. Once an individual has passed this faint line on the way downward he will get no glance from her. There is another line at which the dress of a man will cause her to study her own.

Women's clothing styles in the postwar era—at least those favored by younger women—were the most notable symbol of the new fashion. Flapper-style dresses used light fabrics that hung straight from the shoulders and gathered low on the hips rather than at the waist. This style deemphasized both the bust and the hips in order to create a slim profile. Corsets disappeared almost altogether, and multilaced petticoats gave way to single-layer slips or just knickers under skirts. Hemlines, which had only just risen from ankle to mid-calf, rose to the knee and beyond in the 1920s. Exposed lower legs acquired further emphasis with sheer silk stockings.

Cosmetics in small amounts became acceptable fashion in the 1920s, and women, especially younger ones, abandoned long-standing views that cosmetics were used only by "painted ladies" of loose morals. Among the most common cosmetics that women used were face powder, rouge for color in cheeks, lipstick, eyebrow pencil, and eyelash curlers. Among urban black women of the Northeast, skin lighteners and hair products developed by Madam C. J. Walker created a culture of African American female beauty. Madam Walker's grooming products made her the wealthiest African American woman in the country. She built a mansion on the Hudson River 20 miles from New York, and her philanthropy helped support the budding cultural world of Harlem (Reich 2006, 868).

Bobbed hair became another central element of the flapper style in the 1920s. Short hair not only emphasized the desired slender look, but for many it was also an act of defiance against the long-standing tradition of long hair being the crowning glory of a woman. Until the second decade of the twentieth century, hair was worn well-coifed and elaborately arranged, and a woman only "let her hair down" (an invitation to intimacy) in the presence of her mate. By the 1920s, short hair announced the "liberation" of the American urban woman.

Men also began to wear their hair much shorter in the post–World War I era. Short slicked-back hair in imitation of such movie stars as Rudolph Valentino became the favored fashion. Beards disappeared, and soon mustaches and sideburns followed. The clean-shaven look became fashionable. Inexpensive mass-produced safety razors made the new look possible, and advertisers played up the sexual appeal of the smoothly shaven face.

The economic downturn of the 1930s did little to affect clothing and style, since people in an economic pinch tended to make clothes last longer. Still, some notable changes in fashion occurred. Designs for women once again began to emphasize hips and bust, hemlines fell to the ankles, and fitted waistlines reappeared. Men's suits once again acquired padded shoulders, and fuller cuts reemerged as standard for men as well as women. The trend toward mass-produced clothing continued, and with it the ability to disguise one's individual economic circumstance by conforming to standard patterns of dress.

The film industry also had an effect on clothing. When Clark Gable took off his shirt to reveal he did not wear an undershirt in the movie *It Happened One Night*, supposedly the men's undershirt market collapsed. Movie magazines set the tone, and the fashion with more femininely fitted dresses and curlier locks suggesting what the smart American woman should wear. During the 1930s, Shirley Temple, a plump preteenage girl with curly hair and deep dimples, captured the hearts of middle America. Mothers rushed to stores to buy their girls Shirley Temple dresses and coifed them with Shirley Temple curls. In the 1930s, Sears Roebuck catalogues filled pages with Shirley Temple fashions. Films also encouraged the unveiling of the female human body, baring arms and legs and putting the body on display as never before (Kyvig 2002, 120–26).

MANUFACTURING

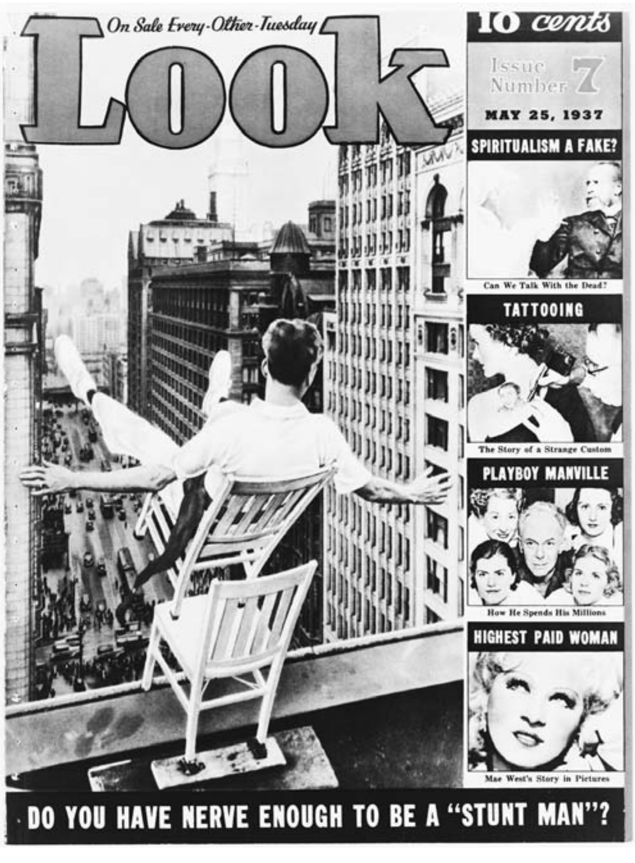
In the Northeast from 1900 to 1930, the number of wage earners engaged in the manufacturing industry increased from 1.8 million to 2.1 million. In the Depression decade of the 1930s this number dropped off slightly to 1.9 million.

Industrial workers in the Northeast were unorganized, and they usually worked under harsh conditions. No matter what the product, most industrial workers shared the common characteristics of industrial work—the use of machines for mass production; the division of labor into intricately organized, menial tasks; and the dictatorship of the clock. At the turn of the century, two-thirds of all industrial work came from large-scale mills. Factory workers held jobs that required more machines and fewer skills. Repetition of small chores replaced fine craftwork. Workers could expect no payment from employers or government for injury or death on the job. Accidents were considered to be their own fault. By 1900, most of those earning wages in industry worked 6 days a week, 10 hours a day. These conditions would continue through the 1930s, until the Wagner Act, which protected the workers' right to organize, was passed, and then the Congress of Industrial Organization set out to organize unskilled workers.

Not only adults worked in industry. By 1900, the industrial labor force included some 1.7 million children. Parents had no choice. As one union leader observed, "Absolute necessity compels the father to take the child into the mine to assist him in winning bread for the family." On average, children of the working class worked 60 hours a week and carried home paychecks a third of the size of those of adult males.

In the new century, new methods of management and marketing opened white-collar positions for women as typists, telephone operators, bookkeepers, and secretaries. On rare occasions women entered the professional ranks through law and medical schools, but they were for the most part unwelcome.

Even more than women, African American men faced discrimination in the workplace. They were paid less than whites and given menial jobs. Their greatest opportunities in industry often came as strike-breakers to replace white workers. Once a strike ended, however, black workers were replaced and hated by the white regulars whom they had replaced. The service trades furnished the greatest source of jobs for African Americans. Craft workers and a sprinkling of black professionals could usually be found in the cities, and after the turn of the century, black-owned businesses thrived in growing black neighborhoods of the Northeast (Davidson, et al. 2001, 629–73).



A May 1937 *Look* magazine cover illustration showing a daredevil balanced on chairs on the edge of a building. Library of Congress.

TECHNOLOGY

At the turn of the century electricity's primary use was for large-scale power needs for streetlights, public transit, elevators, and factory machinery. But electricity as a power source in the home had begun in the previous century when Thomas Edison in 1882 began producing home generators, lamp sockets, and home wiring. That same year he developed the first central generator that could deliver power over utility lines. Nevertheless, home use of electricity in the nineteenth century remained scarce. By 1884, only 500 homes were electrified, while several thousand businesses were using electric lights, and electricity was driving streetcars, powering industrial machinery, and lighting street lamps.

At first, home use of electricity in the Northeast was limited to lighting and remained somewhat of a novelty.

In New York City, for example, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt would greet visitors to her home in a dress covered with tiny electric bulbs. Electric lights on Christmas trees became popular by the end of the century, and electric children's toys, particularly model trains for boys and electrified doll houses for girls, became popular by the turn of the century. By 1900, electricity gradually began to replace gas as the primary source of illumination in the house in the urban Northeast. After 1910, the standardized transmission of electricity at 120 volts of alternating current increased availability of electricity in the home. The percentage of gas used for illumination fell from 75 percent at the turn of the century to 21 percent by 1919.

In the postwar era, especially in urban areas of the Northeast, electricity began to influence American lives as it never had before. After World War I, electricity began to be generated and controlled for personal human use. This not only changed the personal lives of millions of Americans, but it also introduced mass marketing and production on a scale never before seen. In the 1920s electricity accentuated the differences between the electrified urban Northeast and the less developed rural parts of the region. When electricity began to enter the house, it was initially directed at easing the burdens of housekeeping. General Electric created several small appliance companies including Hotpoint, which dedicated considerable technological skill to developing the home appliance market. After lights, electric irons were usually the first acquisitions in newly wired homes. Soon to follow were sewing and washing machines and vacuum cleaners. From 1909 to 1929, the amount spent on household appliances increased from 235 million dollars to over one and a half billion dollars.

Rapidly, home appliances went from being expensive unreliable toys to dependable and useful tools for the mass of middle-class urban Americans. All of these inventions promised to free women from excessive housework, but some studies show that was not always the case. These studies done in the 1920s showed that women spent from 51 to 60 hours a week on housework. The increase in electrical power caused expectations to increase, and demands increased for greater variety in meals, cleaner homes, and more frequently laundered clothes. In addition, as the acquisition of appliances became more and more a defining feature of middle-class life, women found it necessary to work for wages outside the home so the family could have the financial resources to maintain middle-class status. Whether appliances added or reduced women's work can be debated, but what is certain is the appliance revolution gave women an influence in the market and workplace they had previously not enjoyed (Kyvig 2002, 53–71).

NAVIGATION

The classic liberal model in practice before World War I, with relatively free and massive migration, the gold standard, large capital flows, and rapid industrialization and expansion of the American economy, created one of the greatest eras of international trade in the history of the world. New York, as the principal port of the United States, benefited greatly from this explosion in international trade. It was a period during which both continental and intercontinental transport costs continued to fall as steam power became the norm for ocean transport and as railroad expansion progressed in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere.

In navigation, the most significant event for the shipbuilders of the Northeast was the passage of the Shipping Act of 1916. The law created a government merchant marine that in less than five years became the world's largest shipping company. From 1917 to 1922 the government constructed more than 2,300 ships at a cost of more than $3 billion (current), an unprecedented sum. The greatest beneficiaries of this were the great shipbuilders of the Northeast (Sicotte 1999, 103).

TRANSPORTATION

Urban transportation became transformed at the turn of the century as electric trains and cars dominated the cityscape of major urban areas, and the popularity of the "Tin Lizzie," as the Model T came to be called, helped account for the jump in the number of automobiles from fewer than half a million in 1910 to 2.5 million in 1915 and 9 million by 1920. At the same time that Henry Ford was promoting the Model T, another Detroit businessman, William C. Durant, was creating the General Motors Company. He bought up numerous auto-manufacturing companies including Buick, Oldsmobile, Cadillac, and Chevrolet, as well as parts makers Fisher Body and Charles Kettering's electric starter and battery company. In 1919, awash in war profits, Durant established the General Motors Acceptance Corporation as a means of financing his automobiles. Within two years half of all automobile buyers were entering into credit purchase agreements. By 1926 the figure reached three-fourths.

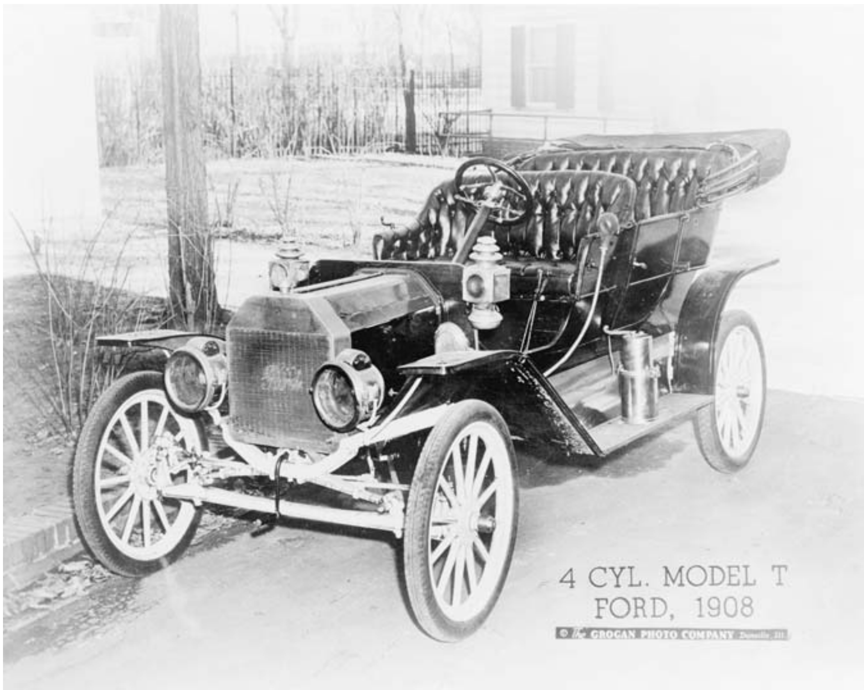
Credit buying dramatically enlarged the population that could afford to buy automobiles, and it altered the buying habits of those who already owned cars. More drivers began to eschew the economical, reliable, but unchanging Model T Ford for the more expensive but colorful and ever-changing styles and optional luxuries of General Motors cars. There were few paved roads between major cities until the limited number built in the 1920s were finished. The traveler who left the city on a long trip had to be intrepid. Maps of rural America were virtually nonexistent, road signs were scarce, and it was easy to get lost and completely turned around. Mechanics and filling stations were widely scattered and difficult to locate before the advent of roadside advertising signs in the late 1920s. Bridges could be rickety, with no standards of construction or inspection at least to give the impression of safety. Many were built in the distant past and were meant for the slower and perhaps lighter weight of the horse and carriage. Even in mountainous areas, guardrails were the exception rather than the rule.

More than one-half of all American roads that were categorized by local, state, and federal officials were classified as "unimproved." There was no great comfort if one traced an itinerary on a map that stayed on "improved" roads, since that designation was applied to graded dirt and gravel, which could be washed out or have become a quagmire, depending on the age of the map or recent weather conditions.

The federal government had high-minded intentions to connect all cities of greater than 50,000 population with paved roads, or so the Federal Road Acts of 1916 and 1921 intended. World War I hamstrung the first act; lack of funding and the high local funding requirements of the second limited its effects. Only after the New Deal put people to work on the federal payroll did road building take off (Green 2000, 217–18).

In 1903, the Wright brothers' first successful flight in Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, marked the beginning of the aviation age. In the early years, the public did not embrace airplane travel as an option, thinking that it was too dangerous. Although during World War I the government did fund flight research, it abandoned support when the war ended. Still, in the 1920s the government continued to subsidize the nascent industry with airmail contracts. The original "Big Four" (Pan Am, TWA, Eastern, and United) airline companies, which would come to dominate the industry in its first 50 years, all survived this early era of public indifference by carrying mail across the country for the U.S. government.

Public apathy for flying continued until 1927 when Charles Lindbergh successfully completed a solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean. Lindbergh captured the public imagination and, while becoming the hero of the century, he also stimulated an interest in airline passenger flight. As a result of this new interest in flight, a variety of air transport holding companies began, including one called Aviation Corporation. The air transport division of the company was called American Airways and later grew to become American Airlines, one of the largest commercial carriers in the United States. In 1933 American Airlines ordered its first Curtiss Condors, which were twin-engine biplanes with an 800-mile range and fitted with sleeping berths. On June 25, 1936, American Airlines flew the world's first commercial DC-3 trip from Chicago to New York.



A 4-cylinder Model T Ford from 1908. Library of Congress.

Eastern Airlines traced its roots to Clement Keys, a former financial editor of the *Wall Street Journal* who was an untiring promoter of multimillion-dollar aviation corporations in the 1920s and 1930s. In early 1929, Keys decided to purchase a small Philadelphia-based airline known as Pitcairn Aviation, Inc. Keys sold Pitcairn to North American Aviation, then a holding company for a number of airline and aircraft companies in which he was one of the key shareholders. On January 17, 1930, Pitcairn's name was changed to Eastern Air Transport, Inc., and soon after, the airline expanded its routes to include Atlanta, Miami, Boston, and Richmond, Virginia. Its fleet at the time consisted of three Ford Trimotors and two Fokker F-X aircraft. These were joined soon by Curtiss Condors and Kingbirds. Pitcairn hired World War I ace Eddie Rickenbacker to serve as general manager of Eastern. While most of the major airlines were focusing on transcontinental flights, Eastern's specialty was the East Coast, where it established a near monopoly. Through 1933, the airline acquired contracts for a number of routes that spanned from New York to Miami. Eastern catered to the high demand for quick passenger travel between the northeastern states and the vacation areas of Florida.

In 1928, Boeing and its air transport division, United Aircraft, created United Aircraft and Transportation Corporation. In 1931 the four air transport divisions of United Aircraft became United Airlines. With the advent of larger aircraft, such as the Boeing and Ford Trimotors, came stewardess service. Boeing Air Transport traffic manager Steve Stimpson took the suggestion of nurse Ellen Church and proposed that nurses serve coffee and sandwiches and minister to the comfort of apprehensive flyers. On May 15, 1930, Boeing Air Transport—one of United's predecessor subsidiaries—introduced the world's first stewardess service. The idea was such a success that stewardesses quickly became a fixture of commercial air travel. Church was the world's first stewardess.

With a plan to establish routes to South America and then over the closest southern route to Europe from Rio to Lisbon, Juan Tripp created the Pan American Airways system. To avoid needless delays in the construction of airports in South America, to say nothing of the ambiguities of aviation legislation in South American countries, Tripp commissioned Sikorsky Company of Philadelphia to build a fleet of planes that could land on water. Once on the water the airships followed already established navigation rules and taxied up to their own floating docks to discharge and receive passengers.

In 1938, the Civil Aeronautics Authority, an independent regulatory bureau, was developed. That same year, many air transport companies were flying the new DC-3s. These planes, created to carry both mail and passengers, were wide enough to seat 21 people. The design of the DC-3 also allowed for 14 seats and three berths for sleeping on long flights. Famous child actress Shirley Temple was the first to purchase a sleeping berth ticket on an American Airlines DC-3. Thus, by the

Completed Model T Fords ready for delivery from this Detroit, Michigan factory, c. 1916. Library of Congress.

outbreak of World War II, the American aviation industry was on sound footing, and the companies that would carry the industry through its first half century were well established (http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/adaccess/airline-history.html); (http://www. united.com/page/middlepage/0,6823,2286,00.html).

Despite the great advances made in methods of travel in the first decades of the twentieth century, most Americans, especially in the urban areas, continued to depend on public transportation to move from one place to another. Every day, hundreds of thousands of commuters traveled back and forth from home to work on subways, and the newly created gasoline or diesel engine buses, which began to replace streetcars.

THE NORTHEAST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Political Life

GOVERNMENT

In the early decades of the twentieth century, powerful political machines ran the major cities of the Northeast. Using the newly arrived immigrants as a political base, street-savvy political organizers overthrew a privileged plutocracy that had been running the cities of the Northeast in most cases since the early years of the republic. For example, until the beginning of the twentieth century the local politics of Boston had been dominated by the prosperous and powerful descendents of the city's seventeenth-century English immigrant founders. This group had participated in the founding of the Republican Party, which dominated local politics. The new immigrants, beginning with the mid-nineteenth-century Irish, rallied to the Democratic Party as their only alternative, and as new immigrants arrived at the end of the century they too eventually found their way into the Democratic Party. By the mid-1920s, the immigrant coalition led by the more politically experienced Irish dominated Boston politics.

With a population much larger than Boston, New York became home to the most famous political machine in the country, Tammany Hall. Tammany had dominated New York politics since 1798 when Aaron Burr used it as the central organizing force for the Jeffersonian Democrats to defeat John Adams in 1800. When the Irish immigration began in the late 1840s, Tammany Hall provided housing, jobs, food, coal, and sometimes even a fiancé to the new arrivals and in return gained their political support. They divided the wards of the city into small principalities headed by a ward heeler, who made sure that the social needs of the citizens in his assigned area had the help of city hall for whatever problem they might have. In return, the ward healers and in turn the party had the complete loyalty of these voters and control of the city government and its coffers. Progressive historians of the first half of the twentieth century usually painted the city bosses in a bad light. However, in the later decades of the twentieth century some historians began to take a kinder look at machine politics, explaining that the machine provided social services to people who had no other recourse. George Washington Plunkitt, a boss in the Tammany machine at the turn of the century, explained its purpose to William Riordon, a young reporter for the New York *Evening Post.* As Plunkitt described it, he held a grip on his district by going

> right down to the poor families and help them in different ways they need help. I've got a regular system for this. If there's a fire in Ninth Tenth or Eleventh Avenue, for example any hour of the day or night, I'm usually there with some of my election district captains as soon as the fire engines. If a family is burned out I don't ask whether they are Republicans or Democrats, and I don't refer them to the Charity Organization Society, which would investigate the case in a month or two and decide they are worthy of help about the time they are dead from starvation. I just get quarters for them, buy clothes for them if their clothes were burned up, and fix them up 'till they get things runnin again. It's philanthropy, but its politics too—mighty good politics. Who can tell how many votes one of these fires bring me? The poor are the most grateful people in the world, and, let me tell you, they have more friends in their neighborhoods than the rich have in theirs.
>
> If there's a family in my district in want I know it before the charitable societies do, and me and my men are first on the ground. I have a special corps to look up such cases. The consequence is that the poor look up to George W. Plunkitt as a father, come to him in trouble—and don't forget on election day.
>
> Another thing I can always get a job for a deservin' man. I make it a point to keep track of jobs, and it seldom happens that I don't have a few up my sleeve ready for use. I know every big employer in the district and in the whole city, for that matter, and they ain't in the habit of saying no to me when I ask for a job. And the children—the little roses of the district! Do I forget them? Oh no! They know me, every one of them, and they know that a sight of Uncle George and candy means the same thing. Some of them are the best kind of vote getters. I'll tell you a case. Last year a little Eleventh Avenue rosebud whose father is a Republican caught hold of his whiskers on election day and said she wouldn't let go till he'd promised to vote for me. And she didn't. (Riordon 1994, 64)

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

At the turn of the century in New York City, clergymen and reformers referred to a neighborhood stretching from 23rd to 57th Streets between Sixth and Tenth Avenues as Satan's Circus. Here one could find the most intense concentration of saloons, brothels, gambling parlors, dance halls, and clip joints in the city. It also offered police the richest grafting territory in the city, which gave the area the name by which most New Yorkers knew it. When police Captain Clubber Williams was transferred to the district, in the late 1870s, he said, "I've been eating chuck steak for a long time. Now I'm gonna get me a little of the tenderloin." The name stuck and New Yorkers contributed a new word to the American vocabulary, which defines similar areas in other cities.

In 1912, on a sweltering night in the Tenderloin, Herman Rosenthal, a gambling house owner, was gunned down, and when his murder became connected to a corrupt police lieutenant, Charley Becker, it soon became New York's first "trial of the century." Charles Whitman, the New York district attorney, prosecuted Becker. Knowing that securing the conviction and execution of a corrupt police officer would propel his career, he launched a spectacular trial that captured more newspaper space than the sinking of the *Titanic*. Coercing criminal witnesses with the promise of immunity, Whitman secured the conviction of Becker, who was executed at Sing Sing in 1915. With his electrocution Becker earned the notoriety of being the only policeman ever executed for murder in the United States (Patrick 2007, 51).

In the 1920s a number of "crimes of the century" captured the attention of numerous Americans, many of whom became convinced that they were living amidst a crime wave propelled by immigrant gangsters and rapacious blacks. One such crime occurred in April 1920 in South Braintree, Massachusetts, when two men shot a guard and the paymaster at Slater and Merrill Shoe Company, then fled in an automobile with the company's payroll. Police soon arrested two pistol-carrying Italian immigrants and charged them with robbery and murder. Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were interrogated for two days, mainly about their political beliefs, without being told the charges against them or their legal rights. Witnesses to the crime were asked to identify them standing alone as opposed to in a lineup. At their trial Sacco and Vanzetti's anarchist political beliefs and their ethnic background appeared to carry more weight with the judge and jury than the weak case presented against them or the defense witnesses that placed Sacco miles away at the time of the robbery. The judge, Webster Thayer, repeatedly referred to the defendants as those "anarchist bastards." Even a confession by another death row inmate who bore a striking resemblance to Sacco failed to impress the judge, and the two men were condemned to death. They were executed in the Charleston Prison electric chair in August 1927. The case drew international attention as a blatant example of ethnic prejudice and political oppression in America and the harsh and socially uneven justice system that existed there.

One reason the Sacco-Vanzetti trial attracted such attention may have been the general decline in crime during the first half of the twentieth century. Despite a perceived crime wave in the first decades of the twentieth century the United States actually experienced a decline in crime, which sociologists agree continued through 1960. The 1920s, which experienced a slight increase in felonies and misdemeanors, provided an exception to the statistical decline of crime in the first half of the twentieth century; however, over 60 percent of the criminal offenses in that decade involved the violation of Prohibition, an act that would not have been a crime prior to 1920 or after 1934 (Kyvig 2002, 177–78).

REFORM

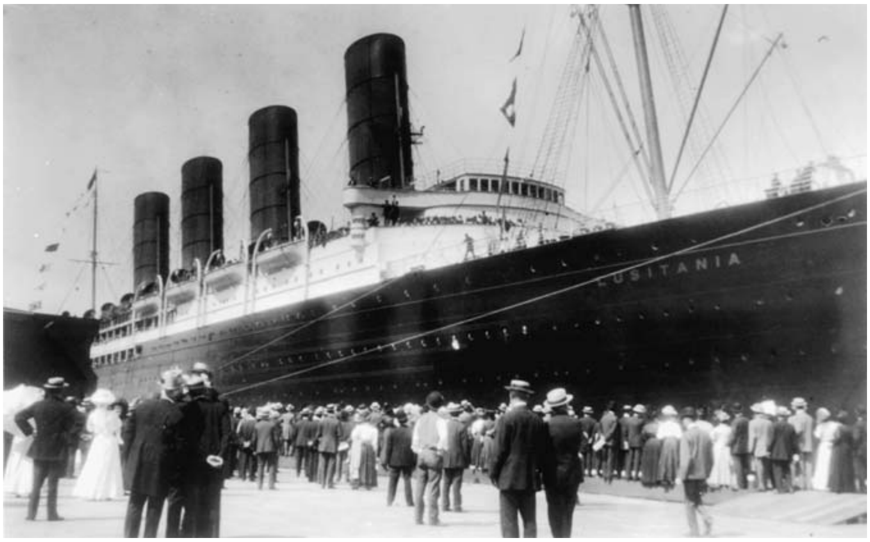
As the new century opened, a rejuvenated white middle class, appalled by the excesses of corporations, revolted at the conditions of the working class, horrified at the prospects of socialism, and guided by a Calvinist sense of being blessed and therefore obligated to improve society in God's image, began to organize politically with reform as their common goal. Reform came in most cases in the form of legislation. Conservation, antitrust suits, health reform, child labor laws, women's labor laws, housing laws directed at slum landlords, and local political reform topped the agenda of these reformers, who called themselves Progressives. This soon became a national movement, but it began locally and regionally.

Typical of these reformers in the Northeast were the New York Progressives who waged war against the Tammany political machine, which they claimed had manipulated ignorant immigrants in order to gain control of the city and in the process had created a dynasty of corruption that robbed honest taxpayers and in no way helped those whose interests they claimed to champion. In 1901 the Progressive anti-Tammany forces elected reformer Seth Low, a Republican, as mayor. After the election, Lincoln Steffens praised New York City as the leading exponent of the great "American anti-bad government movement for good government. New York by persistence has at last achieved a good administration." But Steffens wondered, "Will New Yorkers continue?" Although it took another 30 years of struggle, the reformers would finally win out. In 1932, the Tammany machine suffered a dual setback when Mayor James Walker was forced from office because of corruption and opponent Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president of the United States. Roosevelt stripped Tammany of its federal patronage—much expanded because of the New Deal—and handed city patronage to Ed Flynn, "boss" of the Bronx. Roosevelt helped Republican Fiorello LaGuardia become mayor on a fusion ticket, thus removing even more patronage from Tammany's control. Tammany never recovered.

Reform was not only political. There were reform movements in public health, education, and housing, to name a few. Most reform movements were directed at the issues created by the massive migration to the cities and the problems this caused. Urban infrastructure, especially housing, simply was not prepared to deal with the massive influx of people begun after the Civil War and then augmented by mass immigration from Europe at the turn of the century. As a result of Progressive reforms of the first decades of the twentieth century, life for many Americans improved notably. Children stayed in school longer, workers received compensation when they were injured on the job, housing standards were improved, water became safer to drink, children had parks to play in, and family meal tables were protected from tainted meat and from harmful additives that often had been mixed into processed food.

WAR

One of the most important defining events of the first decades of the twentieth century was what people at the time called the Great War. President Woodrow Wilson had promised to keep America out of the European conflagration, but soon the country for various reasons was swept into the whirl. The United States did not enter the war until April 1917, but as early as the spring of 1915 Americans began to realize that they were not immune to events occurring across the ocean. On



The British luxury ocean liner *Lusitania* arrives in New York for the first time on September 13, 1907. Library of Congress.

April 28, 1915, the British-owned Cunard Line announced in the travel section of the *New York Times* that the *Lusitania*, "The fastest largest steamer now in Atlantic Service" would be departing New York on May 1. Then on the day the ship was to sail an ominous advertisement was placed in the *New York Times* travel section. It reminded travelers that a state of war existed between England and Germany and that all ships flying the British colors were subject to attack. The Imperial German Embassy had signed the message. Charles Sumner of Cunard Lines dismissed the threat. He told a reporter, "No passenger is permitted aboard unless he can identify himself, [and] every passenger must identify his baggage before it is placed on board." Furthermore, he assured that the British navy had responsibility for all British shipping, especially Cunard's, and as "for submarines," Sumner declared " I have no fear of them whatever."

Six days later, the *Lusitania* lay at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean off the British coast, sunk by a German submarine. Among the 1,200 dead were 128 Americans. Many Americans at that time called for war with Germany, but Woodrow Wilson counseled restraint, arguing that "There is such a thing as being too proud to fight." But events over the next year and a half, including German espionage activity in the Northeast and more ships sunk, and German overtures to America's Mexican neighbors to join in a war against them, finally pushed America to the brink, and when Germany announced that it would continue unrestricted submarine warfare despite protests from the United States, America entered the war. Immediately Woodrow Wilson used his war powers to mobilize the American people. Some call the war the end of Progressivism; others say it was Progressivism's greatest triumph up to that moment. If one interprets Progressivism to mean government control over economic and social life, then the war could be called the flowering of Progressivism.

One of Wilson's first acts was the creation of the War Industries Board, which coordinated production through a network of industrial and trade associations. A food administration was established that encouraged farmers to grow more and citizens to eat less. Wilson placed Herbert Hoover in charge of the Food Board, and upon his appointment, he received a letter from the mayor of New York, John Mitchel, assuring him of every New Yorker's cooperation with the new bill. One aspect of the bill, which passed almost unanimously, did give many New Yorkers pause. The production of alcoholic beverages was prohibited and the president was given the authority to seize for defense purposes all of the 300 million gallons of whiskey that were currently in storage. The *New York Times* objected that the antisaloon crowd was using a food bill to establish prohibition. Rather than admit that the law would disrupt what was an essential part of life in New York and other urban areas of the Northeast, the *Times* pointed out that the prohibition of the sale of whiskey would deprive the government of many needed tax dollars. Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), protesting from his New York office, was more forthcoming. He declared that the American workmen should be allowed to have their beer, and that the war should not alter the traditions of life. The president finally relented and excluded beer and light wine from the ban on alcohol, but prohibitionists had finally won an important battle and they promised to return to successfully complete their war against alcohol.

A federal board was established to limit fuel consumption and to divert more of it to the military. The National War Labor Board arbitrated over 1,000 labor disputes and gave a great impetus to growth of the AFL, as union membership jumped from 2.7 million in 1914 to over 4 million by 1918. The U.S. Railroad Administration took over management of the railroads for the duration of the war, a condition that many Progressives would like to have seen made permanent. As young men went to war and war industries cranked up to full capacity, a shortage of labor developed, which gave opportunities to those who had been denied possibilities of higher-paying factory jobs. The war brought over a million women into the workforce, many at jobs that had been exclusively a male domain, such as train engineers and drill press operators. Southern blacks also benefited from the labor shortage in northern cities, and the war years witnessed the first of the great African American migrations north. In northeastern cities like New York, Buffalo, and Boston, blacks from the South created their own uniquely characteristic neighborhoods. As a result of the great influx of blacks into New York, Harlem, a formerly multiethnic area with defined boundaries negotiated by various immigrant groups, became recognized as a predominantly black domain.

In the Northeast as well as the rest of the country, George M. Creel's "four minute men," salesmen for the war, delivered patriotic speeches and sold war bonds wherever people gathered: in church, in theaters, and at vaudevilles. In response northeasterners, like the rest of the country, planted victory gardens, conserved fuel, and collected metal for the war effort. Like the rest of the country, many were stirred up against Germans. Mayor Victor Mravlag of Elizabeth, New Jersey, an Austrian by birth, refused to accept a flag from the Patriotic Tenth Ward Club when their presentation speech was filled with anti-German sentiment, which, he said, made people feel as if all Germans were disloyal. Even the *New York Times* was guilty of fanning the flames of prejudice when they suggested that the Spanish flu epidemic had been planted in New York by Germans.

Not everyone became caught up in the pro-war sentiment. On July 1, 1917, radicals organized a parade in Boston against the war with banners that read "If This Is a Popular War Why Conscription?" and "We Demand Peace." Although schools and universities discouraged opposition to the war, many did speak out, including the famous historian Charles Beard, who resigned from the Columbia University faculty and charged the trustees with being "reactionary and visionless in politics, narrow and medieval in religion" (Zinn 2003, 370–71).

The coastal areas of the Northeast came to feel direct effects of the war as German U-boats patrolled off the shoreline and took as easy prey fishing boats out of the Cape Cod area and coal boats moving along the coast. One such event took place in July 1918. Sixty miles off the Cape a German U-boat sank a Boston-bound schooner filled with halibut. This submarine was one of two that patrolled off the coast of New England during the war years. Closer to home in New York Harbor, German agents blew up a munitions storage area on Black Tom Island and in the process destroyed the entire island and created a blast that was heard in Baltimore and shattered windows as far away as midtown Manhattan (Green 2000, 204–5; Millman 2006, 90–96).

Recreational Life

THE NORTHEAST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

SPORTS

At the turn of the century, sports remained for the most part a male-dominated phenomenon that tended to preserve class lines, yet at the same time sports served as a vehicle for assimilation for many new urban immigrants. Boxing, which had been popular in the Northeast in the nineteenth century, lost its appeal after the demise of the Bostonian John L. Sullivan, and the entire business moved to the West during the first decades of twentieth century, only to return to the Northeast with a flourish in 1921 with the Dempsey-Carpentier fight. Spectator sports, especially college football and professional baseball, attracted tens of thousands of fans in the 1920s, and this phenomenon would continue through the 1930s. The growth of cities and the invention of the radio in the 1920s contributed greatly to the increased interest in sports in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The urban social structure in the Northeast invited men to display their status, and sports became one showcase for them. The New York Athletic Club, for example, had a very exclusive membership throughout the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Here wealthy men not only exercised together or watched competitive events, they made business contacts and solidified their identification with each other. Sporting clubs and organizations tended to observe class lines; skilled blue-collar and low-level white-collar workers might play together in a neighborhood baseball league, but rarely if ever did the steel magnate and his puddler share a democratic game of squash. Ethnic groups too—especially the first American-born generation—found in sports a powerful source of identification with the nation, and at least the hope of social mobility. Yet sports did not propel ethnic peoples into the larger culture only to have them lose their Old World identities. On the contrary, games and clubs were organized along lines of nationality, race, and religion. A bowling alley in a working-class section of New York might bring Irish, Italians, and Jews to the same lanes, but it was more as rivals than as chums. Sports could simultaneously enhance people's new American identity and their ethnic consciousness (Riess 1991, 60–92).

Sports for both participants and spectators increased dramatically after World War I. The common war experience exposed many young men to baseball and boxing for the first time. And the American Legion after the war kept men interested in sports, both as participants and as coaches for younger men. By the 1920s a large enough proportion of the population had become familiar enough with sports to create a great explosion in spectator sports. Not only live audiences but also radio audiences propelled spectator sports forward as an important leisure activity. Baseball drew the largest crowd of spectators. The big leagues began in a quadrant north of St. Louis and east of the Mississippi where proximity of urban areas and access to transportation made the formation of two eight-team leagues, 16 in all in 10 cities, possible. Radio and newspapers carried accounts of the big league games to the rest of the nation. By the 1920s there was no area of the country where the game was not played from spring to early fall, making it truly a national pastime.

Since the 1890s, football had become extremely popular at high schools and colleges. As enrollments grew, football increased in popularity. Not only did students and alumni come to games, but so too did people whose only connection to the school was an enthusiasm for its teams. Recognizing the potential financial bonanza, colleges and universities in the Northeast, as elsewhere, built stadiums seating several times their student enrollment and began offering scholarships to talented players. Unprecedented crowds of 60,000–80,000 came to college campuses on Saturday afternoons to watch football. By the end of the 1920s college football brought in an estimated $21.5 million yearly, $4.5 million more than professional baseball. Professional football, employing ex-college stars, began playing in the same cities that supported Major League Baseball, but the attraction remained far less than that for the college game.

At the turn of the century boxing left the Northeast for the West where, except for the brief reign of Jack Johnson, it received little national attention, and outside of the black community that attention remained negative. When boxing did return to the Northeast, precisely Atlantic City in 1921, it did so in great fanfare. Jack Dempsey fought Georges Carpentier in a bout that drew attention from around the world. Newspapers from America, Europe, and even Japan detailed each day's events leading up to the fight. The news-hungry public greedily consumed every scrap of information about the bout, each prophecy and speculation. The majority of experts wisely picked Dempsey to win, which he did, but the greater question was why all of a sudden, after 20 years, was boxing so popular once more? Explanations of the phenomenon were as many and as complicated as the predictions of the outcome. But through the most reasoned explanations ran a common thread: the bout symbolized the triumph of man over systems and machines. In an age where man seemed to be guided by amoral forces beyond his control, the Dempsey-Carpentier fight represented man as a master of his fate. "In days when we think in terms of politics and theologies and economic systems," wrote psychologist P. W. Wilson, "Dempsey and Carpentier declare unto us that it is, ultimately, the man who counts. His food, his muscles, his habits, his frame of mind, his morale, matter infinitely to the whole world" (Roberts 1979, 118–19).

Except for baseball, boxing, horseracing, and football, sports that attracted crowds of spectators and quickly gained a radio audience as well, most sports remained predominantly "kids'" games. Large numbers of children and younger adults in the Northeast played baseball, bicycled, swam, ran, and, in winter, ice skated, sledded, and skied. But these sorts of activities tapered off rapidly as one approached adulthood.

The one exception to this rule was golf. By the end of the 1920s an estimated three million players played on some 4,000 courses nationwide. The Depression caused interest in golf to sag, but an alternative, miniature golf, took its place. Although it was not invented until 1920, by the 1930s there were over 40,000 miniature golf courses in operation across the United States (Kyvig 2002, 158–62).

MUSIC

The record business started in various regions at various times, and its origins reach back into the nineteenth century with gramophone recordings. But in the Depression years many of the regional companies, except those in the South, which benefited from the genius of the Carter family, began to go out of business. Commercialism had trumped artistry as businessmen in New York began to stimulate the development of a more homogenized popular music.

The roots of the New York–based popular music production industry began in England with the formation of the Decca Record Company in 1914. By 1919 Decca was the largest recording company in the world, and in 1934 a U.S. branch of Decca was launched, which quickly became a major player in the depressed American record market, thanks to its roster of popular artists, particularly Bing Crosby, and to the shrewd management of Jack Kapp. Artists signed to Decca in the 1930s and 1940s included Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Billie Holiday, the Andrews Sisters, Ted Lewis, Judy Garland, the Mills Brothers, Billy Cotton, Bing Crosby, Jimmy Dorsey, and Jack Hy.

Kapp decided that a smaller inventory of highly promoted releases was more economically prudent than a large eclectic collection, and through improved management, and the reduction in variety of music produced, he was able to reduce the price of a record by half to 35 cents. These strategies helped produce music that reached a larger public audience. Kapp developed hit records by blending elements of various musical genres. He encouraged the orchestras of Guy Lombardo and Jimmy Dorsey to emphasize clear, simple melodies as well as light rhythms that would be good for dancing. He also promoted singers with soft, pleasant voices like Bing Crosby and the Mills Brothers. Decca's upbeat music appealed to the Depression-era audiences and helped shape a mass popular music market that would explode in the post–World War II years.

Kapp's chief rival, John Hammond of Columbia Records, used newly developed recording technologies to improve sound. Like Kapp, he produced records that softened the style of jazz and blues. He played an important role in creating new dance music that by the 1930s was beginning to be called swing. Hammond helped clarinetist Benny Goodman increase his band's already considerable appeal by adding flamboyant drummer Gene Kruppa and rhythmically steady piano player Jess Stacy. Hammond also brought band leader Count Basie and singer Billie Holiday national attention. Hammond remained far more aggressive than Kapp in bringing African American music and artists into the cultural mainstream (Kyvig 2002, 204–5).

In Tonawanda, New York, the first coin-operated automatic phonograph, the *Wurlitzer,* was developed. The music machines quickly began appearing in restaurants, nightclubs, soda fountains, and taverns, first in New York and then in the rest of the United States. Other companies joined the market and, in all between 1933 and 1937, produced over 150,000 jukeboxes. This word was probably borrowed from the juke joints of the South (see Chapter 4, the section on Entertainment). Each jukebox held about 50 records that were popular throughout the United States. Jukeboxes boosted the popularity of dancing throughout the United States in small communities as well as large. Until the turn of the century the waltz was the most popular dance, but major modifications to this stiff though once scandalous dance step rapidly transformed dancing in the early 1900s. By 1910, more informal and physically intimate social dancing was being transformed from a morally questionable activity restricted to lower-class urban dance halls and saloons into such a popular pastime that it was frequently referred to as the dance craze. By World War I new dances were constantly being introduced, including the fox-trot, the tango, and dozens of briefly popular dances (Kyvig 2002, 205–6).

Jazz music, which had little respectability given its southern and black roots, was dressed up by white orchestras and composers in the early 1920s and became acceptable to middle-class white audiences. By the mid-1920s, Paul Whitman's orchestra and his style of jazz became regular features of radio music that would continue over the next quarter century. Other bands, led by Guy Lombardo, Ozzie Nelson, Rudy Vallee, Duke Ellington, Glen Miller, and Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey helped make jazz an important part of radio broadcasting in the 1920s and 1930s.

Traditionalists looked at pastimes like dancing and jazz and saw dangerous, rude passion and sensuous movement. In the early 1920s the *Ladies' Home Journal* railed against "unspeakable jazz" and launched an anti-jazz crusade that it believed to be "of as great importance today to the moral well being of the United States as the prohibition crusade in the worst days of the saloon." Critics warned that jazz and modern dancing were the sign of American decadence heralding the collapse of civilized life. "Anyone who says that youths of both sexes can mingle in close embrace—with limbs intertwined and torso in contact—without suffering harm lies." The *Ladies' Home Journal* warned, "Add to this position the wriggling movement and sensuous stimulation of the abominable jazz orchestra with its voodoo born minors and its direct appeal to the sensory center, and if you believe that youth is the same after this experience then God help your child." Jazz dancing, it was believed, relaxed morality and undermined the institution of the family. New York, the corrupt Gotham, laying waste to the virtues of the republic, came in for the lion's share of denunciation, and there was the inevitable comparison to Rome in her final orgiastic plunge to destruction (Fass 1977, 22–23).

GAMES

As they had been for centuries, games continued to be part of the repertoire of entertainment possibilities. In addition to the old standbys of Parcheesi, chess, and checkers, card games like mah-jongg, canasta, rummy, casino, and bridge became favorite pastimes for many middle-class Americans. Poker remained a popular card game, particularly among working-class males. Among children the most popular games for boys were playing baseball, rollerskating, kites, marbles, hide and seek, tag, and card games like penny pinching, where cards were tossed and won or lost depending on the skill of the participant in "flipping" his cards. The cards came out of cigarette packs. Among girls the most popular games were tag, jump-rope, jacks, roller-skating, dolls, and ball playing. In the 1930s, Monopoly®, a new board game based on buying and selling property named for streets in Atlantic City, captured the imagination of families of all classes.

ENTERTAINMENT

For the working class the weekend, which often consisted of Saturday afternoon and Sunday or only Sunday, was a special time of some relaxation, at least for men. Women still had to keep up with the daily regimen of cooking, cleaning, and minding the children, and often had to work extra because of the expectation of a special meal on Saturday night or Sunday. On Saturdays immigrant neighborhoods would wait for the beer wagon, which would drop off quarter kegs at various houses. On Sunday working-class families in good weather would often gather in a neighbor's back yard and listen while someone played the guitar or mandolin, while the rest listened or played cards.

Seasonal festivals, usually associated with the church, provided outdoor street theater and social interaction for urban ethnic enclaves of the Northeast. These were the twentieth-century descendants of the urban fairs and festivals of medieval Europe and the urban counterparts of American county and state agricultural fairs and usually included music, food, and religious pageantry. The workplace analog of the street fair was the company picnic. Paid for by the firm, these food and drink extravaganzas often turned the activities of the job into contests. Loggers competed in sawing and chopping contests, and miners in drilling events. Pennsylvania coal miner John Parraccini remembered going to many company-sponsored affairs. "There were a lot of picnics. The mines used to hold picnics every year. There used to be all kinds of games on those picnics. Many times we used to have big rocks, and fellas would see who [could] drill the hole through first."

Modernization also greatly affected the development of recreation in the new century. By the 1920s, most cities of the Northeast boasted an amusement park nearby. These parks consisted of combinations of mechanical rides, cheap foods, and games of chance. Coney Island, near New York, was probably the most famous amusement park in America, but throughout the region hundreds of parks, such as Steeplechase

Island and Pleasure Beach in Connecticut; Electric Park in Albany; the Boardwalk on Long Island; and Merrimack Park, Riverside Park, and Nantucket Point in Massachusetts, provided families in the Northeast the possibility of a day at an amusement park that was only a short train ride away. Often urban trolley companies and amusement park builders formed partnerships, ensuring that a trolley line would be built to serve the park. When there was water around for swimming and bathing, the combination often proved irresistible for both sweltering urbanites and entrepreneurs. Nantucket Point, Coney Island, and Boardwalk Park had seawater; at Rochester, New York, Ontario Beach had Lake Ontario. All were served by public transportation, and all were jammed with people in the summer.

By the 1920s, Americans were also beginning to enjoy annual vacations. Salaried workers increasingly benefited from a two-week annual release from their duties. Rarely did hourly wage earners enjoy such a benefit, but employers would often let them take a week or two off without fear of losing their job. Farmers, of course, who were caring for livestock, had no time for vacation. For those in the Northeast fortunate enough to be able to take automobile vacations, the most popular destinations were Cape Cod, Niagara Falls, New York City, and the beaches of southern New Jersey, especially Atlantic City.

Before 1915 motoring was too expensive for any but the wealthy to enjoy for recreational purposes, but by the end of World War I the economic crunch on motoring began to ease. Filling stations and mechanics were more numerous in cities and suburbs, and prices for automobiles and parts were declining, especially for Henry Ford's basic black Model T. For the urban and suburban middle class, the Sunday drive in the country became a ritual in passable weather, as did the one- or two-week vacation, in spite of the challenges of long-distance trips.

Travelers who made it over the roads and bridges needed overnight accommodations that had ample parking space, a demand that hotels could not always meet. Traditionally, hotels were located in city and town centers, convenient to businesses and train terminals. They usually had little space for parking and could obtain none because central city real estate was expensive and crammed with buildings. Thus the motor hotel, or motel—at first a conglomeration of little cabins placed side by side on major roads outside of cities—was born. Rarely equipped with private bathrooms or toilets, they were inexpensive and offered more privacy than guesthouses, which were usually a family's home that had been turned into a seasonal moneymaker. By 1926 (the year the term *motel* was coined), there were an estimated 2,000 motels in the United States. In the mid-1920s some cities had opened municipal campgrounds for motoring travelers, equipping the sites with cold-water spigots and outdoor toilets. These became more popular as the car-drawn trailer caught the fancy of many travelers. Seven hundred companies manufactured trailers in the 1930s, and by 1940 more than 100,000 trailers were in use.

Many, especially in the middle class, found recreational outlets in various

An early twentieth-century panoramic view of Luna Park, an amusement park at Coney Island in Brooklyn, New York, that ran from 1903 to 1944. Library of Congress voluntary organizations and clubs, both church sponsored and secular, which allowed men, women, and teenagers in communities of practically every size to explore shared interests and common concerns and backgrounds. Men had business clubs such as the Rotary clubs and Kiwanis, as well as fraternal organizations such as the Knights of Columbus, the Elks, the Moose, and Lions clubs. In large urban areas of the Northeast with large Catholic populations such as New York, Boston, Rochester, and Buffalo, the Catholic Youth Organization provided an alternative to the activities offered by the YMCA and YWCA. Young Men and Women's Hebrew Associations did the same for their coreligionists. Women belonged to various clubs and informal social educational and charitable groups as well.

Drinking, which never died out entirely during Prohibition, especially in the speakeasies of large cities, became a more affordable and commonplace form of recreation after repeal in 1933. The working class patronized taverns, while the middle class increasingly drank at home. Otherwise, dancing was perhaps the most widely shared recreational activity.

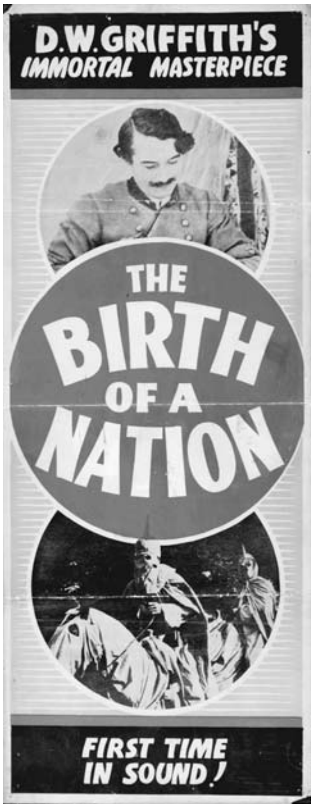
A 1936 sociological study of junior high school children on the Lower West Side of New York revealed that 75 percent of the leisure time of these children was spent indoors. Listening to the radio, going to movies, and reading were their favorite activities. Among the radio shows they listened to were adventure serials, family serials, comedies, and musical variety shows. Girls preferred family serials and the boys the adventure serials, while both enjoyed musical variety shows and comedies. Reading was the third most important indoor leisure time activity for young people with newspapers (because of the comics) preferred over other reading material, followed by books, then magazines. Girls preferred *Liberty, Saturday Evening Post,* and *Colliers* magazines while the boys preferred aviation and science magazines. In the 1930s, comic books, building on the popularity of newspaper comics, became popular leisure reading fare for young people. Among the first were *The Shadow* (1931), *Detective Comics* (1937), *Superman* (1938), and *Batman* (1939). Both boys and girls preferred novels of fantasy far removed from the reality of their everyday lives. Boys spent much more time in outdoor activities than girls. While outdoors, "hanging around" followed by baseball remained the most popular activities for boys, while young girls preferred tag and jump-rope, which they did to rhymes that had been part of the culture for centuries yet modified to meet the expressional needs of each new generation that recited them (Robinson 1936, 484–93; Green 2000, 204–8).

Live stage entertainment (and there was no other in the first decades of the century) remained close to its nineteenth-century minstrel and vaudeville roots, but in the Northeast, specifically New York City, a number of musical innovators led by George M. Cohan introduced a new form of entertainment, the musical, to the American public. This form of entertainment, which combined popular music with storylines about average everyday people, gained immediate popularity and became so identified with New York that soon the term *Broadway musical* had a universal connotation. The great American composers and lyricists of the first half of the century all became involved in this new musical form, including Irving Berlin, George M. Cohan, Jerome Kern, Leonard Bernstein, Oscar Hammerstein, Cole Porter, and the Gershwin brothers, George and Ira.

The pioneer in this new creation was George M. Cohan, who wrote both lyrics and music for his shows, which were extravagantly patriotic odes to America and show business. "You're a Grand Old Flag," "Give My Regards to Broadway," and "Over There" were easy to remember and they punched hard with their marching syncopated rhythms. His first hit show, *Little Johnny Jones* (1904), set the pattern for the future Cohan shows as fast-moving musicals. Jerome Kern brought to Broadway the idea of writing shows based on stories about believable people rather than romantic characters from a never-never land. Kern contributed songs to the Ziegfeld Follies of 1916. The follies, of which there were almost annual editions through 1936, represented another form of musical, the storyless revue. Everything about the follies was spectacular. There were opulent settings, music by Kern, Irving Berlin, and Victor Herbert, and of course the elegant Ziegfeld Follies girls, who did little more than make grand entrances in exquisite gowns, stroll around the stage, and pose in tableaux to the "national anthem" of the follies, Berlin's "A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody."

The revue dominated the Broadway stage of the early 1920s. Most important of the revues were the Garrick Gaieties of 1925 and 1926, because they brought to light two great talents, Richard Rodgers and Lorenzo Hart. The revue was a fast-paced alternation of romantic or topical songs, bright and often satirical sketches, and dances that combined elements of tap, ballet, and ballroom dancing. The 1920s Broadway shows brought together the composers who would dominate the American musical stage for the next two decades: the Gershwins, Rodgers and Hart, Cole Porter, Vincent Youmans, Jerome Kern, and Oscar Hammerstein. It was the last two who brought musical comedy to its maturity in 1927 with their memorable *Show Boat*. It featured blacks not as caricatures but as real suffering people, and all its characters, white and black, were believable figures. Hits from the musical, such as "Ole Man River," became American standards. As Broadway and its composers matured in the early 1930s, it was ready for its closest approach to a true American opera—George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* (1935). This work, with its recitatives linking its arias and its orchestration carefully worked out by Gershwin, remains a landmark in American musical history. Broadway musicals had created a genre that would continue into the present, but the high point of this initial era was reached in the mid-1930s. After that, this brilliant group of composers was attracted to Hollywood, where gleaming sets and the introduction of sound provided them with a brand new medium to present their work. Although they left for Hollywood, they had left behind a legacy, which continues to today and has come to represent American popular music to the world (Lloyd 1968, 347–51).

As the new century unfolded, the movies introduced a new form of entertainment that captured the American imagination. American enthusiasm for motion pictures began taking shape in the 1890s with the introduction of Kinetoscopes, followed in 1896 by large-screen projection. Within a few years middle-sized and large cities throughout the Northeast all had nickelodeons offering 15- to 20-minute programs composed of a potpourri of unconnected black-and-white scenes that included brief presentations of dancing, travel scenes, speeding locomotives, and re-creations of historic events. In its early years, the nickelodeon was almost exclusively a popular



Motion picture poster for D. W. Griffith's 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation,* which was highly controversial due to its promotion of white supremacy and its glorification of the Ku Klux Klan. Library of Congress.

entertainment for the urban working class, but in 1915, D. W. Griffith revolutionized the medium with the first feature-length film, *Birth of a Nation.* The film presented a racist interpretation of Reconstruction and was even partly responsible for the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan; nevertheless, its technological innovations, in length, staging, and photography, opened new vistas for the fledgling film industry, which in the 1920s and 1930s transcended class to become America's most popular form of entertainment. By the 1920s feature-length as well as shorter films, often accompanied by live vaudeville acts, had become a popular form of cheap entertainment in large and medium-sized cities. In January 1923, the United States had 15,000 silent movie theaters with an average capacity of 507 and a weekly attendance of 50 million.

Although the first generation of films was dubbed silent films, the theaters were anything but. An organ or piano player accompanied pictures, and audiences felt free to comment out loud if scenes called for it. In the 1920s, Hollywood also established the star system, and actors, bigger than their pictures, almost bigger than life, captured the imaginations of many who followed the on- and off-screen adventures of their favorite stars, such as male sex symbol Rudolph Valentino, the comics Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton, the "It" girl Clara Bow, and Mary Pickford, "America's Sweetheart," who married the dashing Douglass Fairbanks. By 1927, the movies began talking when in October of that year Al Jolson starred in *The Jazz Singer.* Sound influenced the direction the industry would take over the next 10 years. Western action films that could include compelling sounds such as horses, guns, and saloon sounds became popular, as well as horror movies with their screams and creaking doors. Contemporary crime dramas with gunfire, breaking glass, and screeching tires also provided a popular theme in the 1930s. By the end of the decade the movie industry had secured its position as America's most popular form of entertainment, with weekly attendance at films exceeding one million viewers.

The Depression at first caused a downturn in film attendance, but by 1933 the industry had recovered. Some of the most popular movies of the era were gangster films such as *Little Caesar* (1930), and *Public Enemy* (1931) starring Jimmy Cagney. Backstage "confidential pictures" such as *Footlight Parade* (1933) and *42nd Street* (1933), which supposedly took viewers behind the scenes of the entertainment industry, also enjoyed popularity. The audiences also flocked to comedies in the 1930s. Among the most popular were those in which either the Marx Brothers, W. C. Fields, or Mae West starred. While becoming America's favorite form of entertainment, the movies with their standardization of speech, fashion, and manners also contributed significantly to the creation of a national culture. Another popular form of entertainment that

A casino in Harlem, New York, 1927. The Granger Collection, New York.

contributed to the development of a national culture was the radio (see the section on Communication). With broadcasts that could be heard across the country, the radio allowed Americans for the first time to share a common live experience. National political events and World Series baseball games were the first of these collective radio experiences (Kyvig 2002, 50–52, 156–62).

HOLIDAYS, CELEBRATIONS, AND FESTIVALS

For many Americans, holidays represented the high points of their leisure time. Christmas was the most important holiday for the 90 percent who were Christian. Protestants had traditionally dedicated more time to Easter, but within the previous century American Christmas celebrations had come to combine Catholic and Orthodox religious festivals, along with German and Scandinavian traditions of decorating a tree, the domestically evolved traditions of greeting cards and the jolly old elf Santa Claus, and at the center of the celebration extensive gift giving. New Year's Day, Easter, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving were generally important holidays, while children enjoyed Halloween, and ethnic groups celebrated their own special occasions such as St. Patrick's Day and Yom Kippur (Kyvig 2002, 162).

SECULAR RITES OF PASSAGE

One of the most respected of the secular rituals, particularly in the Northeast, involved the process by which one chose one's lifetime companion. In the first decade of the century much courtship had taken place in the home according to well-defined customs. A young man would be encouraged to call on a young woman. In doing so he would meet her parents, talk to her in the family parlor, perhaps be offered refreshments, possibly be entertained by her piano playing or singing, and ultimately be encouraged to call again or discouraged from doing so. This social ritual, originating with the upper classes, common within the middle class, and copied insofar as possible by families of more modest means, gave eligible women and watchful parents some power over the courtship process. Men could, of course, decline to call, but if they did proceed, they ventured into the woman's environment. If the courtship progressed, the couple might move from the parlor to the still highly visible porch, or attend public functions together. But only well along in the process could a young lady properly consent to the privacy of going out alone with her suitor. Early in the twentieth century "dating" began to replace calling. Urbanization in the new century had led to the demise of the tradition of visiting a girl and being entertained in her home. In the urban Northeast, apartment living limited space for receiving and entertaining guests, and for poorer people living in tenements in cramped boarding houses, there was no private space at all.

At the same time cities offered greater possibilities for courting outside the home. Gradually, couples began to go out on dates, prearranged excursions to the soda and coffee shops, movie theaters, restaurants, and other places where even in the midst of a crowd they experienced less supervision and greater privacy than in the parlor. The automobile further extended the range of possibilities for dating couples, not only as transportation to entertainment, but also as a place for private intimacy. Because dates cost money and males were far more likely to earn cash for such purposes, dating tended to give men greater control over courtship. Since they were now the hosts, men gained control over the choice of activity and the dating process. Indeed, it was considered improper for a woman to propose a date.

The increased popularity of dating in the second decade of the twentieth century encouraged greater sexual exploration. Promiscuity is often connected to the 1920s, but a study of the literature demonstrates that this quiet revolution had been going on since at least the turn of the century as women began to demand looser corsets, greater equality with men, and more information on the control of their reproductive lives. Long before the rise of the dating system young people regularly experimented with kissing games. Engaged couples often enjoyed what was coming to be known as heavy petting, and enough people engaged in premarital intercourse that nearly 1 in 10 late nineteenth-century brides went to the altar pregnant. Dating, however, brought more open attitudes about sexuality and more freedom to explore them. Prolonged kissing and embraces became accepted aspects of romantic relationships. Necking and petting were customary if not universal practices. Evidence compiled later pointed to a sharp rise in premarital intercourse after World War I, with over 80 percent of males and nearly 50 percent of females acknowledging participation (Kyvig 2002, 132–34).

Religious Life

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

Despite what some described as a growing laxity in morals during the first decades of the twentieth century, religion continued to play a role in most Americans' lives in the 1920s and 1930s. Most people belonged to a religion, almost always a Christian one. Two-thirds of the Christians, however, affiliated with one or another Protestant sect. In the Northeast, the predominant sects were Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and (especially in the New England area) Congregationalists. New York had significant Jewish populations. Despite the number of denominations, they generally shared certain characteristics. Homes more often than not had religious icons such as pictures, crosses, crucifixes, or menorahs, and most families routinely prayed before meals. Otherwise, religious matters were centered in the church. Conducting prayer services at home was mostly a thing of the past.

Sunday was the day most given over to religious activities. Religious education programs had developed over the previous half century with graded curriculums that were patterned after secular education but centered on Bible study and conducted by church volunteers. Sunday schools had shifted the responsibility for religious training from the home to the Sunday schools. By 1920, more parents sent their children to Sunday school than went to services themselves (Kyvig 2002, 149–55).

With 12 million Catholics in the country, they were by far the single largest denomination of Christians in the United States. Half of those Catholics in the United States were concentrated in the Northeast. And their religion was not limited to the spiritual; their entire social, cultural, and material lives revolved around their Catholicism and their church. Catholics for the first decades of the twentieth century in the major dioceses of the Northeast created and maintained a separate social structure of Catholic schools, orphanages, welfare centers, hospitals, universities, even cemeteries. They also were guided by a rigid set of rules, which demanded weekly church attendance, catechism, and a Catholic education for their children either through Sunday school classes or preferably by attendance at a Catholic school. The big urban diocese set the tone for and defined the public image of the American Catholic Church.

Bishops of big dioceses such as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston were sole corporate heads of major business enterprises. A small number of men, all of whom became cardinals, had unusually long tenures as archbishops of the largest dioceses: William O. Connell in Boston (1907–1944), Dennis Dougherty in Philadelphia (1918–1951), John Farley in New York (1902–1918), and then in New York Patrick Hayes (1919–1938). Differences of style and personality notwithstanding, they were all like-minded centralizers, standardizers, and disciplinarians. They also were all Irish Americans. In the established dioceses of the Northeast the priesthood offered an inviting package of security and social rank to any young man with upper middle-class aspirations, particularly among the Irish. Compared with other high-status professions like medicine or the law, the priesthood was much more accessible to a young man without family connections or the means to finance an extended education. All of the post–World War I cardinals were sons of working-class families.

In the hierarchical structure of the church, nuns were at the bottom of the religious pecking order, but they were essential to the maintenance and administration of the complex and massive Catholic system of education, health care, and social services. A major motivation for joining the sisterhood in this era was the fact that at the turn of the century and well into the twentieth century there were few lay positions open to women that carried the responsibilities and prestige of a Catholic nun. As one nun recently recalled, the pre–World War II generation of nuns were "pretty independent ladies. They were engineers who fired up boilers in the morning. They fixed things. They managed investments; they approved building plans and managed construction. [In those days] we didn't know women could do all those things" (Morris 1997, 115–16).

The issue of alcohol divided Baptists, Methodists, and other firm Prohibitionists from Catholics, some Lutherans, and others who, largely because of their ethnic background, were not opposed to drinking. Race created other religious divisions throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Large Protestant denominations such as the Methodists and Baptists remained divided by color, as 99 percent of black Protestants worshipped only with other African Americans in self-segregated congregations. Most African Americans (seven and a half million) belonged to their own separate churches. The largest black Protestant congregation was Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church. Harlem was also home to the flamboyant mystic George Baker, who called himself Father Divine.

In urban areas especially, American religious expression in the 1920s consisted of a general approval of the way things were. Many American Protestants, who collectively represented the religious majority, shared a Calvinist view that explained success as a reward for virtue and difficulty as a test of character. The self-contented Protestant pro-business view was expressed in Bruce Barton's 1925 book *The Man Nobody Knows*, which depicted Jesus Christ as a dynamic business leader who picked up 12 men from the bottom ranks of society and forged them into the world's most successful organization. At the same time the Social Gospel movement, which contributed to a host of social reform movements, thrived among many urban congregations.

SACRED RITES OF PASSAGE

Sacred rites of passage in the Catholic Church included receiving a series of sacraments: baptism, at birth; first communion, around age 7; confirmation, at age thirteen or fourteen; followed by matrimony, which the Catholic Church also considers a sacrament. Among the Protestant faiths, the Episcopalians followed rites similar to the Catholics, but for other Protestant faiths the most sacred rite of passage remained baptism, which in some denominations could not be administered until the person had reached the age of reason, at which they could make the decision to accept Christ as their savior. Aside from circumcision of boys at birth, for the Jewish faithful there remained only one sacred rite of passage, the bar mitzvah, which declares a boy a man at 13 and a girl a woman at 12.

An important sacred rite of passage that all religions shared was the rite of burial. In the 1920s, especially in urban areas of the Northeast, mourning and burial of the dead began more and more to be taken over by professional funeral directors. It became common practice to embalm the body and display it in an open casket either in the home of the deceased or in a funeral parlor. Burial of the remains in a cemetery remained the norm, and cremations were rare. In northeastern cities and towns the advent of professionally conducted funerals had a profound impact on the next three stages of the rituals of death services: services before the burial, the procession, and services at the grave. One of the most powerful symbolic actions associated with the rituals of death had been the procession from the home to the grave, marking the separation of the living from the dead. As more and more people were taken to hospitals to die, and then buried from hired chapels, the effects of the pointed and poignant transition were greatly muted.

From 1900 to 1915, only 3.3 percent of funerals in the Northeast occurred at undertakers' establishments. No doubt more families used an undertaker's service, but they kept the body at home for the funeral. By 1930, the proportion of families who chose to have the funeral service at the undertaker's parlor rose to 13.8 percent, and it had jumped to 55.3 percent by 1945. Several reasons exist for this change. For many, having a body in the house for several days must have been a strain, no matter how close the relationship, and to remove it must have been a relief. Most must have welcomed funeral homes once they were available without charge, as they were in many cities of the Northeast after 1914.

The last two stages of the ritual of death include actions taken to remember the dead and the reintegration of the mourners into the community of the living The various forms used in remembrance and reintegration, such as memorial pamphlets, resolutions passed by organizations on the death of a member, letters and other written expressions of consolation, and obituaries were all present before the turn of the century, but all underwent significant transformation in substance and symbols in the new century. As the new century opened, memorial biographies began to replace sermons, and the death was used not as opprobrium to the living but rather as a celebration of the life of the deceased. Memorial cards also came into frequent use. Such cards were sometimes printed on black-bordered paper and represented an inexpensive option for distribution to family and friends. The messages were simple and brief, like an obituary, with some appropriate symbol or verse.

Written condolences continued to be important means for remembering the dead and reassuring the survivors that they were still part of the community. In the first half of the twentieth century these cards became less religious, and with the advent of the commercial greeting card, those who were sympathetic but could not easily express their concern personally had an opportunity to express their sympathy. Consideration of rituals of death associated with remembrance and consolation naturally leads to the evolution of cemeteries and grave markers. In many towns and cities of the Northeast, cemeteries ranged from large elaborate grounds open to the whole community to small churchyards. Size of markers has reduced significantly over the years; the oldest parts of cemeteries in towns and cities in the Northeast have a variety of types of monuments. Between 1870 and 1950 taste in grave markers continued to evolve. From 1840 to 1920 an eclectic style of large monuments reflecting both individualism and a defiance of death was common. Around 1900, a modern plain style emerged. Part of this more modest style owed to attitudes that, if not denying death, attempted to maintain a degree of indifference to it. In addition, with longer life expectancy, most of those who died were older, so their deaths were neither unexpected nor tragic—hence the need to commemorate the individual and express grief were reduced. This trend would continue through the first half of the twentieth century (Wells 2000, 204–6).

RITUAL

Among immigrant communities of the urban Northeast ritual often involved the amalgamation of the sacred with the profane—or at least the practical. One example of this is a religious celebration in New York, which began in the 1880s and continues to the present. It is known as the festival of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel the Virgin of 115th Street. Although its roots were in the nineteenth century and the energy of collective memory resuscitates this celebration every year, the vibrant and crucial era of this religious celebration was the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1880s, the celebration began as a devotion imported from the Italian village of Polla. Soon the celebration was joined by Italians from other villages, and the devotion, mostly attended by men who had come without their families to this country, was an expression by the men of their loyalty to the women they left behind. In the early twentieth century, when bitter generational disputes arose, the festival of the Virgin to which all Italians were compelled to go reminded wayward youth of the family-centeredness of the Italian community and cajoled wayward youth who were obligated to go to the festival back to their family roots. In the 1930s and 1940s as other ethnic groups began to enter what Italians considered their Harlem, particularly the newly arrived Puerto Ricans and the expanding community of blacks, the celebration took on greater significance as a means of defining space. The streets through which the Virgin was paraded every July 15 marked the Italian streets of Harlem.

SACRED SPACE AND SACRED TIME

As the new century unfolded and as Americans searched for a language of restitution and wholeness, they demanded institutions larger than the separated churches for its embodiment. A new religion of Americanism emerged. Leaders grafted religious symbols onto their imperial mission. They used wars, a small one in 1898 and a much larger one in 1917, to serve as the major ecumenical and interfaith instrument, while the nation itself became a transcendent religious symbol.

In this spirit, sacred spaces of American history became places where the religious symbol of America was memorialized, and the Northeast was replete with such places. The pilgrim could start in Boston with Plymouth Rock and then go to Concord and Lexington, then travel to Gettysburg where none other than Abraham Lincoln called the ground "consecrated" by brave men. And finally, the traveler could visit Independence Hall, the Bethlehem where the nation was born. As the automobile made people more mobile, weeklong vacations became pilgrimages to the hallowed spots of the nation's heritage.

In the predominantly Christian Northeast, Sunday had always remained the day of worship and rest, but as the century progressed it began to be seen more as simply a day of rest in which secular entertainment and relaxation rivaled and in many areas surpassed the spiritual recreation of church. By the 1920s, golf courses were reporting more players on the links on Sunday morning than any other day of the week. Sunday also became the most popular day of the week for moviegoing, and finally, professional baseball teams chipped away at blue laws that prevented charging for tickets for Sunday games. Midwestern cities led the way before the turn of the century; they were joined by Washington and New York after World War I. Boston held out against Sunday baseball until 1929, and Pittsburgh and Philadelphia held steadfast until 1934, but with those two cities the last bastions against Sunday baseball fell.

WORLDVIEW

In the Northeast, where the population remained the most eclectic in the country, it would be difficult to define a single worldview. For the dominant middle-class Protestant population of the Northeast all space was sacred space. Jesus was depicted as a super salesman, John D. Rockefeller claimed that God gave him his money, and the middle-class Christian spirit told people that if they abided by the scriptures and led forthright lives they would be prosperous and if they weren't prosperous it was because of their own vice. Thus the politics of the new era were tinged with a great deal of morality and the Christian obligation of those who had followed the straight and narrow and had become successful to help those less fortunate find the way.

For immigrants another view prevailed. It could probably best be summarized by a Jewish immigrant's son who served in World War I. "When my turn to be drafted came," he said, "it didn't bother me at all. As a matter of fact, if I hadn't been drafted, I think I would have gone anyway. Both my parents had been Jewish immigrants from Europe and this country has been good to our family" (Keene 2006, 109). Like many other immigrants who left Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, they ignored the prejudice they experienced in their new country, which probably seemed fairly benign when compared to the oppression, starvation, and poverty they had left behind. They clung to their traditions and their faith but looked forward to a bright future that America promised them. The American dream was not always realized, but the myth was strong enough to maintain them.

For blacks in the new urban ghettos of northern cities their worldview was probably distinct from that of the immigrants from Europe, and they certainly did not share the chauvinistic worldviews of the white Protestant middle class. Some may have shared the optimism of the European immigrants, but they also had to face the dismal reality that while the Europeans had been able to escape the social constrictions of their European villages, racial prejudice, which had caused so many social and economic problems in the South, had followed them northward.

All groups in these early decades of the twentieth century, however, had shared in a world war and were witnessing the beginning of another, and experiencing a technological explosion that had taken them from horse and buggies to autos, and a Great Depression that had left many in financial ruin. Despite their differences of class, race, or religion, Americans shared the common dilemmas of living and working in a world where change had become the norm, war was ever present, and economic calamity was a constant possibility.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Books

Davidson, John West, William E. Gienapp, Christine Leigh Heyrman, Mark H. Lytle, and Michael B. Stoff. *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 2001.

Degler, Carl N. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
Fass, Paula S. *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
Green, Harvey. *The Uncertainty of Everyday Life 1915–1945*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.
Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
Harrell, David Edwein, Edwin S. Gaustad, John B. Boles, Sally Foreman Griffith, and Randall Miller. *Unto a Good Land: A History of the American People*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005.
Hill, Daniel Delis. *As Seen in Vogue: A Century of Fashion in Advertising*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2004.
Kyvig, David E. *Daily Life in the United States 1920–1940: How Americans Lived Through the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.
Lloyd, Norman. *The Golden Encyclopaedia of Music*. New York: Golden Press, 1968.
London, Jack. *John Barleycorn: Alcoholic Memoirs*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
Mencken, H. L. *On Politics*. New York: Vintage Books, 1960.
Millman, Chad. *The Detonators: The Secret Plot to Destroy America and an Epic Hunt for Justice*. New York: Little Brown and Company, 2006.
Morris, Charles. *American Catholic: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church*. New York: Random House, 1997.
Opdyke, Sandra. *No One Was Turned Away: The Role of Public Hospitals in New York City Since 1900*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Reich, Steven A. *Encyclopedia of the Great Black Migration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.
Riess, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
Riordon, William L. *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, ed. Terrence McDonald. New York: Bedford Books/St. Martins Press, 1994.
Roberts, Randy. *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979.
Sklar, Robert. *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
Sullivan, Mark. *Our Times: The United States 1900–1925*. 6 vols. New York: Charles Scribners, 1927.
Tygiel, Jules. *Past Time: Baseball As History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Wells, Robert V. *Facing the King of Terrors: Death and Society in an American Community* 1750–1990. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States 1492–Present*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2003.

Articles

Bateman, Fred. "Improvement in American Dairy Farming, 1850–1910: A Quantitative Analysis." *Journal of Economic History* 28, no. 2 (June 1968): 255–73.
Kingsdale, Jon M. "The 'Poor Man's Club': Social Functions of the Urban Working Class Saloon." *American Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (October 1973): 472–89.
Loftue, John J. "The Activity Program in New York Elementary Schools." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 17, no. 2 (October 1943): 71–72.

Nash, Roderick. "The American Cult of the Primitive." *American Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (Autumn 1966): 517–37.

Orsi, Robert. "The Religious Boundaries of an In-Between People: Street Fest and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920–1990." *American Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (September 1992): 313–47.

Patrick, Vincent. "Crime Story." *New York Times Review of Books*, September 9, 2007, 31.

Robinson, Reginald. "Leisure Time Activities of the Children of New York's Lower West Side." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 9, no. 8 (April 1936): 484–93.

Sicotte, Richard. "Economic Crisis and Political Response: The Political Economy of the Shipping Act of 1916." *Journal of Economic History* 59, no. 4 (December 1999): 103–10.

Web Sites

Diehl, Lorraine B., and Marianne Hardart. "The Automat: The History, Recipes, and Allure of Horn & Hardart's Masterpiece." http://www.theautomat.net/.

"Duke University Libraries—Airlines History." http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/adaccess/airline-history.html.

"United Airlines History." http: //www. united.com/page/middlepage/0, 6823,2286,00.html.

W.E.B. Du Bois Learning Center. http://www.duboislc.org/man.html.

This page intentionally left blank

3

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

Overview

As in other areas of the country, in the Middle Atlantic region (which includes Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia), immigration and migration, technology, and a great war followed by an economic boom and collapse brought great changes to daily life from 1900–1940. The major cities of the area, including Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Washington, absorbed part of the great immigration from Europe and the continued significant migration of blacks from the South. This demographic upheaval affected almost every area within the Middle Atlantic region. Migration changed people's neighborhoods, living conditions, eating habits, and even the way they viewed each other. Technology, particularly the wide application of electricity in factory production, businesses, and households, changed how people lived not only at home but in the workplace. The expansion of trolleys, elevated trains, and subway systems, and the advent of the automobile expanded and redefined space and accelerated the growth of suburbs. The convulsions of the "Great War," followed by the Great Depression, affected people's perspectives on the security of daily life as they had known it as children. This chapter will investigate how these changes shaped daily life in the Middle Atlantic region and the nation in an era that many historians have described as the decades of change and uncertainty.

Domestic Life

FAMILY LIFE

In the Middle Atlantic region, as elsewhere, the middle-class family household, whether as an apartment or detached dwelling in city, suburb, or small town, was supposed to be a place of refuge from the harsh world of the workplace. In the nineteenth

Typical Pennsylvania farm kitchen at the turn of the twentieth century. Library of Congress.

century this conception of the home was refined and codified in popular literature, architectural form, and home furnishings. In these "secular sanctuaries," as writers referred to them, beauty, religion, learning, and other high-culture pursuits were preserved, encountered, and appreciated, and here they exercised their alleged influence upon the character of men hardened by the highly competitive world of capitalism. In this protected environment, women supposedly assumed the roles of civilizer and softener, nurturer, and helpful companion. These roles gave them new moral authority within the household, supposedly with a concession to men to control the public sphere. This image of family, which had been carefully crafted in women's magazines, advice columns, and fiction during the mid- to late nineteenth century, would be radically altered in the new century.

The Great War, the middle-class expansion of the 1920s, the crises of the Depression, and technological innovations in consumer goods altered family relationships, challenged traditional gender roles, and offered new social and economic expectations for many Americans. Many World War I soldiers returned from Europe with knowledge and experience of a more open (or at least less straight-laced) attitude toward sex and marriage. In the 1920s, young people with access to automobiles took advantage of the mobility and the privacy that the car offered to escape parents and chaperones while courting, thereby undermining the Victorian codes of conduct their parents had experienced. The economic and social dislocation wrought by the Depression disrupted family roles when fathers could not find work, and many men, women, and children lost their homes and drifted.

Yet certain images, and to a greater extent roles, of the sexes remained powerful. Men were to be responsible breadwinners and physically strong and dominant. Women were supposed to be nurturing and emotional, physically weaker, but bedrocks of familial stability. In the Middle Atlantic region, as elsewhere, the archetypical family structure of popular culture, husband and wife and children in one household, was predominant enough to maintain the stereotype, but there were many variants.

With larger families than their middle-class and wealthy counterparts, as well as boarders, newcomers, and relatives looking for work, home life for the working class of the Middle Atlantic region was characterized by little space and few conveniences. In a 1913 article in the *Journal of Home Economics*, Mabel Kittridge identified a typical working-class family and described their living situation. Eight family members and one boarder occupied a four-room flat that cost $19 monthly. The father and two of the children worked in a local factory (the father earned $12 weekly), and the mother made artificial flowers at home. All slept in the same room and each child shared a bed with two or three siblings. Margaret Byington's 1910 study of workers near Pittsburgh revealed that only 15 of 90 (17 percent) working-class living units had indoor toilets.

Crowded living conditions were common among the working class because boarders were both a financial necessity and a neighborhood service. Newly arrived immigrants expected lodging with people from their home village until they could get on their feet; so too did relatives. But most households brought in boarders for the income they generated. Joe Rudiak, of Lyndora, Pennsylvania, "lived in company houses owned by the Standard Steel Company, and each . . . were all frame and painted red. . . . They had, lined up for let's say half a mile and about five hundred feet deep, rows of these shanties. . . . As high as five, six, seven boarders would come in. . . . There was nine of us and as high as four boarders. Mostly it was all relatives and folks from home." Rose Popovich's mother started a boardinghouse in Monessen, Pennsylvania, immediately after arriving in the United States in 1912. She had hoped to pack the beds with boarders each night, and she succeeded. Renters were "so in need of housing that they were willing to sleep even three on one bed." The real entrepreneurs took in people working different shifts to maximize the number of bodies that could sleep on a few beds. Five dollars each month got a boarder laundry and room; the weekly food bill was divided among the boarders, which meant that the proprietors' food costs were met by the boarders. Rose shined the boarders' shoes on Saturday nights for 25 cents for each pair. She remembered that some boarders bought her presents at Christmas and Easter.

Black family structure in the city and in the countryside was most often that of the two-parent household. In the alleys and residential streets to which they were confined by poverty and racism, extended kinship and community care were provided by the neighborhood. In the black community kinship networks remained strong over substantial distances. Throngs of relatives of three and four generations reconvened for births, annual "homecomings," and funerals. Among poor rural families in the Middle Atlantic region, there was a great deal of turnover, but, as George McDaniel has shown in his study of rural Maryland, those who moved in were often kin to those who had left.

In the 1920s, young people in the Middle Atlantic region, as in other highly urbanized sections of the country, encountered a new set of conventions regarding marriage and family life. Compatibility replaced economics as the major factor of a successful marriage. Academics, sociologists, and some health professionals studied courtship and issued studies, even manifestos that identified the secrets of a happy marriage and effective child rearing. Colleges and universities began to offer courses in "modern marriage." A product of the new sexuality, such courses also owed some intellectual debt to the continuing power of eugenics and high school hygiene courses that touched lightly and cautiously on matters of anatomy and sex. Ernest Groves, a prominent sociologist who had written a textbook on marriage in 1926, taught the first course and then reached a broader audience with his "lecture" in *Good Housekeeping*'s "College Courses on Marriage Relations" series, which began in September of 1937.

"Companionate marriage" was the fashionable term for the ideal marriage relationship of the 1920s. A "good sport" and shared interests, rather than the nineteenth-century concept of "separate spheres," were the keys to happiness. Promoters of the new kind of relationship encouraged couples to socialize together with other couples, instead of the traditional middle-class and wealthy social practices that separated the sexes. Reformers criticized men who were constantly slipping off to clubs, bars, or golf courses that excluded women, and they attacked women who for their social lives relied primarily on entertaining other women at home, or on meeting them in restaurants or department store salons, or at their own clubs. The companionate marriage concept explains the surge in middle-class women's interest in sports such as golf and tennis, which they could play with their husbands or boyfriends.

Marriage and family life among the urban and rural working class received far less attention from these reformers, and couples from lower economic levels experienced the companionate marriage ideal less than did those who were more affluent. Traditional gender roles also remained strongly entrenched among urban immigrant workers and African Americans, as they moved to major cities of the Middle Atlantic region and elsewhere. In part this was a result of the exigencies of trying to eke out a living. Leisure was a scarce commodity, and the free time that the middle class and the wealthy enjoyed simply did not exist for workers. Entertainment and social life often turned on activities run by church and ethnic organizations, and mutual aid or labor associations. In cities, access to amusement parks, movie houses, and other public entertainment provided relief to working-class family lives.

The increased availability of contraceptive devices and information also contributed to a transformation of gender relations in the first decades of the twentieth century and demanded new conventions for intimacy. As the new rules were negotiated, the limits were allegedly set by women, and the boundaries of behavior were based on the assumption that men would not force themselves on women after an inexact but generally acknowledged number of protestations. Physical and economic powers were male attributes and advantages, but the responsibility for chastity ("keeping one's worth") rested with the women. "A man is only as bad as the woman he is with," wrote the author of *How to Win and Hold a Husband* (1945) (Green 2000, 132). Emily Post, the famous arbiter of good behavior and taste, offered more blunt advice. She warned young women that "petting and cuddling have the same cheapening effect as that produced on merchandise which has through constant handling become faded and rumpled, smudged or frayed and thrown out on the bargain counter in a marked-down lot." The proliferation of warnings against sexual activity by the young is an indirect but credible indicator of the persistence of premarital sexual intercourse (Green 2000, 119–21, 131–32).

Although the archetypical family structure of popular culture—husband and wife and children in one household—was predominant enough to maintain the stereotype, there were many variants. Working-class Americans took in boarders to make ends meet, and their parents and other relatives sometimes moved in during difficult times or as their health declined. In the working-class world, children often went to work as early as they could to increase family income.

In many ways, Polish families in Pennsylvania typified the Middle Atlantic immigrant family experience in the first decades of the twentieth century. Polish families could be divided into three groups according to family composition—nuclear, extended, and augmented—and into four groups according to stage in life cycle—newlyweds, young families, midstage, and mature. A nuclear family consisted of one or both parents and their children; an extended family included other relatives living in the home; an augmented family included nonrelative lodgers and boarders whose presence was intended to supplement the family income. Newlywed families were defined as childless couples; young families were those in which there were no working children and the wife was under age 45. Midstage families had employed children and/or a wife over age 45; mature families had children living outside the home. Characteristically, kinship was also crucial for Poles moving to western Pennsylvania. For example, the mother of Joseph D. was brought from Gdansk (Prussia) to "Polish Hill" by an uncle who ran a grocery store. Valerian D. was brought to McKeesport, Pennsylvania, by his father in 1906. Peter L. avoided service in the Russian army by following a brother to Pittsburgh. The parents of Joseph B. were brought from Russian Poland by relatives. With two sisters and a brother already working in the city, the father of Stephanie L. left German Poland in 1899 with his wife and daughter. Joseph B. sent passage for two brothers and a sister to join him on the south side of Pittsburgh. Joseph Z. attracted two brothers to the Oliver Iron and Steel plant, also in Pittsburgh (Bodnar 1985, 562).

In the Mid-Atlantic region, as elsewhere, the Great Depression put great strains on families, and they did whatever they could to survive. In industrial regions of the Mid-Atlantic, the Depression crushed many of the working class, especially those who constantly lived on the edge of insolvency. Entire factories closed down, leaving thousands unemployed. The majority of those lucky enough to find work only did so sporadically. Joe Rudiak, who worked in Lyndora, Pennsylvania, building flatcars, remembered "making good money in 1929, more than $4 a day until about two, three weeks after [the crash when] the place closed down. Everybody lost their jobs," he recalled. "There was no work. I didn't get back to work up at the plant again up till about 1936—'35 maybe."

By 1931, out-of-work urban families, both adults and children, were scavenging in dumps. Orderly lines formed at some dumps as people waited their turn to hunt for food. Some enterprising men made and sold gin from their homes. Those who did manage to fend off the bankers and other lenders, and who found some sort of food, faced another trial finding fuel for warmth and for cooking. People foraged firewood from forests if they were nearby. Unemployed coal workers around Steelton, Pennsylvania, dug coal from abandoned mines, hauled it out, and distributed it first to widows and then to those who dug it. In Philadelphia, Mary Griesser recalled poor children walking along railroad tracks with empty fruit baskets collecting coal that had fallen from passing coal-driven trains. They would either sell their black treasure for a few pennies or take it home to provide a little fuel for the family stove or furnace.

Most families survived, but for many the effects of the Depression were devastating. In some families, domestic violence and child abuse increased as men found it difficult to cope with unemployment and families scrapped over money. Men and boys (and some women and girls) ran away from home in ever-increasing numbers. Labor organizer Larry Van Dusen admitted, "My father led a rough life. [In normal times] he drank. During the Depression, he drank more. There was more conflict in the home. A lot of fathers, mine among them, had a habit of taking off. . . . And there was always the Saturday night ordeal as to whether or not the old man would get home with his paycheck."

Many families came apart when father, children, or mother simply left. Hundreds of thousands of single men and women, young and old, married and single, rode the rails, trying to find work, swiping a meal, doing odd jobs here and there, sleeping where they could. Many children and young adults left home because they could not get food or work there. Joe Morrison, a coal miner and steelworker recalled that "In '30 and '31, you'd see freight trains, you'd see hundreds of kids, young kids, lots of 'em, just wandering all over the country" (Green 2000, 79–80).

As people began to live longer in the new century, the elderly began to have a greater presence in the family for longer periods of time. The lack of retirement plans or government social security, and an extension of relatively useless years after a life of productive work for many, often created a humiliating experience, especially when an elderly person had to accept an inferior role in the home of his or her child. Popular concepts of the elderly did not help. Advertising celebrated youth. When an elderly person made an infrequent appearance in an ad, he or she was depicted as an object of nostalgia or an anachronism and usually as a background subject.

There were few if any "safety nets" for older Americans until Social Security became functional in the mid-1940s, and even that was little help to those already old, infirm, and poor, and the vast number of Americans who were not yet included in the coverage. The working class, especially in the extractive industries, also often suffered from job-related injuries or chronic disabling conditions that aged them prematurely. Miners hacked from black lung or silicosis. Farmers often lost digits or limbs in machines, or contracted lung diseases from the dust raised while working dry ground or harvesting grain and hay, or became deaf as a result of driving tractors that normally had no mufflers. Few workers had company pensions, and those who did found them to be meager.

But aging was not simply a tale of woe and unmitigated disaster, even for the working class and the poor. When the last of the children left home, for those parents who could still work, it was the beginning of a time of freedom as well as the end of an era. And not all children disappeared from their parents' lives. Many settled near their siblings and their parents, especially because in many cases working-class children starting out on the job often did so in the same place where their parents or relatives already worked. There were also some organizations that provided social comforts, if not physical protection, for the older American. Synagogues, churches, and fraternal groups such as the Knights of Columbus, the Elks, the Moose, the Odd Fellows, the Grange, and the Masons provided camaraderie and understanding for their members. Older women had fewer structured opportunities for socializing but had more continuity in their social relationships, because many had for years centered their social lives in their homes and neighborhoods among friends their own age. Excluded from many clubs and lodges because of their gender, they built networks of women friends and neighbors as they grew old (Green 2000, 139–40).

WOMEN

By the early twentieth century, people of the Middle Atlantic region were being influenced by movies, magazines, and advertisements, which had been busy building a national consensus of opinion on the qualities of the "ideal woman." Women, supposedly more emotional, and invariably physically weaker than men, were to be the bedrocks of familial stability. Women were responsible for cushioning the uncertainties of war and economic dislocation and were the arbiters of the new rules of courtship and child rearing of the era. These were roles of complexity and contradiction, because the mass media often portrayed women as weak, even frivolous. The "Mom" who was the foundation of the family was the roundish figure of comfort and steadfastness. This image was reinforced by the women portrayed in the soap operas introduced after 1930 and brilliantly lined by Norman Rockwell in his rendition of "Freedom from Want" in 1943. But the matronly figured mother image had her competition: the elongated lithe figure of advertising's "smart" set. The latter offered little comfort in the Depression. In fact, "smart," stylish women were implicitly humiliating to those men who had lost their jobs after the crash.

Women were also the "homemakers." Household maintenance had been an important part of nineteenth-century prescriptive literature, but after World War I, housework became perhaps the most important measure of a woman's personality, her affection for her family, and her responsibility to the nation. Love for the husband and children could be proven in the degree of whiteness in clothes, and the strength and stamina of the family. So important were these responsibilities that women were cautioned not to leave them to servants. Thus emerged the idea of housework as "different" work, labor that did not require any financial reward because of the returns of emotional fulfillment it brought. The long hours, unending repetition, difficult and unpleasant tasks, and the loneliness of the job were subsumed under the rubric of responsible motherhood.

The tasks could be made easier, however. That was the marketing strategy and mantra of the appliance advertisers and dealers, especially those implying they could bring the house worker a "mechanical servant." This enabled the literati of household advice in magazines and books to evade the central ironies of the servantless household of the expanding middle class. During the 1920s especially, what had been the work of servants and the "lower orders" was endowed with a special importance, like that of a craft or a profession. Widely circulated publications such as *Good Housekeeping* magazine promoted this image.

The cult of the well-managed household increased women's workload. Ironically, the new electrically powered vacuum cleaners, washing machines, refrigerators, and, less commonly, dishwashers or garbage disposals expanded the work expectations for middle-class women. And often women went outside the house to find part-time jobs to pay for these labor-saving devices. More complex meals became fashionable status symbols, clothes were laundered more often, and increasing social pressure to wear whiter clothing transformed the laundry process nearly as much as the electrically powered washing machine.

As ever, for the working class and now most of the middle class, the unpaid labor of the household fell to women. Middle-class women were increasingly doing more of their own work, because the number of servants had declined and the cost of hiring them had increased, thereby taking many middle-class families out of the market for service. Even those women who worked full-time jobs outside of the home and those who did piecework in their homes still had nearly all the household chores left to them. Historian Ruth Cowan estimates that between 1920 and 1940 the average middle-class woman at home worked between approximately 48 and 60 hours weekly (Green 2000, 60–61, 120–21).

In the major cities of the Middle Atlantic region, some women eschewed the mother model for the professional world. Although women were not a minority, they did have minority status when seeking positions available to them in the workplace. With the ratification of the 19th Amendment on August 26, 1920, better times seemed in view. On September 26, 1920, Philadelphia women, for example, celebrated this, their first step into a fuller citizenship. Before year's end they had voted for a president of the United States and elected three women to the state legislature. Women's names were placed in the jury wheel; there were two women on the school board and a woman on the Art Jury. Violet E. Fahnestock, the city's first woman magistrate, was sworn in on January 2, 1925, and heard her first case a week later. Before the end of the decade amenities available for women were enlarged as the Women's City Club settled into its spacious new quarters at 1622 Locust Street, and also before decade's end, Warburton House, Philadelphia's hotel for women, opened.

Despite aspirations for the exciting new world of offices and business, the greatest numbers of working women in Philadelphia were employed in factories or domestic service. Others were clerks, saleswomen, bookkeepers, stenographers, or teachers. The city also counted a small but important group of professional women in the city, including lawyers and doctors, many of whom had been trained by the University of Pennsylvania and Women's Medical College of Philadelphia. Women held graduate degrees in the liberal arts and sciences, but if they wanted a Bachelor of Arts degree as an undergraduate, they could not expect the University of Pennsylvania to admit them to its program. For these undergraduate degrees they had to depend on Bryn Mawr and other area colleges that provided all-women or coeducational education. But Philadelphia's example did not reflect patterns elsewhere in the degree of women's involvement in public life and work outside the home. Philadelphia had a longer history of women's activism than other Middle Atlantic places, and its diverse economy provided a greater variety of employment opportunities for women and men than any other area in the region. In places where eastern and southern European cultures were powerful, women were restrained from political activity and outside work. Indeed, in Pennsylvania, ethnic and religious factors had retarded even women's support for women's suffrage (Weigley 1982, 591–92).

In their adolescent years immigrant women of the Middle Atlantic region, as in other regions, worked outside the home to supplement the family income, but once they left their parents' homes and married, immigrant women tended to remain at home, focusing attention on their role of wife, mother, and homemaker. Although married immigrant women usually raised the children and cared for boarders because they really had few opportunities outside the household for employment, in some immigrant families, cultural traditions were what kept the woman in the home. Irish immigrants, for example, strongly believed that married women should not work at all, because it was believed that a working married woman diminished the status of her husband. To the average southern Italian, who remained somewhat powerless in the larger society, the conquest and possession of a woman offered a sense of control and authority. And Greek families actually considered it a disgrace for a wife, and sometimes a sister, to work outside the home. For various reasons the celebration of female domesticity was as strong in immigrant communities as it was in middle-class native-born communities. There were exceptions to this general rule. Sometimes the skills possessed by immigrant women, such as Italian seamstresses, caused certain women to be in high demand in the marketplace. But even when relegated to the home, immigrant women wielded a great degree of power within the household. Usually they managed household financial resources, and because they had such intimate knowledge of family finances and needs, women usually made the decisions to initiate small immigrant family business concerns. Among Hungarian newcomers in New Brunswick, New Jersey, for example, the idea of buying a farm or opening a saloon originated with women, who had more energy and ideas than the men (Bodnar 1985, 78–80, 82).

CHILDREN

In the first decades of the twentieth century in the Middle Atlantic region the number of children born in hospitals (as opposed to home) increased. By 1938, more than 50 percent of all infants were delivered in hospitals. In part this change was due to an alteration in Americans' image of the hospital from that of a building full of sick, infectious, and dying people to that of a center of medical science with practices capable of curing diseased or damaged bodies. Other important factors in the increased number of hospital-born children included a growing trust of physicians and the successful marketing techniques of the baby food industry. All created strong pressures on parents to allow professionals to supervise the birth and direct the feeding of infants. In rural areas, home births with midwives or male physicians in attendance were more common than they were in cities, but there too they were declining in frequency. The automobile made it possible for physicians to get to a bedside faster and for patients to travel to hospitals with more ease than either could previously. Still, hospital childbirth in the first decades of the new century remained for the most part a middle-class white phenomenon. Infant mortality among urban black Americans was twice that of urban whites in this era. Medicine's bright promise was as white as the inside of a hospital.

Child care in the new century became a "science." Infant feeding practices and intestinal disorders in children were major concerns for physicians, government bureaucrats, and parents, as many infant deaths resulted from diarrhea and dehydration. The breast-versus-bottle debate that had heated up popular and professional medical discourse in the late nineteenth century continued through 1945, but with the critical difference that bottle-feeding became the more acceptable and, for many, the more desirable choice. The decline of breast-feeding among the middle class and the wealthy was in part a result of the increasing popular acceptance of medicine and nutrition as "scientific" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For working-class women the shift to bottle-feeding was linked to this culture-wide faith in science, the increased availability of cheaper bottles and other feeding paraphernalia, and the necessity for many of these women to work outside the home. Some physicians buttressed their arguments in favor of bottle-feeding by erroneously warning that working-class women's breast milk was probably less healthy than scientifically developed "formula." They maintained that the diet of the adult working class was likely to be deficient in "vital" substances, especially the new miracle "vital amines," or vitamins, that were first isolated in the early twentieth century.

The everyday experience of child rearing, at least for the middle class and the wealthy, was also altered somewhat by the increasingly popular awareness of the work of child psychologists. As they had a century earlier, Americans of the era perceived a "wave" of crime threatening to overwhelm them, and they sought answers for the seeming increase in lawlessness in the childhood experiences of the outlaws. Countless sociological studies of adult prison inmates helped generate a multitude of articles in popular and professional journals, nearly all of which linked antisocial behavior to economic, social, and emotional deprivation in childhood. Sensationalist newspaper stories, the actions of the underworld, and movies also turned attention to the child as the source of future antisocial behavior. Movies such as *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938) and *Dead End* (1937) portrayed children as basically good, but corrupted by their environment. The burden of blame rested upon the parents. Feed the little tykes the wrong stuff, avoid playing with them, take little interest in their studies, and a potential Al Capone, Bonnie Parker, or Clyde Barrow was liable to emerge. Advice was easy to find: columns in newspapers and in periodicals such as *Ladies' Home Journal* abounded. *Parents* magazine began publication in 1926 and purveyed countless articles with advice on "good parenting" (Green 2000, 121–24).

Among urban immigrant families of the Middle Atlantic states, children were more commonly seen through an economic rather than a sociological prism. In the early twentieth century, an immigrant family could not live on the income of a single wage earner. Children who reached working age at about 14 were expected to fill the economic gap. The percentage of family income generated by children in 1911 in eastern Pennsylvania was 46 percent among Poles and 65 percent among unskilled Irish workers (Bodnar 1985, 76–77).

Socialization in Polish families in western Pennsylvania functioned in a manner that ensured both the inevitability of child labor and the relinquishing of earnings for family use at least until marriage. Before 1930, young Poles learned their lessons well. Ray C. expressed his reason for remaining in Lawrenceville as a young man. "I felt down deep I had an obligation to take care of my mother." Joseph D. never had to be told to assist his family. "I always thought dad had hard luck so I would stick with them [parents] until the other kids got old enough to work," he explained. The tendency of young Poles to consider family obligations was stated clearly by Edward R.: "We looked forward to the time when we got to the legal age. When we got to that point we quit school and got a job because we knew the parents needed money. . . . That's just the way we were raised."

Carrying out the dictates of their upbringing, Polish youth nearly always gave their earnings to their mothers, the usual managers of Polish family finances. Stanley N. "hustled newspapers" at mill gates and gave his three-dollar per-week profit to his mother. Joseph B. and his brothers sold enough newspapers on Polish Hill to nearly equal his father's weekly salary of $12.50. Young Polish girls were also expected to assist parents until marriage. In fact, it was not uncommon for Polish children to live in the same house with their parents for several years after marriage. On Pittsburgh's south side, Polish girls packed and inspected nuts and bolts at Oliver Iron and Steel. Stephanie W. recalled that all her sisters worked at either H. J. Heinz or the South Side Hospital and contributed their wages to their mother. At age 16 Stephanie worked in a store that needed a "Polish girl" for its Polish clientele. Josephine B. left school after the eighth grade and did "day work" in Mount Lebanon, an upper middle-class suburb. She and her brother, who worked in a nearby coal mine, relinquished all their earnings to the family. The presence of children was crucial to the smooth functioning of the immigrant family economy. Besides offering economic benefit, in the long run children could care for immigrants in their old age (Bodnar 1985, 562).

Economic Life

As the new century opened, the people of the Middle Atlantic region experienced a great many changes in their economic life. White-collar workers became more numerous and in turn more regimented than they had ever been. As industry grew in the region, the working class struggled to survive the precariousness of work opportunities and the physical danger of the workplace. In response, industrial workers finally began to organize into unions with success.

Both the working class and the urban middle class saw a changing marketplace and advertising techniques that turned many products they didn't know existed a few years prior into necessities of life. The greatest economic changes of the era, however, were not caused by new marketing techniques but, rather, by the massive influx of new immigrants, especially to the cities of the Middle Atlantic region. Escaping from political and economic oppression in their home countries, these immigrants faced new and various problems primarily caused by discrimination. But for the most part they overcame these challenges to create a better life for themselves and their families.

New technology rapidly entered the daily lives of urban Americans in this era and created even greater contrasts between urban and rural life. Those in rural areas responded by joining the Grange or other cooperative movements and 4-H clubs in an attempt to enjoy collectively what they could not obtain individually. Through the various farm organizations and their religious institutions, people in rural areas began to enjoy some of the social, economic, cultural, and educational opportunities that people in the city were beginning to take for granted. This section will study the economic changes that occurred in the Mid-Atlantic region in the first decades of the twentieth century and the effect these changes had on the daily lives of the people that lived there.

WORK AND WORKPLACE

The turn of the century brought many changes to the workplace, and some working-class men did enter the white-collar world, if not its power structure. Errand boys, couriers, and clerks most often came from the white Anglo-Saxon or northern European working class, and they hoped, like Andrew Carnegie or the heroes of Horatio Alger novels, to get ahead with savvy, hard work, a stroke of luck, or a little of all. As the American economy became more bureaucratic and service- and sales-oriented, the managerial and sales segments of the workforce mushroomed. The great age of advertising began after World War I, and the duties of financial control, personnel management, and planning expanded as industries did. The irony in this growth was that as the numbers of workers not directly connected with the tangible production of goods increased, managers were bringing the office environment closer to the mechanistic world of the plant or factory.

Office workers of the Middle Atlantic region saw their work environment changed by the application of the principles of the "scientific management" of Pennsylvania-born Frederick Taylor, who was the high priest of this crusade, which had seen great success in the factory by regulating workers' movements on assembly lines. Taylor expanded his research to the office, proposing that efficiency would be enhanced if employees did one job only, such as opening mail, carrying papers from one desk to another, accounting, or sales.

Taylor's principles directly attacked the nineteenth-century office system of the somewhat independent clerk and his private office within the office, with his locking rolltop desk with its myriad pigeonholes and drawers big enough for filing papers. Scientific managers termed this behavior wasteful and potentially dangerous, because clerks could mislay or hoard papers vital to the smooth running of the firm. By 1915, the rolltop desk was disappearing from larger office buildings.

The newly designed flat-top seven-drawer desk for mid-level executives and the three-drawer flat-top for clerks and typists replaced the old compartmentalized workstation. Files were centralized for access by the entire office, and even the occupants of seven-drawer desks were urged not to keep files or important papers in them. Runners routinely collected and filed papers throughout the day, and speed and ease of handling paperwork became an important measure of success in the offices of corporate America. Pigeonholes and privacy were gone and discouraged, and some offices had rules commanding strict silence during the workday to avoid distracting workers. Desktop neatness and cleanliness and the ability to find paperwork at a moment's notice were openly equated with productive work habits. The hierarchy of writing instruments recommended by the scientific managers reinforced status differences. All clerks were to use the same nib on dipping pens (which tied them to their desks to write and discouraged individuality). Mid- and high-level executives were permitted more freedom, because they could use fountain pens, which allowed them to move about and write presumably important words.

The visual distinctions in desks also applied to desk chairs. Executives at the highest level earned upholstered chairs. Those a level downward got caned seats and chairs that swiveled and tilted back like the padded ones of their superiors. Clerks and typists were issued wood saddle-seat chairs with slat backs. These generally could be rotated, and some provided flexibility for the back by means of a spring steel connecting band. Eventually steel replaced wood as the material in many pieces of furniture, allegedly because it was lighter and more durable, but it may not have been popular, because it transformed the office into an environment that looked more like a factory. Office machines—typewriters, addressing machines, Dictaphones, and accounting machines—were all in widespread use by the 1920s and resembled tools of industry. It would take another generation to change the environment to a more modern and perhaps domestic scene, allegedly to attract more women into the office labor force.

One obvious message of this office revolution was that appearances mattered as much as—and perhaps more than—did performance, because measuring the latter was problematic in most offices. In the period in which workers were paid on a piecework basis, measuring success was easy. In the factory in which workers were paid on an hourly basis, it was punctuality and the surveillance of foremen that was supposed to guarantee productivity. In the office, the amount of paper passed over a desk may be one measure of worth, and for typists the number of characters typed per hour (on typewriters equipped with counters) would work for supervisors obsessed with quantification. But so much of the work of the office was intangible that the superficial characteristics of dress, deference, collegiality (at the proper times, and only then), and the appearance of one's desk became important measures of worth. (Salesmen had the pressure of the easily quantified number and amount of sales, but most of them worked on a commission basis, unlike office and management workers.)

White-collar workers' socioeconomic aspirations and egos depended on their ability not only to maintain their material way of life but also to advance to higher-paying jobs. But the chance of moving up also carried with it the possibility of falling back. White-collar workers' anxiety levels were constantly in flux, whatever their situation. Subjective judgments by superiors determined success and failure in the business office, and conformity in nearly all aspects of work life became highly valued (Green 2000, 19–20).

For the working class employment was probably even more uncertain than it was for their white-collar colleagues, but for different reasons. In western Pennsylvania, going back to the nineteenth century, a number of medium-sized towns had developed around the steel industry. For example, Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, with its 27,000 residents, was dominated by the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation. These companies dominated local government, school boards, and the press. Given this control, steel mills were able to resist unionization effectively until well into the 1930s

Snapshot

Report of Factory Inspector in Pittsburgh, 1914

Among dust-producing occupations examined in Pittsburgh are stogy making, garment and mattress making, mirror polishing, broom, cork, and soap making. Most of these occupations are productive of vegetable dust. The high percentage of tuberculosis among tobacco workers, second only to that among stone cutters, has led to the supposition that there is something inherently dangerous in the trade itself. The amount of dust varies greatly, however, according as the tobacco is dried by air or by heat. . . . With reference to present conditions, Dr. Kober states that "Workers in tobacco suffer more or less from nasal, conjunctival and bronchial catarrh, and digestive and nervous derangements, and although the mucous membranes gradually become accustomed to the irritation of the dust and fumens, the occupation appears to be dangerous." (Vol. 1, 359)

Industrial work and environment must induce health and not disease if the future shall justify us in employing women in factories. Processes can be made harmless if we work at the problem long enough; workrooms can be made wholesome, speed cut short before the point of depletion. In such an industrial city as Pittsburgh, the medical profession or the department of factory inspectors might take the initial steps toward overcoming the tendency to trade disease by giving employers and legislators more facts about industrial hygiene, exact knowledge of what and how a trade contributes to ill health. (Vol. 1, 359)

I began my study of the [steel] industry with no preconceived ideas as to health. . . . I discovered that there is always a fine dust in the air of the steel mill. It was not very noticeable at first, but after being in a mill or around the furnaces for a time, I always found my coat covered with minute, shining grains. A visitor experiences no ill effect after a few hours in a mill, but the steel workers notice it and then declare that it gives rise to throat trouble. . . . Many a workman justifies his daily glass of whiskey on the ground that it "takes the dust out of my throat."

I began to notice after a time that the men with whom I talked were often a little hard of hearing. It was some time before I connected this fact with the noise of the mill. The rolling mills are all noisy, the blooming mills and the plate mills especially so, while the cold saw bites in the steel with a screech that is fairly maddening. When I finally began to make inquiries I found that among the men I met, partial or slight deafness was quite common, and that they all attributed it to the noise. (Black 2006, 43–44)

when the Wagner Act, which protected workers' rights to organize, was declared constitutional by the 1937 Supreme Court (Kyvig 2002, 285, 289).

Even in the boom times of the 1920s, roughly 10 percent of the workforce was out of a job at any given time; about one-half the men and two-thirds of the women were unemployed for more than 10 weeks of the year. With little or no formal insurance to fall back upon other than limited state and municipal relief funds (usually in cooperation with private agencies such as the Red Cross and religious organizations) until the passage of the Federal Unemployment Relief Act in 1933, unemployment meant very hard times. In the Depression, the conditions and the suffering were exacerbated beyond anything workers had encountered before.

Finding a job was a trying experience for many in the working class, especially immigrants, especially if they did not know someone already employed in a factory, mine, or other line of work. Workers interviewed by John Bodnar for his book *Workers' World* remembered how connections worked and how the rules were bent. For some, a parent eased the path. Ray La Marca of western Pennsylvania started work at the Fort Pitt Spring Company when he was 16, able to land a laborer's job because his father got it for him. Later, during the Depression, he paid an agency to get him a job at Union Switch and Signal. Stacia Treski, from Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, had a harder time. She remembered that every morning "you would make the rounds from one of the three silk mills, the cigar factory, and the sewing mill to another. You just stood there and maybe they would hire someone." Eventually she went to New York City to get a cleaning job after she married her husband, George. Dock worker Charles Oliver's experience was similar: "To get a job on the docks men would line up each day. The bosses would hand out numbers and give you slots."

Steve Kika's father got him his first job as a waterboy in the mills when he was 13 in 1914. He worked a 10-hour day and commuted between Reading and Philadelphia. Sometimes bribery greased the wheels of employment hunting. "There used to be lots of payoffs to foremen for jobs," according to John Sarnoski, a laborer in the coal mines in the 1920s. Louis Heim, son of a German-born Lutheran family, recalled that in the 1920s some men in the Bethlehem Steel plant "would give the boss money; some farmers would bring in potatoes, chickens, eggs [to get special treatment or a job] . . . until the union came in." Occasionally, a service organization helped. Ray Czachowski got his first job through the Boys Club in Pittsburgh.

Members of ethnic and racial groups usually stuck together in the workplace. Stanley Brozek, born in 1910 of Polish immigrant parents, recalled that "the Irish had, when I was a youngster in the open hearth [steel mills], the first helper, second helpers, and most of the slaggers. . . . The Irish also predominated in the machine shop, and the Scotch, Irish, and English were roll turners." Similarly, Louis Smolinski remembered that "at the Edgar, Thomson [steel] mill the maintenance department was mostly Irish people. . . . The Polish people dominated the foundry. And in the finishing department there was Polish, Slavish [sic], and colored, not too many colored."

Life in the workplace for the industrial blue-collar worker was dangerous. There was virtually no regulation, no insurance, and no company fear of a lawsuit when someone was injured or killed. Louis Heim remembered how he "got a job over [at the foundry]. They put me on chipping. But after two weeks the dust was so bad that my lungs were polluted. When I coughed, black dirt would come out." Blue Jenkins, an African American man working as a grinder, recalled that "you'd have goggles on, naturally, because of the sparks flying, but when you'd take off your goggles, you'd just see the part where your goggles were and the rest of your face would be black. And your lungs, you'd just spit up big clots of dirt."

Unsafe working conditions, poor pay, and layoffs with little or no warning were not limited to the Middle Atlantic region. In the early twentieth century such conditions were common to workers in all areas of the country, and there remained little that workers could do in response. Although strikes had been a prominent part of the American working scene since at least the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was relative peace between capital and labor after World War I began. In large part this wartime domestic peace had been a result of the governmental controls imposed for the war effort. The White House had created the National War Labor Board, which heard more than 1,000 cases and issued decisions by which both labor and capital agreed to abide. President Woodrow Wilson had recognized the American Federation of Labor (AFL) as a legitimate negotiating body, and for its part the conservative union distanced itself from the more militant International Workers of the World (IWW), known as the "Wobblies." The "Wobblies" were powerful. They had tremendous influence in the famous Paterson, New Jersey, strike against the textile industries in 1913. The AFL grew too, from 2.7 million members in 1916 to 4 million in 1919 (Green 2000, 26–27, 31–32).

One of the truly revolutionary developments of the twentieth century was the advance of labor, in that it at last achieved organization as well as recognition of its concerns by government and the general public. The story of labor in Pennsylvania always had a significant bearing on the national labor pattern, because of the dominant industrial position of the state; this continued in the twentieth century. At the turn of the century labor was in travail, as the power of huge corporations literally broke the backs of such organized labor as had reared its head. Conditions were slow to improve, and as late as 1910 a 12-hour day was common for about one-third of all western Pennsylvania steelworkers, of whom nearly 60 percent remained first-generation European immigrants. A steel strike in 1919, according to investigators, was provoked by "excessive hours" and the "boss system" of supervision in the mills that denied workers any individual rights.

The United Mine Workers, organized in 1890 in the coalfields, gradually increased its strength under the leadership of John Mitchell and his stalwart associate, William B. Wilson; both were schooled in the old defunct Knights of Labor. Wilson became secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers in 1900. Thomas Kennedy, a native of Lansford, Pennsylvania, was another early mine union leader. Another Pennsylvanian leading in the growth of the miners' union was John Brophy, born in England, who came to Pennsylvania at the age of 12 and by 15 was a mine worker near Philipsburg, in central Pennsylvania. Mitchell in 1900 called a strike for higher wages and recognition of the union in the anthracite coalfields, though he then had only some 8,000 members in his union. Wages averaged perhaps $300 a year, and a 10-hour day in unsafe mines was common. The anthracite mines were owned for the most part by powerful railroad corporations, which in turn were allied with J. P. Morgan's banking empire. This was some challenge to be issued by a brash new union. Shrewd Mark Hanna, architect of the theory that what is good for President William McKinley is good for big business, saw the issue as politically explosive when some 100,000 miners responded to the strike call; he negotiated a quick settlement.

Two years later Mitchell forced the issue again with demands for union recognition, a nine-hour day, and a 20 percent wage increase. George F. Baer, president of the Reading Company, took the lead in refusing to arbitrate or mediate with the miners. Baer made the statement, "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by labor agitators but by the Christian gentlemen to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country, and upon whose successful management of which so much depends." This was literally "divine right" capitalism. The *New York Times* called the words close to "unconscious blasphemy." President Theodore Roosevelt in October called upon both sides to meet with him in Washington to consider the idea of an impartial arbitration commission. The miners accepted, but Baer and his associates refused. Roosevelt then threatened the use of federal troops to take over the mines unless the owners came into line. The settlement secured for the miners their nine-hour day and a 10 percent wage increase but left the question of union recognition unsolved.

Organized labor had won its first great battle, but it had not won the war. The National Association of Manufacturers, organized in 1895, began a program of active opposition to unions. In 1904, while saying that the association was not opposed to "organizations of labor as such," it did disapprove "absolutely of strikes and lockouts," along with the closed shop. The same leadership in 1900 had accused labor of "organized coercion" and attempting to force "socialistic or semi-socialistic" legislation that would deny "free competitive conditions in the labor market." Unions were further denounced as trusts and "a dangerous institution in a free country." They accused union leaders of preaching doctrines "not only of anarchy but also one based on woeful ignorance of economic laws of wages."

Labor organizations continued to grow in strength as the American Federation of Labor steadily increased its membership. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor was organized in 1902. In 1919, new efforts to organize the steel industry were started. By this time there was a Department of Labor in Washington. Congress created it in the Wilson administration in 1913 to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States; to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." The first head of this new department was Pennsylvania miner and labor leader William B. Wilson, who had written the legislation that created it, along with many other labor laws, while serving in Congress. His successor in the Harding administration was James "Puddler Jim" Davis, a laborer who had started work as a puddler in the steel mills of Sharon, Pennsylvania. Davis served as Secretary of Labor until 1930. Many looked upon Davis as a labor politician more or less kept by big business, and by no means the equal of Wilson.

Organization of the steelworkers was a reality by 1918, but the industry leaders successfully broke their great strike of 1919. By 1936, efforts at a stronger union produced the United Steel Workers of America. Among its major leaders were Philip Murray and David McDonald. The United Mine Workers and the United Steel Workers formed the nucleus for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO, which was formally organized in Pittsburgh in 1938, continuing the Pennsylvania tradition as the birthplace of national labor unions (Stevens 1964, 316–18).

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the International Workers of the World (IWW), also made great inroads in union organization. With a philosophy greatly influenced by European socialism, this union evoked more fear among capital than any other union. Although they remained most powerful in the West, in the Middle Atlantic region they exerted a great influence in the textile industry of New Jersey.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Paterson, New Jersey, had been the center of the silk textile industry in the United States and the factory owners, known as the "silk kings," controlled every aspect of life in the city and maintained oppressive working conditions, long hours, and low wages free from scrutiny. By the turn of the century eastern and southern European workers had replaced Irish and English laborers, and their oppression was no less severe than that of their predecessors. Frustrated by failed political strategies and attempts at organization, immigrant workers in Paterson often expressed their anger violently, and in the first decades of the twentieth century Paterson became a central battleground in the virtual war going on between labor and capital. Riots were a frequent feature of Paterson strikes. Machinery was wrecked and factories torched. Vandalism of public property was a constant problem. When one of the silk industry kings donated a park to the city, the workers smashed vases and urns, chipped noses and ears off statuary, and even cut branches from the trees until the place was a denuded, polluted wreck.

In February 1913, leaders of the IWW arrived in Paterson to organize the silk workers, and in that same month 8,000 workers and dyers walked off the job and began one of the most memorable struggles in American labor history. The workers demanded recognition of the IWW as their bargaining agent, an eight-hour day, and a minimum wage of $12 a week. The Wobblies took control of the strike and brought a who's who of American radicalism to Paterson. At the head was William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, a huge one-eyed man with "a face like a scarred battlefield." At his side was the fiery "rebel Girl," Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the anarchist Carlo Tresca, novelist Upton Sinclair, and the journalist turned agitator John Reed. For five months Paterson was torn by insurrection. Gangs of workers and police roamed the streets attacking each other. The owners refused to negotiate with the IWW, calling them radicals and subversives who threatened American society. Haywood and other IWW leaders played into the owners' hands with statements declaring, "We will have a new flag, the red flag, the color of the workingman's blood." Another IWW leader warned that "We are going to win this strike or Paterson will be wiped off the map" (Fleming 1985, 164).

The owners remained intransigent, and the courts backed the bosses with harsh sentences for IWW leaders. Patrick Quinlan, for example, was arrested even before he spoke and was sentenced to a term of from two to seven years. By July some 1,300 picketers had been arrested and jailed. Finally, Summit Mills, located near Paterson, offered its workers an eight-hour day and a 25 to 35 percent wage increase if they withdrew their insistence on IWW recognition. The battered starving workers accepted the offer and the great strike collapsed. When it was finally over the workers had lost $5 million in wages and the mill owners $10 million in profits. The strike left Paterson a spiritual and economic wreck.

Labor outcomes were not always as bloody as the Paterson strike, but until the 1930s most labor struggles usually ended in the favor of owners. Not until the establishment of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in 1933, which ushered in legislation that leveled the playing field in labor negotiations, would the labor movement have a just place in the nation's politics and government (Fleming 1985, 160–66).

Black workers were able to obtain some of the benefits of the industrial expansion and economic growth of the new century, especially when the United States entered World War I. Many working-class white men joined in the campaign and this, along with a virtual halt to immigration, reduced the available pool of workers in many heavy industries, thereby opening job opportunities to blacks and women. Sometimes manufacturers worked deals with the railroads to provide free or discounted transportation northward. Throughout the South, black railroad porters left copies of black-owned newspapers, such as the Pittsburgh *Courier,* that advocated migration to the North where jobs beckoned and Jim Crow laws did not apply.

Black workers (primarily men) moving to the Middle Atlantic cities found work in the steel and manufacturing industries, as well as in domestic service, teaching, and racial and neighborhood service industries such as newspaper production and distribution, funeral homes, moving companies, barber and beauty shops, restaurants, and entertainment. Although the tasks they were assigned in the factories and mills were predictably the hardest and lowest paying, and the unions often refused them membership, blacks found that the pay opportunities were better in the North. Some union resentment of black workers was based on feelings in addition to or other than racial antagonism. African Americans were sometimes brought in as strikebreakers, although they were not always aware of what they were walking into when they arrived at the job on the first day.

In urban ethnic and racial enclaves, small businesses—green grocers, butchers, barbers, shoemakers, and small general stores—provided special ethnic supplies and credit to neighborhoods and spoke the language of the district. In the towns and villages scattered throughout the rural countryside the general store functioned as post office and supply depot for the necessities and niceties of life. They were small versions of the department stores that were taking command of urban shopping. These operations taxed the owners with long hours, bookkeeping chores, carrying unpaid bills and debts, and an assortment of physically demanding tasks, especially if they sold heavy goods such as furniture and agricultural supplies (Green 2000, 30–32).

TRADE AND MARKETS

In the Middle Atlantic region, the new advertising industry could not ignore the working class, who constituted by far the largest single segment of the public. Advertisers in addressing the working class assumed that they shared, or could be persuaded to accept, middle-class aspirations and anxieties regarding status, decorum, and consumption. But to succeed in convincing these potential consumers to buy newer and more goods and to define themselves by the goods they could own, advertising executives had to overcome centuries-old Protestant values of thrift, disciplined work, delayed gratification, and contentment with one's material lot. These beliefs had to be replaced with an acceptance for quickly acquired wealth, installment buying, immediate pleasure, and dissatisfaction with the goods one already owned. Guiltless discard of things that still worked or that could be fixed was necessary in this new calculus of consumption; otherwise, the economy could not continue to expand. Important, too, especially in the world of the office, was the implied power of new and expensive clothes and other accessories. To these ends, companies spent ever-increasing amounts on advertising throughout the 1920s, trying to convince consumers to spend and white-collar households in particular to adhere to standards of consumption that stressed the superficial. In 1914 American firms spent $682 million on advertising; in 1919 they spent $1.4 billion; and in 1929 nearly $3 billion was devoted to promotion of goods and services.

The most common advertising appeals centered on guilt, status, and celebrity. Even Henry Ford, who detested the idea of spending money on what he considered nonproductive elements, in 1924 finally approved an ad campaign that promoted the Model A because of its stylish colors and alleged associations with the wealthy. Ford cars were depicted in front of estates and mansions, and the idea was to give a "look" or a sign that the car meant success. Celebrities were used more and more to offer testimonials for products. The testimonial was an old technique, dating to at least the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but the extent to which the celebrity's importance replaced that of the product was the new component in the 1920s and 1930s (Green 2000, 23).

In 1924 a Philadelphia publication, the *Saturday Evening Post,* complained that "the firmly rooted aversion to debt in any form which prevailed a generation ago has almost completely evaporated." However, the 1920s campaign to convince Americans to accept manageable debt may not have been as revolutionary as the Philadelphia magazine and many others presumed. Recent studies of American spending have discovered that there never was a golden age of thrift in American history, and that debt has always played an important role in American lives—not only as a means of instant gratification but also as a strategy for survival and a tool for economic advance. American indebtedness, historians note, even precedes Mark Twain's lament of 1873 over the loss of the "antebellum horror of debt which had almost completely evaporated." In fact, the American tradition of indebtedness goes back at least as far as the Founding Fathers; men like Jefferson and Washington carried significant debt throughout their lives. One could say that those who found themselves in debt in the first half of the twentieth century were participating in one of America's great traditions (Lears 2006, 13).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, magazines and the airwaves of the Middle Atlantic region, as elsewhere, were inundated with hawkers for cosmetics, foods, clothing fashions, and hygienic products, who indicated that social ostracism and shame were the prices for failure to use the recommended product. Much of this advertising placed women in a situation full of responsibility. Advertisers charged women with the responsibility for their husbands' successes or failures. They were expected to understand clothing fashions and to make certain that their husbands were well-dressed. Failure to make a good impression at the office because of fashion anachronism or ignorance was identified as a potentially critical factor for failure to secure a promotion or a new job. Another element in the formula for success was the wife's knowledge and acquisition of the right soaps, sock garters, breakfast foods, laundry detergents, laxatives, and other products that were essential for her husband to be at his best in the competitive world of business in which many worked and to which many aspired. With the exception of the hunting, fishing, mechanics, and other male-oriented popular magazines, nearly all advertisements for these goods were directed to women.

The world the ads portrayed had no problems that the right products could not solve. A new pharmacopoeia of "diseases" appeared: halitosis (bad breath), body odor (b.o.), bromodosis (odiferous feet), homotosis (furniture in "bad taste"), acidosis (sour stomach), dandruff, constipation, and others. The victim never knew why he didn't get the girl or the job or the promotion, or why she never got asked to the best parties or her children were playing alone. Since even one's best friends often would not tell the offender of a problem, how could the aspirant know why good fortune seemed to be so elusive? There was no answer except to be safe.

In a menacing reference to Darwinian biological theory, advertisements stressed that in the struggle to survive and thrive in the capitalist system, the line between success and failure was thin and the competition keen and close. Failure to achieve the middle-class goals of material success was the individual's fault alone. But the relationship between appearance, effort, and material success could be altered at any given moment by forces that were unknown or out of control, adding constant uncertainty and anxiety to the equation. In the early twentieth century, a culture of personality that emphasized appearance and "fitting in" emerged among the growing American middle class. This replaced the emphasis on morality and work discipline that had constituted the proper character identified in nineteenth-century advice books. This became a formulaic strategy both for domestic advisors invented by advertisers, such as General Mills' Betty Crocker (1924), and counselors such as Emily Post, who continued churning out successful etiquette books (Green 2000, 24–25).

CASTE AND CLASS EXPERIENCE

Philadelphia

Like other major metropolitan areas of the country, the most significant changes in the Mid-Atlantic cities could be attributed to the demographic convulsions of the early decades of the twentieth century. Between 1901 and 1915 Middle Atlantic cities experienced their greatest numerical population increase, more than any similar period before or since. In Philadelphia for example, the number of inhabitants grew by almost a third—from 1,293,000 to 1,684,000.

The proclivity of Philadelphians for large families accounted for part of the increase, but much of it resulted from the flood of immigrants to America before World War I. Between 1905 and 1914 over nine million aliens were admitted to the United States. Although Philadelphia still did not attract the new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe in the same numbers or proportions as other cities (it ranked fourth as an entering port behind New York, Boston, and Baltimore), it did feel their impact. The percentage of foreign-born in the city's population rose from 23 percent in 1900 to 25 percent (421,000) in 1910. The percentage of Italians, Russians, and Poles in the total foreign-born population increased from 16 to 33 percent, a trend that continued until the European war drastically cut immigration in 1915.

Largely poor, these new Philadelphians usually settled in the shabbiest sections of the central and southern wards along the Delaware River. Joining those who had preceded them, they created ethnic ghettos that offered the security of familiar languages and customs and helped to perpetuate traditional social and religious institutions. All the new arrivals shared the problem of finding housing—any housing—in an area that was already overcrowded. Increasing competition for living space led to more division of dwellings for multifamily use, the construction of back-alley shacks, and a general deterioration of sanitary conditions, particularly in the river wards. Those who lived in them did not soon forget the vermin-infested matchboxes, boiling in summer, freezing in winter.

One of the largest ethnic communities in the city consisted of the Italians in South Philadelphia. Between 1870 and 1900, Philadelphia's Italian population increased 60-fold, from about 300 to 18,000. By 1910, it jumped dramatically to 77,000, creating an immigrant city within a city. The center of "Little Italy" was the market area in the vicinity of Ninth and Christian Streets, where dozens of shops offered enough cheese, fish, eels, artichokes, Ligurian mushrooms, and rich pastries to satisfy the most homesick Sicilian. Italian theaters and restaurants between Seventh and Eighth Streets recreated a Neapolitan atmosphere for local residents while providing a continental adventure for visitors. In the early years of the twentieth century, Italians from Sicily and southern Italy were drawn to Philadelphia, usually by reports that jobs could easily be found there and by the knowledge that "their people were there." Those already in the city often provided the stimulus for relatives and friends to leave the old country and sometimes contributed passage money as well. And the newcomers did find jobs, particularly as general laborers in unskilled occupations: construction work, road grading, street cleaning, railway maintenance, and trash collection. It was largely Italian labor that built City Hall, the Reading Terminal, and the Broad and Market Street subways. Skilled Italian workers could also be found among the city's bakers, shoemakers, masons, plasterers, stonecutters, waiters, and garment workers. Unlike some immigrants, many of the Italians, especially men who had come over without their families, wanted only to return home as the rich American uncle after a sojourn in America. From South Philadelphia Italians moved westward toward the closer suburbs—Overbrook, Manayunk, and Germantown.

The Philadelphia political machine tended to organize Italians, displacing the system of the *padroni*. As a result, instead of depending on the *padroni* for food and lodging, as they had in the old country, Italians, like other Philadelphians, rented or bought houses of their own. Many of them worked in their homes as tailors or finishers or on the streets in the familiar roles of bootblacks, organ grinders, and fruit vendors. For Philadelphia's 55,972 Italian adults, the 1920s were a time of change and adaptation. Although Italians had lived in South Philadelphia in sufficient numbers to make possible the establishing of their own churches—for example, St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi, in 1851—it was not until the Pennsylvania Railroad began to invite Sicilian laborers to come to Pennsylvania to work on the railroad that Sicilians and southern Italians became a major presence in the city. The earlier nineteenth-century immigrants were northern Italians—generally skilled craftsmen, musicians, and others with specific contributions to make to Philadelphia's culture and diverse economy. The later comers were generally laborers, employed by the railroads, or in construction work on public buildings like City Hall, or in building subways. By the 1920s, marked differences in the Italian community, both cultural and economic, increasingly divided the middle-class minority from the working-class majority.

The separation between them was most evident in their attitudes toward education. For the laborer and his wife, both often illiterate, economic need determined that a son's attendance at school should end at 14 when he could obtain working papers. Italian boys aged 14 to 16, working as messenger boys, office boys, or in various capacities in the clothing industry, were the largest number of white youths employed in Philadelphia. Meanwhile, the sons of the middle-class families were able to finish high school and even go on to college. Middle-class parents—skilled artisans, specialty manufacturers, and merchants—saw education as a way to preserve their Old World status as well as a means of advancement in the New World. Given these aspirations, Philadelphia's public schools, with their emphasis on vocational training as the most appropriate kind of education for the children of immigrants, regardless of their inclination and ability, and the emphasis on a standardized variety of Americanization, irritated many Italians (Weigley 1982, 490–91).

Equally hard for the Philadelphia Italians to accept was the determination of the Irish hierarchy of Philadelphia's Catholic Church, under the leadership of Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, to bring the "individualistic" and often anticlerical Italians into the fold of an Americanized church and his own program of "obedience and orthodoxy." Ten Italian parishes had been created before 1920, and five more were added in the 1920s. The Italian priests assigned to serve these were "carefully screened," and great efforts were put forth to bring the religious practices of the Italians into harmony with the cardinal's ideas of sound doctrine. An able administrator, Dougherty had a limited "ability to convey a sense of warmth, charity and human sympathy to the immigrants." In time, and not without some open rebellion, the Italians "made an accommodation" with Dougherty's church, but they did so "in their own fashion and with traditional reservations" (Morris 1998, 128, 181).

Most Italians, unlike many of their Jewish neighbors, elected to remain in South Philadelphia in spite of improvement in their financial position. Many had invested in South Philadelphia real estate and found that ownership of property offered a useful way up the economic ladder. Their holdings were often small and not infrequently placed the owners in the category of slumlords, operators of licensed tenements. Charles C. A. Baldi, banker, undertaker, and politician, was one of the first and most successful of the Italian real estate tycoons, owning a hotel, a factory, a warehouse, an office building, and numerous houses. His activity and that of his lesser comrades in this business show that Philadelphia slum properties were often in the hands of a member of an ethnic minority who might himself have lived in a tenement that he owned.

Like the Italians, the Irish had first settled in South Philadelphia, in Southwark and Moyamensing. After the Civil War they began to scatter through the city into Port Richmond, along the South Street-Bainbridge Street corridor to the Schuylkill, Germantown, Chestnut Hill, and the northeastern sections of the city. Both Italians and Irish subscribed to the Roman Catholic theology, but if the Italians found the American church uncongenial, the Irish, whose fellow nationals formed Philadelphia's archdiocesan hierarchy, were on familiar ground. Their children went, as they were expected to do, to the parochial schools; families, not just the women, went to Mass; contributions were made to the parish for the building of churches, schools, and other useful projects, not for colorful festivals with the pagan undertones the parishioners of the Italian churches enjoyed. Again, unlike the Italians who gave total allegiance to the Republican Party (GOP), the Irish, perhaps more given to faction, supported both parties with little real power in either until the 1928 presidential election united them behind the twin issues of religion and ethnicity. Then the builder-developer or contractor-boss with the right political connections, a breed that first came to prominence in Philadelphia in the 1850s, found in the Democratic Party a suitable vehicle for political and financial advancement, a means used with increasing effectiveness ever since.

Most of the Russian immigrants to Philadelphia, as well as large numbers of Poles and other eastern Europeans, were Jews. Forced from their homelands by poverty and pogroms, they came to America as true immigrants. While others had thoughts of returning to Europe, and some did go back, the Jews tended to settle in Philadelphia and remain there. Between 1905 and 1918, their numbers grew from 100,000 to 200,000. Concentrated in South Philadelphia at the turn of the century, the Jewish population soon spread north of Market Street and came to dominate the small-business life of the north-central part of the city. The corner of Marshall and Poplar Streets, where the German Jews who had preceded them once lived, became the hub of a bustling business district that resembled a European shopping bazaar, complete with exotic shops and dozens of pushcart vendors. While many Jews were engaged in commerce as peddlers, shopkeepers, and merchants, even more could be found in the skilled occupations for which the city, given the nature of its industry, had exceptional demand. In particular they became preeminent in the "needle trades" (all forms of clothing manufacture) and contributed many shoemakers, carpenters, butchers, coppersmiths, and similar artisans to the city's labor force. Solid evidence of Jewish mercantile enterprise was three large department stores on Market Street East: Snellenburg's at Twelfth Street, Gimbels at Ninth, and Lits at Eighth.

For several decades prosperous Jewish families had been moving away from their old communities to apartments in the Rittenhouse Square area and to a band several streets wide on either side of Broad Street between Girard and Diamond. A movement farther north had already begun with some families seeking tree-shaded lawns and the advantages of suburban living in Oak Lane and Cheltenham Township, closer to their Philmont Country Club.

At the same time, numbers of eastern European Jews were climbing up the economic and political ladder, foremost among them Lithuanian-born Albert M. Greenfield. In South Philadelphia, the center of Jewish orthodoxy, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal held sway. As they prospered, these immigrants also moved away from their first place of residence to nicer homes in West Philadelphia and Strawberry Mansion, at the same time abandoning orthodoxy for the less stringent demands of Conservative Judaism. A spread of settlement from Parkside by the end of the 1920s included Wynnefield, where the Conservative synagogue Har Zion rapidly grew in size and influence. To be sure, a good many Jews of the prewar waves of immigration—the war and the restrictive Johnson Act of 1924 brought an end to the eastern European flow as it did to those from Italy and Greece—remained in the older areas of settlement, but the census figures for 1930 showed that South Philadelphia had 41 percent fewer Jews living there than in 1920. In 1919 the Federation of Jewish Charities, the community's central fundraising organization for health and welfare agencies, which had been dominated by members of the older German-Jewish families, expanded its scope by taking in under its aegis a host of agencies founded by and for the new immigrants. These included Mount Sinai Hospital, which became the Daroff branch of the Einstein Medical Center, and the Associated Talmud Torahs, traditional Hebrew schools. So began the slow melding of the Jewish community.

Poles, largely unskilled laborers, competed unsuccessfully with the more numerous and already established Irish and Italian workers for general labor jobs. Consequently, many Poles continued to move on to those Pennsylvania regions having more heavy industry than Philadelphia, and thus a greater need for unskilled labor, such as northeastern, central, and western Pennsylvania.

At the same time that they were competing among themselves for jobs and territory, the new immigrants faced the common problem of overcoming the nativism of the Philadelphia population. They were more "different" than earlier immigrant groups and found acceptance more difficult in the city that was still called "the most American of American cities." Native-born workers, fearful of the loss of jobs to the immigrants, bitterly resented them; industrial employers often paid lower wages to them than to other workers; Anglo-Saxon homeowners generally viewed them with suspicion if not with contempt. One did not have to look beyond the newspapers' classified ads for domestic help—which required that the candidate be Protestant as well as white—to realize that the roots of intolerance ran deep in the City of Brotherly Love.

Of all the city's incoming groups, the most consistent flow was the result not of foreign but internal migrations. Philadelphia's foreign-born population was small compared with other cities', but its black population was the largest of any northern urban center. Only the southward cities of Baltimore, Washington, and New Orleans had larger black populations. By 1890 this population was close to 40,000, 4 percent of the city's total and a 24 percent increase over 1880. By 1900, the number had risen 60 percent to more than 62,000 and made up 5 percent of the total.

In 1896, the University of Pennsylvania invited W.E.B. Du Bois to Philadelphia to study the city's black population. His book, *The Philadelphia Negro,* was a pioneer study using sociological and environmental research and is today a classic. Du Bois found that most blacks lived in center city and had for many years. The heaviest concentration was in the Seventh Ward (Spruce to South, Seventh to the Schuylkill), where they were about 40 percent of the population and lived near the white families for whom they were domestic servants. This ward provided both high and low aspects of black life. The more prosperous blacks, perhaps 3,000, lived on Lombard Street west of Eighth and on Rodman and Addison Streets. They comprised an aristocracy of wealth and education that was not recognized by or even known to the whites. They tended to be alienated from their own people, for whom they provided little or no leadership. They were largely Philadelphia-born, many of them descendants of freedmen of the past century.

The vast majority of black males were manual laborers, filling the ever-present need for cheap, unskilled labor—stevedores, street and sewer cleaners, trash collectors, livery men and bootblacks, porters, and waiters. Black women, who outnumbered the men, were virtually limited to domestic service and sewing; however, none of them found work in the sweatshops of the garment trade. Some blacks, however, were able to pull themselves out of this economic pit. By 1896, there were some 300 black-owned businesses in the city, mostly catering firms, restaurants, and barbershops. Christopher J. Perry founded the *Philadelphia Tribune*, a newspaper for blacks, in 1884. Walter P. Hall was one of the wealthiest blacks in 1892, making his money in the wholesale poultry business and using it lavishly through churches and welfare organizations.

Two of the four black undertakers in the city were women. Professionally, the black community had 15 "reputable" physicians, 3 dentists, and 10 lawyers in 1896. There were about 40 teachers and more than 60 ministers. About 1 percent of the blacks were clerical or semiprofessional workers. In 1896 there were 60 black policemen, working in or near black areas. Although blacks had no equal chance for a job at Strawbridge & Clothier or Wanamaker's department stores in 1888, a decade later the black postmaster and postal employees at Wanamaker's were highly successful in running the city's second-largest substation.

To ease their existence, Philadelphia blacks joined beneficial and mutual-aid societies and "secret" or fraternal organizations, paralleling similar groups in the white community. The Odd Fellows were perhaps the most influential of the fraternal societies. The Freemasons too were active, celebrating the centennial of black Masonry in 1884.

The principal organizing and stabilizing body among the blacks remained the church. The church was the center of social life and amusements and a communication center. Each congregation formed its own circle, some being neighborhood-bound, some class-conscious or work-oriented. In 1885, there were 25 black churches and missions in the city, but with the migration of Negroes from the South their number more than doubled to 55 in 1897. The Methodists had the greatest number of communicants, followed by the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, and "springing up and dying a host of little noisy missions which represent the older and more demonstrative worship." In the 1890s, the Catholic Church, because of its "comparative lack of discrimination," made many converts among the blacks, enough in fact that in January 1892 Philadelphia was host to the third black Catholic congress of the United States (Weigley 1982, 494).

As a group, blacks were generally still poorly paid and relegated to the least desirable jobs, but individual achievements indicated that chances for economic advancement were improving. The *Philadelphia Colored Directory* of 1910 revealed that blacks were engaged in almost any enterprise to be named, including all the professions. Among those listed were 169 clergymen, 143 musicians, 78 physicians, 16 dentists, and 13 lawyers. One member of the black community, tobacco dealer Richard A. Cooper, served on the city council. The first black member of the Pennsylvania state legislature, attorney Harry W. Bass, was elected from Philadelphia in 1910. John T. Gibson established a successful theater for black performers, the Standard, on South Street in the early 1900s. Publisher Christopher James Perry had built the *Philadel-*

phia Tribune into one of the most prosperous, respected, and influential black newspapers in the country. The first black to win a Rhodes Scholarship was Central High and Harvard graduate Alain LeRoy Locke. After studying abroad, Locke became a teacher at Howard University in 1912 and later earned a doctorate from Harvard in 1918. He was to have a long career not only as a philosophy professor at Howard but also as a prominent literary figure who published more than a dozen books on African American life and culture before his death in 1954.

The northward migration of blacks during the war had a significant impact on Philadelphia. By the early summer of 1917 more than 800 migrants were arriving in the city each week. The *Philadelphia Christian Recorder* (the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal [AME] Church and the oldest black newspaper in America) published a special migration edition to instruct blacks on how to arrange their affairs in the South upon leaving, how they should comport themselves in the North, and how to find jobs at their destinations. By 1920, the city's black population had grown to 134,000, more than double that of 1900 (63,000).

If the foreign-born contributed but a relatively small part of the city's total numbers, the blacks, although only about 7.4 percent of the whole in 1920, added a preponderantly large part for a northern city. Many black families still lived along the corridor of Lombard Street in the neighborhood of Mother Bethel AME Church and on other streets in the Fourth, Seventh, and Thirtieth Wards. A strong if small black community had also developed in the Northern Liberties close by Zoar Church, around the Berean school and Presbyterian Church, opposite Girard College, on Diamond Street near Twenty-ninth, and in West Philadelphia. After World War I blacks began to take over houses left vacant by Jews "moving up the ladder," and North Philadelphia started to assume its present orientation (Weigley 1982, 526–28).

The southern migrant who arrived in Philadelphia during World War I through the 1920s found steady, if also rigidly routine, employment. Ready jobs and steady pay were available at both the Pennsylvania and the Erie railroad companies, which had contracts to supply war materiel. Black migrants to Philadelphia also found jobs in industrial and textile factories, shipyards, and sugar refineries. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company employed blacks for track-laying work, and the foundry of the Griffin Wheel Company employed many migrants (Reich 2006, 664). Although the opportunities were severely limited, by 1930 Philadelphia was home to nearly 220,000 African Americans.

Among the more secure older families, the professions, particularly law, medicine, teaching, and the church, offered both men and women the best chance for advancement. Two hospitals—Mercy, founded in 1907 by Dr. Henry M. Minton, a graduate of Thomas Jefferson University, and Douglass, then at Sixteenth and Lombard, founded in 1895 by Dr. Nathan F. Mossell, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School—supplied the best healthcare services generally available to the community. A newspaper, the *Tribune*, a bank, the Citizens and Southern, beneficial societies, organizations like the Armstrong Association, and the many black churches tried to help the newcomers withstand the frustration and loneliness of life in an inhospitable city. The churches, however, were not always seen as the stabilizing force they had been in the nineteenth century. Writers like historian Carter Woodson accused the clergy and the educated blacks of shirking their responsibilities as the black community, like its white counterpart, divided along social and economic lines.

Political exploitation of the black community, most of whom were "Lincoln Republicans," was easy for the city's political machine. There was only one black ward leader in 1925, Edward W. Henry, and most of the jobs he had in his pocket were the traditional ones, plus a handful of appointments to the police force, or to positions as marshals' or sheriffs' deputies. When the organization failed to deliver its expected aid, the black voters could and on occasion did make their displeasure felt. For example, when Amos Scott, a black tavern keeper of 1140 Pine Street, failed to receive a promised magistrate's office, G. Edward Dickerson, a black attorney with offices at 628 South Sixteenth Street, made sure that the Thirtieth Ward blacks heard the story. The result at the next election was "evident." In the main, however, residents of the largely black Twelfth, Fourteenth, Twentieth, and Thirtieth Wards remained subject to the Republican organization's whims until the New Deal's humanitarian response to the misery caused by the Depression drastically altered their affiliation (Weigley 1982, 588–91).

As elsewhere, the rapid expansion of the black population in the urban areas of the Middle Atlantic region led inevitably to increased tension and conflict between the races. Although Philadelphia was able to escape a repetition of its nineteenth-century racial riots and the disastrous twentieth-century racial wars that occurred in East St. Louis, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., the competition for jobs and housing gave rise to bitterness on both sides. Housing, already overburdened because of the new immigrants, became a particularly acute problem for blacks. In one of many such instances, 10 black families lived in one three-story house in the Thirtieth Ward with only a single bath and toilet for all the residents. Whites, who expected blacks to remain in those parts of the city where they had traditionally lived, resented their movement into other areas. The resentment erupted into violence in July 1918 when a black woman moved into a house at 2936 Ellsworth Street, in a white neighborhood. Angry white mobs gathered in the street, stoned the house, and attacked blacks near the scene. Two days of sporadic rioting and fighting between the two races followed, resulting in the deaths of two whites and one black. Peace was gradually restored, but the tensions and resentments lingered on (Weigley 1982, 531–32).

In response to the riots of 1918, black Philadelphians organized the Colored Protective Association, which operated much like the National Urban League. Although the city's black newspaper, the *Philadelphia Tribune*, unlike its counterparts in other northern cities, did little to encourage black migration north, the paper did join the migrants' struggle against racial injustice. During the riot of 1918, for example, the editors urged black Philadelphians to defend themselves as American citizens. The *Tribune* also encouraged black churches to do more to support the migrants. In the first half of the twentieth century, black churches played a major role in easing the burden of migration and discrimination suffered by blacks in the urban Middle Atlantic region. Often functioning as settlement houses, the churches not only cared for the social, economic, and spiritual needs of early migrants, but defended them by pressuring city officials for improvement of unsanitary living conditions, inferior schools, inaccessibility to medical care, and other consequences of discrimination (Reich 2006, 664–65).

Baltimore

Migrants and immigrants from myriad cultures and places settled in Baltimore in the post–Civil War era. Among those seeking a new home in Baltimore were ex-Confederates from Virginia, farmers from rural interior counties, black farm workers from south Maryland, and immigrants mostly from eastern Europe who differed greatly in habit, custom, and language from the Germans and Irish who had preceded them in the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1900, Baltimore was home to 10,000 Russian Jews, and in lesser numbers Poles, Greeks, Bohemians, and Lithuanians.

In 1920, Germans continued to be the largest foreign-born group in Baltimore. They numbered 30,000 and maintained a variety of institutions that their predecessors had established in the early nineteenth century, including churches, turnverein athletic clubs, schools, and music clubs. Germans made important contributions to Baltimore's labor movement and many served the city in political offices (Chapelle 2000, 153–54).

The eastern European newcomers who arrived in Baltimore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries faced many of the same problems that had greeted the Germans and Irish in the mid-nineteenth century. Most landed with little or no money and without the ability to read, write, or speak English. They also had trouble obtaining anything other than menial employment and had to live in the worst housing. Eastern Europeans also suffered prejudice and discrimination from both native English-speaking Americans and earlier immigrant groups.

Bohemians began arriving in Baltimore at the end of the Civil War. They had emigrated to escape exploitations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to avoid service in the Austrian army. Upon arriving in Baltimore, they built a community around a national church and school, where they maintained their native Czech language until 1910. In 1900, a group of Bohemians formed the Slavic Savings and Loan Association, the first of many similar institutions that made it possible for a high percentage of Bohemians to buy homes.

In the early 1920s, Poles began to arrive in Baltimore in large numbers to escape the hardships of the post–World War I era in their homeland. Many were peasants driven from their small farms by hunger and desperation. Although a number of Poles knew German, almost none of them could speak English. Nevertheless, their reputation as hard workers preceded them, and many were able to find employment working for the railroads, the shipyards, construction companies, clothing manufacturers, canneries, and steel mills.

Because the Polish immigrants were extremely poor, it often took them more than one generation to buy a house, and they frequently had to live in crowded unsanitary conditions. Families were large, and many women went to work, often in canneries, to make ends meet. Like the Germans and the Bohemians, Poles began to found building and loan societies—20 of them by 1914—and to buy homes. The Polish community also created numerous other institutions, which provided various social, educational, and recreational activities. In 1923 the Polish community began to establish a political voice when they elected their first city councilman, Edward Novak (Chappelle 2000, 158).

Little Italy, Baltimore's most enduring ethnic community, traced its roots to the nineteenth century and continued through the twentieth. Italians first arrived at the end of the nineteenth century, driven from their homeland by drought and privatization of common lands by the national government. They spoke little or no English, but they went to work on the railroads, first as common laborers and later as machinists. Some, such as stone masons and barbers, were able to utilize skills they brought with them from Italy, and others became independent merchants, starting by selling vegetables and fruits in carts from door to door, or on street corners. In the Italian community the women were not expected to enter the public workplace; their domain remained the home, where their obligations were rearing the children and maintaining the house. If women brought in any outside income at all it was usually by taking in boarders (Chapelle 2000, 162).

Italians gained political power relatively soon after their arrival compared to other immigrant groups. The community's first political leader, Vincent R. Palmisano, was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates in 1914, to the Baltimore City Council the following year, and to the United States Congress in 1926. Thomas D'Alesandro succeeded Palmisano and became Little Italy's best known Baltimorean. D'Alesandro, son of an immigrant, was elected to the Maryland House in 1926, then went to Congress in 1938 (Chapelle 2000, 160).

The Russian Jews who began arriving in Baltimore during the 1880s were by far the largest group of newcomers. By 1900, over 10,000 Russians lived in the city, and by 1910 almost 25,000 lived there. Most fled from persecution in Russia and nearby countries like Poland and Lithuania, which were subject to Russian domination. The vast majority of eastern European Jews became garment workers in the factories of East Baltimore, and they became active in the formation of one of the country's most important unions of the era, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) (Chapelle 2000, 162).

European immigrants who came to Baltimore at the turn of the century followed patterns similar to those who had arrived in this country in an earlier era of immigration. They arrived with little knowledge of English or of American culture and therefore sought security by settling initially in areas where they could communicate in their own language. As soon as they could, they built churches or synagogues, which in addition to serving the spiritual needs of the new community also provided a place for social gatherings. Churches and synagogues also provided a safety net in a country where social services were minimal.

Gradually these immigrants, who usually started out in low-paying jobs, began to improve their economic situation. The more fortunate of the immigrants often established mutual-help societies—often church- or synagogue-based—and chartered banks, which helped their compatriots secure loans for houses or small businesses. Eventually, each of these groups, often within their own generation, but certainly within the generation of their children, began to climb the social and economic ladder of American life.

The same pattern was not true for the black migrants to Baltimore. Blacks spoke the same language and understood the American culture far better than most European immigrants. They were also willing to work in the lowest-paying jobs. But because of the persistence of racism in the country, most blacks were not able to make the same steady social and economic progress that most white European immigrants enjoyed. The majority of Europeans eventually were able to work their way out of the terrible living conditions they encountered upon arrival, but color kept blacks restricted to the poorest, most unsanitary neighborhoods with the worst public services, including inferior schools. For many, these neighborhoods became inescapable ghettoes. This pattern was familiar throughout the urban Middle Atlantic. Each city had its black ghetto, often with its own derogatory name. In Baltimore the black ghetto was known as "Pigtown," which was the dirtiest and least healthy place to live in all of Baltimore. Discrimination in the workplace and an unequal and segregated school system also prevented a majority of blacks in Baltimore from following the pattern established by European immigrants.

Despite these many impediments, a small black middle class did emerge in Baltimore. Their social mobility began with the ballot box. Unlike their counterparts in the South, blacks were able to maintain their franchise in Baltimore, and beginning in 1890, black Republicans won seats on the city council in almost every election until 1931. Although black councilmen never possessed a great deal of political power, they were able to push for improvement of the black schools and funnel some jobs into the black community. These efforts provided opportunity for at least some to rise above their grave circumstances.

By the outbreak of World War I, the newly emerging black middle class began to move out of the ghetto and into nearby neighborhoods that had formerly been occupied by European immigrants. Still, the vast majority of blacks lived in poor conditions, received poor wages, and had little or no opportunity to get a good education. While the immigrants became more thoroughly assimilated, most African Americans remained in a segregated world with limited opportunities through the first half of the twentieth century (Chapelle 2000, 166, 168).

Maryland, historically a slave-owning border state, had a spotted attitude toward race. Some facilities and institutions such as schools, restaurants, and many stores were segregated, while others such as streetcars were not. Several attempts from 1910 through 1913 to pass ordinances to establish segregated neighborhoods were defeated, when local black lawyers challenged their constitutionality in court. The single most difficult problem faced by blacks was unemployment. Blacks were often fired in favor of white workers, and almost always paid less, and because of this overt discrimination most black workers were unable to build the financial base that the immigrants gradually did (Chapelle 2000, 166, 168).

Washington

The late nineteenth-century migration helped make Washington, D.C., the city with the largest percentage of African Americans in the Middle Atlantic region. While several cities surpassed Washington's numbers of black migrants, as the great migration progressed, proportionally Washington's black population remained one of the largest in the region.

Migrants came for reasons that varied by individual and epoch; they were pushed by intolerable conditions and attracted by the city's possibilities. The size of Washington's black population and its extensive organizational infrastructure, including churches and educational, cultural, civic, and recreational facilities, made it a mecca for rural and urban migrants alike.

Washington's proximity to Virginia and Maryland meant that poor migrants did not have far to go. Some came by walking, others by wagons or boats. But most frequently they arrived by railroad. On the Atlantic Coast Line, which passed through the heart of the South and into Washington, black migrants sat in segregated Jim Crow railroad cars and provided their own food. In later years they also came by bus and car. Migrants carried their belongings in small suitcases called "freedom bags," symbolic of their hopes and laden with southern black traditions.

Their decision to migrate resulted from a variety of factors, personal, familial, and more general; the process involved considerable planning. The immediate decision to leave often resulted from personal events such as a parent's death; general forces included worsening agricultural conditions or the promise of better opportunities in Washington. Families regulated the migration process for individuals and family groups; potential migrants wrote to relatives and friends in the city to locate employment, housing, and city information. The first migrants often sent money home, encouraged a chain migration of family and friends, then housed the new arrivals and helped them find housing. Migrants maintained ties by visiting home and joining hometown clubs in Washington.

Washington was a southern border city, and its residential patterns reflected those of the deep South. Although African Americans resided throughout the city, they often lived in small clusters near whites. By 1920, three large black residential concentrations emerged in the southwest, in the northwest along North Capitol and Florida avenues, and near Foggy Bottom in the northwest. Many prominent blacks continued to reside in predominantly white neighborhoods, but it became increasingly difficult to move into these neighborhoods.

Unlike other border cities in the early 1900s, Washington did not have a segregation ordinance; nevertheless, white property owners, neighborhood protective associations, real estate agents, and bankers increasingly restricted some areas for white residence. At the turn of the century, the all-white LeDroit neighborhood in the northwest fenced itself off from neighboring black Howard Town, whose residents protested by tearing the fence down. By 1900 blacks began to move into LeDroit

Park; and by 1915 it housed 800 middle-class and elite black families. The northwest generally became a center of Washington's black community, housing such key institutions as Howard University, Freedmen's Hospital, the Howard Theater, the prestigious Dunbar High School, major churches, many black-owned businesses, and Griffith Stadium, where baseball teams from the "Negro League" played (Reich 2006, 881–83).

In Washington, D.C., the continuing black migration eventually produced major housing shortages for black Washingtonians generally and especially for low-income blacks. These shortages caused high rents that sparked alley development and led to severe overcrowding. Some four-room alley dwellings housed four separate families who shared an outhouse and water hydrant. These conditions, along with the city's general neglect of health and building conditions in poor black neighborhoods, severe employment discrimination, and inadequate incomes, made conditions for poor migrants extremely difficult. Police brutality and frequent arrests for petty crime added to migrants' difficulties. Poor southern black migrants also confronted hostility and bias from native black Washingtonians. Natives found country migrants unsophisticated, uneducated, and beneath them. Some sought to provide uplift, but not without condescension; others feared that whites would judge all African Americans by the newcomers' behavior. Migrants often felt uncomfortable in Washington's large, established black churches and other social organizations where middle-class blacks dominated. Migrant schoolchildren faced ridicule of their limited wardrobes and rural ways. White violence endangered black migrants and natives alike. As in many cities across the nation in 1919, a white mob, incited by newspaper stories of black criminality, attacked African Americans throughout the city; by arming themselves in self-defense, blacks probably limited the extent of the white riot (Reich 2006, 881).

Pittsburgh

In the early decades of the twentieth century Pittsburgh became home to thousands of Polish immigrants, who moved westward to the newly emerging industrial steel-producing centers. Poles moving to Pittsburgh could be grouped into two categories: those from Prussia who moved to America almost entirely in family units and had little intention of returning to a country where German policies made it increasingly difficult for Poles to own land, and Poles from the Austrian and the Russian sectors who were more likely to arrive in Pittsburgh as single males and either return to Europe or reconstruct families in America. While the children were growing up in Poland, Valerian D. recalled, his father had mined coal in Germany. Joseph B. was sent to Pittsburgh to earn wages for his family and eventually returned to Poland, only to see his own son leave for America.

Poles were particularly successful in establishing occupational beachheads at the steel mills of Jones and Laughlin and Oliver on the south side, at Heppenstall's and the Pennsylvania Railroad yards in Lawrenceville, and at Armstrong Cork Company, the H. J. Heinz plant, and other large industrial plants. Thus, Poles were clustered in a few industries. Valentine B. gained his first job in America on the railroad through his brother. Brothers also assisted Peter H. in obtaining employment in a foundry making castings for mines. Ignacy M. left Russian Poland in 1912 and relied on his brother to get him a position piling steel beams at the Jones and Laughlin plant. Joseph D. left Prussia for a job in a mill, procured by his wife's uncle. A cousin found Edward R. work at a machine shop. John S. followed friends from Galicia in 1909 but needed relatives to acquire machinist's work for him. Charles W. relied on relatives to gain him access to domestic work for Americans and boardinghouse tasks. The impact of this network had long-lasting effects on the Polish immigrant family. Poles were clearly more effective in obtaining work for family and friends than other immigrant groups, and as a result of kinfolk networking, young Polish workers remained attached to their families of origin and contributed most of their earnings to their parents (Bodnar 1985, 557–58).

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, European immigration ceased, creating a labor shortage that forced northern industries to begin hiring blacks. In Pittsburgh, Jones and Laughlin Steel and the Pennsylvania Railroad, among others, sent recruiters south to bring up new employees. Through a process called "chain migration," these newcomers in turn sent for friends and relatives to join them, with the result that more than 20,000 black immigrants settled in Pittsburgh in the 1910s and 1920s. In the outlying mill towns up and down the Monongahela River, hiring by Carnegie Steel plants raised the black population from 5,000 to 23,000 in Aliquippa, Homestead, Rankin, Braddock, Duquesne, McKeesport, and Clairton.

Migration altered the racial composition of the city's neighborhoods. Newcomers settled primarily in the lower and middle Hill District, the city's oldest, poorest, and most racially mixed neighborhood, located near downtown. As they did so, the previously established black community (referred to as OPs for "Old Pittsburghers"), who were more settled and a bit better off, escaped to outlying neighborhoods like Homewood, Beltzhoover, and the more prestigious upper Hill District. Whites also moved away from the newcomers, but in Pittsburgh the emergence of all-black residential areas proceeded more slowly than elsewhere. In 1920, for example, some 60 percent of blacks lived within five doors of a white family, and not until the 1930s did blacks constitute a majority of even the Hill District, the principal black neighborhood.

Racial transition also proceeded more peacefully in Pittsburgh than elsewhere. While cities like Chicago, East St. Louis, and Washington, D.C., erupted in race riots, often over maintaining neighborhood racial boundaries, Pittsburgh's Hill District was quiet. There poor blacks, Jews, and Italians lived in close proximity. They shopped together and their children attended school together, for the city's school system had been desegregated in the 1870s.

Migrants gave the community energy and vitality. Just as Pittsburgh previously had supported concert orchestras and classical musicians, in the 1920s and 1930s it became a center for jazz, nurturing such greats as Billy Strayhorn, Kenny Clarke, Art Blakey, Earl "Fatha" Hines, Roy Eldridge, and Leroy Brown, in addition to female musicians Lena Horne, Mary Lou Williams, Louise Manlt, and Maxine Sullivan. Much of this energy resulted from a synergistic fusion of old and new migrants. The older, more established migrants helped structure the new black metropolis. Robert

Vann, for example, had come from North Carolina well before World War I. In 1910, he purchased the *Pittsburgh Courier* and by the 1930s had built it into one of the country's premier black newspapers. Cumberland Posey Jr., son of the city's leading black businessman in 1900, established the Homestead Grays, one of the premier baseball teams of the Negro Leagues. And Gus Greenlee, who came up from North Carolina just before the great migration, subsequently owned the city's leading black nightclub, the Crawford Grill, as well as the Pittsburgh Crawfords baseball team, the city's other premier black baseball team.

Together, the OPs and the new migrants accomplished much. By the 1930s the Pittsburgh Crawfords and the Homestead Grays were mainstays of the Negro Leagues, the *Pittsburgh Courier* was the largest-circulation black newspaper in the country, and the Hill District pulsed with the sounds of innovative jazz performers (Reich 2006, 674).

In Pittsburgh, migrants, black or white, who entered the industrial workforce started at the bottom. But unlike their white predecessors, blacks almost never moved up. Racial discrimination explained much of this blocked occupational mobility. In addition, blacks had entered the city just as heavy industry there had begun its long-term downward slide and at the same time was modernizing and eliminating common laboring positions. Black attitudes also contributed to their blocked mobility. Many migrants regarded industrial labor as temporary work, to be done between planting and harvesting season. Therefore, they were prepared to quit should the work prove unsatisfactory, which it often did. To maintain 223 black steelworkers in 1923, for example, the A. M. Byers Company made 1,408 separate hires. Black workers had few alternatives, for they were excluded from more than half the city's trades and the rest confined them to positions as common laborers and insisted that they be paid less than union scale. A situation that was bleak during the 1920s turned disastrous during the 1930s, when a study showed that during the Great Depression more than one-third of black adults were unemployed and three-fourths were living in poverty (Reich 2006, 674).

Newark

In Newark, New Jersey, southern blacks, who had been migrating there since the second decade of the century, often experienced the same discriminatory practices they had suffered in the South. Upon arrival in the city they were forced to live in the slums of Newark's Third Ward where, according to the Negro Welfare League, "most of the dwellings were poorly heated and of considerable age. A substantial proportion of them lacked lighting facilities, inside toilets, and running water." One woman described the arrival of a black family from Alabama in 1919. The man, his wife, and seven children were paying $14 a month for three rooms, "the central room perfectly dark." A white family who preceded them paid only $9 for the apartment, but "The landlady downstairs said quite explicitly that she charges these people $14 because they were colored" (Fleming 1985, 194).

In 1930, a study by the Urban League reported that blacks were 5.5 percent of the population of New Jersey, but 3.5 percent of the gainfully employed, and 25 percent of the relief load. "White folks were yelling their heads off because there were so many blacks on relief," commented Harold Lett, the executive secretary of the league. But union membership, particularly in the skilled trades, was closed to them. Simultaneously, numerous industries began leaving Newark for the lower-taxed suburbs.

Between the two wars segregation was the order of the day for blacks in Newark. Real estate agents and property owners continued to force blacks into Newark's ghetto, where they endured substandard housing and other forms of economic deprivation. They were not accepted in white restaurants, they sat in separate sections of the city's movie houses, and they were barred from public swimming facilities. Newark was by no means the only New Jersey city to follow these patterns. E. Frederick Morrow, who was born and grew up in Hackensack in the 1920s, wrote the following in a memoir of his youth:

> The only difference between the slave era and then [the twenties] was the fact that physical slavery had been abolished, but all the mental and spiritual and philosophical attitudes developed in slavery toward the Blacks remained. The whites were adamant in fostering and retaining the status quo, which meant inequality in every facet of community life. On the other hand, the Negroes had been so brainwashed, and had become so weary from the burdens and toil of life, that most accepted the inevitability of second-class citizenship.

Morrow recalled in bitter detail the uproar caused when his sister applied for a job in the public school system. Almost every white organization in town, from the Daughters of the American Revolution to the Knights of Columbus, rose in protest. The Ku Klux Klan marched through Hackensack in a fiery night parade. For Morrow, the saddest part of the story was the reaction of the town's black community. They were as vociferously opposed to Nelly Morrow's hiring as the whites, claiming they did not want their children taught by an "inferior" teacher (Fleming 1985, 193–95).

URBAN AND RURAL EXPERIENCE

In the Middle Atlantic region, only a person who lived on a farm or in a country town before 1920 could appreciate fully the complete revolution in country and small-town life that took place in the next few decades. The life of the rural community changed little between about 1820 and 1920; it changed significantly in the next few decades thanks to the automobile and truck and the improved roads reaching from farm to town, and to radio, electricity, and the motion picture. It is hardly possible to overemphasize the role of the automobile and truck and the accompanying hard-surfaced highway in revolutionizing life on the farm and in the neighboring town or small city. Until after World War I the horseless carriage remained something of a curiosity outside the larger centers of population, where the more wealthy toyed with it as a luxury. Henry Ford changed all this with the "Tin Lizzie," produced at a low cost and available to the person with average income. By 1920 motorized transportation was no longer a curiosity, but a practical method of transportation, and in Pennsylvania, 10 years later, Governor Gifford Pinchot started building the hard-top roads that lifted the farmer's automobile out of the dust and mud. By 1940, roughly, the average farmer in just about any part of Pennsylvania was reasonably sure of all-weather use of his car or truck. A trip to even a distant town could now be made in hours rather than as an all-day jaunt.

Any farm family could now see the new motion picture "palace," with its vigorous piano accompaniment of the silent pictures that flickered across a screen showing the perilous adventures or the comic actions of their favorite stars of the films. Such occasions, naturally, were special events of the week, but almost any time the farmer needed something from the village he could drive the few miles in a few minutes to get it. Life was never the same in the farm community after the coming of the automobile. It was a new and mobile life upon which some oldsters looked askance, especially when the automobile hearse replaced the slow horse-drawn vehicle in taking the deceased to their graves.

Contact with towns and in turn their contact by motor truck transportation with larger cities meant many changes. New sources of supply for a variety of foodstuffs such as fresh vegetables, fruits, and meats, which were common in city markets even earlier, began to appear in country stores by the 1930s. The home garden in town or country lost some of its appeal as the new supplies of canned or fresh vegetables and fruits appeared. Easy access to town dramatically changed patterns of life in the rural Middle Atlantic region. Most clothing could now be purchased in town or city stores, and the best in fashions was as available to the farmer and his family as to any city dweller.

Electricity followed upon the heels of the automobile as a major force revolutionizing life on the farm in the Middle Atlantic region. For example, in Pennsylvania by the 1940s, surveys indicated that well over 100,000 out of 170,000 farm homes had the advantages of electricity. This meant the coming of refrigeration and the home freezer, replacing home canning and the cold cellar. It meant the lighting of farm homes with electricity and soon brought, as they were developed, the appliances of an electrical age into the farmhouse as well as the town and city home. It meant in many homes an electric water supply system rather than pumping by hand the ton of water a day it is estimated most farm housewives used. The "typical" farm kitchen of 1940 was a far cry from that of 1920, thanks to electricity, and it was likely to be thoroughly modern. The man of the house also made use of the new source of power in lighting and equipping the barn with labor-saving devices.

Farm life changed also in the area of communication. The telephone came to rural Pennsylvania after 1900, mainly through the growth of community cooperatives, which built the lines and organized the central switchboard. It was not much before 1930 that the United and Bell commercial telephone companies adequately served the hinterland.

But the greatest revolution of all in terms of enriching the farm home and its cultural and entertainment outlook was radio. By 1945, 90 percent of all farm homes in Pennsylvania had radio. It could be operated with batteries, which enlarged its use by the thousands. Radio caught on quickly because even earlier the ordinary phonograph with its wax disks had brought into remote homes the best as well as the ordinary in music, comedy, and general entertainment. When television, after World War II, brought the picture along with the sound, the revolution in a farm environment, once largely isolated from the outer world, was complete.

The automobile enlarged and changed the farm community by making it possible for people to come together more easily and readily for a variety of purposes. The strictly country school gave way to the consolidated and larger school located in town or in some central location to which children could be transported from a wide area by school bus. By 1960, the one-room school had all but disappeared in Pennsylvania. The country church also became a victim of the ability of people to attend a larger church in town. In 1947 a study of a typical northern Pennsylvania rural county showed that less than 15 percent of the remaining churches could be called country churches and less than 16 percent of the schools were of the country type. By 1960, out of over four hundred farm organizations not more than 10 percent held meetings in the country. Even the Grange hall was apt to be in town; here also were located the veterans' organizations and just about every other social and civic group. Only the Amish country held any longer to "old ways" of farm life.

The educational horizons of the farm folk of Pennsylvania were also deepened and broadened by the new era of communication and transportation. By 1940 Grange membership was well over 60,000 in Pennsylvania, with some seven hundred active Granges. A variety of other state farm organizations developed after 1900 as those concerned with special aspects of farming such as potato growing, keeping bees, or breeding certain types of livestock perfected their associations. A Pennsylvania Country Life Association was founded in 1936 and the Society of Farm Women in 1910. By 1916 a Pennsylvania Federation of Farm Organizations was in operation, which finally became the State Council of Farm Organizations.

The county fair, with some aid from the state, continued to grow and to exert educational influence as well as provide entertainment. Going to the fair had become a great annual event in the life of most farm families of the Middle Atlantic region, even in the days of dirt roads and the horse and buggy, or the surrey with the fringe on the top. The entire family packed food for lunch and dinner and often drove several miles to attend the fair. There products of the farm were exhibited for prizes, and the latest in farm machinery and equipment displayed by their manufacturers, while harness racing and horse racing, acrobatics and other grandstand shows, and a midway carnival offered fun and excitement. Going to the fair was usually a dawn-to-dusk day of fun and frolic.

Oddly enough, the automobile finally weakened the smaller country fairs because people were able to travel farther to see finer attractions at the larger fairs. Radio also helped break down the strictly country fairs, and larger and better-financed fair associations in such cities as Reading, Allentown, and York began to present as their grand attraction elaborate stage shows featuring radio personalities. The old Pennsylvania State Fair expired before 1900 and was not revived until 1921. Eight years later a State Farm Show building was authorized at Harrisburg to be operated by the State Farm Products Show Commission. It grew quickly into the nation's largest farm exposition, held annually in January and attended by thousands of persons each year. Here the showing of farm products for prizes and the sale of the prize livestock to the highest bidder were combined with a fabulous display of farm equipment and machinery without rival anywhere else in the country, but without the side show and midway common to the typical state fair. The annual Farm Show also provides a meeting time and sounding board for all of the statewide farm organizations and associations. Hundreds of farm youth take an active part in Farm Show exhibits and activities.

Expansion of the Rural Free Delivery (RFD), started in 1896, was another aid to broadening farm life. Parcel post was added in 1913, bringing mail-order service to the farm home. The RFD brought newspapers and magazines to the farmer's doorstep almost as quickly as to the town or city dweller. By 1912, a survey indicated that hardly a farm home was without a daily newspaper and one or more magazines. The famous monthly *Farm Journal* made its home in Philadelphia in 1877 and became a favorite farm magazine throughout the region. The *Country Gentleman*, as a member of the Curtis family of Philadelphia magazines and a more literary product, was also widely read in Pennsylvania. The *National Stockman and Farmer,* founded in Pittsburgh in 1877, was another regional favorite. In 1928 it merged with the *Pennsylvania Farmer,* founded in 1912. The new combined magazine soon became the most distinctively Pennsylvanian farm journal. The weekly Williamsport *Grit* and the old-fashioned country weekly, published usually at the county seat, were staples in any farm mailbox, along with a daily newspaper of the region.

The State Agricultural Extension Service began in 1892. It was expanded in 1907. Headed by Alva Agee in the School of Agriculture at Pennsylvania State University, generally known as Penn State, and given federal support by the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, it opened another new era in the education of the farmer. John Hamilton, Pennsylvania farm leader and onetime U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, worked hard to secure this legislation. By 1922 a system of County Agricultural Extension Associations was organized, each headed by an expert in agriculture trained at Penn State and known as the county agent. Home economics was quickly made a part of the system of extension services, and specialists from the university traveled across the state lecturing and instructing as well as demonstrating improved farm and home practices. The Extension Services in 1914 began to organize rural youth into the famous 4-H clubs (Head, Hands, Heart, and Health), which carried on various special projects of their own selection. By 1940, there were over 1,500 4-H clubs with a membership of over 21,000.

Organized instruction in agriculture in the schools was first in the form of nature study and dates back to 1889, when a Pittsburgh teacher started taking classes out into the fields. Penn State offered nature study by correspondence by 1900, and in 1904 at Waterford the first rural high school course in agriculture was started. By 1911 the state was requiring it to be taught in all township schools, and two years later a vocational agriculture department was created in the Department of Public Instruction. In 1917, federal aid was forthcoming through the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act, which included home economics and industrial trades and skills. By 1940 rural high schools were commonly presenting courses in improved farming and home economics with state and federal aid. Students in these classes in 1928 founded the Future Farmers of America, which two years later achieved statewide organization. Such advances in farm training, as well as in the general liberal education of farm youth, were forwarded by the growth of the consolidated schools, of which there were only eight in all of Pennsylvania in 1900. By 1940, there were some 700, and a full 4,000 one-room schools had disappeared in the short span of 40 years. The number continued to decrease in the next 20 years as larger and finer consolidated schools appeared, many of which represented jointures, bringing together several neighboring rural or small-town districts, which pooled resources with the encouragement of increased state aid for teacher salaries, transportation of pupils, and modern buildings.

Despite the truly revolutionary and profitable changes in the life of the Pennsylvanian farmer, it was not a land of milk and honey for every one of them. Actual farm poverty existed in certain areas of Pennsylvania by 1930, and other farmers were not doing very well. In the first place, the average per capita income of all Pennsylvania farmers in 1929 was less than one-half that of nonfarmers. This meant that large numbers of farmers were failing entirely to reap any major benefits from the economic growth of the whole of Pennsylvania. The years from 1900 through World War I were rather prosperous ones for most Pennsylvania farmers, and all estimates agree that the average farm family enjoyed a surplus in income as matched against outlay for improving the farm home or investing in more land or machinery. The postwar depression brought down the price of farm products sharply, and many a farmer who had bought more land or machinery, or possibly an automobile, on credit found it hard to make ends meet. Basically, as the years passed the cost of operating a successful farm mounted by thousands of dollars, mainly because of increased use of expensive machinery. As early as 1933 Governor Pinchot noted, "Farmers are daily losing homes in large numbers by reason of foreclosure of mortgages." A year later, 12 percent of the state's farm families were on relief rolls. New Deal measures in Washington helped farmers in debt through loans from the Farm Security Administration.

Many farmers could hardly be helped by such measures because the land they had farmed for years was now incapable of profitably producing crops. Fully 6 percent of all of the farms in the state in 1934 were judged to be submarginal in terms of the ability of the farmer to make a living. In some areas in northern and western Pennsylvania the percentage was as high as 40. This led some farmers to turn to dairy and livestock, and by the late 1950s livestock and livestock products constituted the largest source of farm income in Pennsylvania. Vegetable growing also began to increase as market gardening to supply increasing demand in the cities. Heinz Company in Pittsburgh, one of the largest food processors in the world, also increased demand for local vegetables. Grain, however, ceased to be a leading crop, a far cry from the previous century when Pennsylvania was still considered the breadbasket of the nation (Stevens 1964, 300–305).

Urban areas of the Middle Atlantic states grew rapidly in the first half of the twentieth century, and the demands of an enlarged city population produced a sharp quickening of the emergence of the modern city. Improved paved streets and walks, street lighting, better police protection, a good water supply, adequate sewage and sanitation, even city parks became a must, and every city in the Middle Atlantic region moved rapidly to secure these improvements. The pressures created by the growth of the cities began to reach peaks in the early 1900s. One of the first problems that caught up with urban centers of the Middle Atlantic region was sanitation and sewerage and their relation to the water supply. By the early 1900s, the need for community action on health and sanitation was evident as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other large cities of the region were afflicted with epidemics of typhoid. The next few decades witnessed notable development of sanitation and public health facilities in these cities. Slowly but surely the modern town and city began to take shape, and by the end of World War I most urban areas had a modern infrastructure in place. As the century approached its halfway point, new problems faced the urban centers of the Middle Atlantic region, such as population flight to the suburbs and deterioration of the inner city (Stevens 1964, 306–7).

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND HUNTING AND FISHING

Before 1900 any advocate of what was then a very new idea, namely conservation of natural resources, was a prophet crying in the wilderness. The idea of a national park system had been born in 1872 when Congress made the Yellowstone country a national preserve as a natural wonder. President Grover Cleveland talked a little bit about conservation, and President William McKinley rather forgot it. President Theodore Roosevelt made conservation a national issue in 1901, and Pennsylvania's Gifford Pinchot, as head of the nation's Forest Service, began to restrict the exploitation on an unlimited basis of not only timber but coal, mineral, and water-power sites on federal lands. Even earlier, in Pennsylvania, Dr. Joseph T. Rothrock, a native of McVeytown and a physician and surgeon by profession, in 1877 had addressed with great eloquence the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia on the importance of conservation, and in 1886 he founded the Pennsylvania Forestry Association. In 1887 the state established a Forestry Commission, and 10 years later the Assembly voted funds to start the first 40,000 acres of state forest. By 1904, Pennsylvania, though it still was a leading lumbering state and the lumber industry cut timber without much regard to conservation, had over 400,000 acres of state forest, which would later grow to over two million acres. Gifford Pinchot returned to head the state forest program, taking over where Rothrock had left off. Together, Rothrock, Pinchot, George Wirt, and many others moved the forest conservation program ahead.

Conservation of water resources was an area in which Pennsylvania developed leadership when in 1905 it created a commission to study the problem. Out of this grew a progression of laws that brought the basic control of this vital resource under state controls. In 1922, Pennsylvania entered into a cooperative agreement with Delaware and later with other neighboring states and the federal government to regulate and control the water supply, represented by the Delaware River.

Conservation has broader meanings today than earlier; Pennsylvania was in front in developing many of these ideas. By 1896, the once-lush game lands of the state had disappeared and conservationists began to be aware of this, with the result that in that year a start toward state game conservation began. Many people resented this as an interference with private rights, but in 1903 a license to hunt game was required for nonresident hunters. The first game refuge was set up in 1905, and since that time an active State Game Commission began developing conservation of Pennsylvania's once-vanishing wildlife to a point where it compared favorably with other states. By mid-century, the commission had over 978,000 acres of game lands. The Fish Commission established in 1949 began as the Board of Fish Commissioners and developed an extensive program of propagation and distribution of fish in Pennsylvania's streams, which added greatly to the conservation of stream and recreational facilities.

Not all of the work in conservation had been done by government. Since 1931 the Western Pennsylvania Conservancy in Pittsburgh began acquiring thousands of acres to protect the land's natural beauty and to develop it for public use and conservation. Several thousand acres were presented to the Commonwealth for use in state park developments in western Pennsylvania.

The land itself is so basic a resource that by 1930 Congress was impelled to authorize a nationwide study of the evils of soil erosion. As early as 1901, Pennsylvania State University, in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, had started a study of soil conditions throughout Pennsylvania. As land was denuded of timber by unregulated lumbering, the problem became more acute with every decade. Under the federal legislation the university began a more active study of soil conservation, and demonstration projects were in operation in Indiana and Armstrong counties by 1934 to show how to control erosion. Two years later federal benefits were authorized for farmers who would adopt soil conservation measures, and in 1938 the Pennsylvania Assembly authorized the creation, on a voluntary basis by vote of farmers themselves, of Soil Conservation Districts. Since at least 10 percent of the state's farmland was by then submarginal, these measures were badly needed. Building dams on small streams to check flood waters, tree planting to control loose soil, strip and contour farming rather than plowing in the old-style straight furrow, which invited rain to wash soil away, and careful crop rotation were methods used to conserve the land (Stevens 1964, 309–11).

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Intellectual Life

As in other areas of the country, Progressive reform became the leitmotif of intellectual life in the Middle Atlantic region in the first half of the twentieth century. Reform movements urged improvement of education, especially at the primary and secondary level, and reform changed the nature of health care. Advances in technology also influenced intellectual life in this era as improvements in printing created a proliferation of mass-market magazines, which catered to various readers' specific tastes and interests. Even children became a target in the highly competitive and productive age of mass-market publishing. Many of the more literary publications of the nineteenth century could not survive this new approach to literary tastes. Like the rest of the nation, the Mid-Atlantic region also benefited from the communication revolution created by the new radio and film industries. But in the Mid-Atlantic region radios were not merely listened to but produced as well. This section will explore the changes that Progressive reform and new technology precipitated in the intellectual life of the Middle Atlantic.

EDUCATION

Improving primary and secondary education was for many policy makers and parents a critically important element not only in inculcating family values, training people for work, and socializing young people to a law-abiding life, but also in the achievement of the more positive goal of increasing the general welfare of the nation. When the United States began to mobilize for war in 1917, standardized intelligence testing of army recruits revealed a shockingly high percentage of men who appeared to be of substandard intelligence. These rudimentary tests and statistics confused intelligence with education and took no account of the quality or availability of education for the recruits, but the results led to a call for wide-ranging educational reform.

After 1915, across the Middle Atlantic states, teacher-training standards were raised, research in learning skills and styles increased, the school year lengthened, and the minimum legal dropout age was raised. In an effort to improve standards of education, in 1919 and 1921 the Middle Atlantic Association of Colleges and Schools established the Commission on Higher Education (CHE) and the Commission on Secondary Schools (CSS), respectively. The commissions established the concept of peer evaluation in the region and contributed to the evolving collegiality between the two levels of education. The Commission on Higher Education was located at Columbia University and the Commission on Secondary Schools at the University of Pennsylvania. The two commissions created standards and protocols to accredit their institutions. Initially, only four-year colleges and universities and traditional high schools were offered accreditation. Visits by accrediting agencies to schools were short, conducted often by only one person, and often very prescriptive in nature. Institutions were required to submit periodic review reports and host special commission visitors. Information sought from the institutions was quantitative, and denial of accreditation was often based on a single issue.

During the early years, the association's discussions on the standardization of academic credentials led to the creation of the College Board and the Carnegie Unit as ways to assure quality of academic offerings and the trustworthiness of the participating institutions. Accreditation, the ultimate and current mission of the association, was introduced. In the years that followed, accreditation in the Middle States region and around the country defined the characteristics of quality in American secondary and higher education. The Middle States Association concentrated its efforts on accreditation activities. The original objectives of the association, which had concentrated on the critique of American education, shifted to national organizations of educational specialists (http://www.msache.org/).

In 1900, only about 7 percent of the Middle Atlantic region's children between 14 and 17 years old attended high school; by 1915 that figure had doubled. In Pennsylvania the curve of high school attendance continued on roughly that path until 90 percent were in school at mid-century. School attendance laws became more strictly enforced, and children who thought about skipping school faced more numerous and more efficient truant officers. In urban areas of the Middle Atlantic region kindergarten for five-year-olds was introduced, and more training in the trades and vocational skills was included in the curriculum. By 1930, 90 percent of all grade-school-age children were attending school, up from approximately 75 percent in 1920. But as of 1940, half of the Pennsylvanians living in rural areas had not gone beyond 8.5 years of education.

In Delaware, the school system of the first decades of the twentieth century resembled those of the Deep South more than those of its Middle Atlantic neighbors. Outside of Wilmington and a few incorporated towns, the typical Delaware school was a one-room, clapboard building, where one teacher taught all the students with no particular attention paid to differences in age or skills.. The schools suffered from years of neglect; they were dark, poorly heated by potbellied stoves, and the sanitary facilities consisted of a usually decrepit outhouse. Teaching materials such as books, charts, and maps were generally lacking. The teachers were scantily paid and untrained. The landowners who controlled the state legislature kept the school tax low and arranged that it fell most heavily on tenants, on the grounds that tenants sent more children to public school than landowners did. Change did not come until the 1920s when the state's largest industrialist, Pierre du Pont, moved by a 1919 citizens' report that denounced the "little red schoolhouses" of Delaware (Strayer, Engelhardt, and Hart 1919), decided to take the issue of educational reform into his own hands. Du Pont mobilized his vast financial and political power in the state to launch a major overhaul of the educational system. His contributions to improving public education in Delaware fell into two areas: replacing antiquated one-room school houses with consolidated buildings, and creating a well-financed, professional, statewide board of education that could establish standards and enforce them (Hoffecker 1977, 110–11).

In the urban Middle Atlantic region, immigrant parents often made great financial sacrifices to send their offspring to private, usually church-sponsored schools. During this era, the Philadelphia Catholic school system became the second largest in the country behind only Chicago. Philadelphia was virtually unique in the 1920s and 1930s for its extensive system of regional diocesan-run, tuition-free central high schools. They created a model that was later copied throughout the country. During the period of the diocese's most rapid growth, priests built twice as many schools as churches. In the single year of 1925, construction proceeded on 60 major school buildings. This rapid growth meant uneven quality, haphazardly trained teachers, and makeshift crowded classrooms with occasionally more than a hundred children in a class. But it remained remarkable how good these Catholic schools could be, especially once the runaway growth settled down in the 1930s. Philadelphia Catholic schoolchildren generally performed well on standardized tests. For example, West Philadelphia Catholic won the 1924 University of Pennsylvania award for the high school whose graduates received the highest freshman grades, and Roman Catholic High School received honorable mention. Graduates in the top three-quarters of Hallahan Catholic High School for Girls were automatically admitted to Penn. At the same time state education officials were waging a campaign of petty harassment against the Catholic school system of Philadelphia. While they had no trouble getting into the University of Pennsylvania, Hallahan graduates who wished to attend the local state teachers college had to take makeup classes, and the state officials refused to accredit any Catholic school (Morris 1998, 184).

On the other hand, the public school system of Philadelphia lagged behind other cities in the early decades of the twentieth century. After completing a survey of a dozen major American municipalities in 1909, Superintendent of Schools Martin Brumbaugh concluded "not one of them presents such [terrible] conditions as are present in our city." Philadelphia schools were so crowded and facilities so inadequate that one-third of the students were on half time and over 1,700 were on a waiting list (Weigley 1982, 546).

The expansion of college enrollment in America that occurred in the 1920s—from 341,000 in 1920 to 754,000 in 1930—was predominantly a middle-class phenomenon at nonelite universities. The education of these students was broader than it had been for their predecessors. At nearly all colleges and universities, increasing student enrollment and growing faculties led to a greater assortment of courses offered. Sociology, political science, engineering, marketing, art, drama, physical education, and other new offerings joined the traditional curriculum of history, literature, mathematics, and classics. In 1920, 532 PhDs were awarded; 10 years later almost four times that figure (2,024) were granted.

For the wealthy, admission to elite eastern colleges and universities mattered most, and the moneyed usually had the edge over those who might have been more intelligent but were not of the right class. These same elite schools regularly excluded or imposed quotas on "new" immigrants and Jews, sometimes excluding them completely. Other universities discriminated less, but almost none admitted black students, regardless of their circumstances. In the Middle Atlantic region, blacks could obtain a college degree at such historically black colleges as Cheney State Teachers College and Lincoln College in Pennsylvania, Morgan State College in Maryland, Delaware State College, and Howard College in Washington, D.C.

Although hindered by de facto segregation, some black urban high schools in the Middle Atlantic region made great strides in the early decades of the twentieth century. For example, Douglass High School in Baltimore catered to the black middle class in that city, and more than one-third of its graduates continued on to college. Its distinguished alumni included musician Cab Calloway, civil rights activist Clarence Mitchell, and Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall (Chapelle 2000, 194).

LITERATURE

Although the radio helped kill off more than 200 daily newspapers, the daily and the weekly newspaper survived as a form of media and still occupied a significant place in Americans' daily lives. The newspapers that survived and thrived after World War I offered a form of reading material in addition to news, advertisements, and features that was to become a part of the everyday life of most reading Americans, even if they could barely make out the English language. Comic strips, which may have saved some papers from extinction, were introduced in 1895 when Richard Outcault's *Down Hogan's Alley* was first published. The strip's main character, the "Yellow Kid," inspired toys, games, and other goods in much the same fashion that an earlier comic creation in book form, the Brownies, had. *The Katzenjammer Kids* (1897), *Happy Hooligan* (1899), *Alphonse and Gaston* (1899), *Little Nemo* (1905), *Krazy Kat* (1910), *Bringing Up Father* (1912), and others appeared, and each snagged a loyal following. As their titles suggest, many poked fun at immigrant groups, and these probably had minimal attraction for the subject group. There was enough diversity in most papers' strips to provide white readers with the chance to snicker at others, especially African Americans, who were usually lampooned if they appeared at all.

After World War I many papers published a "comic page" that included older humorous strips and new dramatic strips such as *Gasoline Alley* (1919), *Little Orphan Annie* (1924), *Tarzan* (1929), *Dick Tracy* (1931), *Mandrake the Magician* (1934), *Prince Valiant* (1937), and *Rex Morgan, M.D.* (1945). *Little Orphan Annie* was the most popular drama strip of the 1930s, and Annie and her mutt also appeared in two movies and had their own radio show. Politically conservative in its message, the strip characterized the unemployed as lazy and content with relief. Aggressively antiunion, Little Orphan Annie's creators consistently mixed stories of their heroine's trials with barely concealed assertions that workers should stop striking, go back to work, earn their keep, and shut up.

Newspapers were the most common reading matter in most Americans' lives, but magazines increasingly began to occupy American reading time. Magazine circulation reached 80 million in 1930, according to an independent survey conducted by the Audit Bureau of Circulations in 1934. There was a slight drop in the mid-1930s, but by 1942 circulation had risen to over 100 million. The new and successful magazines of the era such as *Time*, *Reader's Digest*, *Esquire*, *The New Yorker*, *Fortune*, and *Life* joined established periodicals such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Harpers*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and pulp fiction and self-help magazines such as *True Story* and *Physical Culture*. The slicker urbane qualities of most of the newer magazines (*Reader's Digest* was the exception) appealed to the white middle class and to middle-class aspirants. In Philadelphia, the Curtis Publishing Company's flagship magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post*, suffered after the stock market crash. The magazine's folksy rural nostalgia perhaps seemed inappropriate as farmers went bust in a cloud of dust.

Time was first published in March 1923. Its irreverence and slick—or smug—tone and its departmental organization (like that of a university) were designed to appeal to the affluent and the urbane. The magazine's popularity grew steadily through the 1930s; its predominantly Republican and upscale philosophy appealed to a large chunk of the middle class. By the end of 1924 *Time* had 70,000 subscribers; by 1930, 300,000; and by 1937, 650,000. Founded in 1922 by DeWitt Wallace, *Reader's Digest* hoped to provide readers with articles that would be uplifting. Essentially conservative in political stance and, as the title indicated, digested, the little magazine was composed of articles culled and excerpted from other periodicals. Less nostalgic and not as folksy as the beleaguered *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Digest* sold well and consistently increased its circulation and profits.

Home workshop and do-it-yourself magazines were popular in the 1920s and 1930s. They brought suggestions and instructions for household jobs to eager readers who had time on their hands, not enough money to pay professionals to do the work, and desire for a new way to make a few bucks. Throughout the pages of these magazines were countless come-ons for the would-be small independent businessman, who was promised a pile of income from fixing locks, radios, small engines, and nearly everything else imaginable. The December 1935 issue of *Modern Mechanix* magazine, for example, contained 90 ads for job opportunities or education that could bring a new and steady (a key word) source of income, and 76 ads for all other sorts of consumer products. In addition there were 19 "self-help" ads promising solutions to everything from blemished skin to physical weakness. Perhaps the most far-fetched was the full-page ad for the "new uncrowded industry" of raising giant frogs. Sponsored by the American Frog Canning Company of New Orleans, the ad promised that a "backyard pond starts you" on the way to "make big profits."

Shown here is a 13-frame comic strip from the 1920s in which Little Orphan Annie falls asleep while reading an adventure book about prehistoric times; the strip shows her adventures when transported through a dream to the era of cave dwellers and dinosaurs. Library of Congress.

In addition to "smart" magazines, *Reader's Digest,* and do-it-yourself magazines, sensational and marginally risqué periodicals also had booming sales throughout the era. These sexually suggestive and sometimes implicitly violent mass-market magazines owed much to the success of the *Police Gazette,* whose quickly tattered issues piled up in barbershops, saloons, pool halls, and other male-oriented places. The number and circulation of these magazines expanded after the professional strong man and health-obsessed Bernarr MacFadden launched *True Story* in the 1920s. The genius of *True Story* was its cross-gender appeal, especially to women, who had only limited public access to salacious literature until MacFadden's efforts.

True Story and magazines like it were formulaic in their articles and in their visual appeal. Like *Physical Culture,* the covers often depicted beautiful young women showing enough skin to be suggestive without getting the magazine pulled from the shelves. The stories, alleged to be true and "stranger than fiction," were generally moral tales of naive good women confused and hurt by a complex modern (i.e., urban) world, much like the dynamic of soap operas. A fall from original grace often occurred, and punishment was certain: shame, ostracism, and, in more extreme cases, loss of a spouse or even death. So effective was the *True Story* formula that by the late 1920s advertisements in all sorts of magazines—including proper periodicals such as *Ladies' Home Journal*—used the confessional style.

During the Depression years, women's magazines published articles on amateur dressmaking, more efficient housecleaning, and cheaper cooking in greater numbers than they had before the crash, but they carried little information about going into business for oneself. Instead, the ads and the articles centered on child rearing and the potential embarrassment of dirty clothing, dirty children, or a dirty house. Reinforcing traditional gender roles, these middle-class magazines offered a higher-end counterpart to the moral tales of the more working-class-oriented confession magazines.

Confessional, mechanics, and smart-set periodicals replaced many of the upright literary journals and compendiums that had been vital since the nineteenth century but that had been steadily losing readers since 1900. By 1940 such venerable titles as *Literary Digest*, *Review of Reviews*, *The Outlook*, *Judge*, *Delineator*, *Century*, *World's Work*, *Scribner's*, *Forum*, and *Women's World* were gone, many after as much as a half-century of publication. Their tone of uplift and literary appreciation was rendered superfluous in a culture that traded on condensed books and articles and the "quick hit" of the newsmagazines. Many of the expired magazines were victims of their moral tone of restraint, an unfashionable position in the postwar era of automobiles, increasing sexual openness, and resistance to prohibition (Green 2000, 198–202).

The literary magazines also lost ground to the libraries, which expanded their services in the 1920s. Not only were library buildings built and enlarged, some public libraries filled trucks with books and sent them on the road to small towns and hamlets. Pennsylvania became a leader in developing traveling libraries. As late as 1938 it was estimated that fully 85 percent of rural Pennsylvanians remained without any library service. Five counties had no public library at all, and nine had a single library at the county seat. Attention to improving this situation began after 1920, and increased state aid to county libraries made possible the mobile library unit. Books could also be borrowed by mail from the State Library (Stevens 1964, 304).

Mail-order book clubs centered in the Middle Atlantic area were established in the 1920s to bring less expensive editions of great and popular books to the country and city, thereby increasing sales and, as some book club magnates hoped, a more thorough and widespread knowledge of the classics in the United States. The classics probably fared better than they might have without these efforts at mass marketing and greater reader accessibility, but popular books of the era were usually of a type other than that of a college literature course. In 1925 and 1926, the best-selling nonfiction book in the United States was Bruce Barton's *The Man Nobody Knows*. Barton, who in 1928 became a founding partner in the eminent advertising firm Barton, Batten, Durstine, and Osborn, described Christ as a businessman trying to make his way through the world, a theme that in the prosperous 1920s found many takers. Tales of the Old West and mystery novels were consistently popular fiction genres. Zane Grey's stories of lone lawmen continued to sell long after his death in 1936. Dashiell Hammett's *The Maltese Falcon* (1930) sold well (as did most of Hammett's other works), and in 1933 Erle Stanley Gardner published the first of his Perry Mason mysteries *(The Case of the Velvet Claws)*.

Harvey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* was a fiction best-seller in 1933 and 1934, but the sales of Margaret Mitchell's thousand-page saga of the Civil War South, *Gone With the Wind* (1936), surpassed the sales of any novel that preceded it within a year of its release. *Gone With the Wind* was both a love story and a nostalgic tale of preindustrial, agrarian America that evaded the problems of racial inequality in the Old South. Mitchell's work also probably offered some solace and encouragement to white Americans struggling with the effects of the Great Depression because it showed the brave face of southerners torn by the Civil War but forcefully promising to rebuild.

Some of the artistically and financially successful fiction of the era did confront the problems of class differences, the shallowness of the consumer culture, and the poverty, suffering, and struggle to survive of ordinary people. F. Scott Fitzgerald probed the first two issues in *This Side of Paradise* (1920), *The Beautiful and the Damned* (1922), and *The Great Gatsby* (1925). Sinclair Lewis found American business and small-town culture wanting in *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922). By the 1930s, with the deepening of the Depression, many novelists fixed their attention on the real and mythical farmer, unthreatening foreign peasant cultures, and the poor. Much of this popular literature reveals intellectuals searching for answers to the Depression and the culture and values of the common people, or the "folk." Pearl Buck made millions (most of which she donated to care for the destitute) and won the 1932 Pulitzer Prize for *The Good Earth,* her tale of peasant life in China, and Erskine Caldwell's novel about the plight of southern sharecroppers, *Tobacco Road* (1932), sold well. John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) chronicled the lives of the Joad family, "Okies," blown off their land in the Dust Bowl and fighting to survive the lean years as migrant laborers in California. It was an immediate success in the literary marketplace, as well as in its movie version, which was directed by John Ford and released in 1940. Common to nearly all these literary efforts was a sense of individual responsibility and a belief in the need for personal rather than systemic changes to produce a more equitable society. Even the more "radical" or at least politically left works, such as *The Grapes of Wrath,* still ultimately concentrated on the family as the bulwark against hard times.

The sense of individual responsibility and heroism—and a lack of faith in the economic and political system—also informed elements of a new form of literature that hit the stores, streets, and newsstands in 1929. Comic books built upon the success of newspaper comic pages and were immensely popular among children and many adults, some of whom would not admit it. George Delacorte's tabloid, entitled simply *The Funnies,* was probably the first of the genre, although it lasted only 13 issues. But its successors, including *The Shadow* (1931), *Detective Comics* (1937), *Superman* (1938), *Batman* (1939), and tales of other superheroes that appeared by 1940 were successful for, in some cases, more than 50 years. Many of the most profitable and long-running comic books were not "comic" at all, but were dramatic stories that defined many of the social and economic problems of the Depression and war years in simplistic terms and provided solutions that ignored constitutional rights such as due process of law and habeas corpus.

Nearly all of the comic book heroes were men, and nearly all were outsiders. Only Wonder Woman broke the gender line, and her uniform—a strapless, tight bodice, shorts, and high-heeled boots—showed lots of skin, thereby mixing the message of her heroic, crime-fighting athleticism. Superman, the first of the Action Comics heroes (1938), was an alien from another planet, and many others of the genre were technological creations and mutations with superhuman powers. Often disguised to fit in with everyday life and usually operating in a large impersonal city, they represented wish-fulfillment fantasies of readers caught in a civilization that seemed neither beneficent nor responsive to the efforts of ordinary humans. Western comic book heroes, like the Lone Ranger and Gene Autry on the radio, were able to whip the bad guys through a combination of intelligence, initiative, and good intentions and, after some fisticuffs or a good fight, won the day. Their civility and sophistication in an otherwise uncivilized world also served to their advantage. As in radio dramas and detective fiction, the ordinary lawmen and the judicial system in superhero comic books were unable to cope with the evils around them (Green 2000, 202–4).

In literature old and new, Philadelphians made reputations for themselves and a limited local coterie. Agnes Repplier was counted the best of America's essayists. A. Edward Newton's *Amenities of Book Collecting* in 1918 and his subsequent popular essays on the joys of books made the check-suited, red-tied manufacturer of electrical equipment an international figure. Contributing to the creation of Philadelphia genre works were Francis Biddle with *The Llanfair Pattern*, Struthers Burt in *Along These Streets*, and William C. Bullitt with *It's Not Done*. Both Biddle's and Bullitt's books, on the theme of love of a lower-class girl by an upper-class man, titillated Philadelphians who thought they could recognize the characters. Owen Wister's *The Virginian* turned up as a silent film in 1920, and in 1929 was remade with Gary Cooper, Walter Huston, and a soundtrack. Joseph Hergesheimer supplied a pair of bestsellers, *Three Black Pennys* and *Java Head,* to the roster of writings by Philadelphians. George Kelly brought home a Pulitzer Prize in 1925 with his play *Craig's Wife*. At about the same time Arthur Huff Fauset and some other men and women, students or recent graduates from the University of Pennsylvania, began to publish *Black Opals* (1927–1928), Philadelphia's first black literary magazine since 1909. (Up to this time the blacks, more than any other of Philadelphia's minorities, expressed in writing, in the theater, and in music their sense of self and of their own community.) Fauset was a writer—his "Symphonesque" had won the O. Henry Memorial Award in 1926—who turned publisher. Edward W. Bok, an editor, who began to write after he retired from the *Ladies' Home Journal,* produced *The Americanization of Edward Bok* in 1921 and *A Man from Maine*, a biography of his father-in-law Cyrus H. K. Curtis, publisher of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post* (Weigley 1982, 592–93).

The Middle Atlantic state of Maryland produced America's most important social critic of the first half of the twentieth century, H. L. Mencken. He was born in 1906 into the Baltimore bourgeoisie, and despite his rise to international fame, stayed in it throughout his life. He spent all but five years of his life in the family's row house. He had the appetites of the Baltimore bourgeoisie that he often ridiculed. He loved good heavy food, good beer, fairly good whiskey and wine, and good company, preferably male. He had the values of the bourgeoisie, which included work before play and save for tomorrow, and he had their prejudices, which he flaunted in his articles and books while others tended to keep them hidden (Bode 1977, 174–75). Mencken's most important literary contribution was his work titled *The American Language*, which was a study of how the English language was spoken in the United States. Among popular audiences he was best remembered for his satirical reporting on politics and society. He was especially critical of southern mores. His best-known commentary on this subject was his report on the 1925 Scopes trial, which found a young biology teacher guilty for teaching evolution. Mencken is credited with naming this event the "Monkey Trial." Mencken also published a literary satirical magazine in the 1920s called *American Mercury*.

Another important literary figure from the Middle Atlantic region was Malcolm Cowley of Pittsburgh. From 1929 through 1944, Cowley was the assistant editor of the *New Republic*. Also an important essayist, Cowley's introduction to an edited collection of William Faulkner stories titled *The Portable Faulkner* was probably the most important factor in the resurgence of interest in Faulkner's work in the 1950s.

COMMUNICATION

In the first decades of the twentieth century, communication became as important to the modern economy as transportation. Advertising was well known as a means of communicating to potential customers the availability of products long before the turn of the century, but what was not even foreseen in 1900 was the coming of such new advertising media as the radio and later television. These two communications media not only created new industry through the manufacture of sets and their components, in which Pennsylvania shared richly, but also revolutionized the ability of industry to attract the consumer's attention with a message about a product. The growing development of mass distribution has been influenced more largely perhaps by mass-media advertising than even by advances in transportation, for the simple reason that it is mass desire for goods that makes possible their mass production and distribution. The story of the birth of radio in Pittsburgh in 1920 at station KDKA has been told. In a few years there were more than a hundred local radio stations in the state, filling the airwaves not only with music and lectures, but also with advertising messages.

Other communications media played a part in revolutionizing business and the economy in the twentieth century. All of them were invented and in use before 1900, but their influence upon the economy had been slight. The telephone became increasingly valuable as a business aid, making it possible to conduct business over long distances by the simple expedient of placing a phone call. The role of the typewriter, and especially its adaptation to business machines of various types, has been material in the growth of mass production and distribution in the modern economy. It helped on the side to create a whole new world of employment for women, whose appearance in most business offices earlier than 1900 would have created consternation, if allowed at all. Even photography as further developed by George Eastman had its place in the changing economy, because advertisers found out quickly the truth of the old adage that "a picture is worth a thousand words." Photography was so important to modern industry that the Bethlehem Steel Company, as one example, had an entire building at its Bethlehem headquarters to house a completely modern photographic production laboratory and plant, serving the needs of this large corporation.

All of these new communications media were important to Pennsylvania because in many instances Pennsylvanians helped to create and develop them, and also because they helped to revolutionize the economy of the state through changing the nature of business, and even creating important new industrial developments as part of the state's economy to supply the needs of the new media. Atwater Kent, for example, was a pioneer in manufacturing radios. Atwater Kent radios were found in more homes than any other single make in the early days of radio. This enterprise in Philadelphia later formed the basis for the large Philco Corporation, a major manufacturer of radio and television, which in turn was absorbed by the Ford Motor Company. The Westinghouse complex of electrical manufacturing firms in Pittsburgh played a large role in not only starting commercial radio broadcasting, but also in experimenting with and improving the manufacture of both radio and television products. The Sylvania Company also developed largely through meeting the needs of radio and television (Stevens 1964, 340–41).

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Public health issues for the bulk of the white population largely concerned three important phenomena: the increasing number of hospitals, the growing professionalization of physicians, and the great influenza epidemic of 1918–1919. Between 1900 and 1920 the number of hospital beds in the United States doubled, as cities and universities built new facilities and expanded older structures to accommodate both the burgeoning urban populations and the more sophisticated medical training of physicians. In addition, the Progressive ethos of top-down reform and its commitment to good health as a necessity for the preservation of American (that is, Anglo-American) culture stimulated the expenditure of public monies for both more efficient city governments and more efficient delivery of health care and, Progressives hoped, less disease. Clothing fashions and recreation alternatives and attitudes were additional important elements in the development of a new interpretation of health and its importance and may have been the catalysts that transformed a half-century of professional and quasi-professional complaints about Americans' physical condition into altered behavior. By 1920, the successful man was depicted in advertising and other forms of popular culture as slender, clean-shaven, and slickly groomed, a stark contrast to the turn-of-the-century identification of corpulence with success. For women, the ideal body form of the Gilded Age—rounded, corseted, and bustled—evolved first to that of the cinched but active "Gibson girl" and, by the 1920s, to the boyish-bodied flapper or streamlined body of the movie queen and the athlete.

From the late nineteenth century onward the problems of "softness" and "nervousness" had been a plague that had bedeviled middle-class men and women. Sport and the "strenuous life" ideology promulgated by Theodore Roosevelt and others, dietary reform, and various medical and quasi-medical treatments were applied with vigor and hope. The Boy Scouts were formed in 1911 after the English model; Girl Scouts and other such groups soon followed. In addition to the cures for the real or imagined diseases conjured by ad men and manufacturers, exercise and fitness activities became cures for weary desk-job Americans and their wives and children. Sun tanning became a fad in the 1920s, and the bronzed complexion replaced white skin as a mark of beauty and health. "Nature's restorative" contained vitamin D in its ultraviolet rays, and it was not long before the panacea manufacturers came out with an assortment of ultraviolet and violet ray machines in (usually) black-clad boxes filled with glass tubes in various shapes to massage the allegedly healthful rays all over the body. Civilization may have consigned one to a desk and may have processed the vitamins out of canned foods, but science and technology (or their bowdlerized offshoots) promised to bring back the healthful aspects of nature when one could not partake of the outdoors or of sport. Cereals, vitamin supplements, laxatives, irradiated milk and dairy products, and the hidden benefits of common foods were answers.

Medical education had become more structured and rigorous as early as the 1870s, when Daniel Coit Gilman at the Johns Hopkins University and Charles Eliot at Harvard University undertook the reorganization of American medical training, hoping to rescue it from the unlicensed and inconsistent efforts of the past. Formal training that included laboratory work and extended training beyond the classroom characterized the profession, and by 1900 nearly all of the nation's medical schools followed the Harvard-Hopkins example. As a result of increased emphasis on rigorous science, hospitals in the post–World War I period changed from being rest places for the poor to diagnostic and care centers where people went to be cured. With more hospitals and more sophisticated diagnostic tools, physicians were treating more patients with greater success than before. For physicians the growth of hospital care and better diagnostic tools meant longer hours, and less of them out of the office on house calls. In 1929, the typical Philadelphia physician's workweek was more than 50 hours long, but only 6 of those hours were spent on visits. The rest were spent in the office, hospitals, and clinics. But there was a dark side to the expansion of medical knowledge and technology. The poor were largely deprived of medical care, because there were few if any ways to deliver treatment that did not require them to pay. Because many lived perilously close to the edge of existence, most of the poor had to do without the shining successes of modern medicine (Green 2000, 178–79).

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Material Life

The material world of the average person living in the Middle Atlantic region of the United States changed radically over the period of the first decades of the twentieth century. For example, people of the Middle Atlantic region (as other regions) were eating quite differently in 1940 than they had been in 1899. One reason for this was the new emphasis on scientifically based diets, but a far more interesting cause was the influx into the region of European immigrants who brought with them their own dietary traditions and recipes, some of which (like spaghetti) became permanent parts of the typical American diet.

Like other regions, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the infrastructure of the Middle Atlantic region strained under the challenge of the massive influx of immigrants. But unlike other regions, the largest cities of this area did not witness a proliferation of tenement houses for the poor. The alternative in cities like Philadelphia and Baltimore was the modest row house, which made owning or renting a small but comfortable house a possibility even for poor workers. Electricity changed the lives of Americans and also created new needs for electrically powered gadgets. Many of these new products, like the radio and phonograph, were manufactured in the Middle Atlantic region.

Finally, new technology brought new modes of transportation, and Middle Atlantic cities like Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh created massive nets of rail travel to connect outlying areas of their regions to the cities' jobs and access to shopping districts that held the latest wonders of the new technological age. This section will explore how various forces, especially technology, immigration, and science, altered the material lives of the people of the Middle Atlantic region.

FOOD

Families in the Middle Atlantic region shared in the revolution that the typical American diet underwent between 1915 and 1945. The spearheads of the great change were the advocates of the "new nutrition." The goal of their crusade was to convince Americans to jettison the greasy meat-and-potatoes diet that had been popular for decades in favor of a "balanced" program of fruits, vegetables, carbohydrates, and proteins. The critics were most successful among the middle and wealthy classes, but the "new nutrition" also affected the diet of the poor to a limited extent.

Changes in Americans' eating habits were intertwined with efforts to analyze and improve Americans' overall fitness and the delivery of health care to the population. Technological changes in the production and preservation of foods and the attempts of producers to consolidate their operations and rationalize the marketplace led to an alliance of science, medicine, and business that produced both hucksterism and innovation. Vitamins and minerals, fiber and temperance, malnutrition scares and created "diseases" were part of a drive to build a healthier America, fit for the struggle to survive in war, economic downturn, and the socioeconomic marketplace. Healthy food was considered a fundamental building block in the edifice of health and medicine that was altering Americans' lives in this era, from birth through death.

In 1915, most of the white Anglo-Saxon middle class and wealthy equated good cookery with English foodways, which included roasted joints and fowl with heavy gravies, raw oysters, piquant relishes, scalloped side dishes, loads of butter and sugar, fruited sauces, and lots of sweets. In the Middle Atlantic region, the cultural pride and nostalgia for old England and colonial America that had been evident in literature, architecture, and furniture styles for at least a quarter of a century reinforced this equation and stalled the work of health and dietary reform. In 1923, when breakfast cereals were already in their heyday, the magazine *The Nation* commissioned proponents of regional cuisine to come up with a list of "home dinners" typical of the regions of the United States. In Baltimore, Chesapeake Bay oysters, terrapin Maryland style, and roasted wild duck were noted. Roast pork and sauerkraut were the favored foods of Pennsylvania Germans.

Other foods that could be added to the list of Middle Atlantic regional foods include Maryland soft-shelled crabs and crab cakes, shoo-fly pie of the Pennsylvania Dutch country, the Philadelphia soft pretzel, a contribution of the early German immigrants, and the Philly cheesesteak. According to local legend the cheesesteak (rarely called that in Philadelphia) was invented in the late 1920s by Pasquale Olivieri. Business was not doing well at Olivieri's South Philadelphia hot dog stand, so he decided to make lunch for himself. He had a slab of steak that he could not cook on the hot dog grill. So he sliced it thin, then put it on the grill, added some onions for taste, and put it onto a hot dog roll. Pasquale (better known as "Pat") never got a bite because a cab driver drove by, smelled the sandwich, and asked how much? He didn't know what to charge, so he charged a nickel. The cab driver supposedly said, "Hey . . . forget about those hot dogs, you should sell these." It was not until 20 years later that cheese was added to the sandwich by a long-time employee, Joe Lorenzo, who was tired of the usual sandwich and added some cheese.

Some changes in the diet of the middle class came from abroad, from ethnic enclaves in Middle Atlantic cities like Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore. Italy's status as an ally during World War I helped broaden the popularity of pasta dishes with tomato sauce, especially spaghetti. So popular had the latter become that by the 1930s the tableware and houseware designer Russell Wright successfully marketed a spun-aluminum "spaghetti set." Red sauce, as Italians had long known, could also be a meat stretcher, and the World War I–era Food Administration and economy-minded Americans promoted the dish as healthy and patriotic. Women's magazines were full of recipes for spaghetti and its nearly infinite variations.

By the 1920s, major changes in the production and distribution of processed foods helped remove the stigma attached to them, if not necessarily the quality problems of earlier years. Food became very big business. Between 1914 and 1929, capital investment in the food industry more than tripled, making it the largest American manufacturing industry. Growers and manufacturers formed institutes and associations to promote their goods and their particular foods and became the second-largest purchasers of newspaper advertising in the 1920s. "New" foods were introduced, or at least marketed as such to a national and largely middle-class audience. The food-processing industry also became more mechanized, as assembly lines and machines replaced hand operations in slaughterhouses and commercial canneries, and prices of many goods dropped (Green 2000, 156, 160). In the Middle Atlantic region, New Jersey made a significant contribution to the processed food industry when in 1897 John Dorrance developed the technology necessary to condense soups for canning. With this discovery he launched Campbell Soup Company of Camden.

HOUSING

In the early twentieth century, both immigrants and natives bought houses in the Middle Atlantic region, but immigrants seemed to have sacrificed or saved for the purchase in greater numbers than their incomes might have suggested. By the late 1920s, 40 percent of all first-generation immigrants, including nearly 50 percent of all Poles, 40 percent of all Italians, 54 percent of all Czechs, and 45 percent of all Lithuanians, were homeowners, but 29 percent of all second-generation immigrants and only 19 percent of all native-born Americans owned houses. In Philadelphia, immigrant home-buying was the norm rather than the exception. The influx of immigrants into Philadelphia at the turn of the century did not have the same negative housing effect that it did on other major cities, with their overcrowded tenements and large single-family homes turned into multifamily dwellings. Perhaps the most important single factor in creating the differences remained in architecture. Instead of being a city of jammed-together multifamily tenements packed with renters, Philadelphia and Baltimore remained cities of endlessly repeated row homes, most of them single-family dwellings, and many of them owner-occupied. In 1920, 45 percent of Pennsylvanians owned their homes as compared to 30 percent in New York and 38 percent in New Jersey, the two neighboring states.

Financing a house often required sacrifice and some fancy footwork. Jews often formed their own construction and finance companies, and they tended to build and live in urban apartments, rather than in single-family homes. Perhaps because of their encounters with discrimination in Europe and the United States, many valued investment in businesses more highly than in real estate, because the former was more easily liquidated than the latter. Other immigrant groups opted for single-family or occasionally multiple-family residences, often financing them by having the entire family working to meet the demands of the mortgaging system of the era.

The typical mortgage available between 1915 and 1935 was for between five and seven years and for 50 to 60 percent of the cost of the house. The principal was not usually paid off in this period, and borrowers had to negotiate another loan with the original or a new bank when the first loan term had elapsed. At this time a bank could refuse a borrower a new loan and demand cash payment of the rest of the principal. Borrowers could try to find a new lender, but what usually occurred was that the next loan was offered at a new and generally higher interest rate—often as high as 18 percent payable in three years. Borrowers who agreed to the terms of a loan could not be slow in making payments; missing two monthly payments usually meant the bank foreclosed and all was lost. Ethnic groups often felt the sting of discrimination in their negotiations, and even if they didn't, they usually had to contend with bankers who were unfamiliar with their language and customs. Many ethnic groups in the Middle Atlantic region formed their own loan associations to try to gain some measure of control or at least comfort with the process. By 1916, there were, for example, 74 Polish American associations lending money to others of Polish descent.

The Depression stimulated a radical change in traditional housing financing. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act in 1933 to protect people from foreclosure. Forty percent of all eligible Americans applied for assistance, with great regional variation. Between 1933 and 1935 the HOLC lent more than $3 billion for more than one million mortgages. The HOLC also introduced a new mortgage form—the self-amortizing, 20-year mortgage with uniform payments. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) became law on June 27, 1934. The FHA did not lend money, but insured loans so that banks could make more of them. It also set up new guidelines for mortgages, allowing up to 93 percent of the principal to be borrowed, to be paid back at a fixed interest rate for 20 years or longer, amortized over the entire period. It established minimum standards for construction of new houses and the condition of older houses and required objective inspection of properties to be financed. Nationally, the results of the legislation were astonishing. Housing starts and sales, at 93,000 in 1933, leapt to 332,000 in 1937, 399,000 in 1938, 458,000 in 1939, 530,000 in 1940, and 619,000 in 1941.

The federal government also backed housing projects for low- and middle-income families in the 1930s. In 1933 the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration began construction of 21,000 units in 49 projects in cities throughout the nation. In 1939, north of Wilmington, Delaware, the FHA sponsored Edgemoor Terrace, a 400-unit, housing development. At $5,150 the six-room houses were not cheap, but the down payment was only $550, and the monthly payment of $29.61 was less than the rents many in the area were paying. Lenders required a guarantee of steady work, which was a problem for many potential borrowers.

FHA standards and administrators' attitudes sometimes impeded efforts of the working class and the poor to borrow for housing in inner cities. Appraisal techniques and standards favored white suburbs and discouraged renovation of older homes in established neighborhoods, especially Philadelphia-style row houses that were deemed too crowded and too close to the street. Those who lived in tenement apartments in cities, in decaying frame or row houses, in company houses, in cabins and other small rural buildings, or, for the most destitute, in cardboard or scrap wood and metal shacks, were left out of FHA benefits.

Most working-class apartments and housing had minimal storage and few rooms. Kitchen cabinets and closets were virtually nonexistent: They were too expensive and there was usually no room for them even if there was enough money. Typical rooms had open shelves, pegs, boxes and trunks that doubled as seats, an occasional chest of drawers, a table, a cookstove, a washtub, a few chairs, beds and mattresses, an inexpensive record player (by the 1920s), and a used sewing machine. Few of these homes had running water, and almost none had running hot water. John Parracini, from near Scranton, Pennsylvania, lived in a boardinghouse with few comforts. There were "no carpets . . . no rocking chair . . . , no couch, just common wooden chairs." He remembered "a great big table, and benches on each side of the table, and a great big kitchen." With little storage and often no icebox until the 1930s (when the advent of refrigerators made them outmoded and cheap), working-class women relied on street vendors and small grocery stores to supply food for daily cooking.

For the working class, the kitchen served many functions in addition to cooking. It was a social area: courting couples could spend time and friends could sit around a table and talk, play cards, or otherwise socialize. Margaret Byington described a typical working-class kitchen in Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1910: "On one side of the room was a huge puffy bed, with one feather tick to sleep on and another for covering; near the window stood a sewing machine; in the corner an organ—all these besides the inevitable cook stove upon which in the place of honor was simmering the evening's soup. Upstairs in the second room were one boarder and the man of the house asleep. Two more boarders were at work" (Green 2000, 97–98).

Black Americans in urban areas almost always had to live in segregated neighborhoods in the most dilapidated structures and with the fewest municipal services. Many of these houses were in the alleys that connected the streets with the interior spaces of city blocks, where once stables and carriage sheds had stood. As automobiles replaced horses, these buildings were converted into or replaced by two- and three-story multiple-family residences. The small open spaces between the buildings and alleys were often full of debris, because hard-pressed families often sent children and adults to scavenge the city for metal to be resold, as well as for wood and coal for heating and cooking. For many African Americans, the urban alley apartment or house, in cities like Baltimore and Washington, had one or two more rooms but less yard space than the former slave cabins or other houses in the country that many had left.

Black families with enough money to live in better housing had difficulty doing so because of racial prejudice. Segregated accommodations were the norm all over the country. Rebecca Taylor, in a 1980 interview, noted that "when I came to Plainfield [New Jersey] I discovered that Plainfield was as segregated as the South. . . . I didn't see any difference, because the theatres were segregated, the hospitals were segregated, the churches of course." The Federal Housing Administration, organized to protect homeowners and make mortgages easier to obtain, used an appraisal system that discriminated against black loan applicants and against borrowers seeking mortgages for houses in integrated neighborhoods. The 1939 *Underwriting Manual* succinctly stated its prejudicial position: "If a neighborhood is to retain its stability, it is necessary that properties continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes."

The interior condition of segregated houses varied from the barely tolerable hovel to the immaculate abode of Washington, D.C.'s famous "Aunt Jane," whose youngest daughter began each school year with 26 clean, pressed dresses. Used furniture and appliances, recycled fruit and milk crates, and inexpensive or free secular and religious prints—especially calendars—decorated many of these homes. In a 1946 publication examining Washington, D.C. alley apartments, sociologist Marion Ratigan found many homes and apartments furnished "with only a mattress on the floor, a kerosene burner and a small pan . . . no table, no dishes, not even a cup," and a few appointed with "Biedermeyer and Hepplewhite chairs, a pier-glass table and a Governor Winthrop desk, filled with such treasures as a Cappi della Monte [sic] plate, a Meissen group, odd pieces of Wedgwood and Sevres china, hobnail and milk glass, and innumerable figurines and dolls" (Green 2000, 98–100).

Between the rural house or cabin and the urban house and tenement was the middle ground of the middle class—increasingly the suburb. Real estate development, especially tract housing, expanded as entrepreneurs in the 1920s began to use more effectively the technology of mass production in home building, and the demand for middle-income housing grew as the middle class increased in number. Moreover, the expansion of public transportation and the advent of the cheap automobile opened up large and hitherto impractical sites for housing.

For decades the wealthy had maintained homes in both the city—the seat of business and high culture—and the country or the seashore. But with the opening of the vast landscape around the cities to the streetcar and the automobile, the best of both could be had by those in the middle of the socioeconomic spectrum. In the late nineteenth century, the streetcar had opened up lands along its lines; by the 1920s the automobile opened up the spaces in between the streetcar tracks for development.

Lot sizes in new developments were generous by urban standards, averaging approximately 3,000 square feet in older streetcar suburbs and 5,000 square feet in automobile suburbs. The suburbs also offered the middle class exclusivity; restrictive covenants were often attached to deeds to shut out those few Jews, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Irish, Italians, Asians, and other immigrants who had the money and desire to move out of the city to the suburbs. The suburban ideal was white, Anglo-Saxon, and northern European, and sometimes only Protestant.

Fundamental to the development of suburbs were the new transportation arteries created to get in and out of the city. At the time of the stock market crash, plans were on the drawing board in Philadelphia to build seven routes to bypass the center city. Elsewhere, the Delaware River Bridge connected Philadelphia and Camden in 1926 and the George Washington Bridge spanned the Hudson River between New York and New Jersey in 1933. Parkways, traffic circles, timed traffic lights, bridges, and tunnels were constructed with what seemed to be dizzying speed. In the end these projects did speed traffic flow and decrease congestion for a while. But they also helped hasten white middle-class flight to the suburbs in the 1920s, thereby forming concentric rings of metropolitan settlement, with the poorest people living near the center.

Middle-class settlement patterns, improved roads, and the pervasiveness of the automobile brought about the growth of suburban shopping centers between the world wars. Only eight shopping centers were built by 1945, a result of the Depression and World War II's tightening of money for such projects. All were built in affluent suburbs like Upper Darby and Ardmore, Pennsylvania (1927 and 1928), and Shillington, in Arlington, Virginia (1944), an upscale suburb of Washington, D.C. Merchants figured that the suburban middle class was a more profitable market, and that suburban land was still cheap enough to build both stores and free parking lots. The suburban shopping center could also be pitched as safer.

In 1915, typical middle-class housing in towns and cities was large and multistoried. Three floors and 3,000 square feet of living and storage space (not including a basement) were realistic expectations for the growing class of mid- and upper-level managers and bureaucrats and their families. Ornamented neoclassical and American colonial-style buildings with expansive windows and generous residential lots (60 or 80 feet wide by 150 or more feet deep) were grander than previous generations could have hoped for. Mass-produced machine-made decorative devices, from carved interior paneling to stained glass by the running foot, made it possible for many middle-class Americans to build and buy what had once been available only to the upper end of the merchant class.

Most people living in these residences were white, Anglo-Saxon or northern European, and Protestant. With smaller families (three, four, or five children, according to the census tabulations of 1900–1940) and a commitment to more space for each child, the typical middle-class home consisted of a downstairs parlor, a living room, a library or den, a dining room, a kitchen, storage closets, and a small lavatory. Upstairs were bedrooms and a full bath, and for a small and declining number, servants' quarters (if they were not on the third floor). The attic was the primary storage area. Basements were for the heating system, coal storage if necessary, tools, and some food storage. For the middle class, who profited most by the building boom of the 1920s, oil-fired, forced-air central heating was common. People living in immigrant, working-class, and poor areas could not afford central heating until after World War II. Most middle-class homes were equipped with interior bathrooms, running water, and gas hookups for ranges. By the 1920s, nearly all suburban and urban middle-class homes were electrified throughout, and electric household tools and appliances—fans, vacuum cleaners, irons, lights, and some clothes washers—were commonplace.

There were some regional distinctions in the architecture of middle-class housing. Stone "farms" and "rambling" country houses appeared in Pennsylvania. But while the decoration and historical style of these houses differed, the arrangement of spaces was in most cases that of the middle-class form described earlier. Kitchen designers embraced the new styles and materials, adding glass doors and shelves to kitchen cabinets, and successfully promoting chrome-plated tubular steel chairs for the kitchen eating areas in the 1940s. Glass manufacturing giant Libby-Owens-Ford's "Day After Tomorrow Kitchen"—a takeoff on the 1939 New York World's Fair's motto "The World of Tomorrow"—was almost entirely made of glass and featured an appliance-filled area that resembled an innovation in fast-food service popular in the era, the Automat. So popular was the all-glass kitchen that they produced three of the models and moved them to department stores across the United States for 15 months in 1944–1945. Like the glazed, stainless steel, and enameled surfaces of other kitchens, the glass kitchen signified "sanitary" and "scientific."

The bathroom was similarly changed by the cultural demands of sanitation and science. By 1915, the bathtub was transformed from the footed cast-iron heavyweight to the molded and recessed (but still heavy) double-shelled enameled tub. With a standard length of five feet, house designers developed the compact bathroom, often only five feet wide. In it were the tub (set across the wall farthest from the door), a small enameled sink, and a toilet. The whole room was in some cases covered with white or, later, pastel tiles. The bath as appendage to the bedroom—certainly a desired architectural device from the bath-fixture manufacturers' point of view—was recommended if not necessarily adhered to by builders and homeowners since about 1915. Well-heeled Americans installed baths with bedrooms as a matter of course by the 1920s, perhaps reflecting the influence of hotel layouts and small but posh urban apartments.

By 1940 mail-order merchants offered a complete set of bathroom fixtures for $70, well within the reach of the steadily employed working class. The middle class, searching for ways to distinguish itself from the less affluent working class, had since the late 1920s turned from pure white to colors and color coordination in the bath. The color-coordinated ensembles of bathroom fixtures, bed and bath linens, kitchen cabinets and utensils, appliances, and even automobiles and auto interiors were, if not new ideas, new applications of an old idea, to be used to assert class distinction.

In the early 1920s the choices in bath linens were limited to white with the occasional red or blue piping. Cannon began marketing matching colors and different styles of linens (at a premium) in 1924. Martex introduced its fashion lines in 1926, including patterned towels as well as colors. By the late 1920s the "ensemble" idea had been picked up by manufacturers of other household goods for the bath and kitchen. Standard Plumbing Fixtures introduced 10 shades in its line, including red, gray, avocado, orange, black, pink, and blue. Crane, Kohler, American Sanitary Manufacturing, and C. F. Church broadened their palettes. Church offered toilet seats in "nine pastel shades and nine sea-pearl tints."

Previously, white had ruled the modern bathroom. White had meant clean and orderly, as in laboratories, hospitals, and clinics. But the pressures of class aspiration and exclusivity had helped devalue the meaning of whiteness, at least in the bath, and to a lesser extent the kitchen. Colors meant money beyond the necessity for buying the goods. Colors also meant fashionability and "smartness," that irreverent snobbery that insisted (perhaps with the nervousness of class uncertainty) that one was above the common worker or petit bourgeoisie. The "smart" people could ignore the overkill of whiteness; they assumed cleanliness for themselves and did not have to prove it.

For many middle-class Americans, art deco and art moderne—the avant-garde styles of the era—were unacceptable in home furnishings, other than for appliances and accessories such as lamps, and art objects such as "dancing lady" statuettes and cosmetic cases. Such homeowners remained most comfortable with the forms, styles, and designs that were derived from English, French, arts and crafts, and American colonial styles. Academic and voguish critics winced at "colonial," "French," or

"Tudor" style pieces that resembled nothing ever imagined in those cultures, but to their owners these variations and combinations represented "culture," civilization, economic success, and the pleasure of the new. Mail-order catalogs and retail outlets abounded for the willing consumer, loaded with new factory-made goods for the home.

It was in the graphic and visual arts of the era, and in advertisements and product packaging in particular, that nearly all Americans were likely to encounter line and form denoting speed and industry. Here products were pitched as new or modern, and chic. Art deco and art moderne also appeared as decoration on or in large-scale commercial buildings, railroad trains (by 1934), and automobiles (by 1932). Even Borax hand soap took on the curvilinear look of streamlining and the angular and attenuated look of art moderne (Green 2000, 105–7).

CLOTHING

In urban areas in the Middle Atlantic region, as elsewhere during the first decades of the twentieth century, the middle-class manager came into prominence. He brought with him his own distinctive style of dress. White-collar workers' socioeconomic aspirations and egos depended on their ability not only to maintain their material way of life but also to advance to higher-paying jobs. But the chance of moving up also carried with it the possibility of falling back, and white-collar workers' anxiety levels were constantly in flux, whatever their situation. Subjective judgments by superiors determined success and failure in the business office, and conformity in nearly all aspects of work life became highly valued. Typical "successful" middle-class male dress included the dark business suit and tie. The suit was best if it was double-breasted with wide lapels and padded shoulders. With the ideal slim-hipped body, the man so dressed appeared to be even broader in the shoulders than he was, thus sending the signal that he was an aggressive athletic type not to be trifled with. Fedoras, not boaters, were the required headgear for these men, and their hats covered hair slicked straight back with no part. The body as streamlined machine had no facial hair. That was either for the old-timers of the nineteenth century (who were allowed their beards because of the poor shaving technology of the day) or perhaps for "alien reds."

Critics and the young of the 1920s exaggerated distinctions between generations in matters of sexual practice, but there were significant generational differences in clothing preferences. In the 1920s, young women rejected shoe-length skirts, choosing above-the-knee hemlines and rolled stockings. Loose chemises replaced the corseted clothing that emphasized a matronly bust and hips. Bobbed hair, which some critics derided as an invitation for men to "take liberties," was in vogue, in lieu of long, upswept, and pinned hairstyles. Amply endowed women flattened their breasts with elastic girdle-like apparatuses or simply bound them to give a more boyish flat-chested appearance. By the 1930s, with the sobering impact of the economic Depression, most of the presumed wildness and boyish enthusiasm of the young had vanished. Fashions accentuated rather than flattened breasts, double-cup, underwire brassieres were fashionable, and the motherly figure again returned as the ideal. Fitted waistlines on women's dresses returned, skirt and dress hemlines fell to about one inch above the floor, and padded shoulders were common by 1940. The "sweater girl," a 1940s euphemism for a busty woman in a tight sweater, was further proof of the return of the bosom as a marker of womanhood, although some critics thought such garb was a distraction for men, especially in the workplace. The fashion changes suggest a more serious approach to the role of women and especially motherhood than in the 1920s. Middle-class men in and out of work wore conservative dark suits if they could. Skimmers and boaters were not much in evidence after the crash, except among some of the very wealthy who not only missed getting hurt by the Depression, but in some cases actually profited from it.

One happy prospect for the worriers about American fitness was the alteration in the nature of fashionable clothing that had taken place by 1915. The stiff corset, the bustle, and the voluminous skirts of the nineteenth century gradually faded from popularity until by 1915 they were uncommon. The expansion girdle still firmed up and occasionally packed in both women and men with more around the middle than they cared to reveal in their dress, and women office workers still wore long black skirts and white blouses with stiff collars and black ties (men's uniforms were similar—black or dark suits with white shirts and ties), but heavily boned clothing was disappearing from most women's wardrobes. The new sexuality among the young, even if only in talk, and the acceptance of the desirability of pleasurable sexuality in marriage meant that men and women more than ever fretted about their body shape and size, hoping to conform to the models of ideal form defined by the adolescent youth culture that was so powerful in the 1920s.

Cosmetics sales dramatized the increased concern for a new youthful and healthy beauty. The cosmetics industry did $180 million worth of business in 1930. There were 40,000 beauty parlors in operation in that year, eight times as many as in 1920. For men the pressure to be active and youthful was also intense. Their new heroes were not captains of industry with ample girths, bearded faces, and fat cigars, but actors such as Douglas Fairbanks and, to a lesser extent, Rudolph Valentino, slender clean-shaven "suaves" who got the girl. William Howard Taft at 350 pounds was the last corpulent president to serve; he was replaced in 1912 by the lean Woodrow Wilson. By the mid-1920s, the desirability for slender bodies among the middle class and wealthy became an obsession (Green 2000, 176–77).

TECHNOLOGY

In the Mid-Atlantic region, as in the rest of the country, electricity became the great technological phenomenon changing household dynamics in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1907, only 8 percent of American homes had electricity, but within five years that figure had doubled. By 1920 it had more than doubled again: 35 percent of all American homes had the new power. By 1941, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 80 percent of all American residences were wired. At first, most homes were wired only for lights. In 1912, 16 percent of the population lived in houses with electric lights. Electric lights replaced the dimmer, smelly, dirty, and dangerous open flame of kerosene lights and appealed to Americans ever fearful of fire. They also eliminated cleaning lamp parts, snipping wicks, and cleaning the soot left by the lamps. By 1920, technological breakthroughs in the development of resistance coils for toasters, hot-water pots, and hair-curling tools, as well as in the improvement of small electric motors for vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and refrigerators, spurred many homeowners to have additional wiring installed.

Between 1910 and 1920, one-piece electric motor-driven vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, and clothes washers were on the market, and the price of electricity was falling. Electric mixers (essentially eggbeaters with motors) and food grinders could be had by the end of World War I. After 1915 refrigerators powered by a small electric motor integrated into the food storage component were popular. Only electric ranges were slow to take hold of middle-class consumers' imaginations and wallets. Where natural gas was available, gas ranges remained far more popular than their electric counterparts because they had been available with oven thermostats since 1915, when the American Stove Company introduced them. In the 1930s, when the reliable, inexpensive electrostatic thermostat made electric cooking and baking more easily controlled, electric ranges captured a larger part of the market.

The middle and wealthy classes constituted almost the entire market for these appliances before World War II. Their enthusiasm for these machines relegated the eggbeater, the washboard, the wringer, the gas light, the kerosene light, the cast-iron pressing iron, the carpet beater, and the coal or wood cookstove to the attic, basement, secondhand store, summer cabin, hunting camp, or junk pile. For the working class, these were still the tools of housework and would remain so for most until after 1945.

Early twentieth-century appliances were expensive and designed for use by servants. They looked like smaller versions of the large industrial machines that performed similar functions. But by 1915, as the servant population dwindled, appliances took on a more furniture-like appearance, albeit with the streamlining associated with science, technology, and the "future." Advertisements stressed that the new machines were "mechanical servants," doing the work almost by themselves. Of course they were nothing like the automata the ads implied them to be. The myth of the mechanical servant was an effective strategy for those who never had servants or could not afford them. The wealthy still employed servants after World War I, and the hired help used the machines.

By 1920, running water was a standard convenience for most middle-class urban and suburban homes. On farms the hand pump in the kitchen and outside provided the water, because many rural homes had no electricity to run pumps until the mid-1930s. By 1930, hot and cold running water and self-fired hot-water heaters were the norm for the urban middle class and wealthy.

In the Middle Atlantic region, as elsewhere, poorer Americans in cities and the country still did most of their housework the old way until after World War II. Washday meant heating a boiler full of water on a coal or wood range, rubbing clothes on a washboard, turning a hand wringer, and hanging clothes on a drying rack or clothesline. Rose Popovich, who did the laundry of 12 boarders, recalled that her family "didn't have no washing machines. We did it by hand. I used to stand on a box to reach the washboard so that I could do some socks. I was only six years old. . . . A woman in those days never thought of having laundry done without boiling it. You had these stoves with four plates on them and you burned wood and coal here. Then you heated your boiler up on top of the stove and you boiled those clothes." The clutter and confusion and danger of washing in cramped working-class homes was captured by Margaret Byington in her 1910 study of Homestead, Pennsylvania. "The kitchen, perhaps fifteen by twelve feet, was steaming with vapor from a big wash tub set on a chair in the middle of the room. The mother was trying to wash and at the same time to keep the older of her two babies from tumbling into the tub of scalding water that was standing on the floor."

The poor, who had little or no access to running water and very limited heating facilities, used commercial laundries when they could scrape the money together. These laundries provided a range of cleaning services, from "wet wash," which was picked up wet, carried home, and dried and ironed, to "finished," which included ironing and folding. Commercial launderers enjoyed their best days in the 1920s. Gross receipts in 1929 were twice those of 1919. The electric washer and iron, as well as the Depression, brought the laundry back to the house until a brief renascence of commercial laundering occurred during the economic boom that followed World War II. Technology also altered the final step in laundry—ironing. Westinghouse began to promote its electric irons as early as 1909, stressing the relative ease of continuous ironing with an instrument far lighter than the cast-iron pressing gear of the past. Gone was the constant reheating of heavy irons on a hot stove or range; gone too was the imprecise switching of irons to keep the temperature hot enough to press but cool enough to avoid scorching, because now thermostatic controls kept the heat at a more or less constant level. By the early 1940s the continuous rotation ironer, or "mangle" (perhaps so named because of what it might do to one's hands if caught), was on the market for those who wanted to be seated while pressing large linens, a task that may have been less common before the machine was mass-produced and inexpensive.

Keeping floors and carpets clean was a constant battle. Since most roads and driveways were dirt or stone, dust was continually blowing around from the action of the wind or vehicles. Horses remained an important source of transportation for many people until the end of the Depression, and therefore horse manure (which dried quickly and became dust-like because of the normal incomplete digestion of the animals) was an additional problem.

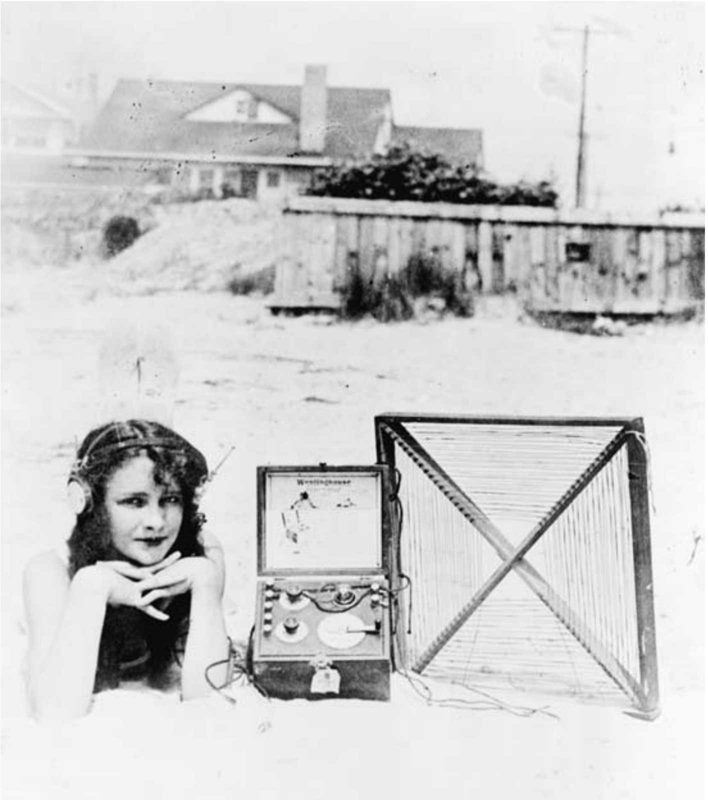
As in other appliances for the home, the compact electric motor created a new machine—the vacuum cleaner—out of an old form, the carpet sweeper. In 1915, the American Hoover Suction Sweeper Company began production of a machine that changed little in appearance for 20 years. An upright apparatus with a small motor mounted directly over the sweeping brushes, the Hoover looked industrial and was marketed as a tool that did a better job cleaning, but did not necessarily save time. Montgomery Ward introduced a cheap ($19.45) portable machine in 1917 in the company's catalog. By the mid-1930s manufacturers had hired industrial designers to repackage the essential machine in a shell that sent the signal of "new," "more efficient," and "better," although there were no technological alterations. Henry Dreyfuss redesigned the Hoover 150 in 1936, and the Hotpoint 500 was repackaged in 1937 (Green 2000, 62–65).

Technology altered Americans' activity in all areas of work, home, office, factory, forest, farm, mill, and mine, but it did little to ease uncertainty and may have even exacerbated it. Housework chores and expectations expanded, and women faced louder clamoring from critics in the popular media, the church, and government about their responsibilities for their families' success as breadwinners or students. Manufacturing and extractive industry workers confronted more powerful machines that were often more dangerous than older tools, not only because of their size and power but also because management swelled production demands to meet the potential of the tools, to pay off debt incurred acquiring them, and to garner more of the market. Office machinery made it possible to complete some clerical jobs more quickly, but the tools did not alleviate the workloads of secretaries, clerks, and stenographers. Salesmen and managers had telephones and automobiles at their disposal to pursue clients more vigorously but also faced pressure to expand the geographic area in which they competed. New technology, moreover, could do nothing to prevent economic collapse.

After World War I in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and other cities of the Middle Atlantic region, all new houses were expected to be lighted by electricity and were wired as a matter of course. The wiring of older homes kept electricians busy as the demand for better lighting and the new appliances—irons, toasters, cleaners, and radios—grew. One of the most important of Philadelphia's new companies, the Atwater Kent Manufacturing Company, made that city a center of radio manufacturing. Two other inventions destined to change significantly the domestic habits of her householders, the electric refrigerator and the electrically operated oil burner, also came on the market in the 1920s but caught on rather slowly, possibly because of their cost. To serve all of its customers, particularly the Philadelphia Rapid Transit, the "El," trolley lines, the new subways, and the railroads, who were then electrifying their suburban lines, as well as businesses and homeowners, the Philadelphia Electric Company built new generating stations, expanded old ones, and developed a new hydroelectric plant at Conowingo, Maryland (Weigley 1982, 597).

Electricity also made the miracle of the radio possible, and Pennsylvania played a pioneer role in its development as well as the development of motion pictures and the phonograph. All of these means for bringing information, enlightenment, and entertainment to people in scattered areas were more fully developed in the decades after 1900. The best in music, as well as pure entertainment without regard to any special cultural values, could be brought to the most humble home by recordings. The movie theater blossomed in even the smallest town and by 1920 was within reach of most farm people as well as villagers who sought views of a larger world. Then came radio. Marconi developed wireless telegraphy, and in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, a Catholic priest, the Reverend Joseph Murgas, hit upon a method of wireless communication through use of a rotary spark gap for transmission, which he patented in 1905. Dr. R. A. Fessenden may well have developed a radio telephone by 1906; at least a Pittsburgh company was formed to exploit it. The vacuum tube already had been invented, and in 1906 this led to a radio-type tube.

In East Pittsburgh a youthful Westinghouse technician named Frank Conrad was broadcasting on his wireless telephone the government time signals from Arlington, Virginia, and while waiting for the signal decided to play his phonograph for his own amusement. Acting on an impulse, he decided to move it to his microphone and to broadcast his records. It was not long before he was getting requests not only for more music but even special recording requests. Conrad may well have become the very first "disc jockey." Westinghouse sensed the possibilities in this idea and took the trouble to erect a broadcasting studio and station. On November 2, 1920, those listening on the tiny crystal receivers of the time heard the historic message, "This is the Westinghouse Radio Station KDKA, Pittsburgh," and listened to the election returns in the Harding–Cox presidential contest. A year later KDKA began its first broadcast of Pittsburgh baseball, though the announcer was not allowed in the park and had to report using field glasses from a nearby high building. The age of radio was at hand, and in the next few years thousands of farm and village homes, as well as those in smaller cities, were given a new dimension in the reporting of the events and personalities of the outside world, along with entertainment and music of great variety formerly known only to those fortunate enough to be able to buy tickets to theaters in a larger city (Stevens 1964, 300).



Young woman listening to her portable radio on the beach at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1922. Library of Congress.

Early commercial AM radio stations in Philadelphia radio history shared the 833 frequency in 1922. Those stations were Strawbridge and Clothier's WFI, Thomas Howlett's WGL, the Gimbel Brothers' WIP, and John Wanamaker's WOO. Other early call letters in the 1920s included WCAU and WDAR. Many stations changed dial positions in the early years. By the 1940s, the AM radio dial had taken a more definitive shape.

A woman using an early twentieth-century radio with headset. Library of Congress.

The radio connection to Philadelphia also touches the receiver side. RCA is still a popular brand name in consumer electronics, and its history goes back to Philadelphia as well. But RCA is not the only receiver manufacturer that called this area home. Two other important radio companies, Atwater and Philco, also began in Philadelphia.

RCA was the exclusive radio sales agent for the four largest electrical manufacturing companies: General Electric (which had bought American Marconi), AT&T, Wireless Specialty Apparatus, and Westinghouse. These four companies owned nearly every practical patent for radio, made most of the commercial equipment, manufactured vacuum tubes, and had strong ties to international companies. Through the 1920s, RCA did not actually manufacture anything itself, but rather had its name on products made by the four partner companies.

The first radio receivers to carry the RCA brand name were the Radiola models. The Radiola I, a crystal set, was manufactured in 1923. The wooden case opened on two sides. The front lid exposed the tuning control and connections for the antenna and headphones. The rear compartment provided a space to store the owner's headphones. The Radiola II was a similar unit but used two tubes in the tuning section.

Founded in 1902 and originally created to build small electrical items and automobile parts, the Atwater Kent Manufacturing Company began making radio components in 1922. The first models were breadboard styles, built on wooden planks. By 1924, the company began selling radios in wooden cabinets. From 1925 to 1927, the company sponsored the Atwater Kent Radio Hour. As was the case with many companies, Atwater Kent was unable to survive during the Depression and closed in 1936.

In 1906 the Philadelphia Storage Battery Company was founded to build batteries and power supplies. In the early 1920s battery sales began to decline until a new market appeared: radio receivers. In 1927, the company began manufacturing radio receivers. In 1930 Philco led the industry in radio receiver sales and remained one of the top radio sellers through the 1950s.

Until radio burst upon the leisure and educational scene, music in Americans' lives came from live performances or from phonographs. Pianos and organs were still popular among those who could afford them, but the parlor organ had been declining in popularity since 1900. More common in middle-class homes was the pianola, or player piano. Introduced in 1898 by the Aeolian Company, within 25 years "automatic" pianos accounted for 50 percent of all pianos produced in the United States. The phonograph was introduced on a mass scale at the turn of the century (Green 2000, 196).

TRANSPORTATION

Perhaps the most powerful single influence changing America after 1900 was the continuing revolution in transportation and communication. It can be called continuing because the railroad, the telegraph, and the telephone already were a revolution; it not only influenced the Middle Atlantic region's economic life directly, but indirectly led to great new industrial developments centered outside the state and helped eventually to undermine the industrial supremacy the region had once enjoyed.

The country was ready for the automobile and the airplane by 1900. Mechanical know-how had already invented a horseless carriage. The raw material needed for the transportation innovations had been developed in the Middle Atlantic region, but production sites of the final products would move westward. The petroleum industry, founded in Pennsylvania, had reached a point at which gasoline and lubricants were available, the former having been a waste product in the industry's earlier days. The birth of the aluminum industry in Pittsburgh had resulted in the new metal so badly needed to expedite heavier-than-air transportation. Improvements in making steel made it much more useful in building a satisfactory automobile.

The Burlington *Zephyr* arriving at the station in East Dubuque, Illinois. Library of Congress.

The great transportation revolution had begun in the nineteenth century with the railroad, but by the turn of the century this industry had reached its peak. In Pennsylvania, railroad mileage had just about doubled from 1875–1900, but only about a hundred miles of additional track was laid in 1900. Pennsylvania railroads carried that year 478,684,683 tons of freight, of which more than half was listed as "products of mines." These were vastly improved railroads, thanks mainly to George Westinghouse, and railroads continued to improve; but by 1915 they had ceased to grow. It was not until 1934 that American railroads made any further improvement other than possibly larger and heavier freight cars, and this came about in the development of the modern "streamliner," the famous *Zephyr* for passenger service, first used on the Burlington out of Chicago. Those railroads that provided more modern and comfortable passenger service bought cars newly designed and built by the Budd Company in its shops near Philadelphia. The nearby Pennsylvania Railroad did not avail itself of this pioneer facility in developing a modern approach to passenger traffic. A gradual abandonment after World War I of short lines, as well as elimination of passenger trains on even mainline operations, gradually but surely reduced both passenger and freight service in Pennsylvania to a minimal level so far as many local communities were concerned.

The Middle Atlantic region's connection with the development of the automobile is easily overlooked, but it could have been revolutionary in its consequences had not a young mechanic named Henry Ford chanced to live in Michigan. Gasoline was first produced commercially in Pennsylvania, and some of the pioneer experiments in this country with an automotive vehicle were made by the Duryeas while living in Reading, Pennsylvania. A lot of people tinkered with the idea. Early automobiles were built by blacksmiths and machinists who improvised from just about anything and assembled the parts into a working machine. As late as 1912, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Reading were leading cities for building or assembling automobiles, and now long-forgotten names such as the Chadwick, the Dragon, and the Pullman were well-known names for horseless carriages. The Autocar Company, a by-product of a Pittsburgh venture in automobile building, began building automotive and commercial vehicles about 1908 and soon became a major manufacturer. The Mack Truck Company was launched in Allentown and went on to become a major designer and manufacturer of heavy truck equipment down through to the day of trucks powered by diesel. The Electric Storage Battery Company in Philadelphia was also one of the pioneers in manufacture of automobile batteries and became a leader in the field. In Williamsport, Lycoming Motors enjoyed a position as a well-known builder of both automobile and airplane motors. James W. Packard, a Lehigh University graduate in mechanical engineering, was one of the half-dozen outstanding figures in the early evolution of automotive engineering in the country. Just how much the technological advances in making steel and aluminum in Pennsylvania steel mills contributed to the automobile as well as the airplane is usually forgotten, but the rapidity with which the nation took to the road on wheels and to the air in planes depended in no small degree upon these advances developed in the Middle Atlantic region.

The art of forging and welding aluminum had been so advanced by 1930 that entire structures could be shaped from it. New ways of heat-treating steel and revolutionary advances in making alloys of steels, along with electric welding, equally revolutionized the use of steel in automotive transportation for frames, bodies, engines, and other parts. These basic raw materials for both the automobile and the airplane continued to be produced to a larger extent in Pennsylvania than in any other state or region. But when Henry Ford made the simple, standardized Model T Ford in 1908, the automobile industry was lost forever to Pennsylvania.

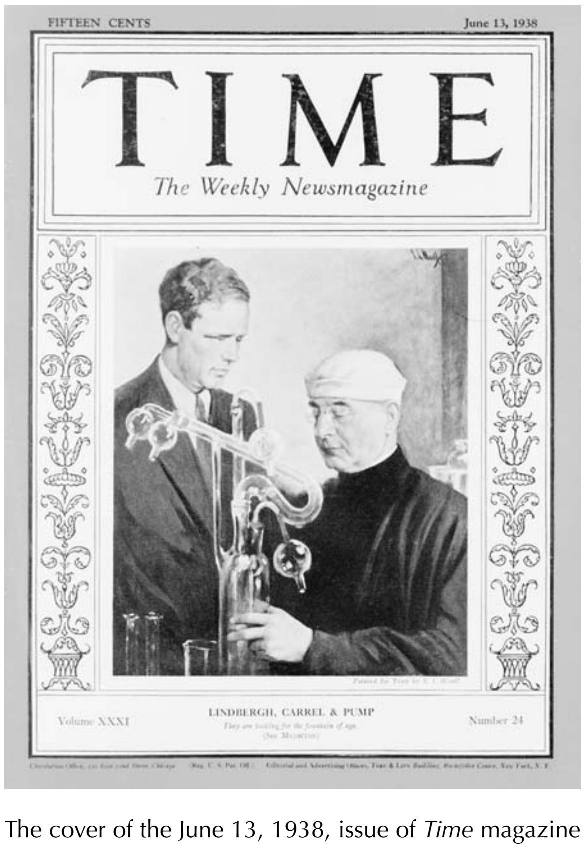
The same situation might have prevailed in the development of the airplane. Samuel P. Langley, after going to Washington's Smithsonian Institute from Pittsburgh's Allegheny Observatory, missed by about three years becoming the inventor of the airplane in 1903. He did, however, make many contributions to the science of flight. As it was, Pennsylvania's leading role in aviation development was played by William Piper Sr. in developing the small, light passenger aircraft, which became famous in peace and war as the Piper Cub, or the "flying jeep." Piper's enterprise began at Bradford, Pennsylvania, in 1930, and then moved to Lock Haven and soon became national in scope. Some seven thousand of these planes were built and used in World War II.

The geography of the Middle Atlantic region, with its hills and mountains, hardly suited it for the experimental development of airplanes. Indeed, in the early days of transcontinental airmail, which started in 1924, and air passenger service, which began in 1930, Pennsylvania's rugged Alleghenies with their tricky air currents were feared by all as the most hazardous portion of the route.

Public pressure for better roads on which to operate the growing flood of cars and trucks throughout the Middle Atlantic region was almost instantaneous. In 1911, the Pennsylvania legislature took the lead in the region by authorizing a state highway system that took over and maintained 8,835 miles of roads. This did not convert dirt roads to superhighways overnight, and as late as 1931 the state highway system included only a little more than 13,000 miles of improved highway. Gradual improvement also took place in city and town streets to get the car and truck on firm paving. A real revolution took place in Pennsylvania after 1931 when Governor Gifford Pinchot fulfilled his promise to "take the farmer out of the mud," and by 1933 the state had improved over 8,000 miles of rural road. These were the famous "Pinchot roads," which, while narrow and winding because they were built at the least possible cost, gave rural Pennsylvania what was without doubt the best country highway system in the region if not the nation. The average miles of improved highway in Pennsylvania by the 1930s were more than twice the national average per population, and as of 1934 over a million private passenger cars were registered, and some 7,000 certificates as public carriers were issued to operators of trucks and commercial vehicles. In short, by 1930 a genuine revolution in automotive transportation had been wrought.

The impact upon the economy and the life of the people was real and growing. Farmers could now move their products to ready markets with greater facility and economy, and the motor truck was starting to compete with the railroad as a common carrier. In 1940 the first link was completed in the famous pioneer Pennsylvania Turnpike, running from the Harrisburg area to within some 20 miles of Pittsburgh at Irwin. Built by a new type of highway authority set up by law in 1937 as the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, bonds were sold to finance the modern four-lane turnpike, and tolls were collected from its users as the means of paying off the debt. Started in 1938, the first link was opened October 1, 1940, as "the first long distance highway in America to be constructed without cross traffic at grade anywhere, and with all modern transportation necessities incorporated in its design." A Philadelphia extension of 100 miles was authorized in 1940 and completed 10 years later. A further western extension authorized in 1941 for 67 miles to the Ohio border was opened in December 1951 (Stevens 1964, 333–36).

In contrast to Pennsylvania, Delaware's major roadway improvements came as a result of private, not public, enterprise. Not surprisingly for the state, a du Pont, T. Coleman, conceptualized and constructed Delaware's first cross-state highway. "I will build a monument a hundred miles high and lay it on the ground," he boasted. He planned to construct the highway along a right of way 200 feet wide that would have separate lanes for trolley tracks, pedestrians, horse-drawn traffic, and



The cover of the June 13, 1938, issue of *Time* magazine showing Charles Lindbergh, Dr. Alexis Carrel, and the heart pump devised by Lindbergh. The two men collaborated on a book titled *The Culture of Organs* (1938). The cover was painted for *Time* by S. J. Woolf. Library of Congress.

both high-speed and low-speed motorized traffic. In 1911, the Delaware state legislature authorized du Pont's Boulevard Commission and granted it the power of eminent domain. Not everyone in Delaware was persuaded that this seeming act of philanthropy was for the best. Some farmers suspected his motives and refused to accept his condemnation authority. The state Supreme Court decided in du Pont's favor, however, and the road was built. The well-engineered road quickly won converts by including such concepts as building the road near towns rather than through them, thus creating a convenience without the congestion of major roads traveling through town. When completed, the DuPont highway, as it was called, became the spine of a statewide system of roads that changed life in Delaware. Not only did the number of cars proliferate in the 1920s and 1930s, but also the trucking industry played an increasingly important role in the state's economy. In 1924, the state registered 6,061 trucks; by 1940 the number had risen to 15,000. By the latter date trucks were hauling a million crates of poultry along the DuPont highway, plus thousands of bushels of peaches, cantaloupes, strawberries, potatoes, and other crops annually (Hoffecker 1977, 57–58).

In the Middle Atlantic region, most blue-collar workers walked or, if it was available, took mass transit to work. A 1934 survey of Pittsburgh workers revealed that 28 percent walked to work, 48.8 percent rode streetcars, 1.7 percent rode the commuter railways, and 20.3 percent drove cars to their jobs. As in most cities and suburbs, public transportation was accessible to the working and middle classes, although in the mid-1930s as many as one-third of the working class lived near enough to the job to walk, or were so poor they had to do so. Commuter railroads linked some suburbs to center cities, often stretching 40 or 50 miles out from the city limits. Middle-class commuters who chose not to drive were the mainstay of the commuter rail lines. These rail lines continued to be popular until after 1945, when a combination of taxation and federal support for auto roadways and airports signaled a precipitous decline to near disappearance for the commuter rails. For intercity transit, the passenger railroad was still the most common form of transportation, and the most dependable. The majority of the African Americans who made the Great Migration northward in the 1915–1945 period did so on the train, although Jim Crow practices confined them to the noisiest and most polluted cars (at the front), did not permit them to purchase food in transit, and prevented them from securing sleeper cars even if they had the money.

Approximately 40 percent of the eastern urban working class in the mid-1930s took the streetcar to work. But even as they were getting accustomed to or continuing a family tradition of getting up, dressing, grabbing breakfast, and hotfooting it to the streetcar, the routine was changing before their eyes, although they probably did not know it until word leaked out that the line was closing. One day the cars simply stopped coming, sometimes with no warning. In the 1920s and 1930s, many of the streetcar lines were going into bankruptcy or were being bought up by auto manufacturers, who closed them. Fare hikes were usually met with hostility and sometimes boycotts, and the rights to a line or to build a new one cost too much in graft and investment for the enterprise to be profitable for many businesspeople. The number of miles of streetcar track peaked at nearly 73,000 in 1917 but declined steadily until

1948, when 18,000 remained in service. General Motors bought up bankrupt streetcar lines, tore up the tracks, and replaced the streetcars with rubber-tired vehicles, much to the discomfiture of many of the riders. City planners viewed streetcars as old-fashioned and applauded such moves. The number of streetcar riders plummeted from an apex of 15.7 billion riders in 1923 to 8.3 billion riders in 1940. Electricity as a power source for transportation was being replaced, and with great speed, in the 1920s by the power of the gasoline engine. Rather than powering the transportation of people, electricity assumed a central role as illuminator (replacing oil-based kerosene) and communication medium.

Automobiles were beginning to change the appearance of Philadelphia's streets and the regulations governing their use. In 1920, Christopher Morley could write a newspaper column celebrating Ridge Avenue, where a farmers' market still flourished, as the "stronghold of the horse," but in the same year the *Ledger* was carrying advertisements of agencies like the "Firestone Ship by Truck Bureau," urging Philadelphia businessmen to ship by truck. Big cities were learning to cope with a new kind of traffic. Philadelphia banned parking along major streets in 1922 and designated some 200 city streets as one-way thoroughfares shortly thereafter. In 1924 the city tried to control traffic on Broad Street by installing a master light in City Hall Tower. It did not work out as hoped, and the less spectacular "wooden policemen" at street level were substituted. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company (PRT), with an eye to holding on to its present customers and possibly attracting new ones, installed parking lots at either end of the Frankford–69th Street Elevated–Subway Line, locally known as the "El." At 69th Street western suburban travelers to and from the city transferred to suburban rail and bus lines. The rail lines, which traversed the western suburbs of Philadelphia's "Main Line" and the southwestern suburbs that reached almost to the Delaware state line, survived the national onslaught against electric rail lines and continued to serve residents of those areas into the twenty-first century (Weigley 1982, 588–89).

Political Life

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Along with its notoriety for conservatism and dullness, Philadelphia, the largest city in the Middle Atlantic region, carried a reputation for political corruption into the twentieth century as well. Articles on "election frauds," "political bandits," the "Republican Tammany," and the "sad story of Philadelphia" appeared with embarrassing frequency in national periodicals. In his famous investigation of municipal corruption for *McClure's Magazine* in 1903, Lincoln Steffens found that "Other American cities, no matter how bad their own condition may be, all point to Philadelphia as worse—'the worst-governed city in the counry.'"

In Delaware the du Pont family ran politics as they seemingly ran everything else in the state. As the new century opened the du Ponts, particularly Pierre T. and Alfred I., used their power to usher in an era of Progressive reform that included modernizing its schools, roads, and welfare system. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century the du Ponts used the family's wealth and prestige to interfere in state affairs, but generally such interference benefited Delawareans. This history created a unique political attitude in the state of "Let the du Pont's do it." This mindset among the people of Delaware resulted in a lack of involvement in the political life of the state in the first half of the twentieth century (Hoffecker 1977, 207).

GOVERNMENT

New Jersey politicians resisted the wave of reform that swept through the rest of the Middle Atlantic states at the turn of the century. For example, while most states chose to pass antitrust laws, New Jersey passed laws that specifically authorized holding companies. These giant combines were less susceptible to antitrust prosecution and were uniquely suited to issuing large amounts of common stock, which simplified the takeover of smaller companies. By the turn of the century, Standard Oil of New Jersey had absorbed the oil industry under the generous provisions of the state laws. Politicians rationalized that lenient corporation laws hurt only strangers and persons not living in New Jersey, and the money received from corporations paid the expenses of state government, thus avoiding a state income tax. Given this attitude, politics and big business became fast bedfellows in New Jersey. The Republican political boss William Sewell, believing that what was good for the Pennsylvania Railroad was good for New Jersey, held court in the Pennsylvania Railroad building in Camden.

In 1900, when U.S. senators were still chosen by the legislature, New Jersey was represented by John Dryden, president of Prudential Life Insurance, and John Kean, chief executive of Elizabethtown Gas and Light Company. When Thomas Mc Carter, the state attorney general, resigned in 1903 he became head of Public Service, a holding company that soon dominated gas, electricity, and inner-city transportation in much of the state. When Public Service obtained franchises to run its trolleys along city streets, citizen groups asked the attorney general to test the legality of these franchises, but they were ignored. It was difficult to break the stranglehold of the corporations because they had powerful spokesmen in both major political parties who worked closely with political bosses, who controlled the state and county nominating conventions (Fleming 1985, 146–52).

LAW, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT, AND REFORM

At the turn of the century Pennsylvania led the country in prison reform, while its neighbor Middle Atlantic state, Delaware, clung to its antiquated criminal code that included corporal punishment. Between 1900 and 1942, 1,604 prisoners, 22 percent of Delaware's prison population, received whippings with cat-o'-nine tails. Of those who received this punishment, 66.2 percent were black. Last used in 1952, the whipping post was not officially removed from the penal code until 1972 (Hoffecker 1977, 128–29).

In the early years of the twentieth century the nationwide trend toward municipal reform brought renewed hope to Philadelphia reformers. Encouraged by the Progressive achievements of cities like Toledo, San Francisco, New York, and Cleveland, the leaders of the Municipal League launched a new attack on local corruption in the fall of 1904. At several mass meetings of business and professional men, the "Committee of Seventy" was created to war against election abuses and municipal mismanagement. The *North American*, which had become the city's most zealous reform newspaper under the editorship of Tioga County native Edwin Van Valkenburg, optimistically called it "the most logical and inherently the most powerful [reform movement] that has yet been opposed to the confederation of evil that rules the city."

Maryland also came under the influence of the reformers of the early twentieth century. In response to a great February 1904 fire that had destroyed much of the downtown, Baltimore mayor Clay Timanus, a Republican businessman, convened a General Public Improvements Conference to plan and determine the future of the downtown section. Neighborhoods, business groups, charitable agencies, and city planners all sent delegates. The group produced a program of development that received support from all interests in the city and as a result sewers, parks, school facilities, paving, fire equipment, and the city's water supply all improved.

As in other cities of the Middle Atlantic region, women's suffrage had long been an issue in Baltimore. Not limiting their campaign to voting rights, suffragists were involved in the wider reform movement and worked for clean water and streets, pure food and milk, playgrounds, and better schools. Proponents of public health programs supported the establishment of public baths, where people whose houses had no running water could bathe and wash clothes. Social reform was a major component of Progressive programs in cities throughout the Middle Atlantic region and the nation.

The last great effort of Baltimore reformers before the outbreak of World War I was a new charter designed to increase still further the efficient operation of the city government. Although the charter was rejected in 1910 by the state legislature, its provisions all became law during the post–World War I years. In 1918, Baltimore won home rule, and a merit system was instituted for civil service jobs. In 1922, the city council was revamped (Chapelle 2000, 174–76).

Reform finally came to New Jersey in 1910 when the Republican Party had been weakened by an internecine struggle between bosses and reformers. Republican bosses had defeated the reform movement, but it was a Pyrrhic victory that left the party crippled in the upcoming gubernatorial election. Smelling victory, Democratic leaders chose college president Woodrow Wilson as their candidate. As president of Princeton, Wilson led a widely publicized fight for democratization, to be achieved largely by curriculum reform and the abolition of aristocratic eating clubs. Although defeated by conservative alumni, he had gained a national reputation as a reformer. He became a much-sought-after public speaker, and from this forum he warned against regulation of public utilities as well as attempts by the federal government to regulate corporations. He seemed a safe candidate to the bosses, but during the campaign he railed against boss rule in New Jersey and once elected produced a wave of reform legislation, including election reform laws designed to break the backs of the bosses. In addition he pushed through a public utilities law establishing a three-person commission to regulate rates, and a workman's compensation law. The tidal wave of reform made Woodrow Wilson and New Jersey bywords for a new era, and people began calling Woodrow Wilson a serious contender for the presidency. Wilson won the nomination and the presidency two years later. When questions about his political experience rose, he commented that "anyone who did not get a complete political education in a year or two of New Jersey politics would be advised to seek another line of work" (Fleming 1985, 157–58).

WAR

In the Middle Atlantic area, Philadelphians, like most in their region, watched with concern as Germany overran the brave Belgians, and after the invasion of Belgium, the city's sentiments rapidly grew more sympathetic to the Allies. Public meetings protested the reported atrocities against the Belgian people, and hundreds of thousands of dollars were raised for Belgian relief. Still, there were few loud cries for war. Even after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915, whose death toll included 27 Philadelphians (Paul Crompton's entire family of eight went down with the ship), the local press called for calmness and deliberation. Three days after the sinking, President Wilson made a scheduled address at the old Convention Hall in honor of 4,000 newly naturalized citizens. More than 20,000 heard him make the famous statement that "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." The rousing ovation given his remarks seemed to indicate that many Philadelphians agreed with his views.

As the war progressed and events brought increasing American support for the Allies, protests came from Philadelphia's German Americans, socialists, and Quakers. The local branch of the German-American Alliance campaigned for a better understanding of the Fatherland's position and vigorously opposed sending munitions to England and France. Socialists urged strict neutrality and later opposed the draft. The Quakers found wide support for their antiwar stand until the United States officially became involved in April 1917. Despite the decision of the Yearly Meeting of Friends to oppose any participation in the war, many individual Quakers supported the war effort, and some went off to fight and more to serve in the noncombatant ambulance corps.

When all-out mobilization came, the variety of industry in the "Workshop of the World" enabled Philadelphia to make substantial contributions to the procurement program. Ship construction, on the decline before the war, rapidly escalated to meet the needs of the Atlantic supply line. Organized as the Delaware River District under the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Philadelphia area built 328 ships, which amounted to 20 percent of the tonnage constructed by the United States under the wartime program. All the major yards—including the oldest, Cramp's—participated in the emergency fleet construction, but the center of activity was a new yard at Hog Island. Considered one of the greatest achievements of the mobilization program, the new yard arose out of 947 acres of swampland at the end of 1917 in a matter of months. When finished, its 50 shipways employing 30,000 workers made it the largest shipyard in the world. The first keel was laid on February 19, 1918, and the first ship was launched on August 5, 1918. By the end of the war a new ship came down its ways every four working days. A total of 122 cargo and transport vessels went to sea from Hog Island under the emergency program.

Philadelphia's largest single manufacturer before the war, the Baldwin Locomotive Works, also became a valuable component of the industrial mobilization. In addition to more than 5,000 locomotives of various types, Baldwin also manufactured artillery shells and railroad gun mounts. The Ford Motor Company made all the steel helmets used by American troops in its 10-story plant at Broad and Lehigh. Seventy-five percent of all the leather used in military boots, saddles, and shoes came from Philadelphia tanners. David Lupton's Sons made trench mortars; Fayette R. Plumb, Inc., manufactured trench tools and bolo knives; Jacob Reed's Sons made uniforms. Few Quaker City manufacturers went uninvolved in the production for war.

Philadelphia women became almost as caught up in war service as the men. They took over jobs of men called to the armed forces; they worked for the Red Cross; they organized Liberty Bond Drives; and they busied themselves in dozens of other ways. Knitting socks, ear bands, sweaters, and gloves for the doughboys became a major operation. The city's S. B. and B. W. Fleisher wool manufactory provided most of the yarn. The first woman to enlist in the U.S. navy was Philadelphian Loretta Walsh. Eventually, more than 2,000 women from the city served in various branches of the services. Others joined the Women's Land Army to work on farms and to cultivate vacant lots. Their "liberty gardens" contributed significantly both to morale and to food resources. The city suffered serious shortages in both food and fuel as the war wore on. Schools and many business establishments closed their doors during the winter of 1917–1918 because of insufficient coal supplies. There were numerous instances of mobs raiding coal cars on railroad sidings to obtain fuel for their homes. Philadelphians were urged by public officials to conserve fuel and food supplies by observing "Heatless Mondays" and "Wheatless Mondays and Wednesdays."

Despite the shortages and inconveniences, the city's patriotic fervor and support for the war effort remained high. The three major Liberty Loan campaigns were all oversubscribed. (Schoolchildren could win a captured German helmet by getting family subscriptions.) The Liberty Sing Movement, a popular phenomenon throughout the metropolis, brought thousands of people together in public to sing patriotic songs. The chief coordinator of most of the civilian activities was the Home Defense

Committee, formed by representatives from business and civic organizations even before the United States entered the war. Hundreds of volunteers contributed thousands of hours to the various projects under its auspices.

Unfortunately, some patriotic fervor became misdirected and disordered. Like much of the rest of America, the City of Brotherly Love experienced a rash of anti-German hysteria and intolerance. Constant rumors abounded about German spies and enemy plots, very few of which had any basis in fact. Perhaps the most far-fetched plot had enemy aliens planning to buy up all condensed milk to starve American babies. Many instances of anti-German intolerance were so extreme as to be humorous. German measles, for example, became "Liberty measles" for the duration. Even Black Forest Christmas legends and customs were considered unpatriotic. "It is seldom that one hears, at this time, the name of Kris Kringle," observed a *Philadelphia Bulletin* editorial in December 1917; "the name of Santa Claus has also been put under a war ban by many."

Other acts of intolerance by misguided patriots were vicious and destructive. Statues of Goethe, Schiller, and Bismarck in the city were painted yellow or defaced in other ways. Some patriotic groups campaigned for the suppression of the German press and language. Mayor Thomas B. Smith suspended all city advertising in German-language newspapers. Federal agents raided the offices of the Philadelphia *Tageblatt*, and five of its staff were indicted for treason. Although they were later acquitted of the treason charges, they were found guilty of violating the Espionage Act. The climax to the wartime intolerance came in May 1918. Against the pleas of many educators, including the U.S. commissioner of education, the Philadelphia School Board voted to end the teaching of the German language in the public schools.

While some citizens of Philadelphia were busy fighting an imagined German threat at home, thousands of its sons marched off to fight the real enemy abroad. Of the total of 60,000 men called to arms from the city, almost 7,000 served in the Twenty-Eighth Division, known as the "Iron Division" (Weigley 1982, 557–61).

Recreational Life

ENTERTAINMENT

In the Middle Atlantic region as elsewhere, Americans found new and varied means of entertainment in the new century. One important form of entertainment was the new music, especially jazz. Theatrical presentations with themes of realism, rebellion, and sexuality also drew large crowds. Baltimore both before and after World War I was a good theater town. Leading actors and musicians performed before large audiences in the city's numerous theaters. At the turn of the century, at least eight theaters were thriving in Baltimore. The two leading playhouses were the Holliday Street Theater, housed in the 1872 structure, which survived until 1927 when it was razed to make way for War Memorial Plaza, and Ford's Grand Opera House, which opened in 1871 with a performance of *As You Like It* and closed 93 years later with *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*. For many years a family business, Ford's Theater brought stars like George M. Cohan, Edwin Booth, Helen Hayes, Maurice Evans, and Tallulah Bankhead to Baltimore. When movies were new, Ford's screened big features like D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915 and Cecil B. DeMille's *Ten Commandments* in 1925. Under the ownership of Morris A. Mechanic, Ford's remained the only legitimate theater in town until well after World War I.

At the turn of the century, vaudeville was America's most popular form of entertainment. For an admission price of from 25 to 50 cents, audiences went to shows of varied taste and quality. Some of these shows were considered risqué, while others were produced for the entire family. Among the more daring acts were those produced by James Kernan, a noted philanthropist who contributed generously to projects such as construction of a crippled children's hospital. At Kernan's Monumental Theater, women danced in tightly fitting corsets, and Hawaiian-style hula dancers provided entertainment that revealed parts of the female anatomy not normally seen in public. Kernan also owned the Maryland Theater, where he offered a more "refined" vaudeville, which he himself censored to assure that it was acceptable for women and children. National celebrities appearing at Kernan's theater included Ethel Barrymore, Lillian Russell, and Al Jolson. In addition to singing, the shows offered a variety of entertainment including jugglers, bicyclists, acrobats, and performing animals. Among the animal shows, those including elephants and horses were the most popular. After 1904, the theater also included motion pictures, which were integrated into the live shows. As enthusiasm for vaudeville entertainment waned in popularity in the second decade of the twentieth century, the Maryland Theater turned exclusively to movie entertainment. It survived as a movie theater until 1951 when it was destroyed by a fire.

This fate was typical of most vaudeville theaters. For example, the Lyceum, built in the 1890s in the fashionable neighborhood of 1200 North Charles Street, originally featured amateur performances. It also contained a little bar and smoking room beneath the lobby, and the first few rows offered guests comfortable sofas in place of wooden theater chairs. The unique setting caught the attention of a vaudeville syndicate that purchased the theater and brought in nationally famous acts, which included George Arliss, Blanche Bates, and George Fawcett. During World War I the Lyceum offered a mixture of road shows, musicals, vaudeville, and films. In the early 1920s, when audiences began to lose interest in legitimate theater, offerings like *White Cargo* and *Seduction* continued to attract audiences seeking the sensational. The police gave the theater good publicity when they arrested some of the performers and charged them with indecent exposure. The next show, *Getting Gertie's Garter*, was a sellout. In 1925, the Lyceum burned down (Chapelle 2000, 191–92).

Philadelphians also enjoyed the entertainment of vaudeville, which in its heyday offered such stars as Lillian Russell, George M. Cohan, Mae West, McIntyre and Heath, and Philadelphia's own W. C. Fields. Most of them appeared at some time on the stages of the two main vaudeville houses in the city, Nixon's Grand at Broad

Street and Montgomery Avenue or B. F. Keith's at Chestnut and Eleventh Streets. In the post–World War I era, vaudeville's chief competition, the movies, became increasingly elaborate and prosperous. At the East Market Street Theater or one of a dozen other new and large motion picture houses, the moviegoer might see Mary Pickford's latest film or one of Mack Sennett's two-reel comedies. Connoisseurs of the can-can choruses and daring dancers with the seven veils could find burlesque at the Casino or Trocadero (Weigley 1982, 534).

As filmmaking technology improved, movies proliferated and drew even larger crowds. By 1920 Baltimore's biggest movie houses, the New, the Hippodrome, and the Victoria, each averaged 30,000 spectators weekly. The Hippodrome also served as a venue for the newly popular big bands. Among the more popular bands in the Baltimore area were the Municipal Band and the Colored Municipal Band. Both of these performed summertime concerts in the city's parks.

In the 1920s, Baltimore's segregated society led to the growth of a widely celebrated black entertainment district along Pennsylvania Avenue, where the spirit of the Harlem Renaissance thrived. On the 1300 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, the Douglass became the focal point of entertainment. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, this theater featured the most popular big band leaders of the era including Eubie Blake, Count Basie, Cab Calloway, and Duke Ellington. In the 1920s, the Douglass changed its name to the Royal, and due to its growing fame the area became one of Baltimore's most famous night spots. Smaller clubs sprang up nearby, and, because of their proximity to the famous Royal, they too could offer big-name entertainment. Gamby's, The Ritz, and the Comedy Club, where owner Willie Adams introduced Redd Foxx, all drew crowds. The Royal continued its popularity though the 1960s, and the stage that once provided a venue for stars such as Eubie Blake, Cab Calloway, Count Basie, and Duke Ellington gave way to Nat King Cole, Dizzy Gillespie, and Billie Holiday in the post–World War II era and then to the Platters and James Brown in the 1960s until its demise in 1965. Pennsylvania Avenue meant more than theaters and clubs. A YMCA was located nearby, as well as the black-owned Penn Hotel, where the famous entertainers appearing in venues along Pennsylvania Avenue usually stayed. Businesses that catered to blacks also opened stores along the avenue. As black customers found themselves unwelcome in many of the big downtown stores, they turned more and more to the avenue shops. From the 1930s through the 1950s, the Pennsylvania Avenue Merchants Association sponsored an Easter Parade (Chapelle 2000, 192, 194).

For those seeking more family-type entertainment, there were amusement parks. In the Philadelphia area families packed shoebox lunches and took the northwest trolleys out to the Willow Grove Amusement Park. Still another diversion became accessible to the average man when Philadelphia's first public golf links opened at Cobbs Creek in May 1916.

In the post–World War I period for Americans in the Middle Atlantic region, especially the middle class, going on vacation became an important form of entertainment. There were few paved roads between major cities until the limited number built in the 1920s were finished. The traveler who left the city on a long trip had to be intrepid. Maps of rural America were virtually nonexistent, and road signs were scarce. It was easy to get lost and completely turned around. Mechanics and filling stations were widely scattered and difficult to locate before the advent of roadside advertising signs in the late 1920s. Bridges could be rickety, with no standards of construction or inspection to at least give the impression of safety. Many were built in the distant past and were meant for the slower and perhaps lighter weight of the horse and carriage. Even in mountainous areas guardrails were the exception rather than the rule. Albert Maltz wrote of a particularly harrowing stretch of West Virginia road in 1935: "From Gauley to Weston is about a hundred miles of as about as difficult mountain driving as I know—a five-mile climb to the top of a hill, then five miles down, then up another. The road twists like a snake on the run and for a good deal of it there is a jagged cliff on one side and a drop of a thousand feet or more on the other."

Working-class Americans seldom took a vacation. Often throughout the 1920s and certainly in the 1930s periodic layoffs had already given workers too much time off. Even if times were good, many were afraid to take, or suspicious of accepting, a vacation. "A lot of guys," according to Pennsylvania steelworker and union organizer Louis Smolinski, "would never take a vacation because they thought they were doing the company a favor." Distrustful of management, these workers wanted to neither save the company money nor turn their backs by being away. In other cases there was no opportunity. Stanley Brozek knew that "the company never offered you a vacation. My dad started working in 1899 and never got one until 1936. What was the purpose of giving him one? It was to discourage him from joining the union" (Green 2000, 217–19).

FILMS

American enthusiasm for motion pictures began taking shape in the 1890s. More than even the radio, the movie industry contributed to breaking down regional differences and creating a national culture. Within a few years, middle-sized and large cities all had nickelodeons offering 15- to 20-minute programs composed of a potpourri of unconnected black-and-white scenes that included brief presentations of dancing, travel scenes, speeding locomotives, and re-creations of historic events. Nickelodeons were slower to be established outside of urban areas, but companies such as Cook and Harris High Class Moving Pictures Company of Cooperstown, New York, used portable projection equipment to bring at least occasional two-hour shows to hundreds of small towns in the Middle Atlantic United States, as elsewhere, until nickelodeons began to appear in towns with as few as a thousand residents.

Even before the turn of the century, Pennsylvanians helped perfect the motion picture. In 1895, the first stereographic photographs were produced in Philadelphia by William F. Langenheim, and in 1893 Rudolph Hunter was probably the first person to build a motion picture projector. A Silesian immigrant to Philadelphia, Sigmund Lubin, may have been the first person to grasp the commercial potential of the motion picture. He established the first motion picture production studio in this country in Philadelphia. He also built a motion picture theater at the National Export Exposition in Philadelphia in 1899 (Stevens 1964, 249–50).

Short films were the rule until 1915, when D. W. Griffith broke with past practice and produced the first full-length feature film, *The Birth of a Nation*. Popular among whites for both its racist rendering of the history of the United States and for its new sense of staging and photography, the film was a huge success. The film industry capitalized on Griffith's technical innovations and developed a star system of readily identifiable players who were larger than any of their roles. In the 1920s, the movie industry moved west to California, and the impact of the Middle Atlantic region on filmmaking became minimal. Like the rest of the country, however, Americans in the Middle Atlantic flooded the new palatial movie theaters or the transformed vaudeville houses and helped to make filmmaking the leading entertainment industry in the country.

SPORTS

Baseball

In Philadelphia, baseball fans had more to cheer about than at any other time in the city's history, as the years from 1910 to 1915 brought a succession of championships to one or the other of the two local teams. The Athletics, who had won their first American League pennants in 1902 and 1905, took the title again in 1910, 1911, 1913, and 1914 behind such stars as "Home Run" Baker, "Chief" Bender, Eddie Plank, and Eddie Collins. They won the World Series in 1910, 1911, and 1913. The Phillies, with a roster including future Hall of Fame pitchers Grover Cleveland Alexander and Eppa Rixey, and the home-run hitter Clifford "Gavvy" Cravath, emerged briefly from obscurity to win the National League championship in 1915.

The opening of Shibe Park in April 1909 gave the Athletics the most modern baseball stadium in America. Accommodating 30,000 spectators, it was the first of the great concrete-and-steel arenas that were indispensable in the transformation of a boys' game into a big business. The more penurious Phillies—one of the National League's less well-financed teams—remained content with old-fashioned wooden fences and seats at the Baker Bowl, which had a capacity of 18,800. Even the increasingly shabby Baker Bowl, however, helped give Philadelphia leadership in the accessibility of its ballparks to public transportation. Shibe Park, at the northeast corner of Twenty-First Street and Lehigh Avenue, and the Baker Bowl, on the southwest corner of Broad and Lehigh, were both close to the convergence of the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroad lines and their North Philadelphia stations, as well as to trolley lines (Weigley 1982, 634–35).

The game also changed, making it a more enjoyable show for the fans, though not always for the pitchers. The new "lively" balls flew farther when they were hit and more balls were used in an average game. Previously, a ball that remained in the ball yard was used until it was the consistency of an orange; throwing out severely abraded or softened balls made it easier for a hitter to drive pitches great distances and harder for the crafty pitcher to make his offerings "do tricks"—dipping or curving crazily and sharply. The rule makers also banned "doctored" pitches—the spitball, the mud ball, the emery ball, and others—although pitchers did (and still do) throw them on the sly. The result of all this was more runs and more home runs. In 1914, all Major League teams combined hit 384 home runs; in 1920, 631; in 1925, 1,167; and in 1930, 1,565.

The fans loved it, and they especially loved, or feared, Babe Ruth, the game's towering figure between the wars. In 1919, Ruth broke a record that had stood for 35 years when he hit 29 homers. The following year he hit an astounding 54, and the New York Yankees attendance doubled. In 1921, he hit 59 into the seats, drove in 170 runs, scored 177 times, and had a batting average of .378. No one had ever hit like that before. In 1927 he hit 60 home runs (more than each of 12 teams managed to produce) and accounted for 13 percent of all the home runs hit in the Major League season. He had enormous appetites for food, strong drink, and women, but moralists could not touch him because he had a genuine soft spot for children. In 1930, he made the princely salary of $80,000, more than President Herbert Hoover. The situation bothered few Americans because, like Ruth when questioned about it, they figured that the slugger "had a better year." Semiprofessional and amateur teams abounded in most towns and cities of the Middle Atlantic region. Some represented industries hoping to parlay support of the club (with equipment, uniforms, and league fees) into support for the company's interests. Others were sponsored by

Snapshot

African American Baseball in the Middle Atlantic Region

Silas Simmons held an old photo in his ancient hands. It was a picture of the 1913 Homestead Grays, a primordial Pittsburgh-area baseball team that played before the Negro Leagues were even born. His mind, Simmons said, needed time to connect the faces to positions to names. He was entitled to the delay; next month, he will turn 111 years old.

Simmons, known as Si, was born on Oct. 14, 1895. He played at the highest level of black baseball while a boy named Satchel Paige was still in grade school.

Having grown up in a central Philadelphia row house on 17th and Bainbridge Streets, Simmons was a left-handed pitcher who was signed by the nearby Germantown Blue Ribbons, a well-regarded team. He said he started pitching for the Blue Ribbons at age 16 or 17, meaning 1912 or 1913. Box scores and articles from *The Philadelphia Inquirer* describe the 5-foot-10 Simmons as routinely striking out 10 or more batters while getting a hit or two a game.

Simmons had difficulty remembering all the teams he played on. While unable to explain in detail, he indicated that players, particularly pitchers, were often picked up by other teams for brief stretches, so he might have played select games for other teams as well. (Experts confirmed that this practice was commonplace.) Researchers have uncovered box scores and game recaps with his name from many years throughout the 1910's and beyond.

Two box scores from 1926 show Simmons pitching in relief for the New York Lincoln Giants of the Eastern Colored League. He also played at least one game for the Negro National League's Cuban Stars in 1929. "I had a good curveball and a good fastball," said Simmons, who added that he was paid about $10 a game. He said that in his prime he might have been good enough to play in the major leagues, but did not consider asking for a tryout. "It was useless to try," he said.

"A lot of good black players, but they couldn't play in the league," he continued.

> So that was it. After Jackie Robinson came up, they found out how good they were and started recruiting. You have to give them a chance to play.
>
> Negroes had a lot of pride. They felt like baseball, that was the greatest thing in the world for them. You had some great players in those days. Biz Mackey. Pop Lloyd. Judy Johnson. Scrappy Brown, the shortstop. We played against all those players.

Simmons ended his baseball career soon after 1929. He had five children and settled into life as a porter and eventually as an assistant manager at Rosenbaum's Department Store in Plainfield, N.J. He retired to St. Petersburg in 1971 and lived with his second wife, Rebecca, until she died seven years ago. Having outlived his children, he moved into Westminster soon afterward.

From: New York Times, *September 26, 2006.*

churches, synagogues, ethnic clubs, and groups such as the Knights of Columbus, the American Legion, the Boys Clubs, the YMCA, and the YMHA. So central to town life was baseball that it was only slightly less important than world-shaking events (Green 2000, 221–22).

Football

In the Middle Atlantic region football at the high school and college level became extremely popular, and some of the nation's best teams came out of this region. Probably the most unlikely football heroes of the era were the young men who played for the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, a school whose mission was to transform Indians into citizens with cultural values of white middle-class Americans. Although not academically considered a college, Carlisle played against and defeated the top college teams in the country, and under the leadership of the legendary coach Pop Warner the Carlisle Indians revolutionized the game with such innovations as the long forward pass, the double wing, and the hidden ball trick. Carlisle also produced one of the greatest players of the game, Jim Thorpe. Probably the highest moment in the school's football history occurred in 1912 when it played and defeated a West Point team led by Dwight Eisenhower, proving that in a fair battle the Indians could defeat the army (Jenkins 2007, 283–85).

Basketball, Bowling, Tennis, Golf, and Boxing

Basketball was a popular winter sport for both men and women soon after its invention in 1891. By the 1920s, the quintessentially urban game was played all over the country. High schools and colleges were the centers of organized basketball, and at least at the high school level, both boys and girls played. (There were some variations in the rules for the sexes—girls normally played with six players on a side, and few schools sponsored interscholastic competition for girls.) The college game had a substantial following but received media coverage that was modest in comparison to that afforded football, crew, and baseball. Teams of urban universities that either did not play football or that awarded the autumn game only slight attention were the exceptions to this pattern.

As popular as basketball was, bowling was the winter sport that attracted the greatest media coverage and participation among white urban Americans. The season stretched from early autumn until late spring, and the newspapers were full of charts of scores and averages and details for the duration. Both men and women and some mixed teams played, and the sport offered employment to countless young boys, who dodged the flying pins, gathered them up, and reset them.

Introduced in the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century, tennis gained adherents gradually and steadily throughout the first decades of the twentieth century. Equipment was relatively inexpensive and readily available at local stores or through the mail, and by 1930 many cities had built public courts, some of them lighted for night play. The game's primary audience, however, was the white, primarily Anglo-Saxon elite, and these players dominated amateur and professional tennis. It was primarily a country-club sport, with English roots. The game had decorum and a white-only dress tradition that operated as a barrier to nonelites. Helen Wills Moody, Fred Perry, and Bill Tilden were the most prominent players of the era, especially when they represented their countries in the Davis or Wightman Cup championships. *Time* magazine put Australian Jack Crawford on the cover of the September 4, 1933, issue of the magazine and devoted six columns of dense text to the summer's amateur matches and important players.

Like tennis, golf in the United States between 1915 and 1945 was essentially a tale of the achievements and the sporting life of a tiny minority of primarily affluent white men. It was (and is) a sport that required a large amount of carefully managed and highly maintained acreage, and therefore a great deal of money. In spite of these elite trappings, its amateur and professional stars stimulated some media coverage and interest among Americans who could not breach the gates of the clubs where most of the rounds were played.

A few cities opened municipal courses for the general public as early as 1900, and caddies—usually working- or middle-class boys—sometimes got a chance to play. Thus, when Boston schoolboy champion and caddie Francis Ouimet defeated Britons Harry Vardon and Ted Ray to win the U.S. Open Golf Championship in 1913, it made national news and stimulated a considerable amount of popular interest in the game (Green 2000, 225–26).

In the first half of the twentieth century Merion Cricket Club, in suburban Philadelphia, became one of the great gems of the golf world. Founded in 1865 and one of America's oldest sporting clubs, Merion Club members played a number of sports including cricket, croquet, and lawn tennis. They also played golf but sought a championship course worthy of its venerable standing in American sporting society. To design the new course in 1911, the club selected a 32-year-old member named Hugh Wilson. Wilson was a Scottish immigrant who brought a talent for golf with him when he came to America. As an 18-year-old Princeton University freshman, Wilson won the first club championship at Aronimink Golf Club in 1897, one of Philadelphia's leading clubs.

Wilson traveled to Scotland and England to study the great links courses. Upon his return he set about adapting the wonders he saw to a cramped piece of property on the Main Line of suburban Philadelphia. When he was finished in 1912, his new East Course would be stuffed into only 126 acres of land (some golf courses use more than 300 acres). Wilson imbued his new course with 120 steep-faced, Scottish-style bunkers, which came to be known as the "white faces of Merion." Wilson's bunkers would influence generations of architects.

Wilson also dipped into his notes from the British Isles to create the distinctive red wicker baskets to mark the holes instead of flags. The wicker baskets were once common in Britain, where they could be seen from any angle in the high winds and would not give away any secrets of that wind's effects to the player. The wicker baskets became a tradition at Merion Golf Club, where they were woven on the premises in the maintenance shop. If a ball became lodged into the inverted basket, the player removed the ball without penalty and placed it on the edge of the hole. Hugh

Wilson would go on to design most of Philadelphia's first public golf course, Cobbs Creek, and helped at Pine Valley Golf Club, but he died at age 46 and was never able to pursue his new vocation of golf architecture. The East Course at Merion Golf Club remains the only complete course that the amateur designer ever authored.

The East Course was tested by America's best golfers almost immediately. In 1914 the U.S. Amateur championships were held at the East and West (old) Courses at Merion. There would be two rounds of qualifying play before individual matches determined a champion. There was a surprise leader after the first round on the West Course—a chunky 14-year-old from Atlanta, Georgia, named Bobby Jones. Jones led the field with a 74, which included a putt he knocked past the hole, off the green, and into a brook. Speedy greens have remained a hallmark of Merion Golf Club ever since. Walter Hagen, a great professional of the deftest touch with a putter, once putted too boldly and watched his ball roll down a slope, off the green, and into the street and out-of-bounds. Jones, "the Kid from Dixie," got his first taste of competitive golf on the East Course the next day. He shot an 89. His two-day total still qualified for match play but was dusted by reigning champion Bob Gardner in the quarter finals. Eight years later Bobby Jones returned to Merion and won the first of his record five U.S. Amateur titles. But it was his last appearance in Philadelphia that entwined the history of Bobby Jones and Merion forever.

In 1930, Bobby Jones had already captured the U.S. Open, the British Open, and the British Amateur, so when he came to the U.S. Amateur at Merion he was chasing unprecedented history, the completion of the grand slam of golf, or the "impregnable quadrilateral" as it was colorfully known. Jones performed splendidly, sweeping through his matches and winning the grand slam. He left the course under a phalanx of marines protecting him from the well-wishers in the immense gallery and promptly retired from golf at the age of 28. The last competitive hole (save for a few ceremonial appearances in his own tournament, the Masters) Bobby Jones ever played was the 11th at Merion's East Course. A plaque commemorating one of golf's historic moments is placed on a large stone to the left of the 11th tee (http://sc.essortment.com/meriongolfclub_rlxs.htm).

Boxing had been on the nether edge of society for as long as anyone could remember—full of shady characters, liquor-laced hoodlums, and dives into the canvas for a few bucks. The sport became more attractive to white audiences when Jack Dempsey, a tough and avuncular white fighter, defeated the black heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson. Johnson was a flashy fighter who provided black fans with a national hero who successfully competed against white men in a segregated society. But he frightened and outraged the racist white American majority with his expensive lifestyle, his refusal to be submissive to whites, and his penchant for white women lovers. After Johnson was defeated, Dempsey and Gene Tunney, the literate champ who quoted Shakespeare, erased some of the back alley slugger reputation of the fight game, although attending the battles was still a testing affair for the uninitiated. Before Dempsey's reign, attendance at a prizefight by the middle class and the wealthy was a rare sight. But by the mid-1920s, due to some shrewd marketing by promotional wizard Tex Rickard, boxing, which had been banished to the western states since the turn of the century, returned to the East and the "swells" and their female companions paid fashionable prices for the finer seats. In 1926, the city of Philadelphia hosted the heavyweight championship fight between Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney at the Sesquicentennial Auditorium. Tunney, the gentleman champion who modeled his heroics after the *Three Musketeers'* D'Artagnan, read Shakespeare, and fashioned himself as a literary critic, made following the brutal sport acceptable among those who had considered themselves too refined for pugilism.

Among the regular boxing crowd, nearly everyone was impressed with Dempsey, the "Manassa Mauler." But Dempsey had not fought since September 1923, when he destroyed the Argentinean Luis Firpo in what one sportswriter described as the "greatest fight since the Silurian Age," and no champion had ever gone as long without defending his crown. Some sportswriters speculated that the champion's years of inactivity would not serve him well if he decided to fight again. Among boxing fans, however, his years away from the ring seemed to have increased the proportion of his image, and those who actually gave Tunney a chance were laughed at.

On the day of the fight, September 23, both men traveled to Philadelphia. Tunney used the trip to gain a psychological edge over Dempsey, for he covered the 80-mile journey from Stroudsburg to Philadelphia in a plane piloted by stunt flier Casey Jones. In an age when only brave men and fools traveled by air, Tunney's act was a public warning: neither air nor Dempsey frightened him. Dempsey's trip from Atlantic City was more conventional but with more drastic results. Upon arriving in Philadelphia, he was queasy, his legs were rubbery, and he broke out in a rash. Later evidence pointed to food poisoning, and even if his adrenalin would carry him into the ring, his strength would not sustain him.

Only a handful of people on the night of September 23 knew of Dempsey's condition. What interested the mass of people who came to Philadelphia for the fight was the event itself. Actually, it was more than an event; it was a happening in the fullest sense of the word. Under overcast skies, as the temperature dropped to the lower 40s, people from every walk of life filed into the Sesquicentennial Stadium.

Snapshot

Dempsey-Tunney Fight, Philadelphia, July 23, 1923

The first round started as everyone expected it would, with Dempsey rushing Tunney, throwing left hooks. Tunney, who, after all, enjoyed Shakespeare more than fighting, was content to parry Dempsey's blows and back pedal. Sensing that his opponent was afraid to throw punches, Dempsey began to pressure Tunney even more. For Tunney it was a dream come true. Overconfident, Dempsey was doing just as Tunney planned; the champion, who fought by instinct and not by plan, was falling into Tunney's trap. Suddenly, as Dempsey launched another left, Tunney stepped in toward the champion and snapped off a straight right hand. Even high, though, the punch hurt. Dempsey staggered back, sagging a little, and then clinched, trying to gain time for his head to clear. Few in the crowd realized what had happened. Everyone knew that Tunney had won the round, and most cheered accordingly. But nobody knew how much the punch had taken out of the champion. Sitting in his corner between rounds, breathing smelling salts, Dempsey later said he thought, "I'm an old man."

For the first time in his life, he drew pity from a fight crowd. Mixed with the sympathy, however, was respect. On the wet canvas, Dempsey could not get enough traction to land a knockout blow, and a knockout was his only chance for victory. Nevertheless, he did not quit. The tenth round serves as an example. After touching gloves, Dempsey, with the urge of the old Dempsey still upon him, even if the effectiveness was gone, went on the offensive. He rushed blindly, although eagerly, it seemed, only to miss. When the bell ended Dempsey's futile efforts, there was no question about who had won the fight. Dempsey did not win one round.

He had lost, but in losing he achieved a dignity that was to become legendary. After the decision was announced, Dempsey, sick and unable to see, hugged Tunney. "All right, Gene," he said slowly. "All right, good luck."

Estelle, his wife did not like boxing, and Dempsey did not believe a wife should see her husband fight. After learning the outcome she reached Dempsey by telephone, and asked, "What happened, Ginsberg?" Dempsey's answer was as good an explanation for why a fighter loses as has ever been advanced. "Honey," he said, "I just forgot to duck." (Roberts 1979, 226–32)

Gene Tunney down for the famous "long count" in his championship bout with Jack Dempsey at Philadelphia on September 23, 1926. The Granger Collection, New York.

Newspapers reported that 135,000 people paid to attend. The fight grossed $1,895,733. Both figures were records for all sporting events, not just for boxing. Millions more people listened to the fight on the radio. All of America, it seemed, was interested. Baltimore editor H. L. Mencken had described the crowd at the Dempsey-Carpentier fight as "well-dressed, good-humored and almost distinguished." The gathering at the Dempsey-Tunney affair was that and more so. The celebrities at ringside included Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon, Charles M. Schwab, Percy Rockefeller, Vincent Astor, William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, Anthony J. Drexel Biddle Jr., W. Averill Harriman, Harry Payne Whitney, Kermit and Archie Roosevelt, Florem Ziegfeld, and Babe Ruth, as well as every major sportswriter in the country. Looking over the crowd, promoter Tex Rickard remarked, "I ain't never seed anything like it" (Roberts 1979, 229).

Tunney was first in the ring. Handsome, dressed in a scarlet-trimmed blue robe with the Marine Corps emblem on the back, Tunney received an uproarious cheer. A few minutes later, Dempsey climbed through the ropes. Philadelphia rules required a fighter to be clean-shaven, so the champion was without his usual two-day growth. The fight went exactly as Tunney had planned. The agile boxer eluded the awkward and brutal charges of Dempsey and peppered the champion with short quick jabs. Dempsey did not win a single round.

If press reaction is indicative of the American temper, then Americans had finally accepted the commercialistic nature of professional boxing. The moral position of the sport and the harmlessness of attending a prizefight was a second social issue settled by the match. No longer were women criticized for watching two men box, and the voices of reformers and religious leaders against boxing were surprisingly quiet during the entire affair. By 1926, Americans realized that professional boxing was here to stay. Many people may have secretly resented the fact, and still more may have been openly envious of a fighter's wage, but no one felt compelled any longer to try to reverse the irreversible (Roberts 1979, 228, 234–35).

GAMES

The most popular board game ever devised was created in the Middle Atlantic region. In 1934, at the height of the Depression, Charles B. Darrow of Germantown, Pennsylvania, showed what he called the Monopoly game to the executives at Parker Brothers. They rejected the game due to what they described as "52 design errors." But Mr. Darrow wasn't daunted. Like many other Americans, he was unemployed at the time, and the game's exciting promise of fame and fortune inspired him to produce it on his own. With help from a friend who was a printer, Darrow sold 5,000 handmade sets of the game to a Philadelphia department store. People loved it! But as demand grew, he couldn't keep up with all the orders and came back to talk to Parker Brothers again. This time Parker Brothers accepted his idea. In its first year, 1935, the Monopoly game became the best-selling game in America.

HOLIDAYS, CELEBRATIONS, AND FESTIVALS

For Christians, the most important home and church intersection occurred at Christmas. For centuries an important holiday for Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and Greek Orthodox families, Christmas was not celebrated by American Protestants in the Middle Atlantic states with much fanfare, if any, until the middle of the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, however, feasting, drink, presents, and gifts to the poor were entrenched in the region as well as throughout the country. The Germans had introduced the Christmas tree by the 1850s, and printers such as Louis Prang had met the demand for Christmas cards in the late nineteenth century.

In Baltimore's Little Italy religious festivals were major events. The two largest events celebrated the feast days of St. Anthony and St. Gabriel. St. Anthony's festival on June 13 began in 1904. It celebrated the day that devotees believe St. Anthony stopped the flames of the great Baltimore fire at the edge of Little Italy. The procession on the feast of St. Gabriel of Abruzzi began in 1920 shortly after the Italian saint was canonized. The canonization had special meaning for Baltimore Italians because many families in the city traced their roots to Abruzzi (Chapelle 2000, 160).

A holiday season tradition in Philadelphia that began in the colonial era and continues to the present is the Mummers Parade on News Year's Day. Informal merrymaking and customs that can be traced back to the colonial era were incorporated into the parade by 1901 when it became a city-sponsored event. While the Swedes and Finns greeted the New Year by visiting neighbors and shooting guns, the English and Welsh celebrated also by visiting, but added the reciting of standard rhymes and enjoying refreshments.

On New Year's Day, 1909, mummers parade on Broad Street in Philadelphia. Library of Congress.

The Germans added the Belsnickle, an early Pennsylvania German forerunner of Santa Claus, who spawned additional comic masqueraders. Revelers enjoyed shooting in the New Year as well as riding through Tinicum and Kingsessing, the southern and western sections of the city, disguised as clowns. Today's Mummers Parade also had some beginnings in nineteenth-century traditions as Philadelphia's Carnival of Horns drew thousands of costumed characters celebrating with a myriad of noisemakers to the area of Eighth and South Streets. Southern plantation life also made significant contributions to Philadelphia's New Year's Day event. Not only does its contribution include "Oh! Dem Golden Slippers," the parade's theme tune composed by Philadelphian James Bland in 1879, but evidence indicates that the famed "Strut" may have been a possible offshoot of the popular nineteenth-century cakewalk dance.

Until the 1900s, almost all masqueraders wore makeshift apparel. However, spirit and imagination provided probable motivations for the revelers to join together in associations to raise money for more elaborate New Year's costumes. The Chain Gang, the earliest club for which there is evidence, was established in 1840, followed by the Golden Crown Club in 1876 and the Silver Crown Club in 1877. String bands were organized in the early 1900s, with Trilby the first to parade in 1902, but not until 1906 did the bands compete. Bart H. McHugh, a Philadelphia theatrical producer and publicity agent, is credited with the idea for a city-sponsored parade. By the 1930s New Year's clubs had united for the purpose of encouraging and promoting the tradition of Mummery and presenting an organized body to the city when dealing with parade matters. (http://www.phila.gov/recreation/mummers_ History/Golden_Slippers/golden_slip).

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES
|
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religious Life

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

In the Middle Atlantic region, as in the rest of the country, organized religion played a distinguishable and significant part in the everyday lives of most Americans, even if they only went to their place of worship occasionally. In addition to their functions as places for prayer, marriages, christenings (or brises), communions (or bar mitzvahs), and funerals, churches and synagogues were social gathering places. Most offered their members the chance to participate in organized events, clubs, picnics, and potluck suppers, and in times of trouble many churches and synagogues provided free food and shelter. One Polish immigrant boy remembered that "church was almost a second home to us. I mean we never miss[ed] a novena or any service at all." But others fell away from the fold. Another immigrant's husband "stopped going because you just get so much of it. . . . My oldest son also enlightened me when he was sixteen and gradually we stopped going altogether."

It is difficult to discern any marked differences in the pattern of religious life in the Middle Atlantic region in the twentieth century from those common to the nation as a whole. An exception might be Pennsylvania, which continued to maintain a diversity of its religious life, established from colonial days, and to boast a large number of churches relative to its population. Urbanization brought pressures to bear upon all religious faiths in the Middle Atlantic region as churches in urban areas began to face certain social problems to which religion could or should be applied. Progressive religious leaders both spiritual and lay became concerned more and more with the social gospel and social education, which applied religion to everyday life and to its social rather than purely individual and spiritual problems. Churches in urban communities engaged in social and educational endeavors within and without the church edifice that were not only unheard of in early days but continued to be frowned upon by many a conservative church member. Among these were supporting the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, cooperating and leading in developing recreational facilities for youth, and helping to organize senior citizens.

While city churches grew in size of congregations and magnificence of buildings and support, the typical rural church so common to early Pennsylvania suffered a continuing decline. Only the Plain People of the Pennsylvania German country held to their old ways in the face of the revolution in transportation and modern ways of life, and even these ways, dating from colonial times, were shaken.

Even though traditional Protestant churches offered aid to black migrants, newcomers from small towns tended not to join Philadelphia's established black churches. These migrants, when they did go to church, preferred to commune with people they knew. This led to the establishment of numerous Pentecostal, holiness, and spiritual churches, including evangelical Baptist churches. Within the denominational structure of the African Methodist Episcopal church, the experience of Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church is illustrative. Robert J. Williams, pastor at Mother Bethel, reportedly distributed leaflets in the South encouraging southerners to move north. His effort did expand membership somewhat, but the southern migrants for the most part sought a more evangelistic preaching style than that desired by Mother Bethel's established community. Rather than encouraging the migrant population at Mother Bethel Church, board meetings of older members convened to consider resolutions governing their members' movements, gatherings, and expressions within the church (Reich 2006, 665–66).

The religious faiths that had established themselves in early Pennsylvania remained a dominant feature of the state's religious life. Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania still were very much a center of Pennsylvanian Presbyterianism, despite the great growth of the Roman Catholic Church in urban mining and industrial centers. The areas settled by the early Germans were still the citadels of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. The Lutherans became in numbers the largest single Protestant denomination in the state by 1926. The Baptist Church was strong in Philadelphia, and in many parts of rural Pennsylvania. The Methodist Church emerged after 1900 as one of the leading Protestant denominations in the state, and Pennsylvania was second only to Texas as a Methodist stronghold. The United Brethren and Grace Evangelical churches, both founded in Pennsylvania, merged into a single organization with considerable strength.

The new immigration, predominantly Catholic and Jewish, but also Eastern Orthodox, brought to a close the "Protestant consensus" under which the nation had developed since its founding. In Philadelphia the most venerable of the Protestant denominations was the Society of Friends, but by 1880 less than 1 percent of the Quaker City's population was Quaker. Their numbers continued to decline in the last decades of the century, until by 1900 there were only 16,000 Friends in the Orthodox and much larger Hicksite Yearly Meetings, and most of these lived outside the city. The plain dress and plain speech of the Quakers had all but disappeared by this time and, although many in the two branches of the society still regarded each other with "holy abhorrence," a gradual easing of the separation was beginning. More important, perhaps, were the divisions within the two groups as they sought to reconcile their disciplines to "worldly" challenges on all sides.

The Quakers declined numerically in relation to other faiths, but Philadelphia and southeastern Pennsylvania remain something of the "capital" for the few thousand Quakers, who exercise an influence far greater than numbers might indicate through their fine private schools and colleges, such as Haverford and Swarthmore, and the American Friends Service organization based in Philadelphia. The same is true of the Moravians, who continue to maintain their center of learning and church government at Bethlehem. The German sects, the Mennonites and the Amish, are no longer limited to Pennsylvania, and indeed there are more in Ohio and Indiana. The rural Pennsylvania German countryside is still the center of influence for these two groups, which have held more closely to their old ways than any other religious group in America. The Roman Catholic Church experienced a great growth after 1900 and by 1937 could claim about 40 percent of the entire church membership in Pennsylvania. The largest center for Catholicism in the Middle Atlantic region was Philadelphia, which in the first half of the twentieth century was the third-largest archdiocese in the country after New York and Chicago (Stevens 1964, 322–23).

An alien anthropologist landing in a working-class Philadelphia parish in the 1930s or 1940s would know instantly the centrality of religion to the lives of the inhabitants. The rows of neat brick houses were invariably centered around, and dwarfed by, an imposing cluster of granite buildings, the Catholic church, always of neo-Gothic design, built to the scale of a medium-sized cathedral, the parish school, sometimes even a high school, the rectory, the convent, one or more annexes for meeting rooms, and perhaps even an auditorium. Few contemporary religions could match Catholicism's hold on the faithful. In Philadelphia parishes, particularly those comprising mostly second- and third-generation American families, attendance at Sunday Mass hovered around 90 percent. Almost all Catholic children went to parochial elementary schools, and almost two-thirds went to Catholic high schools. It was not uncommon for the majority of adults to belong to parish organizations like the Sodality and Holy Name Society. The lay turnout at annual retreats was numbered in the 10s of thousands. Special devotions like the Forty Hours' vigil for the Blessed Sacrament—people worshipped in round-the-clock shifts—were always crowded. In one parish, between 8 and 10 thousand people turned out for Monday-night novenas for almost 20 years.

Triumphal-era American Catholicism was a highly formal, even mechanistic creed, enshrouded in mystical elements and ritual, combining to a remarkable degree theological rigor and a high degree of abstraction with practical religion that was intensely personal and emotional. Catholics were drenched in powerful, sometimes gory images: the pathetic figure of Jesus staggering through the Stations of the Cross; God the Father, implacable and austere, arriving in a burst of light on Judgment Day; the Blessed Mother, a refuge in adversity, the always-ready intervener, pleading mercy for undeserving sinners; and a whole litany of benign presences: St. Christopher for travelers, St. Jude for lost causes, St. Anthony for lost objects, a personal guardian angel. To outsiders, the Latin Mass was Kabuki theater—static and incomprehensible, medieval mumbo-jumbo. That millions knelt unprotestingly through the Mass Sunday after Sunday confirmed secularists in their conviction that Catholics were inert hordes .

But the details of the Latin hardly mattered to a lifelong Catholic. The stately cadences of the Mass were carved deep in neural pathways and had a clear dramatic structure. There was an introduction and a flurry of practical business—the readings, a short sermon, the collection—followed by the hush of growing tension approaching the Consecration; then the striking tableau, the Mass's emotional high point, as the priest, vestments flowing, held aloft the bright Host to the silver pealing of the altar boy's bell. Shuffling into line for Communion eased the solemnity, and then came a buzz of housekeeping—wiping the chalice, putting away the hosts. The tempo of the priest's prayers picked up; the rustle in the congregation increased; people in the back rows, with a quick genuflection and sign of the cross, would begin slipping out of the church; thoughts fled to everyday matters. The total experience—the dim lights, the glint of the vestments, the glow of the stained-glass windows, the mantra-like murmur of the Latin were mind-washing. They calmed the soul, opened the spirit to large, barely grasped presences and purposes. For a trembling moment every week, or every day if they chose, ordinary people reached out and touched the Divine.

The extremely high status of the priest facilitated organization in the Catholic Church. Within the sharply defined community that was Catholic Philadelphia, hardly any occupation ranked higher. "In matters of all importance," the priest was considered "the best-posted and ablest man" available; and, in truth, despite the narrowness of the seminary curriculum, a priest was far better educated than his parishioners (Morris 1998, 174). The accepted priestly image was almost wholly positive, at once wise, hypermasculine, warm, athletic, jovial—Father's jokes always brought down the house. Any fire or major disaster brought squad cars sirening up to rectories so priests could administer the last rites. (Because ministers and rabbis could not absolve sins, there was no point rushing them to the

A Russian Orthodox Church in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. Library of Congress.

scene.) The mystery of the priest's calling reinforced his rank. Poems were written about the beauty of a young priest's hands—he was supposed to take particular care of them—for only he, at the altar every day, held in his hands the power of converting bread and wine into the true, the actual, Body and Blood of the Savior. The vow of celibacy, instead of making a priest an object of skepticism or derision, as it sometimes did in Latin cultures, elevated him above the common run of men, identified him as a person of unusual control and discipline, someone in touch with higher things, a man with a clear mind and a focused life.

No other high-status profession was as accessible to ambitious young men from Catholic blue-collar families. A good high school record in the right courses, a competitive mark on the entrance test, and a persuasive recommendation from a pastor were all that was required. Families were supposed to pay tuition, but modest means were never an obstacle (Morris 1998, 174–76).

The Episcopal Church was strongest in southeastern and western Pennsylvania among the more wealthy elements in the population. The Russian and Greek Catholic churches, and the Polish National Church, had a place in the mining and steel manufacturing areas. Pennsylvania's Jewish population grew steadily in the first half of the twentieth century, and nearly half of them resided in Philadelphia. Other strong Jewish communities existed in Pittsburgh and Harrisburg. Regardless of where and how it was expressed, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, religious life in the Mid-Atlantic region remained a vibrant part of everyday life.

WORLDVIEW

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Middle Atlantic region included some of the most important industrial and commercial centers of the country such as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and at the same time some of the most important agricultural centers of the country, such as western New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and western Maryland. Those who lived in this region represented the oldest of the European immigrants, the German and Scotch Irish, and some of the newest immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. The black population was represented by descendents of antebellum free blacks as well as recent migrants from the South. Despite the diversity of the region, all who lived there held certain values in common. The majority were Christians who continued to look to their churches for support and community in addition to spiritual sustenance. And for the most part despite their differences in economic class, they held or aspired to bourgeois values, which esteemed thriftiness, moderation, honesty, moral behavior, a male-dominated family, and a belief in progress in time through hard work and perseverance.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Books

Black, Brian. *Nature and the Environment in 20th-Century American Life*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Bode, Carl. *Maryland: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977.

Bodnar, John. *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985.

Chapelle, Suzanne. *Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 2000.

Fleming, Thomas. *New Jersey: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1985.

Green, Harvey. *The Uncertainty of Everyday Life 1915–1945*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Hoffecker, Carol E. *Delaware: A Bicentennial History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977.

Jenkins, Sally. *The Real All Americans: The Team that Changed a Game, a People, a Nation*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 2007.

Kyvig, David E. *Daily Life in the United States 1920–1940: How Americans Lived Through the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.

Lewis, David L. *District of Columbia*. New York: Norton Publishing Company, 1976.

Morris, Charles. *American Catholic*. New York: Vintage, 1998.

Reich, Steven. *Encyclopedia of the Great Black Migration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Roberts, Randy. *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979.

Stevens, Sylvester. *Pennsylvania: Birthplace of a Nation*. New York: Random House, 1964.

Strayer, George D., N. L. Engelhardt, and F. W. Hart, eds. "General Report on School Buildings and Grounds of Delaware." *Bulletin of the Service Citizens of Delaware* 1 (3), 1919.

Weigley, Russell. ed. *Philadelphia: A Three-Hundred Year History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982.

Articles

Bodnar, John, Michael Weber, and Roger Simon. "Migration, Kinship, and Urban Adjustment: Blacks and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1700–1730." *Journal of American History* 66, no. 3 (December 1979): 548–65.

Lears, Jackson. "The Way We Live, The American Way of Debt." *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, June 11, 2006, 13.

Web Sites

"History of Merion Golf Club." http://sc.essortment.com/meriongolfclub_rlxs.htm.

Middle States Association. http://www.msache.org.

This page intentionally left blank

4

THE SOUTH

Overview

In the first decades of the twentieth century, no section of the country maintained its regional identity more strongly than the South. Faced with replacing a social and economic system that had developed over centuries, white southerners in the post–Civil War era constructed a strict system of apartheid, political disenfranchisement, farm tenancy, and convict labor that almost replicated the abolished slave system. Instead of mutilation and whipping, lynching and burning became the coercive forces that maintained the new social and economic structure.

A strict caste system was also established that prescribed certain work to be exclusively for blacks and other work the domain of whites. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century the South remained the poorest and least educated region of the country. Agriculture continued to dominate the economy, yet significant industrialization in textile, cigarette, and steel production grew, especially in North Carolina and Alabama. During the war years 1914 through 1918 the price of cotton rose to historic highs, generating a small boom for the southern economy. The war years also witnessed the first major migration of blacks and poor whites out of the South and into cities of the North. The black migrants carried their culture, including blues music and jazz, with them, which was eagerly taken up by white musicians in cities across the North. The 1920s brought prosperity to most of the country, but to the South it brought the boll weevil, which destroyed cotton production in the early 1920s. Later in the decade the great Mississippi flood swamped millions of acres of farmland and built property in the South.

Throughout the 1920s and into the ensuing decades, religion, especially evangelical Protestantism, continued to have a strong hold on a large number of southerners. They embraced the most fundamental doctrines of their faith, even passing laws that made it illegal to teach scientific facts that contradicted the Bible. Education in the South also lagged far behind the rest of the nation. Not only did the South spend less per capita on education than any part of the nation, but also the decision to segregate blacks from whites even in school demanded that the already meager funds had to be divided to support a dual educational system, which remained unequal in distribution of the inadequate funds available.

For much of the 1920s, Florida escaped the economic doldrums of the rest of the South and shared in the country's economic boom. Thanks to the railroad, and then the airplane, tourism in Florida flourished, and in the early 1920s land values skyrocketed. In describing the mid-1920s Florida land boom, Mark Sullivan in *Our Times* wrote, "All of America's gold rushes; all her oil booms; and all her free land stampedes dwindled by comparison with the torrent of migration pouring into Florida in the early fall of 1925." But the prosperous 1920s ended abruptly for Florida when a devastating hurricane in 1926 gave people pause, and land values came tumbling down. The rich continued to come to south Florida, however, and by the early 1930s, the money they spent in restaurants, hotels, and other vacation resorts helped south Floridians pull themselves out of the Depression. Not all Floridians fared as well. The great railroad that Henry Flagler built went into receivership after the Labor Day hurricane of 1935, and in that same year the city of Key West declared itself bankrupt.

As the Great Depression cast its economic pall over the country, most southerners were already suffering economic calamity. However, that same Depression brought President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, which improved the lives of many southerners, especially those living in the Tennessee Valley, where electricity began running into houses for the first time. Despite improvements to the South brought on by the New Deal, such as rural electrification and farm subsidies, as World War II approached, much of the region languished in poverty and locked into patterns of racial segregation and one-party rule.

THE SOUTH
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Domestic Life

FAMILY LIFE

Despite changing values regarding family life, marriage, and divorce, most southern states, because of religion, strong tradition, and a male-dominated culture, refused to allow divorce or maintained extremely restrictive laws against it. One exception to this rule was Arkansas, which relaxed laws and reduced residency requirements to compete with Nevada, Idaho, and Oklahoma as migratory divorce destinations. Although more women and children worked outside the home in the South than in any other region, the practice did not necessarily divide the family because often mother and children worked in the same location, whether in a small factory or an agricultural field. The Depression years did not have as immediately shocking an impact on southern families as it did on those of the urban North and Midwest. Many families in the South were already living at a subsistence level when the Depression arrived, and novel activities for urban families, such as home canning, pickling, baking, sewing clothes, and even smoking meat had always been part of daily life in southern families.

MEN

The autobiography of Will Percy, one of a long line of a family of southern writers, gives much insight into the white male culture of the delta South in the first decades of the twentieth century. On the surface (and surfaces matter in an honor-bound society), Will Percy embodied the ideal of an upper-class white Mississippian. A lawyer and a decorated veteran of World War I, Percy epitomized the role of the paternalistic planter who looked after "his" black workers and praised sharecropping as a mutually beneficial economic system of race relations because it was like "family." He was a community leader who openly—and courageously—opposed the Ku Klux Klan and populist racial hatred, while adhering to his own racism, a patronizing worldview that assumed black people needed whites like himself. But in other ways—ways that imparted a tension in his autobiography—Will Percy felt less of an honorable man than he wanted to be. He did not feel he lived up to the hearty, bluff, physical manliness valued by his own family, especially by his father. As a young man, Will recalled, "drunkenness made me sick, gambling bored me, rutting per se, unadorned, I considered overrated and degrading. In a charitable mood one might call me an idealist, but, more normally, a sissy."

Will Percy carried on a conversation with his father, past the grave. The pressing urgency of honor-bound manly life made this easy—even imperative—to do. Will imagined that having him as a son "must have been difficult for Father" because Will was not "all boy, all sturdy, obstreperous charm." His father, a man of "sunshine and strength," a man who did love gambling and drinking, impressed people because "his hardy vices" were obvious and all the more admirable because "merely under control." Will Percy, too, tried to control his own, less robust vices by the terms of honor, and thus became two men. One was private, tender and imaginative; the other, which he showed to the family and the world, embraced a "moral strength, love of stability and tradition, and reverence for Stoic principle," which he did not hesitate to impose on everyone younger, weaker, or more dependent than himself (Percy 2006, 239; Stowe 1996, 138–43).

Historically the southern white male was regarded as an unchallenged patriarch, the strong respected provider, and the mainstay of southern society. The traditional image of chivalrous southerner was centered in the white southern father's devotion to family, tradition, and race. At the same time the South was often celebrated as a region that stressed the so-called "masculine traits," defined by violence, a proclivity toward the military, and hawkish attitudes toward war.

The legendary southern white father was much like the southern gentleman of myth: well educated and genteel, with a firm and commanding personality, which demanded deference from all family members and from lesser whites and blacks.

Thus the myth of southern fatherhood had a distinct class bias. While not all scholars agree, some have argued that this patriarchal status established by the planter class in antebellum times continued into the next century and was even imitated by poor whites and blacks.

Popular literature often characterized the lower-class white fathers as drunken, irresponsible, and lazy, and black fathers as usually absent or nonexistent. The characterization of black fathers was probably more true in urban areas than in rural ones. Whereas towns and cities offered protection and domestic jobs for black women, black men were excluded from jobs other than those associated with farming. On the other hand, in the rural South, where most blacks lived in the first decades of the twentieth century, black men almost always headed landowning and tenant families. And in rural areas of the South, sociologists found the black patriarch ruling his family very much as did his white counterpart (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 1106).

WOMEN

As with other areas of southern history in the early twentieth century, daily life for white women turned on race, religion, class, and location. Where one lived, country or town, mattered. So too did the social connection formed by church, work, and family. Women functioned in a strongly paternalistic society where their roles as wife and mother were clearly defined and unalterable. Writing in 1895, Senator Benjamin "Pitchfork" Tillman of South Carolina argued that men in other parts of the nation should look to his state, where lack of divorce prevented men tired of their "skinny and shrunken wives" from going after "some young and buxom girl," where lynching made it "dangerous to monkey with men's womankind," and where an unwritten law allowed "men to shoot men who slept with their wives and daughters—the best law to protect women's virtue I ever heard of" (Clinton 1993, 613). Most middle-class white women in the South accepted the status quo. For example, in Georgia, Mildred Rutherford, president of her state's chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, complained as follows:

> Women who are working for [women's suffrage] are striking at the principles for which their fathers fought during the Civil War. Women's suffrage comes from the North and the West and from women who do not believe in states rights and who wish to see Negro women using the ballot. I do not believe the estate of Georgia has sunk so low that her good men can not legislate for women. (Clinton 1993, 612–13)

On the other hand, in 1930 in Atlanta, Georgia, a small group of southern women organized the "Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching" (ASWPL) to renounce the horrors done in their name. Jessie Daniel Ames, a Texas-born southern woman active in suffrage and interracial reform movements, led the movement. She and 12 founding members established the ASWPL as an arm of the Atlanta-based Commission on Interracial Cooperation, an organization working for racial harmony. The ASWPL's founders, all active in Protestant churches and interracial organizations (they were later joined by members of Jewish women's groups), wanted to prevent lynching by educating southern whites about its causes and prevention. They were convinced that lynching was sanctioned murder, and the result of a "false chivalry," by which white men committed onerous crimes against blacks in the name of protecting white women's virtue.

Although rural southern life maintained a rugged masculinity, women provided a vital social and economic presence. Not only did the countrywoman perform all the functions of mother, nurse, family counselor, and spiritual leader, she was as well spinner and weaver, knitter, seamstress, quilter, fruit and vegetable preserver, butcher, and supplemental field hand. Women also tended the livestock and maintained the vegetable garden, which contributed significantly to the family diet. As late as 1930, women worked on farms in the South more than in any other region of the nation. Southern countrywomen also kept track of kinships and relatives and remembered ancient folk rhymes, ballads, party games, and the ingredients and applications of folk remedies as well as recipes. Women were also responsible for maintaining a semblance of religion and social refinement in the rural South. Although the rural southern family remained strongly patriarchal in nature, the mother provided the social and human ties that bound the family together (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 9).

In the South, from 1900 through 1920, married women both black and white worked more often outside the home than their counterparts anywhere else in the United States. The high work rates of southern women can be explained by the unusually large numbers of black women in the workforce. Rural black women typically entered field labor at a young age, and those living in towns moved into domestic employment. Black women usually remained at work after marriage because of the poverty of their families and the demand for their labor. As the mill economy expanded in the early twentieth century, white women, single and married, entered the workforce. Daughters often joined mothers at work and, whether they were field hands, tenant workers, or mill hands, southern females labored together with family members long after employment had segregated families in other regions of the nation.

The growth of the urban South, with commercial, financial, and manufacturing centers, created jobs for white women as clerical workers, sales clerks, and factory operatives. During the 1920s, the South felt the effects of the technological and bureaucratic transformations that reshaped America. Growing corporations and commercial establishments such as banks enlarged their record-keeping functions and redefined office tasks in ways that created great demand for female clerical help. Because office work demanded specific skills, the new female workers differed dramatically from the farm and mill workers who had learned their skills through childhood employment and on-the-job training. Since few white women from mill towns or tenant farms had the education to compete for such jobs, and racial prejudice and their lack of education kept black women out of store and office employment, the new workforce came largely from the homes of white craftsmen, shopkeepers, landowners, and other groups who had been able to secure secondary education for their daughters. Middle-class black families produced the clerical workers for black-owned businesses. Turnover was greater in these professions than in traditional areas of female employment because a vast majority of female clerical workers and professional women—unlike farm workers, domestics, and mill hands—retired from the labor force upon marriage.

During the 1920s and 1930s, light manufacturing and labor-intensive services such as commercial laundries opened and closed in response to changes in local economies and the national economy. By the end of the 1930s, industrial and agricultural employment among women had declined markedly. The mill town, the garment factory, and the tenant farm persisted in the South, but none fully recovered the tenacious hold they had had on women's lives in an earlier era (Blackwelder 1989, 76–77).

CHILDREN

Child labor in fields and factories persisted in the South long after urbanization and Progressive reform movements had diminished it elsewhere. The wages of children who entered into degrading competition with their parents varied considerably, but indicative of the low wages for children is the record of textile mills in North Carolina that paid 10 and 12 cents a day for child labor. In most cases the pay went directly to the father. The workweek averaged about 70 hours for children, as it did for men and women. In 1887, Alabama had passed a law limiting a child's factory workday to eight hours, but the law was repealed in 1895 at the demand of a Massachusetts company that planned to build a large mill in the state. Children in Alabama went to work before dawn and did not return home until well after sunset. Children of eight and nine years of age could be seen as late as 9:30 at night finding their way home with little lanterns. Illiteracy among mill village children was three to four times that among white children at large, and only about one in five of Alabama mill village children between the ages of 6 and 15 attended school.

By the turn of the century, Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor had campaigns for child labor legislation underway in Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas, where 90 percent of the children in southern textiles were employed. Protestant ministers, women's clubs, and humanitarian groups joined the effort. It took more than 12 years of struggle for child labor laws to be passed, and by any standards they were rather weak. By 1912, all southern states had adopted an age hour limit and some sort of prohibition against night work for children, but the minimum age limit was only 12 and a child could work up to 60 hours a week. Furthermore, an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Labor revealed that the age limit laws were openly and freely violated. Reform groups, organized labor, and ministers put up a valiant effort to get stronger laws to protect children, but in the face of the interests of northeastern capital and southern mill owners, their efforts remained fruitless, and effective laws regulating children in the southern textile mills would not be passed until the New Deal era (Woodward 1974, 418–20).

In addition to work, illness and infectious disease had a debilitating effect on the social and intellectual development of children in the South. Hookworm probably represented the most reprehensible of these primarily childhood ailments. Some health reformers even described it as the single germ of southern backwardness. A major effect of the southern hookworm campaign was that rural school modernizers became convinced that the health of schoolchildren and their school environment were related to the process of learning. Regional poverty and underdevelopment, which had seemed to nineteenth-century southerners to be inevitable products of fate and providence, were, by the turn of the twentieth century, regarded as environmental. Almost gleefully, reformers blamed hookworm infection for southern under-education. The debilitating effects of the parasite made many older children "likely to drop out altogether with the minimum amount of education which their opportunities offered." The "widespread prevalence" of hookworm weakened the "bodies and minds" of schoolchildren, declared Virginia state school officials. Infected children became "easily fatigued," and unable to study with interest. Even with the teachers' determined involvement, these officials feared that children with hookworm made "poor progress" and probably left school uneducated. Another reformer declared that ill health and ignorance weakened the "race generation after generation, always tending to produce a condition of physical, intellectual, economic, and moral degeneracy."

The new consensus that environment shaped health, which in turn determined educational progress, received additional confirmation in a flood of studies—many of them subsidized by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission—that demonstrated the alarming extent of hookworm infection among southern rural schoolchildren. Increasingly, however, these studies, rather than confirming that hookworm constituted the single "germ" of southern inertia, pointed instead to many other sources of debility and inactivity. Surveys of school hygiene conducted by health officials in Alabama, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida documented the wide extent of parasites such as hookworms, but they also revealed a pattern of malnutrition, disease, and dental problems as well as a variety of other "defects" among southern children. In every instance investigators concluded that unhealthful conditions adversely shaped the educational experience.

In 1914, a systematic survey of health conditions in the schools located in the Virginia Piedmont, published by the U.S. Bureau of Education and sponsored by the Rockefeller Commission, examined the physical characteristics of schoolchildren, the health conditions of school facilities, and their effect on the educational performance of children. This study concluded that it was necessary to create a better physical setting for public education in an environment that would make possible children with "rosy cheeks and bright eyes" rather than "pale faces and vacant stares," healthy arms and legs rather than "thin and bloodless ones," and brains enriched by rich blood rather than a "watery stream poisoned by a leech-like, moth-born parasite." The survey recommended that the first objective of school reform should be to help children be responsive, healthy, and alert. The machinery necessary to achieve these results, argued the report, must be had "at any cost," for at stake was the "future of our Southland."

By reinforcing environmental effects in school modernization, the hookworm campaign encouraged far-reaching structural changes in southern rural schools. A major goal of public health reform was to ensure that every schoolhouse in the South had a sanitary privy, and this became a symbol of the triumph of rural school modernization. Reformers hoped that establishing sanitary privies would provide a model for sanitation in the rest of the community. They believed that schools, which previously had been centers of infection in most of the rural South, could instead become models of modern hygiene. A veteran of the hookworm campaign put it bluntly: If schools lacked facilities for the sanitary disposal of human waste, how could modern sanitation be "inculcated in children from homes who from time immemorial have ever used the woods and fence corners?"

The hookworm plague among children in the South created a subtle but profound revolution in southern life. For the first time the federal government, with help from private foundations, intruded (albeit in a positive way) into the private lives of families in the South, and the vehicles of this intervention were their own children (see the sections on Intellectual Life and Health and Medicine) (Link 1988, 623–42).

PETS

Southerners kept pets, but they were more likely to express concern about the practical and material value of animals, and less likely to express concern about right and wrong treatment of animals. On the other hand, many southerners were likely to form strong emotional attachments to individual animals, especially dogs that displayed special talents for hunting or protection.

Although individuals and household members developed strong attachments to dogs and treated them with affection, they almost always evaluated them on the basis of their working ability. Once unable to work, however, dogs were not discarded; rather they were "retired" and allocated a special status in the household. Despite the affection southern dogs received, whether working or retired, they were expected to reside outside the house.

In the South cats were kept as pets less frequently than dogs. But where they appeared, usually in rural areas, they were also expected to work for their living. The most common southern felines were barn cats, whose main purpose was rodent control. Often in the South, pigs, cattle, sheep, and chickens were treated as family pets until they became food. From time to time, however, an especially endearing food animal might receive a reprieve and become a permanent member of the family (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 1233–34).

THE SOUTH
|
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Economic Life

WORK AND WORKPLACE

Workers in the South for the most part were excluded from the technology-driven manufacturing and wage boom of the first two decades of the new century. In 1880 per capita annual income in the South stood at $376. At the end of the economic boom of the 1920s it was $543 for nonfarm workers and $183 for farm workers, or an average of $363. As bad as the economy was at the end of the nineteenth century, it was worse at the end of the 1920s. A majority of southerners engaged in the physically strenuous work of farming. Although tractors were used on most dairy farms, mules provided the power elsewhere, where the most commonly seen equipment was the animal-drawn plow. A lack of capital in the South prevented large landowners from paying cash to their workers, and it also thwarted poor farmers' efforts to buy land or even seed and equipment. Therefore, landowners and poor farmers entered into tenancy agreements. Landlords provided farmland, seed, mules, tools, housing, food, and other necessities, and in return landlords received half the corn and cotton the tenant farmer produced. In this situation, no tenant earned enough to escape the cycles of debt and poverty that marked cotton tenancy, and as the cotton economy slowly deteriorated in the 1920s and 1930s, the grip of misery grew tighter.

Up until World War II, the plantation landlord and the tenant farmer dominated the nation's perception of the South. They became symbols of the region's poverty and cultural backwardness and exemplified the paternalism, exploitation, and social-class dimensions of southern agriculture. There were two socioeconomic levels of sharecroppers, and they were defined by the farmers' contributions to production and their need for subsistence credit. Some tenants, for example, owned their own mules and equipment and also bought their own seed and fertilizer. In these cases their portion of the crop could be as much as two-thirds or three-fourths. On the other hand, those sharecroppers who possessed nothing and could only supply their labor fared much worse. Dependent on credit for nearly all living necessities, and working under much supervision, they ordinarily received no more than half the crop, from which the landlord deducted costs for "furnishings" and interest.

In the chronically depressed southern agriculture of the early twentieth century, tenancy increased steadily as many farmers lost their land. In 1930, when tenancy peaked, there were 228,598 cash tenants, 772,573 sharecroppers, and 759,527 other tenants (mostly share tenants) in 13 southern and border states. In areas where staple-crop production dominated the agricultural economy, tenant farming was most common. In 1937, the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy estimated that 65 percent of all farmers in the Cotton Belt and 48 percent in tobacco regions were land tenants or sharecroppers. This comprised nearly one-half of the southern farm population of 15.5 million. Approximately two-thirds of southern tenants were white, but among the lowest tenant group, the numbers of whites and blacks were about equal.

Southern tenancy created a culture of rural poverty. Tenants and sharecroppers received some of the lowest incomes in America, rarely clearing more than a few hundred dollars per year, and often, especially in years of low crop prices, tenant farmers received no net income at all. Consequently, rural southerners continued to live at the bottom of the national scale. Cotton and tobacco tenants worked in the fields and lived in pine-board cabins that lacked window glass, screens, electricity, plumbing, and even wells and privies. Thousands of families were without common household furnishings, stoves, mattresses, or adequate clothing and shoes.

The poorest sharecroppers subsisted on a diet that relied heavily on salt pork, flour, and meal. Owning no cows or poultry and tending no gardens, they seldom consumed milk, eggs, or fresh vegetables. Malnutrition compounded wretched living conditions to make chronic illness a major feature of rural life, as malaria, pellagra, and hookworm infection stunted the development of children, shortened lives, and lowered the economic productivity of the poor (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 6–7).

Tenant farmers had certain colloquialisms and errors in grammar that were almost universal and gave the regional language a dialect more distinct than any other region of the country. Some of the more obvious were: double and sometimes triple negatives, "done" and "seen" used as past tense, "ain't" and "ary," occasionally "haint" and "nary," "like" used as a conjunction, and "don't" with the third person singular. Idioms and unusual word usages were abundant. For example, the next-to-youngest child was always the "knee baby," no matter how old. "Evening" was afternoon, which differed from "night," which was from supper onward. Menopause was "when nature leaves." Midwives were referred to as "grannies." If a person had a bad reputation a tenant farmer might say "He's got a lot of mess to him." Tenant farmers also often began sentences of opinion in a self-effacing manner; for example: "I reckon," "It seems like," or "I allus say." "Studyin" invariably meant thinking about, and "fittin tah" or "fixin to" was universally used instead of "I am planning to" or "I am going to" (Hagood 1939, 68).

One of the familiar figures of southern rural lore was the tight-fisted landlord who kept all accounts, charged exorbitant interest on advances, and took over his tenants' cotton for debts. Since he held almost all local political and economic power in his hands, a planter could impose whatever terms he pleased on a sharecropper, and often, to ensure his own profit in lean times, he would cut even deeper into the shares of the tenant farmer, who had no recourse—either political or judicial—to oppose the planter's injustices. Moreover, tenants had little security on the land. They worked under year-to-year verbal agreements, which allowed landlords to dismiss tenants who were disruptive or questioned the system. Or landlords could simply dismiss workers without notice when crop demand lowered.

Consequently, sharecroppers accustomed themselves to moving on the average of once every two years. This resulted not only in an unstable life for the family but also for the places they lived. For without permanent residents who would take a civic interest in the community, there was little likelihood that there would ever be pressure for good schools, public health, or other services. The forced mobility of tenant farmers also contributed to the general public view that poor tenant farmers were shiftless and rootless. During the Great Depression, initial New Deal agricultural policy made the plight of the tenant farmer even worse. The acreage-reduction contracts of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) decreased labor needs and, in effect, encouraged landlords to dispense with tenants to avoid sharing government payments with them. Not until 1937 with the passing of the Bankhead-Jones Tenancy Act—providing $85 million in loans, spread over three years, "to help tenant farmers buy their own land, animals, seed, feed, and machinery," as well as help existing landowners to rehabilitate their properties—did some relief come to the tenant farmer in the South.

In the decades after the 1930s southern agriculture underwent revolutionary changes in technological development, the most remarkable of which was the mechanical cotton picker, which came into general use during World War II and made the most labor-intensive aspect of cotton farming obsolete. The mechanization of southern agriculture was a major cause of the great postwar exodus of the rural poor from the land and, in many cases, from the region.

Snapshot

A South Carolina Sharecropper Remembers the Boll Weevil

"Speakin' of de war time, after de war gits over and de sojers come home, hit look lak ever'thing go wrong on de place. Mister Oscar, he had helt and helt all our cotton till de price go down to nuttin' in 1921, and then he sell. Half de time, dat year, all on de place went hongry. So I say one day to Jake, 'Jake, dis ain't gwine do; us'll have to plant some peas lak dat man from 'way out yonder—Doctor Kinhap, I believe dat he name—egvised de farmers to do. Miss Jane, she say she want us to plant peas. But Mister Oscar say, 'un-uh', he don't want nothin' but cotton planted on de place; dat he in debt and hafter raise cotton to git de money to pay wid. So when dat win' begin to blow all dem thunder clouds out de wes', 'long 'bout July, I tole Jake hit a bad sign. Sho' nuff dar did come trouble, 'long 'bout Augus' and September. De boll weevil come des lak dat doctor man from 'way out yonder say he'd come. And, bless yo' life, dat bug sho' romped on things dat fall."

Miss Jane, she tried to git him to plant sumpin' in place of cotton, but he say, 'un-uh, des lak dat time she want him to plant peas. And one day he went down to Columby and gived a mortgage on de place and bought mo' gewano dan ebber befo'. When me and Jake was haulin' hit home, I say to Jake one day, 'Jake, dis gewano don't smell lak hit grow cotton on dat lan' up home.' Anyway, Mister Oscar had us haul it out and put hit down in de fields and plant cotton on hit. De cotton come up and started to growin', and, suh, befo' de middle of May I looks down one day and sees de boll weevil settin' up dere in de top of dem little cotton stalks waitin' for de squares to fo'm. So all dat gewano us hauled and put down in 1922 made nuttin' but a crop of boll weevils. And de very same thing happen agin de nex' year.

From: American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1940.

Natural disaster also played a great role in transforming the life of workers in the agricultural South in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1892, the boll weevil, a small cotton-eating beetle, crossed the Mexican border into Brownsville, Texas. By 1915, it had reached Alabama and by the early 1920s had populated the entire cotton South. This small insect, which bored into cotton plants and turned the cotton boll black, rendering it worthless, devastated southern cotton fields in the early 1920s. The boll weevil proved to be a relentless and unstoppable enemy to the cotton farmer. Total cotton production in 1921 plunged to scarcely more than half of 1920's output, and while the price per pound rose by a fourth that did not compensate those individuals whose family farms had been completely ravished by the insect. Not until 1924 did cotton production return to 1920 levels, and by that time many small farmers had been ruined and cotton's domination of the southern agricultural economy had ended. Most had to leave the land for textile mills or for the long trek up to northern cities. The economy of some areas was completely transformed as a result of the boll weevil invasion. In the town of Enterprise, Alabama, for example, the citizens erected a monument to the boll weevil. Although it destroyed the cotton economy of the area, it forced the people of Enterprise to diversify their crops and develop small industry to ensure that they would never be at the mercy of the caprices of a single-crop economy (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 6–7).

The great flood of 1927 also contributed to the troubles of an already economically devastated South. The waters had begun rising as a result of prolonged and heavy rainfall across the country's midsection. This overflow eventually found its way to the Mississippi. Man-made levees protected cities that lay north of the juncture with the Ohio River, but south of the juncture of these two great rivers the force of the water broke levees in Mississippi and Arkansas, flooding over 2.3 million acres and

A commercial district partially submerged by floodwaters in 1927. Library of Congress.

affecting more than 170,000 people. Over five million acres were eventually inundated in those two states. At some points on its southward flow, the Mississippi grew to over one hundred miles wide. To spare New Orleans, levees on the opposite side of the river were dynamited, and as a result more than 6.2 million acres of rural Louisiana ended up under water and more than 250,000 Louisianans felt the impact. Until recently, the great flood of 1927 was considered the greatest natural disaster in the history of the country, and it affected the region of the country least able to resist such a disaster. The Red Cross counted over 600,000 displaced persons, and as many as 500 lives were lost. Only a massive federal government effort involving over 333,000 volunteers and 1,400 paid workers, coordinated by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, kept the death toll from reaching into the thousands.

Because of the boll weevil and the flood, the Depression had already come to the South before the great national economic collapse of 1929–1932. Recognizing the dire straits of the southern economy, the New Deal economists paid special attention to the area. In addition to the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), which paid southern farmers (as well as farmers in the rest of the country) to curtail production of staples such as cotton, the New Deal pushed through legislation to create a regional electrical program. While electric lights had been beaming and electric appliances humming throughout America in the 1920s, much of the South had remained dark and unwired. Very few electric lines found their way into the South, leaving that region even further behind than the rest of the country. One of the most important acts of the first hundred days of the Roosevelt administration was the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Under the TVA, the government took control of dams and munitions factories built along the Tennessee River. These facilities were turned into providers of low-cost electricity and fertilizers for the river's watershed. It also provided thousands of jobs to a severely underemployed region and promoted regional economic development, which included fertilizer production, planning, and even bookmobiles to bring learning to the back country.

Outside the farm, textile mills provided the greatest opportunity for work, but wages and conditions remained abysmal (see the sections on Material Life and Manufacturing). As in other areas of southern life, the workplace was dominated by attitudes toward race. The caste system, the color line, and the new spirit of racial aggression were strongly felt in labor relations and in trade unions. Caste sanctioned a division of labor into white men's jobs and black men's jobs. Sometimes aided by employers' policies of hiring, sometimes encouraged by politicians, white labor kept up an unremitting pressure to drive blacks out of the better-paid, more attractive work, and further down in the job hierarchy. While at the end of the Civil War black artisans were said to have outnumbered whites by five to one, they made up only a small proportion of the labor force in most crafts by 1890. From that time to 1910 blacks held their own fairly well in some of the crafts. Between 1890 and 1910 the total of black male workers in all nonagricultural pursuits increased by two thirds, but this was to be explained by the great expansion of "Negro-job" industries— sawmills, coal mining, and railroad construction and maintenance. The increasing mechanization of tobacco manufacturing converted many "Negro jobs" into "white work," and broke what had once been almost a black monopoly. The mounting employment of white women, and the more rigid segregation of races this always implied, also eliminated black workers in other industries. Early in the twentieth century there was much comment upon the disappearance of blacks from trades they had traditionally monopolized, or very largely so. "It is possible now," wrote one southerner in 1904, "to live in New Orleans as free from any dependence on the services of Negroes as one could be in New York or Boston."

The story of Clarence Dean is illustrative of the plight of the black worker in the South. Dean started as a "scrapper" at the Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron Company in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1933. For 12 hours each day, Dean, a wiry 18-year-old, directed the flow of molten iron as it poured out of a blast furnace and ran down a trough into pig-iron molds. "It was a man-killer," he said later, referring to the 150-degree temperatures around the blast furnace. "You'd be wet from the time you hit the clock." But the heat bothered Dean less than the job discrimination in the furnace department. He was promoted to "lineman," the worker who put the iron into the pig molds, and years later to "trough man," but he stopped there in the department's ultimate "black" job. Dean coveted the position of "iron pourer," the leader of the furnace crew. He knew that the iron pourer was a white man's job, but nevertheless he pursued it. "What about me trying out on pouring iron?" Dean asked his supervisors. "We ain't going to give niggers no white folks' jobs," they replied. Through the years Dean trained white workers to be iron pourers. "They'd tell me, 'Clarence, take care of Mr. Sam, take care of Mr. Robert.'" And that is where Clarence Dean remained until the early 1960s, when, as a result of a federal order against job discrimination, he was finally promoted to a job he had coveted and for which he had been qualified for over 30 years.

Clarence Dean's story underscores the centrality of race to the experience of workers in Birmingham, the South's leading industrial city in the twentieth century. It represented a situation faced by thousands of blacks there, and by many more in other places. To understand its meaning one must examine what happened when Birmingham workers formed powerful unions during the 1930s and 1940s, for the building of unions influenced the careers of both Clarence Dean and Jim Crow, but with strikingly different results. The unions gave white workers new power to enforce job discrimination, thus severely curtailing black opportunities. The gains made at blacks' expense provided whites with a clear economic stake in preserving racial discrimination. Clarence Dean's career parallels the experience of black workers throughout the South (Norell 1986, 669–94).

TRADE AND MARKETS

In the first half of the twentieth century, no institution in the rural South had more influence on the economic, political, and social life of the people than the crossroads store. These small enterprises, which sprang up in the postbellum rural South, were usually started by a nonsouthern merchant who arrived in the area with commercial skills not attributable to the typical rural southerner. In the post–Civil War South these entrepreneurs found ways and means of exchanging goods and services with a minimum of cash, which remained scarce in the postwar South. The storekeeper used his northern connections to keep the store stocked. State laws that made liens against crops possible also provided the merchant with a means of providing credit in small amounts to the thousands who had no other means of obtaining it. The store served everyone's needs regardless of race or status.

The southern country store remained more thoroughly connected to local economy and culture for a far longer period than in any other part of the United States. Three intersecting factors created this phenomenon. First of all was the sheer geographic isolation of the rural southern community, secondly the cyclical nature of the cash crop economy, which made credit necessary, and finally, in the rigidly segregated South, the country store provided the only space where a necessary interaction of the races could occur.

Sunday afternoon at a country store in Gordonton, North Carolina, in 1939. Note the kerosene pump on the right and the gasoline pump on the left. Rough, unfinished timber posts have been used as supports for the porch roof. The brother of the store owner stands in the doorway talking to Negro men sitting on the porch. Library of Congress.

The country store provided everything necessary for material daily life. The store usually included an array of goods that ranged from clothes, to canned grocery goods, to hardware supplies. After 1920, more often than not a gasoline pump could be found out in front of the store. When someone was born, married, or died, the store provided the items needed for these rituals of life and death. The country store was no orderly department store; its goods were not likely to be very systematically arranged and displayed. Almost everything was to be found behind something else.

The architecture of the store usually resembled that of a barn. Additions were made as needed. A wing or shed added on one side might be used for machinery, tools, and other heavy items, along with kerosene for home lamps. Another wing might store seed, fertilizers, stock feed, horse collars, ropes, chains, and general hardware. The merchant often had an office in the rear of the store, where the books were kept. This is also where the merchant would meet with those who wanted to go over their accounts or seek more credit. The office also served as a reception room for the regional jobber or drummer, who took orders for the store and controlled delivery. The drummer was much more than a salesman; he was a local attraction, who brought news and opinions from the outside and a fund of racy stories sure to go the rounds. Often the country store had the only telephone in town and thus became the immediate contact point with the outside world.

In the absence of a doctor or pharmacist, the local merchant often made diagnoses and prescribed medicines from his store's own pharmacopoeia, which might include such remedies as Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, castor oil, or elixirs for colic or coughs. The store also operated as a general gathering place every day except Sunday, when the local church took over that role. Social life of the community centered around the local country store. Stories were told, and local news was shared. Notices of jobs or items for sale were posted. In the summer, men gathered on a hot day outside the store to loaf, whittle, play checkers, or pitch horseshoes and to comment on the attractions of passing women. In the winter, men and boys, and sometimes a few women, sat around the potbellied stove swapping yarns, arguing politics or religion, and recounting details of farming operations. There was a philosophy present in the assumptions underlying this talk called a "cracker-barrel philosophy." The country store with its southern flavor continued well into the twentieth century and can even be found in some contemporary small towns. However, the value of these stores today is more nostalgic than practical. The goods inside are more likely to be local craft or souvenir items for sale to passing tourists rather than the necessities of life offered a half century ago (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 16–18).

Up until the 1940s, the country store represented the economic focal point for 75 percent of the South's population. But the remainder of southerners who lived in the cities witnessed the emergence of an urban marketplace, as expanding economies attracted northern capitalists to the region's cities. Birmingham's steel industry, for example, grew so rapidly that by the 1920s it became recognized as the "Pittsburgh of the South," and in Nashville aggressive bankers expanded local insurance companies throughout the mid-South to make Union Street the "Wall Street" of the South. The emergence of new urban markets in the South, however, did not continue unbroken in Nashville, Birmingham, or any other city of the South. The Great Depression hit southern cities hard. Except for Miami, urbanization in the South declined, and market activity slowed in the 1930s amid low agricultural prices and regional poverty, while the exodus to northern cities continued. Sustained development of urban markets in the South, which had an encouraging start in the 1920s, would have to wait until the post–World War II era to realize its full potential (Miller and Pozetta 1989, 2–3).

CASTE AND CLASS EXPERIENCE

In the post–Civil War era, the transition from slavery to caste as a system of controlling race relations went forward gradually and tediously. Slavery had been vastly more than a labor system, and the gap that its removal left in manners, mores, and rituals of behavior could not be filled overnight. During the three decades of the post–Civil War era, whites created a system of apartheid, political disenfranchisement, and economic oppression that left most southern blacks, although free from slavery, in a state not much better than their antebellum situation. By the last decade of the nineteenth century segregation was firmly in place throughout the South, and this new order would endure until well after World War II. The new southern racial order, which relegated blacks to second-class citizenship, was bolstered by discriminatory legislation as well as systematic violence, especially the practice of lynching, which sent a strong message to the black community of the South not to challenge white supremacy. The message was clear: crimes by blacks against whites, whether murder or rape or even trivial behavior deemed "uppity," would be punished swiftly and brutally. Also blacks were aware that even if they followed the white supremacist code, they could be the target of a lynching incited by a false charge. In 1923, in Rosewood, Florida, for example, an entire black town was burned to the ground and several blacks lynched and many more murdered in a riot that was instigated by a white woman who accused a black man of beating her, when in fact the beating had come from a white man with whom she was having an extramarital affair.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began campaigning during World War I for a federal law against lynching, and antilynching bills passed the House in 1922 and 1938, but they failed to overcome filibusters by southern senators. Lynching would not become a federal offense until the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

NAACP pickets protest the practice of lynching at the Crime Conference in Washington, D.C., on December 11, 1934. Library of Congress.

Through the first half of the twentieth century, life in the South remained highly segregated. Two separate societies developed that had very little in common except for location and occasional unequal interaction. The Civil War and Reconstruction had abolished slavery but had not ended the strict two-tiered society that became written into law and custom throughout the South. Land ownership remained overwhelmingly in the hands of the whites. Within the white community social status varied with landholding and possessions, but even the lowliest white enjoyed a standing higher than any black.

Acceptance in the South of immigrant Catholics occurred slowly if at all in the first decades of the twentieth century. In the 1910s, for example, Georgia demagogue Tom Watson vilified Catholicism by reference to the same stereotypes used to denigrate blacks. "The African belief in the conjure bag is a progressive state of mind," claimed Watson, "compared to Roman Catholic belief in saints that secure tenants for vacant houses." The Ku Klux Klan also focused its venom on the same groups, as torchlight parades of Klansmen lit the black and Irish ghettoes of many southern cities. By the early 1920s Catholics in Georgia organized a statewide educational and propagandist group, "The Catholic Layman's Association of Georgia," to fight Georgia natives. But any hopes southern Catholics had of changing the prejudice against their religion dimmed in the 1928 election when the candidacy of Catholic Al Smith raised new cries against papist designs on the country, and Smith became the first Democratic presidential candidate since Reconstruction not to sweep all the South's electoral votes.

Italian immigration sent shockwaves through portions of the South, which had always existed in an either/or white or black society. These new olive-skinned kinky-haired arrivals from Europe shook age-old racial theories. In Tallulah, Louisiana, in 1899, five Sicilian men were lynched, ostensibly because of a dispute over a goat, but really because they had violated the protocols of racial interaction. These men had committed the error of socializing on an equal basis with blacks with whom they lived and worked. Other immigrant groups, including the Cuban cigar workers in Florida, German farmers in the Piedmont and Shenandoah region, Greek spongers in the Florida fishing village of Tarpon Springs, and others made their home in various regions of the South and all brought their unique traditions that added to the flavor of southern culture, but none probably upset the racial sensibilities of white southerners as much as the ambiguously pigmented Sicilians of Italy (Orsi 1992, 314).

A segregated water fountain in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in 1939. Photograph by Russell Lee. The Granger Collection, New York.

Variations on race and social organization complicated the predominant biracial categories of southern life, especially in the peripheries of the South such as the Gulf states and New Orleans, which had a history of foreign immigration, Indian survival, and multireligious identities. In Florida, for example, Seminole Indians continued to live with indifference toward Euro-American life. In 1821 the United States took possession of Florida and immediately began a campaign to eradicate the Native Americans living there. Through three bloody wars the Seminoles, in alliance with African Americans who had fled plantations and set up independent tribal communities in Seminole territory, successfully resisted conquest by the U.S. military and inflicted numerous wounds on the country, making the Seminole wars the bloodiest Indian wars in the nation's history. Finally on May 10, 1842, a frustrated President John Tyler ordered the end of military actions against the Seminoles. At that time over $20 million had been spent, 1,500 American soldiers had died, and still no formal peace treaty had been signed. The Seminoles quietly retreated into the hinterland and wet wilderness of south Florida.

In the 1880s, when the wars were over and the Seminole survivors and their descendents finally had been left alone to get on with their lives in south Florida, the U.S. government once again sent agents to approach them—to count them, coerce them into government programs, and "civilize" them. Despite their small numbers, they had not died out as many had predicted; indeed, they were increasing in numbers. Into the early twentieth century, the government's Indian agents sent despairing letters to Washington, reporting: "They are satisfied, happy, and contented with their mode of life and unanimously in favor of continuing therein." But not all of the world beyond Lake Okeechobee and the Big Cypress and the Everglades was content to let them continue their particular "mode of life" (http://www.seminoletribe.com/tribune/40anniversary/history.shtml). With the explosion of white settlement in south Florida that began as a trickle in the late 1800s and turned into a flood by the 1920s, the intervention of several groups of "Friends of the Seminoles" and of the state and federal governments now became an ironic necessity for the "protection" of the Seminoles. Lands were set aside in Immokalee ("im m—kl" or "my home" in Miccosukee) and Big Cypress, in Brighton, and in Dania (now Hollywood). It would take until the 1970s for all these scattered parcels to be consolidated and taken into federal trust as Seminole reservations. Only much later, in the 1980s, would a fifth reservation, at Tampa, be created. In 1996, a sixth, Fort Pierce, was added.

In 1913, the U.S. government appointed a special commissioner to the Seminoles and opened the first Seminole Agency, in Miami. Directed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), a part of the U.S. Department of the Interior, the agency moved to Fort Myers in 1917 on the premise that it would be closer to the Seminoles' villages. But by the mid-1920s, the people also were gathering on the lower East Coast and the agency was relocated to Dania, between Fort Lauderdale and Hollywood. Around 1942, the BIA Seminole Agency returned to Fort Myers but, in late 1950, the Dania office was reestablished where it remains to this day, in the heart of the Hollywood Reservation, near the intersection of Stirling Road and U.S. 441.

During the tenure of these government agents, there never had been any question of their exercising control, much less leadership, over the people. The time-honored internal system of medicine men and women and clan elders continued to function, even though it operated among fewer people than in past years and in isolated camps rather than in large communities. "Government" still meant essentially the same thing that it had meant for many generations. It meant the guidance of tradition, the word of the elders, freedom of choice, and the right to search, in councils, for consensus. By the middle of the twentieth century, however, events in the outside world once again caused the Seminoles to seek among old traditions for new responses, and the movement toward a unified political authority began.

In 1946, the U.S. Congress passed a law permitting American Indian tribes to file claims against the U.S. government for losses suffered through treaties broken or lands lost to the United States. Less than a year later, the Florida Seminoles filed their petition with the federal Indian Claims Commission. Rather than any attempt on the part of the U.S. government to provide justice, this was a part of a larger move to finalize claims and end the government's relationship with the tribes. As another element of the larger process, in the 1950s, so-called "Termination Acts" were debated in Congress. These acts designated certain tribes to which Congress felt they owed no further debts; therefore, they could be "freed from federal supervision and control." The Florida Seminoles were among them (http://www.seminoletribe.com/tribune/40anniversary/history.shtml).

In addition to the Seminoles, other villages and reservations of tribes who resisted the great removals of the nineteenth century dot the landscape of the South. In North Carolina in 1838 during the Great Removal, about 1,000 Cherokee Indians retreated into the mountains of their homeland and refused to be relocated. After the federal government granted recognition to this group in the late nineteenth century, they became the largest reservation in the South, and as the new century unfolded they began to cater to tourists to maintain their economic independence. In Mississippi, a small group of Choctaws also resisted removal, and as the new century opened they had survived an ill-fated alliance with the Confederacy as well as economic hardship to become the largest Indian tribe in the South. Although outstanding agriculturists, the Choctaws' activities were rather unromantic, and they have received little attention from travelers or scholars. The Lumbee Indians of North Carolina also resisted removal, and they remain the largest federally unrecognized tribe in the United States. From the 1890s through World War I the Lumbees went to Georgia to work in the turpentine industry, but at the end of war they returned to their homeland in North Carolina to farm cotton, corn, and tobacco (LaFarge 1956, 230–33).

URBAN AND RURAL EXPERIENCE

Until World War II, 75 percent of southerners lived in rural areas and engaged in a life dominated by their agrarian economy. They lived without electricity, and their social, economic, and political lives were encompassed by the local church and the country store. If their children went to school—which was only opened for a few months a year—it usually meant a long walk of several miles to a poorly lit, damp, and uncomfortable one-room schoolhouse. It is little wonder that for people living in the rural areas of the South "going to town" was cause for celebration.

The interior of a little red schoolhouse with teacher and students in Crossville, Tennessee, c.1933. Library of Congress.

For the most part—with the exception of Birmingham, which became a major steel producer—southern cities remained more commercial than industrial and more tied to agriculture than their counterparts in other regions of the country. Major inland cities like Atlanta, Memphis, and Nashville began to grow in the early twentieth century, but New Orleans maintained its role as the region's dominant urban area. For southerners living in the city an ethos of boosterism and commercialism, which emphasized economic growth, new technology, local loyalty, and progress, prevailed. Chambers of commerce appeared in large and small towns alike. Throughout the South, developers and speculators built office buildings, stores, and theaters. Railroad stations, hotels, theaters, YMCAs, government office buildings, and churches—rather than grand office buildings—usually silhouetted the skyline.

After 1920, thanks to automobiles and buses traveling on newly constructed roads, rural southerners would come to town to shop and to enjoy the luxury of the new elegant air-conditioned movie theaters being built throughout the urban South. Because of their small size, religious objections, and the high cost of renting films from distributors, small rural towns of the South had fewer theaters than any other region of the country, and therefore a trip to the movies became an exceptional experience for rural southerners. The major film producers had built magnificent palaces in the 1920s to show their films and, even in smaller cities of less than 100,000, entrepreneurs had imitated the style set by the big five film companies. Therefore, for the small cost of a ticket, poor southerners could appropriate for a short time some of the acknowledged symbols of wealth that the theaters had adopted, such as plush carpets, air conditioning, chandeliers, upholstered seating, and obsequious ushers.

Although southern cities felt less of an impact in the late nineteenth century from foreign immigrants than their northern counterparts, a number of ethnic groups did make their way South, leaving their influence on a number of southern cities. The Irish were a key part of the workforce and politics in Memphis, New Orleans, and Richmond. Merchants of Jewish ancestry were an important force in business and politics in Atlanta and Montgomery. Near the end of the century, Italian immigrants flocked to New Orleans. In the first decades of the twentieth century the proportion of foreign-born citizens declined in all major southern cities, and this trend continued through the first four decades of the twentieth century (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 1436).

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND HUNTING AND FISHING

Southern dairy production changed surprisingly little from the late nineteenth century until World War II. During that era, all across the region many small farmers kept and milked a few cows, separated the milk, fed the skim to the hogs, made their own butter, and sold surplus cream in town or shipped it on the railroad to market. Along with the sale of eggs, this trade remained one of the few farm activities that produced a small but steady cash flow. The 1930s witnessed the development of a number of small cheese manufacturing plants. Also, better roads brought motor truck carriers to formerly remote areas to pick up whole grade B milk from small unspecialized producers.

In the early 1900s chickens also provided a small but steady cash flow to farmers, who always maintained a small flock for their own use. Consequently, the rural population of the South remained largely self-sufficient in terms of supplying its chicken and egg needs. In the 1930s a more modern system began, as specialized poultry farmers began growing 10,000 to 20,000 birds every six or seven weeks and selling them to agribusiness firms, which slaughtered, dressed, packed, and then transported the poultry in refrigerated cars across the nation (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 28, 34).

By 1910 most southern states had joined the rest of the nation in enacting trespass and game laws, which made market hunting and sale of wild animals illegal. State agencies empowered wildlife agencies to monitor populations of species defined by law as game and determine how and when these species were to be hunted. Southern distinctiveness in hunting stemmed from a peculiar combination of traits found in the region. Although the myth of a plantation lifestyle continued on restored plantations, where privileged participants hunted for quail

Snapshot

Fried Squirrel or Rabbit

Squirrel and rabbit are two of the finest and most tender of all Southern wild meats. Both should be decapitated and dressed immediately after shooting. After skinning, wipe the carcass with a cloth dipped in scalding water to remove loose hairs. Both squirrel and rabbit can be fried like chicken for a different but delicious dish.

4 squirrels or rabbits
Vinegar to cover
Cold water to cover
Flour to coat
Salt and black pepper
Shortening for frying
4 tbsp. flour
2 cups sweet milk

After the animals are cleaned, rinse and soak them in vinegar for 1 hour. Then soak them in cold water for 3 hours or overnight. This soaking helps take the wild taste out of the meat and tenderizes it at the same time.

Cut the meat into pieces and dredge them in flour seasoned with salt and pepper. Brown the meat slowly in hot shortening in a heavy skillet until brown on both sides. Add the 4 tbsp. flour and milk, stirring often to mix well. Cover the skillet tightly and cook over lowest heat until the meat is tender (about 30 minutes), turning once and basting several times. Serves 4.

> We ate a good bit of game. We always had all the fish we wanted, and my dad was a hunter, so we'd have ducks and quail and occasionally squirrel and sometimes rabbit—the rabbit was my request. We had quite a bit of game, which at that time was not a problem because it was plentiful. We were always careful not to kill when the young were coming on. We usually hunted on Saturday afternoons or early in the morning. Sometimes we'd have duck for Sunday dinner, and I can't remember having fish any way but fried. —Benjamin B. Ferrell

From: Strickland and Dunn 2002, 57.

and deer and took part in colorful pageants at the exclusive hunt clubs, most rural southerners hunted out of necessity.

In the first half of the twentieth century, southern youngsters—at least the 75 percent who lived in rural areas—were taught at an early age to hunt by fathers or close relatives. Guns were treasured possessions passed from father to son. Hunting was a masculine activity, and responsibility not only to kill but also clean and cook the game usually fell on the men. While the wealthy hunted quail and deer on their plantations, the poor supplemented their low-protein diet by killing squirrel, possum, and rabbit (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 1230–31).

Fishing offered an integral form of recreation and livelihood in the South. It was predominantly a masculine activity passed along from one generation to the next. It fulfilled a need to provide a private challenge, as success or failure was the individual's alone. The type of fish or seafood caught depended on the region. The coast of Florida was known for its red snapper, while Georgia and Louisiana were noted for their shrimp. The most common freshwater fish in the South were catfish, trout, and bass, but every region had its local "pan fish" known as bream, perch, shell crackers, or blue gills, depending on the region in which they were fished. Despite their difference in name, these small fish all suffered the same fate once caught. They were dipped in a cornmeal mixture and cooked in a boiling pot of oil (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 1119–220).

THE SOUTH
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Intellectual Life

SCIENCE

Southern universities promoted little original scientific research outside of the agricultural fields. Relying principally on the provisions of the 1862 Morrill Federal Land Grant Act to fund any increase in scientific instruction, intended to support agricultural education, southern public universities hired faculty to teach a broad range of courses in horticulture and animal husbandry, to conduct research related to these fields, and to provide extension services. Scientific disciplines not directly related to producing knowledgeable farmers, however, frequently languished. With the passage of the Hatch Act in 1887, which established a national system of agricultural experimental stations, and the Smith Lever Act in 1914, which financed extension of those stations, Congress expanded the federalization of agricultural research and education, begun with the Morrill Act. The effects of these acts on the South were important. First of all they helped remove the southern prejudice against "book farming." As the father of the extension system, Seaman Knapp, said, "What a man hears, he may doubt; what he sees he may possibly doubt; but what he does he can not doubt" (Graham 1990, 200–221). Secondly, the extension schools laid the foundation for the agricultural revolution that would occur in the South in the post–boll weevil era, when the South made great strides toward crop diversification and mechanization. Finally, during the New Deal era, farm extension representatives protected the rights of sharecroppers and tenants as they made decisions on acreage allotments and cash payments and on the fair cash distribution between the sharecropper or tenant farmer and the avaricious landowner.

In the post–World War I era, southern institutions of higher education grew and improved. They went beyond the scope of agriculture and were able to attract well-educated faculty. Consequently, the number of competent scientists in the South slowly increased. Their origins varied. Some were southerners who chose to pursue their careers in the region of their birth. Others, armed with advanced degrees from universities outside the South, discovered that the slowly expanding southern schools offered them a good starting point in their careers. In addition to an influx of young men who had postponed their college education to serve in the armed forces, the growth and improvement of high schools funneled more students into the region's colleges. Furthermore, farsighted professional educators such as David Crenshaw Barrow at the University of Georgia and Edward Kidder Graham and Harry Woodburn Chase at the University of North Carolina utilized increased funding from philanthropic, legislative, and alumni sources to change their institutions into true universities with a new emphasis on research and community service. This expanded the role of the southern university in the life of the region.

The Tennessee Academy of Science, in an attempt to combine service to the community with funded research, adopted a novel approach to encouraging scientific research. In 1925, Society president Scott C. Lyon suggested the establishment of a biological research station at Reelfoot Lake, a remote area of swamp, marsh, and open water invaded only by an occasional fisherman and a few adventuresome biologists. While such outposts had become an integral aspect of the outreach program of many state universities, no state academy of science had considered such an ambitious undertaking. Six years later, the state legislature set aside 10 acres and a dilapidated building for the use of the academy and, quite uncharacteristically for parsimonious southern legislatures at the time, granted $2,500 "for expenses." Thanks to the volunteer labor of academy members and continued state financial support, the Reelfoot Lake Biological Station became a reality. Individual researchers and entire classes used the facility. Summer seminars attracted faculty and graduate students, and academy members assembled there for formal and informal meetings. In 1939, an entire issue of the academy's journal contained papers generated by research at Reelfoot Lake, and single papers appeared in almost every issue.

The turbulent era of the Great Depression was a difficult time to begin costly projects, as the state academies discovered. However, the financial turmoil also motivated southern scientists to utilize their expertise to benefit the South. Keenly aware of the economic difficulties of the region, many of them joined state boosters in advocating industrialization as the panacea for the South's problems. Realistically, they knew that without such economic development the financial support necessary for first-class institutions of higher education and related research facilities would never materialize.

In 1931 the Alabama Academy of Science made a concerted effort to attract industrial scientists into their organization and elected George J. Fertig, a scientist employed by the Pittsburgh Testing Laboratory (located in Birmingham), as its president. Fertig claimed that with the South's "temperate climate," "abundant rainfall," and "many raw materials of industry," scientists should turn their attention to research that would encourage industrial development and thus aid the region economically.

The Tennessee Academy reacted in a similar manner. In 1933 it sponsored a symposium focusing on the recently created Tennessee Valley Authority. At the seminar A. E. Parkins, professor of economic geography at George Peabody College, maintained that in addition to water power the state should publicize its timber, limestone, marble, and mineral resources. Paraphrasing the vision of regional planners that the valley development area would be "dominated by small industrial centers each with well-kept factories, neat clean homes, schools, churches, and community houses," he agreed that "low taxes, low rents, home-grown food, wholesome home and community life, modest but sufficient incomes, ought to fit the Valley population to weather future depressions and adversities such as frequently befall human beings."

Such dreams of the future, however, did not materialize so easily. Since the end of the Civil War and through the first decades of the twentieth century, southerners, in their quest for new industry, had consistently promised low taxes, a cheap labor supply, and inexpensive utilities. While such a policy did induce low-paying factories to locate in the South, it failed to attract high-technology, research-oriented industry and thus established a "self-reinforcing pattern of slow growth wherein the potential for social and political disruption was minimal" (Smith 1988, 619). Southern scientists would have to await the post–World War II boom for the sort of economic development and research facilities that they coveted.

Southern scientists displayed keener foresight when they spoke out on behalf of conservation of the region's natural resources, especially when a particular incident caught their attention. In 1923, the North Carolina Academy of Science (NCAS) voted to cooperate with the Virginia Academy of Science (VAS) in "securing the conservation of a selected part of the [Great] Dismal Swamp," a wildlife haven on the border between the two states that appeared to be threatened by real estate developers who proposed that the area be filled in and thereby rendered "useful." In 1929, the VAS resolved to fight the Virginia Public Service Company's efforts to construct a dam at Goshen Pass, a scenic gorge in the Appalachian Mountains. While the academies' contributions to the resolution of these issues are difficult to assess, the Great Dismal Swamp was not drained and filled, and Goshen Pass remains in its natural state.

Both the Tennessee and North Carolina academies expressed continuing concern about foresting operations in the Appalachian Mountains. In 1935, they formally protested what they viewed as the "apparently ruthless and unnecessary destruction of thousands of trees and shrubs by overzealous Civilian Conservation Corps workers." Between 1938 and 1941 the North Carolina Academy successfully petitioned the United States Forest Service to dedicate Black Mountain as a natural area in perpetuity. It also requested that the federal government purchase a "primeval forest" near Highlands for the same purpose, but this wooded haven eventually lost its timber to voracious nearby sawmills.

The Conservation Committee of the NCAS designated itself as a natural resources "watchdog" with crusades that involved the wood duck; wild venus flytrap plants, which evidently were being spirited out of the state illegally; and stream pollution. Perhaps the academy's most satisfying victory came much later, in 1953 and 1954, when it helped to save Crabtree Creek Park, located between Raleigh and Durham, from being covered by airport runways. A successful lobbying effort, mounted by a variety of organizations including the academy, convinced the U.S. government to build Seymour Johnson Air Force Base further east, near Goldsboro (Smith 1988, 597–622).

EDUCATION

A southern educational revival ushered in the new century, but the tasks before the reformers of that generation loomed large. On every measure—per pupil expenditure, length of school terms, teacher preparation and salaries, conditions of schools, attendance and graduation rates—the gap separating the opportunities and performance of black and white children was marked—and the gaps separating southern schools from those in many other parts of the nation were pronounced as well.

By 1900, compulsory attendance at a public or private school was universal outside the states of the old Confederacy, where it was practically nonexistent. As late as 1904, only Tennessee and Louisiana had laws that restricted children under 12 from working. Not until after World War I did states such as South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi adopt even weak school attendance policies. These laws met with mixed reactions. When a law was passed in North Carolina making school attendance compulsory for children between the ages of 7 and 14, many parents rebelled. "The government can't tell a man what to do with his children unless its gonna [sic] take over the feeding and clothing of them too." Some parents complained that school kept their children from doing their chores. Whenever I want my children to do something one mother complained, "they say 'I got to study for two testies [sic] tomorrow.'" On the other hand, a father thought the law was a good thing because "some people would not give their children an opportunity to go to school if they were not made to do so." An illiterate mother felt that it was important for her children to go to school, "for a person without education nowadays ain't looked on no better than a dawg [sic]." About 10 percent more nonwhite than white children did not attend school at all due to the woeful conditions of schools for African Americans in the segregated South.

Local boards set school standards, and in some areas of the South the school year was as short as three months. In the rural South, most students went to a school that had only one teacher, and students often had to walk a mile or more to reach these schools. The schoolhouses themselves were usually one-room cabins that leaked when it rained and were cold in the winter. Often there were no desks and children sat on roughly hewn wooden benches. Often school would be canceled because conditions inside the schoolhouse were unbearable. Because teachers were paid around \$25.00 a month and the term lasted from three to five months a year, they all held other jobs the rest of the year as housekeepers or farm helpers. With teachers who were usually only a little better educated than their students, the curriculum was limited and determined by gender.

Both boys and girls learned the basics of arithmetic, spelling, and reading, but girls also learned housekeeping and cooking while the boys took a class in agriculture. One mother was pleased that her son was enthused about his agricultural course because maybe it meant he would stay on the farm and help out, instead of moving away as he threatened. In the 1920s, school consolidation came to many areas of the South, and with it an improvement in curriculum and school conditions. But the new schools also brought insecurity and instability to the lives of rural southerners. One mother objected to the consolidated schools where her farm children mixed with town children. As a result her children were making unreasonable demands, such as sandwiches made with white bread instead of cornbread. Or another objected that the children were gone all day because of the distance of the school, which demanded a long bus ride. Others objected to the "badness" they learned from the city children on the bus and at school. One mother complained that town children talked back to the teacher, and her children were picking up that bad habit and bringing it home and talking disrespectfully to her.

Also at the consolidated schools rural children for the first time met children who did not have to work at home, had fine clothes, went to the movies, and did not mind their parents. Consolidation, which was designed to bring children closer together, simply served to remind rural children how different they really were (Hagood 1939, 152–53).

The segregation of schools in the South taxed meager resources even more, as each county had to set up a dual system. Most teachers had only a high school education themselves, and the stock of schoolbooks and equipment was meager. The defining factor of education in the South in the first half of the twentieth century was segregation by race, which invariably meant black schools were woefully underfunded. Often, school boards diverted money intended for black schools to their white counterparts, and blacks were forced to get by with whatever residual funds might remain. New instructional materials invariably went to white schools, while the outdated and worn out went to the black schools.

These discriminatory actions were fought vigorously though not always successfully by southern black citizens. For example, in 1880, black citizens in Augusta, Georgia, under the leadership of the famous educator Richard Wright, managed to get Ware High School established as the public high school for blacks. Almost immediately the white-dominated school board initiated a series of ongoing attempts to close the high school. In 1897 after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, which validated southern segregationist policy, and after black disenfranchisement, Ware High School was finally closed. Blacks took the issue to the Supreme Court but were rebuffed by that body in the *Cumming et al. v. Board of Education of Richmond County* case. Ignoring the racist motivation of the decision to close the school, the Supreme Court said that it could see no discrimination. Furthermore, the Supreme Court stated that education was an issue for the states to manage, not the federal courts. Despite the board's contention that the school's closing was temporary and reversible when black enrollment and the system's finances improved, the school was not reopened for almost 40 years.

In the post–World War I era, blacks of Atlanta organized politically to establish a high school for their children. Although banned from Democratic Party primaries, they could vote in local special elections, and they mobilized to do so to defeat school funding measures proposed by white school boards and white parents. Finally, to get the votes necessary for passage of the budget, the white school board agreed to build a black high school. The name of the school, Booker T. Washington, was significant. The board wanted and succeeded in installing a mainly industrial curriculum, despite pressure from black citizens for a more diversified course of study. The Augusta and Atlanta episodes show how secondary education for blacks in the South was almost nonexistent. Blacks were not completely deprived of high school

Table 4.1 Southern School Statistics, 1900–1930

	Literacy (10 Years of Age and Older)							
	1900		1910		1920		1930	
	White (%)	Black (%)	White (%)	Black (%)	White (%)	Black (%)	White (%)	Black (%)
United States	5.7	4.5	3.7	4	2.5	2.9	1.5	16.3
Alabama	15.2	7.4	10.1	0.1	6.4	1.3	4.8	26.2
Arkansas	11.8	3.0	7.1	6.4	4.6	1.8	3.5	16.1
Florida	9.0	8.4	5.2	5.5	3.1	1.5	1.9	18.8
Georgia	12.2	2.4	8.0	6.5	5.5	9.1	3.3	19.9
Kentucky	13.9	0.1	10.7	7.6	7.3	1.0	5.7	15.4
Louisiana	20.4	1.1	15.0	8.4	11.4	8.5	7.3	23.3
Mississippi	8.1	9.1	5.3	5.6	3.6	9.3	2.7	23.2
N. Carolina	19.6	7.6	12.3	1.9	8.2	4.5	5.6	20.6
Oklahoma	8.1	7.0	3.5	7.7	2.4	2.4	1.7	9.3
S. Carolina	13.9	2.8	10.5	8.7	6.6	9.3	5.1	26.9
Tennessee	14.5	1.6	9.9	7.3	7.4	2.4	5.4	14.9
Texas	5.1	8.2	3.3	4.6	2.2	7.8	1.4	13.4
Virginia	11.4	4.6	8.2	0.0	6.1	3.5	4.8	19.2

Sources: Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 and 1910, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1912, p. 245; *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 1920, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1923, pp. 432, 434; *Statistical Abstracts*, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1933, p. 43.

Table 4.2 Annual Expenditures per Pupil in Southern States, 1912–1913 and 1928–1929

	1912–1913		1928–1929	
	White	**Black**	**White**	**Black**
Alabama	$8.50	$1.49	$37.50	$7.16
Arkansas	7.89	2.62	26.91	17.06
Florida	14.75	3.10	78.25	10.57
Georgia	9.18	1.42	31.52	6.98
Kentucky	8.63	6.45	25.27	25.77
Louisiana	16.60	1.59	40.64	7.84
Mississippi	8.20	1.53	31.33	5.94
N. Carolina	6.69	2.50	44.48	14.30
Oklahoma	16.29	12.20	40.48	20.83
S. Carolina	9.65	1.09	52.89	5.20
Tennessee	8.32	3.94	46.52	31.54
Texas	10.89	7.50	46.71	39.66
Virginia	10.92	3.42	47.46	13.30
Average	$10.50	$3.76	$42.30	$15.86

Source: Monroe N. Work, *The Negro Year Book,* 1914–15 and 1931–32. Tuskegee Institute, 1915 and 1933, 232, 223.

studies, however. Many of the private black colleges established after Reconstruction had preparatory departments where black youngsters could get the essentials of a secondary education.

White-dominated school boards of the South did not prevent elementary schooling for black children. But the public elementary schooling that was provided was meagerly financed and usually took place in facilities that were substandard by any definition. Thus, schooling for blacks in the first half of the twentieth century was a largely dismal exercise at every level. Throughout the South, poor black parents supplemented the meager public resources available to them, and black teachers labored heroically under dismal conditions. Only the efforts of historically black colleges such as Fisk University, Hampton Institute, Morehouse College, Spellman College, and Atlanta University, to name several, mitigated the situation and provided a foundation for black intellectual pursuits and a fund for social improvement (Urban and Wagner 2003, 151–53).

Until his death in 1915, and in his legacy thereafter, Booker T. Washington remained central to the growth and purpose of black education, especially in the South. Born into slavery in Virginia in 1856, Washington emerged as the nation's foremost black leader in the post-Reconstruction era. In his 1901 autobiography, *Up from Slavery,* Washington recounted his struggle to escape poverty, obtain an education, and achieve dignity and respectability as a black man in a nation tightly controlled by whites. Ambitious and hardworking, Washington was 16 when he enrolled in

Hampton Institute in 1872. Hampton had been founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, whose missionary parents in Hawaii had taught him to adhere to the principles of the Puritan ethic. Washington absorbed Armstrong's teachings, which emphasized patience, respect for lawful authority, the doctrine of self-help, and the wisdom of gaining and applying the skills and attitudes that would enable one to acquire land, own a home, and provide for one's family.

Washington left Hampton convinced that for black Americans to achieve success, they must develop a sense of racial pride, become responsible citizens, and engage in useful service. In 1881 Washington went to Alabama to organize a secondary and normal school that became Tuskegee University. There he made the work ethic and pragmatic outlook that had been instilled in him the cornerstone of the new institution's educational philosophy. At a time when education was considered by many to consist of acquiring an acquaintance, no matter how slight, with the classical languages and belles lettres, Washington emphasized the dignity of labor and the value of skilled trades.

Admirers applauded Tuskegee for teaching blacks marketable skills that would enable them to become self-sufficient. Along with Hampton, Tuskegee became the model of black higher education most favored by white philanthropists. By the turn of the century, new financial backers such as Andrew Carnegie, the John D. Rockefellers, Sr. and Jr., and the trustees of the General Education Board (founded in 1901) also praised Washington's practical approach and funneled support to Hampton, Tuskegee, and their offshoots.

Many blacks also revered Washington, who was seen to have great acceptance among influential whites, including presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. Over time Washington became a master at courting the favor of powerful white people and accommodated himself, at least outwardly, to the segregated system that had taken root in the South and in other parts of the nation. Instead of lashing out openly at racial discrimination, Washington chose to work behind the scenes to improve conditions for African Americans. In his public persona, he emphasized the necessity for decency and fair play and encouraged southern blacks to "cast down your bucket where you are" and create a better life through hard work and education. Behind the scenes, however, Washington quietly financed some of the earliest court cases against segregation and in other ways worked to decrease the injustices being done to his race. With scheming that rivaled that of any political boss, Washington developed a network of associates into the "Tuskegee machine" and maintained his power through patronage and shrewdness. As Louis Harlan has pointed out in his excellent biography of Washington, the man was much more complex and enigmatic than he appeared to be when highlighted in the public sphere.

The event that catapulted Booker T. Washington into national prominence (and controversy) and that earned him the label as the great accommodationist occurred in 1895. Addressing a biracial audience at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Washington insisted that the great majority of his race had little or no interest in social equality, but rather sought goodwill and the opportunity to improve themselves and be of greater service to society. Washington won great applause from the whites who agreed with his pronouncement that "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things of mutual progress."

Booker T. Washington's perceived willingness to postpone civil and political rights in favor of economic opportunity evoked criticism from some blacks and whites who thought that it encouraged discrimination and in fact retarded economic progress. William Monroe Trotter, the editor of the *Boston Guardian*, a black newspaper, for example, editorialized in 1902 that Washington's acceptance of black disfranchisement was "a fatal blow . . . to the Negro's political rights and liberty." Ida Wells-Barnett, a crusading editor whose Memphis newspaper office was destroyed by a mob in 1892, criticized Washington's virtual silence on the subject of lynching at a time when the practice was near an all-time high in the southern states.

No critic offered a more searching and potent challenge to Washington than did William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. Washington offered him a position in mathematics at Tuskegee, but Du Bois turned it down, having already accepted an offer to teach classics at Wilberforce University in Ohio. After two years at Wilberforce and a year-and-a-half stint at the University of Pennsylvania, working on what became the classic *The Philadelphia Negro*, Du Bois was invited to Atlanta University in 1896. There, for the next 13 years, he and his graduate students in sociology undertook an in-depth study of "the Negro problem" in the South.

As Du Bois probed and exposed the wretched conditions and injustices that defined black peonage in the South, he became increasingly critical of Washington's equivocations on political rights, his submissive concessions to southern caste discriminations, and his narrowly materialistic conception of black education. The rupture between the two black educators became public with the publication in 1903 of Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk*. In a chapter titled "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," Du Bois took direct aim on Washington's public posture of submission and silence on civil and political rights. Du Bois termed Washington's "Atlanta Compromise" a complete surrender of the demand for equality and a ploy to win the esteem of whites that had resulted in his becoming the "most distinguished Southerner since Jefferson Davis, and the one with the largest personal following."

Du Bois found Washington's advocacy of industrial education particularly distasteful and harmful. He accused Washington of preaching a "gospel of Work and Money" to such an extent that the higher aims of life were almost completely overshadowed. In an essay titled "The Talented Tenth," Du Bois wrote the following:

> If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it. This is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life.

For Du Bois, the classics, humanities, and social and physical sciences held the knowledge of most worth. The "talented tenth" of the race, the leadership cadre, should be educated, not trained. Despite Du Bois's emphasis on the "higher education of selected youths" and Washington's concern for industrial education for the masses, in actuality both men were seeking leadership of and influence over "the talented tenth," or the black intelligentsia. Whereas Washington wanted to persuade prospective teachers, editors, ministers, and businessmen to guide the race's social development along the self-help and accommodationist lines he favored, Du Bois advocated leadership by a more assertive and articulate class of college-educated men and women like himself.

Du Bois's more aggressive stance led him to confer with other black leaders who favored vigorous resistance rather than accommodation to racism. A series of strategy-planning meetings at Niagara Falls beginning in 1905 led to the formation in 1909 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In time, this group and other civil rights organizations pried open the doors that had denied equal access and treatment to one-third of the South's population.

In the short term, Washington prevailed in his argument with Du Bois, mainly because he was the recipient of millions of dollars from white philanthropists who favored Washington's emphasis on technical skills and service, which fit the designs of the philanthropic empire that sought to impose corporate dominance over American life. With the ear of powerful white philanthropists, Washington was able to get money to support Tuskegee and other schools he endorsed and to deny funds to rivals who threatened Tuskegee's interests. Although generous, these grand donations also served to reinforce the existing racial and class structures.

Mary McLeod Bethune (1875–1955), another leading black educator at the time, chose a third path. She recognized the need for advanced education for minority women and made improvement of African American women's education and socioeconomic status her lifelong commitment. She was born in Mayesville, South Carolina, and was educated in a mission school (Scotia Seminary) and in the Moody Bible Institute. Bethune taught in Florida and Georgia from 1897 to 1903. She founded the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls in 1904. Combining the practical with the intellectually uplifting, she created a curriculum that included reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, cooking, cleaning, sewing, and religion. She maintained her school with financial support from white liberal tourists from the North and blacks and whites in the community. Bethune often had her students sing in tourist hotels to raise funds for the school. In 1923, the school was merged with Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, Florida. Bethune was president of the new Bethune Cookman College from 1904 to 1942 and from 1946 to 1947. Recognized nationally as a leader in education, she used a variety of prestigious national positions to advance the cause of African American education.

In the first half of the twentieth century, with few exceptions, universities in the South remained segregated. And as the new century opened, white schools in the South struggled. Merely staying open in some cases was a great accomplishment for southern colleges, while those in the North began to prosper. Universities such as Princeton and small colleges such as Lafayette in Pennsylvania enjoyed handsome endowments that enabled them to establish large-scale programs. In addition, schools that concentrated on engineering and other scientific fields, such as the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), emerged to train a new generation of specialized professionals.

In the South, only the state universities of Virginia and North Carolina offered the doctoral degree prior to the turn of the twentieth century. Other schools throughout the region initiated master's programs in the sciences and strengthened scientific offerings in the undergraduate curriculum. In 1888, the Georgia Institute of Technology opened in Atlanta. Founded at the behest of Henry Woodfin Grady and others who espoused the New South Creed, Georgia Tech operated on the "shop culture" approach rather than that of the "school culture"; that is, it "placed greater stress on practical shop work and produced graduates who could work as machinists or as shop foremen, but who were not well prepared for engineering analysis or original research" (Smith 1988, 603). MIT, on the other hand, "stressed higher mathematics, theoretical science, and original research." Given its orientation and its extremely low faculty salaries, Georgia Tech could not attract prominent scientists to its campus. While the curriculum was broadened during the Progressive era under the leadership of Kenneth G. Matheson, not until World War I did Georgia Tech blossom into a truly modern institution (Smith 1988, 603).

LITERATURE

In the first half of the twentieth century American literature came into its own, and southern writers made an important contribution to this newfound notoriety. Among the most famous were William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, Flannery O'Connor, and Carson McCullers, who used the peculiarities of their region for settings and themes that although localized had universal meaning. Also significant were the so-called Fugitives, a group of poets and writers at Vanderbilt University who lamented the passing of an older South and the invasion of modernism.

In the rural South reading material was scant. In the house of a tenant farmer one might find children's schoolbooks, the Bible, and a few farmers' magazines such as *The Progressive Farmer* scattered about. Many houses also considered the Sears Roebuck Catalogue as part of their reading material. Catalogs were designed for hours of fireside reading, with woodcuts and flamboyant descriptions to encourage cover-to-cover browsing. Rooted in the principle of "never omitting the obvious," the description of the "Long Range Wonder Double Barrel Breech Loading Hammerless Shotgun, the World's Wonder" totaled some 3,000 words. If there was not something among the stereoscopes and bicycles, buggies and mackintoshes, dry goods, furniture, and gramophones to catch the buyer's fancy, the final testimonials, glowing recommendations of satisfied customers, and most convincingly the famous money-back guarantee usually did (Hagood 1939, 70–71).

In the first half of the twentieth century, southerners preferred historical novels, especially those that romanticized the glory and gentility of the antebellum South. Often referred to as the "Moonlight and Magnolias" genre, it was an art taken up mainly by women. Mary Johnston, who wrote more than 20 historical novels, penned significant portrayals of both the antebellum and postbellum South. Her *Miss Delicia Allen* (1933) was a classic story of aristocratic grace and romance on a Virginia plantation, and *The Long Roll* (1911) remains one of the best popular treatments of the impact of the Civil War. In 1936 the publication of *Gone With the Wind* confirmed the ascendancy of this romanticized view of the South. Margaret Mitchell's incredibly successful novel relied on stock settings and stereotypes to mythologize the Old South, and her description of the Reconstruction era affirmed the belief that the antebellum era was one of aristocratic gentility lost forever. Standing in stark contrast to this view was William Faulkner, who created his own fictional world in Yoknapatawpha County, based on his own experience of life in Mississippi. His novels exposed the foibles, peculiarities, material struggle, and spiritual and emotional conflicts of the South in which he grew up. On the surface his stories seemed to be simple local yarns, but the universality of the human themes and emotions explored in his work won him international acclaim, including a Nobel Prize (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 862).

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Beginning at the turn of the century, public health officials moved to fill the vacuum created by failures of the private medical sector. Quite apart from the humanitarian duty to help diseased people, the public health movement in the South rose from the self-interest of whites who required improved health care and more sanitary living conditions for blacks. Black illnesses threatened not only white health but also white pocketbooks. Philanthropic foundations became staunch allies of public health officials in the struggle to safeguard the nation's health, and the South, as the most needy section of the country, was a prime target for organized charity. Before World War I the Rockefeller Foundation in particular worked with federal, state, and local health officials, first to combat hookworm and then to stamp out pellagra. Between 1909 and 1914, the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission led a region-wide campaign designed to eradicate hookworm infection in the South. After almost a year of operation, the campaign's most effective instrument became the dispensaries, or free demonstration clinics that were experiments in health care for the indigent. The dispensaries transformed the campaign from a program of eradication to a program of education. With a strong emphasis on exhortation and persuasion, they were modeled on the evangelical revival and sought to attract rural southerners to a new concept of public health. These clinics were successful in public relations, but they failed to eradicate hookworm disease.

Although for the most part unsuccessful in eradicating the disease, these campaigns inspired a wide range of policy changes in the progressive South. For example, Rockefeller agents early on graphically documented the problem of soil pollution. Surveys had demonstrated that only slightly more than half of all southern rural schools had privies. Many of these privies, probably most of them, did not meet sanitary standards because of improper construction and drainage. These same surveys further demonstrated that careless privy construction posed major health hazards. A study of the rural schools of Lauderdale County, Alabama, found that water samples from 19 out of 20 schools contained fecal matter. Almost as soon as they detected the presence of hookworm, health reformers urged the construction of sanitary privies and the education of rural southerners about their proper use and maintenance. The widespread construction of sanitary privies in the rural South depended on the commitment of the health and educational bureaucracy. In several states school and health officials introduced expanded regulations that strongly encouraged or even required the construction of state-approved privies. In some states the impetus came at the local level. In 1910, for example, the Rowan County, North Carolina, Board of Education agreed with reformers that hookworm disease was "contagious wherever soil pollution is allowed" and that many of its rural schools were "breeding-places for the disease" (Link 1988, 623–42).

When one thinks of public health service one usually thinks of help coming to people in need, but this was not always the case. In the mid-1930s, a group of doctors from the U.S. Public Health Service teamed with local doctors in Alabama to try to understand the syphilis disease. The unknowing subjects of their experiment were black men living in Macon County, Alabama, near Tuskegee Institute. The "Tuskegee Study," as it came to be called, involved a substantial number of men, 399 who had syphilis and an additional 201 who were free from disease to act as controls. All of the syphilitic men were in the late stage of the disease when the study began. The Public Health Service (PHS) sought to discover the effects of syphilis on untreated black men. The 399 syphilitics and the 201 controls believed that they were receiving treatment for "Bad Blood," a term used by rural blacks to describe various ailments, while the PHS carefully denied treatment—even after penicillin became available. The PHS deceived the men into submitting to painful spinal taps, both by calling them a special examination and also by completing them quickly before word of their severity spread through the black community. In return for a meal, the survivors submitted to a yearly PHS exam at the Tuskegee Institute hospital to determine the progress of the disease. Those who passed away were brought to autopsy in return for burial expenses. Local doctors cooperated fully with the PHS and did not offer treatment, and the PHS shielded the men from a statewide venereal treatment program in the late 1930s. Throughout the entire program, which lasted 40 years, no physician raised the question of morality, and few physicians questioned the obvious flaws in the program (Daniel 1981, 303–4).

Material Life

FOOD

In the rural South processed food was slow to reach the poor white and black tenant farmers, who could hardly afford such an expense anyway. Many rural southerners' diets continued to consist of little more than ground cornmeal made into mush or bread, fried salted pork, molasses, and, in season, local greens. Freshwater fish including brim, perch, and catfish, which southerners fried in cornmeal, provided protein, as did fried squirrel, rabbit, and other small mammals that southerners trapped or hunted. Fried rounds of cornbread called hushpuppies usually complemented a fried fish meal. The origin of the word *hushpuppies* has various theories, but a common one in Georgia and North Florida is that while frying the fish in an outside oil pot, the person cooking the fish would throw bits of cornmeal that had fallen off of the fish at the dogs who were howling at the smell of the frying fish. Thus the term *hush puppy*. Around the turn of the century flour began to supplement cornmeal with more frequency as the large flour mills of the Midwest began to produce white flour at a price that even the poorest farmer could afford. This innovation brought one of the most important changes to the southern diet to occur in decades, as flour biscuits became as common on the southern table as corn bread.

The lack of variety in the southern diet, especially the lack of fresh vegetables and fruits, caused pellagra, which resulted from a lack of niacin in the system. This deficiency can be caused by either a lack of green leafy vegetables or a diet with too much corn. Given what rural southerners were eating, both of these causes could be attributed to the deficiency.

In the early 1900s chicken began to challenge pork as the most common meat eaten in the South. For the poorest farmers, however, chicken remained a luxury and therefore became a popular Sunday dish, often served to visitors, including the local preacher. Humorous tales about the preacher's love for chicken abound in both black and white folklore.

Corn remained an important vegetable. Even for breakfast—in the form of cornmeal mush—it maintained its ubiquitous presence on the southern table well into the mid-century. Other important vegetables in the southern diet included cowpeas, sweet potatoes, okra, turnips, and mustard greens. Unlike their northern neighbors, southerners ate the turnip's greens, not its roots. Cowpeas were of many varieties including black-eyed peas, crowder peas, whippoorwills, and tiny lady peas. The water in which these peas was boiled was never thrown away but rather became "pot liquor" into which cornbread was either dunked or crumbled.

In the South the preparation of pork, particularly hams and barbecue, was clearly related to place. For exam-

Snapshot

Breakfast in the South

Breakfast in the South was one of the most important meals of the day *because* it sustained family members through a hard morning in the fields or a long walk to school. I don't remember the time we would get up in the morning as far as the clock was concerned. We didn't have an alarm clock; Mama just had her inner clock set. Mama always got up first, and she always built the fires. Then she would get us children up; we girls helped with breakfast. We would usually set the table and put the preserves and syrup out while Mama was getting breakfast ready.

We always had hot biscuits, butter, syrup, and preserves, and we usually had bacon, sausage, or ham, and eggs. If we had bacon or sausage we would have cream gravy with our biscuits, but if we had ham, we poured red-eye gravy over the ham. Usually Mama would put the meat on to fry first and then start the coffee—now I'm talking about boiled coffee—and she always put cold water in the coffee pot to settle the grounds. Then she did the gravy and eggs. Then she would start the biscuits. We always had hot biscuits; Papa had to have his hot biscuits. She waited to put the biscuits in last so there would be a hot fire in the oven. I can still hear Mama coming into the room and saying, "Go get your papa up. I'm putting the biscuits in the oven." That was Papa's cue to getup. He would get to the table right when the biscuits were being taken out of the oven. Papa always had a big tumbler of buttermilk with every meal, including breakfast. We drank sweet milk. —Mary Lowry

From: Strickland and Dunn 2002, 15–16.

> **Snapshot**
>
> **Weekday Meals in the South**
>
> Southern tradition says, "Buttermilk at dinner, sweet milk at supper." And sometimes that was all there was for a meal, but most Southerners were fortunate enough to eat well off the land when they worked hard and planned carefully. Dinner—the noon meal—often consisted of foods left over from Sunday dinner or from breakfast. . . . In the winter, dried beans or peas, carefully winnowed and stored months before, sweet potatoes taken from beneath their insulating bed of straw and dirt, some cold-hardy greens, bread enhanced with that wonderful mixture of sorghum and butter, and maybe something sweet—a fried pie made with dried peaches—were supper staples. Weekday dinners and suppers in the old South were often meatless except, of course, for the salt pork that flavored almost every cooked vegetable. —Dr. Herman Benthul
>
> *From: Strickland and Dunn, 2002, 31.*

ple, the practice of curing hams by hanging them for six months was most common in Virginia or central Kentucky. Barbecue became so closely tied to place that its method of preparation was integrated into local ritual. In North Carolina, for example, it had to be cooked so long that it fell apart, and it was supposed to be served in shreds in a sandwich. In south-central Kentucky, barbecue consisted of pork shoulder, bones-in, dipped in a peppery sauce and served on slices of white bread. In parts of Texas, sausage links were barbecued. Parts of the South preferred other meats to pork for their barbecue. Texans, for example, ate barbecued beef brisket, and in western Kentucky, mutton was the preferred meat.

Natural environment and local culture have produced a number of very distinctive regional cuisines in the South. The most popular of these was Louisiana's Cajun style, which includes the liberal use of various sorts of peppers, pepper-based sauces, onions, garlic, rice, and beans (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 545–46).

DRINK

The preferred drink in the South among "refined people" was sweet tea. The best way to make it is with sunshine. Sweet sun tea is made in a clear jar with two quarts of water, into which are placed five teabags, and the jar is then allowed to set in the sun for about two hours. With a cup of sugar it becomes sweet tea. The beverage of choice among the not-so-refined, especially the men, was moonshine. It was made in a variety of ways and usually done under the light of the moon to avoid the sheriff's interference, thus the name moonshine.

Another drink that began in the South but soon became America's most popular refreshment was Coca Cola. One fervent admirer called it the "holy water of the American South," and William Allen White once called it the sublimated essence of all that America stands for. John S. Pemberton, known as "Doc," concocted Coca Cola in 1886, primarily as a hangover cure. Soon after inventing it, he sold the patent rights to Asa Candler for $1,750, who in turn sold it in 1919 to the Coca Cola Company for $25 million. At the time it was the largest financial deal in the history of the American South. The prime mover of the 1919 transaction was the banker Ernest Woodruff. His son Robert (1889–1985) took over the company in 1923. Until World War II, when the Coca Cola Company decided it had a patriotic duty to get Coke to thirsty servicemen abroad, the drink was chiefly marketed in the United

States. After the war its fame spread internationally and it became a symbol of the United States as recognizable as the American flag. Asa Chandler briefly flirted with the idea in 1900 of Coca Cola cigars and Coca Cola chewing gum, but until the 1950s the company remained strictly a one-product enterprise.

Snapshot

Sunday Dinner

Almost everyone—except perhaps the cooks—looked forward to the traditional Southern Sunday dinner. This was the special meal of the week when favorite dishes requiring extra cooking time and attention as well as cherished ingredients like plenty of cream, butter, white sugar, and eggs were prepared by the women: fried chicken, mashed potatoes, creamed corn, cakes, and pastry desserts—pies or fruit cobblers. Understandably, eating during the rest of the day was light. . . maybe a watermelon in the middle of the afternoon, and milk and corn bread at supper. The large amount of cooking for Sunday dinner not only made that meal special for guests, but also provided leftovers for the week, when labor in the fields and around the farm prevented elaborately cooked meals. —Gertrude McDonald

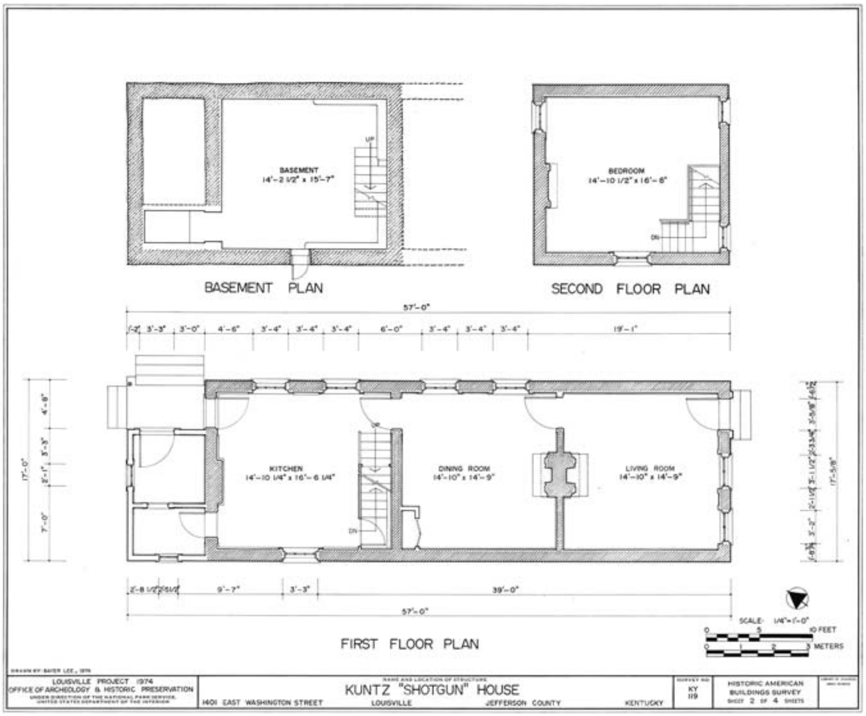
From: Strickland and Dunn 2002, 69–70.

HOUSING

The basic housing style found throughout much of South was the shotgun house—one room wide, one story tall, and several rooms deep (usually three or more), with its primary entrance in the gable end. These houses allowed air to pass freely through the house, thus offering some relief in the long, hot southern summers. The perpendicular alignment of the shotgun house breaks with the usual Euro-American pattern, in which the gables are on the sides and the entrance is on the facade or long side. Although gable-entry houses occur in some parts of central Africa, the shotgun house is a New World hybrid that developed in the West Indies and entered the United States via New Orleans in the early nineteenth century. The shotgun house was popularized in New Orleans, first seen there definitively in 1832, though there is evidence that houses sold in the 1830s were built 15 to 20 years earlier. They were eventually built heavily throughout the South, because their great length allowed for excellent air flow, while their narrow frontage increased the number of plots that could be fitted along a street.

Shotgun houses were most popular before widespread ownership of the automobile allowed people to live farther from businesses and other destinations, and when building lots were kept small out of necessity, 30 feet (9 meters) wide at most. An influx of people to cities, both from rural areas in America and from foreign countries, all looking to rapidly fill emerging manufacturing jobs, created the high demand for housing in cities. Shotgun houses were thus built to fulfill the same need as row houses in northeastern cities. Several were usually built at a time by a single builder, contributing to their relatively similar appearance.

A well-known theory for the shotgun house's popularity over other available styles of housing was that in New Orleans and some other cities, property tax was based on lot width; thus, a shotgun house would minimize property taxes. But the most compelling reason was probably its cheap construction cost and superior natural air-cooling qualities, in a time long before air conditioning. The many later variations suggest adaptation to conditions not present when the shape was first used, showing that its flexibility probably contributed to its popularity. The rooms of a



Floor plan of a typical single shotgun house with bathroom. The shotgun was the most popular house style in the American South from the 1860s to the 1920s. Library of Congress.

shotgun house are lined up one behind the other; typically a living room is first, then one or two bedrooms, and finally a kitchen in back. Early shotgun houses were not built with bathrooms, but in later years a bathroom with a small hall was built before the last room of the house, or a side addition was built off of the kitchen. Some shotguns may have as few as two rooms. Chimneys tended to be built in the interior, allowing the front and middle rooms to share a chimney with a fireplace opening in each room. The kitchen usually has its own chimney.

Other than the basic floor layout, shotgun houses have many standard features in common. The house is almost always close to the street, sometimes with a very short front yard, and a porch. The purpose of the entire house is to create a breezeway throughout the house. The purpose of the porch is to allow the hot air to cool slightly before entering the breezeway. In some cases, the house has no front yard and is actually flush with the street or, if there is one, the sidewalk. The original steps were wood but were often replaced with permanent concrete steps.

Folklorist John Michael Vlach suggests that the origin of the building style and the name itself may trace back to Haiti and Africa in the 1700s and earlier. The name may have originated from Africa's Southern Dahomey Fon area term *to-gun*, which means "place of assembly." The description, probably used in New Orleans by Afro-Haitian slaves, may have been misunderstood and reinterpreted as "shotgun." Folk etymology and oral tradition assert that the word comes from the design of the house, which would allow a person to shoot a shotgun through the front door and hit something out the back door without disturbing anything in the house.

The theory behind the earlier African origin is tied to the history of New Orleans. In 1803, there were 1,355 free blacks in the city; by 1810 blacks outnumbered whites 10,500 to 4,500. This caused a housing boom, and as many of both the builders and inhabitants were Africans by way of Haiti, historians believe it is only natural they modeled the new homes after ones they left behind in their homeland. Many surviving Haitian dwellings of the period, including about 15 percent of the housing stock of Port-au-Prince, resemble the single shotgun houses of New Orleans. This theory is now widely accepted by historians.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the rapidly expanding middle class and the enormous mobility offered by the automobile began a movement outward from the cities into newly developing suburbs. Until this movement to new unpopulated areas, southerners usually found themselves in houses dominated by the tradition and natural environment of their region. That meant a house of one or two stories with shaded porches and breezeways that allowed for the free flow of air to provide some relief from the long hot summers that usually began in April and lasted through October. The most popular nontraditional architectural design to invade the South in the 1920s was the bungalow style, which synthesized precedents from many sources without mimicking any. These houses were basically wooden with masonry complements such as porches, chimneys, piers, and retaining walls. The style has low lines and generous roofs with broad sloping overhangs. Windows are commonly short and grouped together to take advantage of breezes. Floor plans flow from one space to another, which renders a feeling of openness. Typically, circulation was through the living room, which often had a large fireplace. Although originating in California, the style was available throughout the country. Even the Sears and Roebuck catalog carried California bungalow house plans for the meager price of five dollars. Southerners embraced this style, which had been designed for a similar climate, and it was built throughout the region for middle- to low-income housing, in small towns and large. One can readily date the period of growth and expansion of certain sections of cities by the presence of whole groups of these bungalows in a neighborhood. One such subdivision is Riverside in Miami, along west Flagler Street.

Art deco design, which celebrated the new age of the machine and utilized the newly discovered designing possibilities of poured concrete, was first used in large office buildings and then in large residences and apartment complexes. In the 1930s Miami Beach, which was experiencing a building boom due to its rising status as a vacation resort, was inundated with art deco enthusiasts, who gave the area the largest concentrated collection of this style in the country. Not only hotels, but two- to four-story low-cost apartment buildings of similar design sprang up nearby to provide housing for hotel and restaurant employees.

In the early to mid-twentieth century, revivals became a popular architectural form for middle-class southerners. Renaissance and colonial revival styles were the most common. In the 1920s along the rapidly expanding southeastern coast of Florida, the neo-Italianate, a revival of the Italian villas of the Mediterranean, dominated the newly developed cities of George Merrick's Coral Gables and Addison Mizner's Boca Raton in South Florida (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 56, 99–103).

CLOTHING

In the final decades of the nineteenth century and increasingly throughout the twentieth century, the South experienced trends in women's fashion that characterized the entire nation. Hemlines rose and fell; waistlines shifted, disappeared, and reappeared. Areas of focus moved from head to bosom to leg and back again; the model type moved from the "Gibson Girl" to the "New Look" and ultimately the "American Look" characterized by egalitarianism, freedom, comfort, casualness, and action. These varied fashion trends reflected and facilitated change toward an increasingly homogenized national lifestyle. Some women's styles in the South, however, remained distinctive, especially in the rural area and the mill towns. Mills in the upland South provided inexpensive ready-made clothing, but shirts and dresses were frequently made at home from the white or print cotton sacks that staples such as rice and flour were packaged in. Women in this area often wore men's shoes. The nineteenth-century view of women lingered into the twentieth. Consequently, some of the more radical styles of the 1920s that seemed to threaten the virtue and place of women were met with resistance. Religious leaders, newspaper editors, and public officials openly denounced styles such as the slit skirt of 1913 and the flapper look of the 1920s.

Southern men's clothing remained relatively unchanged in the first decades of the twentieth century, although among workmen in the South there was a growing preference for bib overalls. Specific occupations required specific clothing. For example, carpenters, cobblers, tailors, and blacksmiths all had distinctive work aprons, and street vendors often wore colorful clothing that distinguished them to passersby. Southern blacks preferred clothes of bright colors and bold design. Although poor, most blacks tried to maintain at least one set of "Sunday go to meeting clothes," which they kept cleaned and pressed for church services and other special occasions (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 613).

Although the "American Look" reigned supreme, local and sectional variations created practical responses to differences in climate and status. The clothing needs of a south Georgia farmer's wife, for example, were far different from those of an office worker in Atlanta. A female sociologist studying white tenant women in the mid-1930s noticed a prevailing fashion mode: "the cotton dress, faded and otherwise in fairly good condition, a well worn and usually ragged sweater in cool weather, no hose, shoes out at the toes and run over at the heels." Although she saw no women barefoot in winter, she noticed many went without shoes in the summer. Variations from the mode were numerous, she noted, but not without limitations. No woman wore a dress more elaborate than a ruffled cotton house frock, none had high heels, and very few used makeup or nail polish. The best-dressed woman of the group wore a clean dark blue broadcloth dress with a prim starched collar, embroidered apron, silk hose, and two-toned saddle sport shoes. At the other end of the spectrum were women with ragged and torn dresses and several in overalls. In summer she noted that it was evident that a few wore no underwear, but in the winter none was without some sort of heavy wrap, even if it was an old worn-out man's overcoat (Hagood 1939, 67).

MANUFACTURING

By the end of the nineteenth century, southern iron made its most successful incursion in a hard-fought struggle for sectional dominance. From their first visits to the South ironmasters of the North believed that certain southern advantages—

abundant ore, proximity to seaports, and cheap labor— might prove decisive in making the South dominant in the iron and steel industry. A delegation that included Andrew Carnegie toured the coal and iron districts of the South in 1889 "to spy out the land." Carnegie declared that "the South is Pennsylvania's most formidable industrial enemy" (Woodward 1974, 127–28). By the end of the nineteenth century, the South was producing far more pig iron than the entire nation produced before the Civil War, and investment in blast furnaces was mounting faster than in any northern state.

In addition to the iron industry, the South took the lead in several phases of the second Industrial Revolution, which dominated the last years of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century. The most important single mechanical innovation in the South was the cigarette machine invented by James A. Bonsack, a young Virginian still in his teens, and patented in 1880. And other southern inventors added numerous devices for packing, bagging, labeling, and processing tobacco. New men, uninhibited by the traditions and complacency of the old order, William T. Blackwell, James R. Day, Julian S. Carr, R. J. Reynolds, the Dukes, and their kind, were of the breed that had seized control of beef, petroleum, and steel in the North. The leader was James Buchanan Duke. "I had confidence in myself," he declared. "I said to myself, 'If John D. Rockefeller can do what he is doing for oil, why should not I do it in tobacco.'" "Tobacco is the poor man's luxury," he observed, thereby announcing the foundational principle of several southern fortunes and religious endowments based on the processing and selling of a harmful habit-forming weed (Woodward 1974, 309).

As the new century began, Duke began his plan to imitate Rockefeller's feats in oil. In 1901, he fused his Continental Tobacco and American Tobacco companies into Consolidated Tobacco, and he was well on his way to bringing the entire industry under his control. He had also purchased the patent for Bonsack's cigarette machine. Duke had taken quite a gamble, for there were many forces that stood in his way. In the South every state but Louisiana either had or was planning legislation against the use of cigarettes. The growing consensus at the time was that cigarettes were harmful. In 1907, several business owners announced that they were refusing to hire smokers, causing the *New York Times* to comment that "Business . . . is doing what all the anti-cigarette specialists could not do." And, in 1906, in Kentucky, an angry group of farmers formed the "Night Riders," who donned hoods and rode horses out to terrorize other farmers who sold tobacco to Duke's price-gouging American Tobacco Company. They burned barns and fields and even lynched some who sold their product to Duke. By 1911, Duke's American Tobacco Company controlled 92 percent of the world's tobacco business. But in that same year the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of his company. Duke remained steadfast and, despite numerous setbacks, events would soon alter the fate of the tobacco industry.

In 1917 the United States entered World War I, and the army command became convinced that cigarettes would distract soldiers from other more serious vices like whiskey and women. General George Pershing declared, "You ask me what we need to win this war. I answer tobacco as much as bullets. Tobacco is as indispensable as the daily ration; we must have thousands of tons without delay." Duke's most popular

A Lucky Strike cigarettes ad from 1929. The Granger Collection, New York.

brand, Bull Durham, launched an advertising campaign that announced, "When our boys light up, the Huns will light out" (www.journalstar.com/articles/2005/05/22/Sunday_am/doc428b981453c7e539709681.bat). Resistance to cigarettes collapsed, as those opposed to sending cigarettes to the doughboys were accused of being traitors. As a result of this campaign, an entire generation of young men returned from military service addicted to cigarettes, and thanks to the war and aggressive new marketing strategies, the 1920s witnessed the cigarette's triumph over the cigar, pipe, and snuff as the most popular form of tobacco consumption.

Although southerners liked their tobacco, cigarettes were slow to catch on in the region. Shortly after the Civil War, Virginian Samuel Schooler remarked that he knew the man he was looking at was an outsider as he "knew he did not belong about here—he was smoking a cigarette which is unheard of in these parts." Up through World War I in the South, the preferred use of tobacco was in the form of snuff, a finely ground tobacco in powder form that was inhaled through the nostrils. Southern boys returned from the war with the new cigarette habit, and cigarettes soon challenged cigars and snuff as the preferred form of tobacco inhalation. But old habits die hard, and snuff remained popular, especially in the rural South. Although snuff remained popular, those who identified with the New South, particularly those in the cities, took up the modern habit of cigarette smoking.

The dramatic elements in the rise of the southern cotton mill gave the movement something of the character of a crusade. The successful competition with New England, the South's old political rival, the popular slogan, "bring the factories to the fields," and the organized publicity that attended every advance, combined to enshrine the cotton mill in a somewhat exalted place in southern history. The cotton textile industry in the South traced its roots to pre–Civil War days; however, the industry did not really take off until the late nineteenth century. A report on the cotton-textile industry published in 1900 stated, "The growth of the industry in the South is the one great fact in its history during the past ten years." The number of mills in the South grew from 161 in 1880 to 400 in 1900, which represented an increase of 67.4 percent in the 1890s. A great number of the new mills, moreover, were equipped with more up-to-date machinery than the mills of the old textile regions. The first factory operated entirely by electricity was located in the South, and many improvements first found their way into the country through that region. The increase in the number of mills revealed only a fraction of the expansion. In the four leading states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—in which virtually all the increase took place—the average number of spindles per mill increased from 3,553 in 1880 to 10,651 in 1900. In total number of spindles the same states rose from 1,195,256 in 1890 to 3,791,654 in 1900, or an increase of 217 percent in the 1890s.

Both the historians and the promoters of the cotton-mill campaign held that the movement was motivated by "moral incitement" and became "a form of civic piety" in the South. While the incentives common to most industrialization were admittedly present, especially the promise of cheap labor in the highly competitive and cost-sensitive textile industry, "the moral considerations" played a large part in the southern campaign to bring textile manufacturing to the South. Profits mattered and mill owners did well. In the early years of the movement, according to the census report of 1900, "the return upon investment in southern cotton mills has greatly exceeded that upon factories in the North."

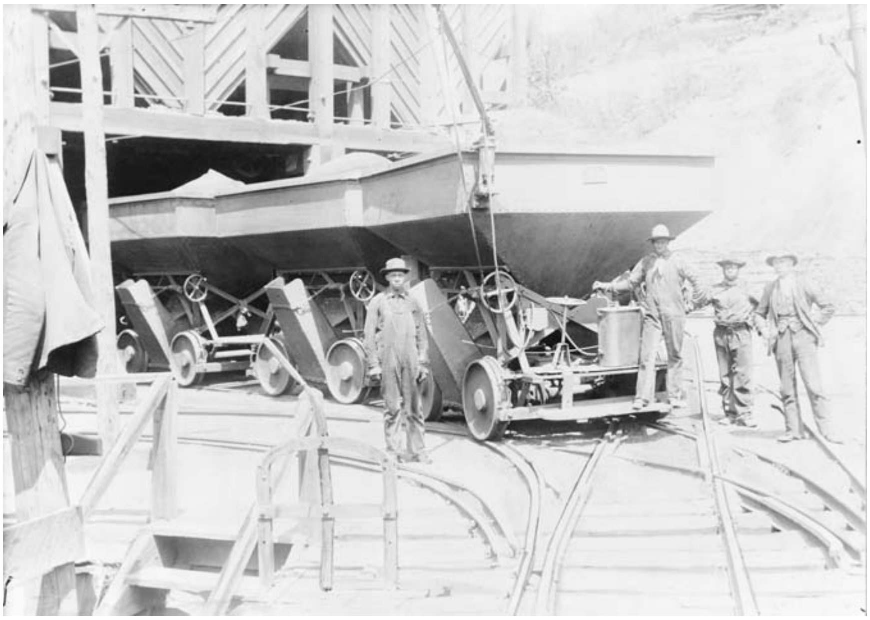
But the possibility of cotton mills raising the standard of southern living explained the public zeal that, in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama, converted an economic development into a civic crusade inspired with a vision of social salvation. Not only did this process occur in the efficient chambers of commerce of cities like Charleston, Atlanta, and Charlotte, big newspapers, and among northern visitors and settlers, but even more typically in isolated Piedmont towns. Old market villages of a few hundred citizens, which had drowsed from one Saturday to the next since the eighteenth century, were suddenly aflame with the mill fever and "a passion for rehabilitation." Stock was often subscribed in small holdings. Early mill executives came from backgrounds as lawyers, bankers, farmers, merchants, teachers, preachers, doctors, and public officials. City dailies and country weeklies devoted columns to the crusade, and itinerant evangelists added the theme to their repertoire. "Even machinery was wrapped with idealism and devotion," according to one account.

Much was made by mill promoters of the philanthropic motive of giving "employment to the necessitous masses of poor whites." Undoubtedly this motive was sincere in some cases. Its force, however, is somewhat diminished by evidence submitted by the promoters themselves. Francis W. Dawson of Charleston, one of the most forceful propagandists for cotton mills, wrote that employment in the mills subjected the poor whites "to elevating social influences, encourages them to seek education, and improves them in every conceivable respect." In the same editorial he stated that in South Carolina there were at that time "2,296 operatives, upon whom 7,913 persons are dependent for support. The amount paid out in wages monthly is $38,034" (Woodward 1974, 134). Noble intentions aside, in reality during the first decade of the twentieth century the average worker and dependent earned an income of a little over 12 cents a day, necessitating entire families, including women and children, to work in the mills together. By 1929, that salary had increased to $12.94 a week, but in the Northeast the same amount of work earned $19.82 a week, or about 52 percent more. And by the time of the Great Depression many had lost faith in the redemptive power of the mills. Typical of the attitudes of southerners toward mills was that of one sharecropping woman who in 1932 believed it would make no difference who was elected president, because the Depression had been caused by machines displacing men from jobs (Hagood 1939, 59; Woodward 1974, 131–40).

As rising debt and falling cotton prices forced families into mill towns, they did their best to bring as much of their world as possible into their new environment. A typical mill village contained a three-story brick factory often designed in Greek revival or neo-Roman style, creating a visual statement of the noble ambitions of the owners. Near the factory was the company store, the superintendent's house, and the factory-built church. Throughout the rest of the town were three- to four-room worker houses. In contrast to the extravagantly designed factory building, these houses were wood frame vernacular style, often shotgun houses. Around each house was a space for a vegetable garden and, as they had on the farm, families worked together in the factory. Children depended on their families for security and protection, while parents depended on children to work and contribute their earnings to the family. Village members depended on and helped each other. One person recalled that her village was "one big community"; families gathered together for hog killing in late summer or early fall and they shared common pasture land for cows and pens for their hogs. If someone was sick other villagers brought food to the family and even took up collections for a family in need. The benefits of a tight community also had its drawbacks because everyone knew everyone's business, and the town maintained rigid standards to which everyone had to adhere. It was not uncommon for a divorced women or a woman with an illegitimate child to be forced to leave town. One of the greatest adjustments to village life was the change in the pace of life from the natural rhythms of the sun and the seasons to the rigidity of factory time.

The factory owner was often a person of high ideals and hopes of lifting up his economically and socially deprived workers. Factory owners' attitudes created a paternalistic society in which the factory owner not only provided the church, the teacher, and a visiting doctor, but he might also send a supervisor through the streets at night to tell everyone to be in bed after nine o'clock. Workers accepted this paternalism when they wanted it, for example, company-sponsored baseball teams and schools, but they rejected that which they didn't want, such as cooking and child-rearing classes. Workers went to the factory early in the morning to spend 10 to 12 hours in a poorly ventilated, noisy, and dusty environment. The lint that fell onto their clothes and hair marked them as mill workers, and the cotton dust that filled their lungs marked them for an early death. The worker's most powerful protest before the establishment of unions in the 1930s was moving out. Factory workers often packed up and moved on to another mill town if they heard there were better wages, a kinder supervisor, or better living conditions, or they had felt slighted for some reason by their current employer. Created with the promise of redeeming the South, the mill villages, while in fact creating places of employment for displaced farmers, never quite arrived at their goal. After the boom of the World War I years, the decline in the cotton supply, the shortening of women's dresses in the 1920s, and the opening of textile factories outside the United States, put the mill villages into an economic depression long before the rest of the nation. Unlike the rest of the nation, the mill villages never recovered fully (Hall 1979, 245–86).

In the new century mining began to play a major role in the new industrial South. Many new mining towns sprang up and others grew into cities because of the mines. Birmingham was an example. In the 1880s, it was described as "a staring, bold, mean little town: marshes and mud roads everywhere and shallow pine shacks and a box car for a depot, and gamblers and traders from and over the globe." By 1900, it boasted a population of 38,415. The rapid growth of coal mining in Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama, and Arkansas attracted thousands of southern farm workers to these areas in search of work and a better life. Three decades into the new century, that promise still eluded them. Workers and their families found



Coal mining scene, near Bluefield, West Virginia, showing four men with a railcar full of coal at the mine entrance. Library of Congress.

themselves practically imprisoned in towns controlled by the mine owners. Miners had to trade at the company store where prices were higher than at outside stores. To work they had to sign agreements called "yellow dog contracts," by which they agreed not to join a union or take part in any demonstration against the company. Denied the right to organize, they remained virtually in the custody of the company officer, who often was deputized by the county sheriff.

Most miners in the South on the eve of the Great Depression lived in unspeakable poverty, with a hovel for shelter, the poorest of clothing, a poor diet, no sanitation, and little medical attention, all of which led to early death. The average life expectancy of a worker after entering the mines was 15 years. Life was especially precarious in smaller mines, which in the struggle to survive neglected basic safety precautions. Carelessly hung electric wires and neglected slate roofs caused many deaths that could have been prevented if precautions had been taken. Dampness and poor ventilation resulted in lung disease caused by the daily inhalation of coal dust, and by the age of 35 a young man was already a wheezing invalid crippled by partially collapsed blackened lungs. Working hours varied, as miners were paid by the carload of coal. A fully loaded car brought from 35 to 50 cents. A lucky miner was able to load three to four carloads a day, but sometimes the foreman sent him home after one, and after loading the car he had to clean up the slate and dirt in his work station, and for this he received no pay. In mining towns there were usually more workers than needed; therefore, the mine owners gave all the men a few days' work rather than a few men full-time work. This enabled the mine owners to keep the workers' wages from getting higher than the amount owed to the commissary.

In the Depression year of 1932, the average miner made $30 a month; thus, the deductions from his pay left him only around $15 a month for family necessities such as food and clothing. At the end of each month the worker was a little more in debt to the company store. The miner usually was forced to take his pay in highly inflated company scrip that was only good at the company store. If his month's statement showed that he earned $35, in reality he only had made about $25 inasmuch as prices at the company store were 25 to 100 percent higher than chain store prices. When the inflated scrip ran out, often long before the end of the month, his wife had to "draw" on scrip from the company store, and by payday the miner generally discovered that he had drawn all his earnings. Barbershops and movie theaters also accepted scrip at 20 to 30 percent above the price for cash. Many companies made more profit off their store than they did the coal mine, and some operated mines simply to

Snapshot

Before the miner drew his wages, he first had to cover deductions for rent, coal, light, doctor, hospital insurance, school, and, at some mines, church. These cuts or "deducts," as the miner called them, remained the same regardless of the number of days the miner worked. A typical statement in 1933 at the end of the month listed the following deductions:

Rent and light $8
Doctor $1
Hospital $1
Burial fund $1
Coal $3

have renters and customers for their stores.

The miners' homes were usually poorly constructed shacks closely set in a row along hillsides or creek bottoms. The worst were without plaster, running water, toilets, or sanitation facilities of any kind. Cracks in the walls were covered with newspapers and plastered with a flour and water mixture. Water was carried from springs or roadside creeks, and outhouse toilets were built over a creek or over a slope in the back yard. The cow, if the miner was fortunate enough to own one, was stabled either next to the house or under it, if it was built on stilts on a hillside. For the miner who succeeded in becoming a foreman, conditions were somewhat improved. He may have had running water in his house, solid walls, a door that shut tightly, and a small front yard.

Many miners maintained vegetable gardens to supplement their diet. Food was always a problem. Compelled to pay exorbitant prices at the commissary, it was difficult to maintain a healthy family diet. Corn bread made from meal and water was a common part of the diet, as well as potatoes either fried or mashed. In Kentucky, pumpkins that local farmers raised for livestock were often donated to miners for food when there was a surplus. In growing months, miners' wives foraged for greens, and for weeks these greens, eaten with fat meat and corn bread, provided the main meal of the day.

Even with New Deal legislation such as the Wagner Act, which established workers' rights to organize, and the Guffey Act, which protected the price of coal, the miners' struggle for better working conditions and pay was not easily won. Coal mines were struggling in the 1930s and were not in a position to grant many demands. Competition within the industry had increased, because too many mines had been opened and there was new competition from other energy sources, specifically oil and gas. Idleness caused chronic restlessness, and the danger of the work when it was available spread bitterness also. Workers attempted to renew their struggle with management in the mid-1930s under the leadership of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers Union (UMW).

Supported by pro-labor legislation of the New Deal, John L. Lewis, as head of the newly formed Congress of Industrial Organizations, had led successful strikes in the auto and steel industries, but under the dire conditions in the coal industry and due to Lewis's own management style, a solution for the miners did not come as easily. It would not be until after World War II that mine workers would see an improvement in their conditions (Couch 1934, 361–73).

On the eve of the Great Depression, the five leading southern states in manufacturing were North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia. Although cotton remained the most important industrial product, southern iron and steel plants concentrated chiefly in Alabama, Tennessee, and West Virginia had advanced remarkably, producing products valued at $396 million on the eve of the Great Depression. Alabama reported 21 steel mills with 11,630 workers, ranking the state fifth in the country in iron production. Other industries in the South included the cottonseed oil industry, primarily in Texas, and the furniture industry in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. In the north Florida panhandle the paper industry also began developing around the turn of the century and continued to grow through the post–World War II era (Couch 1934, 80–92).

TRANSPORTATION

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the South had fewer automobiles per capita than other parts of the country. Mules still provided the power on every black farm and most white ones. However, by the 1920s trucks were hauling increasing amounts of goods, and by the 1930s buses linked many towns that had heretofore been isolated. Getting to market, going to church, or gathering for special occasions became easier as roads improved and motorized transport replaced foot- and mulepower as the ways to get around. Along the waterways, boats, barges, and ferries remained important for moving crops, goods, and people. Railroads also continued as vital links across the region.

Despite the backwardness of transportation in the South, in the most southern area of the United States, in an era that marveled at engineering wonders such as the Brooklyn Bridge and the Panama Canal, Henry Flagler built a "Railroad to the Sea," which would be called the "Eighth Wonder of the World." Flagler, the son of a minister, realized his dream of becoming rich when in 1867 he partnered with a young John D. Rockefeller, and along with Samuel Andrews they formed the Standard Oil Company. At 57, Flagler became impatient with the daily routines of the very successful company and sought new outlets for his creative genius. He found the project of his dreams in Florida. In 1885, Flagler wrote a close friend, "I believe, we can make St Augustine the Newport of the South" (Akin 1991, 116). St. Augus-

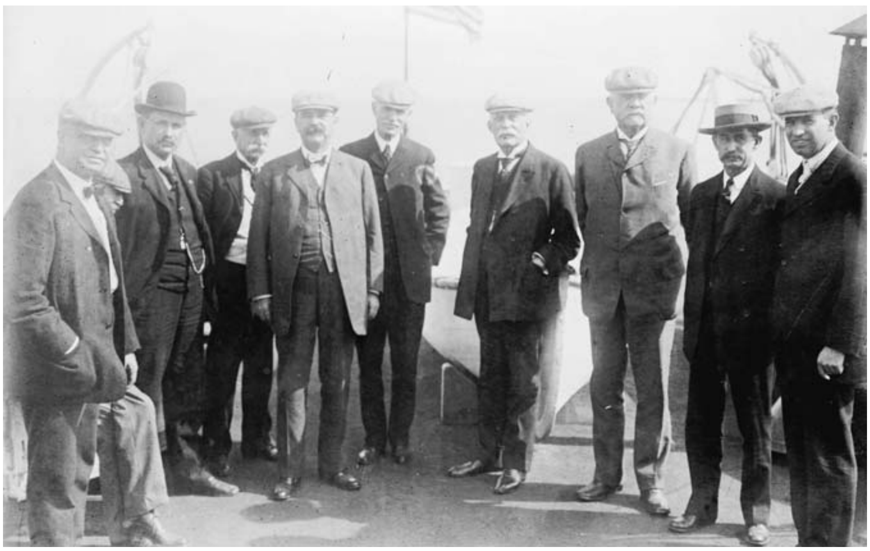
This undated photo shows a passenger train crossing Knight's Key Bridge in Florida. Library of Congress.

Mr. H. M. Flagler and his party leave the first train to arrive at Key West, Florida, on the Oversea Florida East Coast Railroad in January 1912. Library of Congress.

tine had fascinated Flagler from the time of his first visit with his ailing wife, Mary Harkness Flagler. He dreamed of transforming the ancient Spanish colonial village into the finest resort town on the East Coast. He hired the prestigious architectural firm of Career and Hastings to design hotels, to enhance the Spanish ambiance of the town.

Soon the town, which had no adequate hotels when Flagler first arrived, boasted the grand Ponce de Leon Hotel (mentioned in *The Great Gatsby*), then considered one of the finest hotels in America. From St. Augustine Flagler moved down the coast, building hotels in new resort areas and constructing a railroad along the way to provide transportation for the wealthy clientele, mostly his New York business associates who began to winter in Florida during the Gilded Age. By 1895, Flagler's Florida East Coast railroad had reached the new town of Miami. But the journey did not end there. With the announcement of the building of the Panama Canal, the 74-year-old Flagler saw new opportunities and began planning the building of his railroad to Key West, the closest American port on the Atlantic side of the canal. The biggest project of the age was building Panama Canal, but to many Americans the second largest project was the Florida East Coast Extension, and it also captured the attention of the United States and the international public. When the project began in 1905, engineers estimated that the line could be completed in eight years. But due to hurricanes, mosquitoes, and various unanticipated problems connected with the logistics of building 128 miles of railroad over the ocean, it took over 11 years to finish the project.

On January 22, 1912, Henry Flagler stood on the platform of his private railroad car as the Key West crowd below gave him a tumultuous welcome. The citizens of Key West, isolated for so long off the tip of Florida, now felt united with the mainstream of American commerce, and the oft-maligned Flagler, wealthy Standard Oil pioneer and Florida East Coast developer, now felt his much criticized business decision vindicated. The Key West extension, often referred to during its construction as "Flagler's Folly," was now being dubbed the "Eighth Wonder of the World." Flagler died a little over a year after realizing his greatest accomplishment.



J. R. Parott, H. M. Flagler, and others at the opening of Florida Keys Railway in 1912. Library of Congress.

He did not live to see the financial collapse and demise of his cherished project. Cargo entering the Caribbean from the Panama Canal never was transferred to Flagler trains in Key West as planned. Lack of adequate storage facilities at Key West kept products on their ocean vessels until they reached their northern destinations. The train did bring tourists and products to Key West, but never at the rate to make a profit. In 1935, a hurricane destroyed much of the ailing line and proved to be its death blow. The Florida East Coast Railroad went into receivership and the federal government bought the entire right of way for a fraction of what it had cost to build. Using the roadbed and bridges as a base, the federal government built a roadway to Key West, which opened three years later. Cars that travel to Key West today still travel over the roadbed created by Flagler's workers in the early 1900s, and if one gazes out onto the water, the bridges that once carried trains out to sea can still be seen.

Political Life

GOVERNMENT

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the region solidified its reputation as "the benighted South," "the Nation's Number One economic problem," and the home of race-baiting demagogues. Political scientist V. O. Key, after examining the politics of the period, stated, "The South may not be the nation's number one political problem, as some northerners assert, but politics is the South's number one problem." Key identified the failures of southern politics with the fact that there was no viable Republican Party, leaving the Democrats in control of a one-party system. As Key explained, "in the confusions and distractions of one-party politics broad issues of economic philosophy are often obscured or smothered by irrelevant appeals, sectional loyalties, local patriotism, personal candidacies, and, above all, by the specter of the black man." More fundamentally, Key emphasized the success of white elites in the black-belt plantation counties, who impressed "on an entire region a philosophy agreeable to its necessities and succeeded for many decades in maintaining a regional unity in national politics to defend these necessities." Although often challenged, socioeconomically privileged whites of the black belt emerged victorious from the crucial political crises in southern history and were the primary architects of the system of white supremacy and black disfranchisement upon which the one-party system rested. Normally allied with town merchants, businessmen, and industrialists, plantation-oriented whites induced other groups within southern society "to subordinate to the race question all great questions of the day." They largely succeeded in doing so until the Depression of the 1930s forced public figures to face squarely the need for economic development and relief.

In *Origins of the New South*, C. Vann Woodward notes the "paradoxical combination of white supremacy and progressivism" and suggests that the Progressive movement failed to fulfill "the political aspirations and deeper needs of the mass of people." In the South, because of issues of race, Progressivism did not fit to the characteristics of the national movement. In general Progressives divided into two wings, the stronger of which was a rural-based antitrust movement that sought to defend local values, while the other was "urban-based, professional-minded, bureaucratizing and centralizing" in thrust. Some historians depict segregation and disfranchisement as the "seminal" Progressive reforms, and they locate substantial continuity between populism and Progressivism and stress white consensus on "the great race settlement of 1890–1910."

Other historians contend that southern Progressivism was a reaction to lower-class insurgency that threatened the Democratic Party's domination of political power in the South. Democratic elites responded with a "revolt against democracy" that sought "the stabilization of society, especially the economy, in the interests of the local established powers, at the expense of the lower strata of society in the South, and sometimes at the expense of out-of-state corporations." The leading proponents of this program of disfranchisement and reform were plantation elites who "bore striking resemblances to antebellum 'patricians.'" Despite the varying interpretations of the government and politics of the South in the first half of the twentieth century, the underlying issue of all politics remained a white consensus that the black population should remain disenfranchised, segregated, and politically emasculated. With few exceptions, southern whites successfully created this reality, which was not broken until after World War II.

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

A tendency toward violence has been one of the character traits most frequently attributed to southerners. In various guises, the image of the violent South confronts the historian at every turn: dueling gentlemen and masters whipping slaves, flatboatmen indulging in rough-and-tumble fights, lynching mobs, country folk at a bear baiting or gander pulling, romantic adventurers on Caribbean filibusters, brutal police, panic-stricken communities harshly suppressing real and imagined slave revolts, robed night riders engaged in systematic terrorism, unknown assassins, church burners, and other less physical expressions of a South whose mode of action is often extreme. The image is so pervasive that it compels the attention of anyone interested in understanding the South. When one loyal southerner was asked by a probing Yankee why the murder rate in the South was so high, he replied that he reckoned there were just more folks in the South who needed killing.

More sophisticated theories point to other reasons. During the first half of the twentieth century, southern society had a larger proportion of lower-status occupations, so that the same factors that caused people in lower-status occupations in the North to be more violent had a proportionately greater effect on the South. In the same way, the agricultural nature of southern life also contributed to the pattern of southern violence. Poverty is also a logical factor to suspect as the underlying cause of the South's pattern of violence, for informal justice operated most often where formal legal structures were not so prevalent or firmly in place. Ignorance and racial fears, long formed by stereotyping, also underlay the South's habits of violence. A final possible reason could be the South's homogeneity. As some sociologists have pointed out, conflict is more passionate and more radical when it arises out of close relationships. The closer the relationship, so the reasoning goes, the greater the affective investment, the greater the tendency also to suppress rather than express hostile feeling. In such cases, feelings of hostility tend to accumulate and hence intensify (Hackney 1969, 906–25).

The resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s also contributed to violence in the South. Riding a wave of anti-immigration feelings and fear among the lower and lower-middle class of the erosion of morality, and the threat of blacks, the Klan, with its promise to protect American values, emerged in the South and elsewhere as a powerful social and political force in the 1920s. In addition to picnics and parades that celebrated America, the Klan took it upon themselves to restore morality to the country. At various times they whipped wayward husbands, drove women of ill repute out of town, banished those whom they deemed as unscrupulous businessmen (often Jews), and kept blacks under control through intimidation and violence. The fiercest of Klan activities in this period was their practice of lynching, which occurred often and in various places throughout the South.

In the first half of the twentieth century in the South, the most overt and horrific display of southern violence was public lynching. For many African Americans growing up in the South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the threat of lynching was commonplace. The popular image of an angry white mob stringing a black man up to a tree is only half the story. Lynching, an act of terror meant to spread fear among blacks, served the broad social purpose of maintaining white supremacy in the economic, social, and political spheres. In some parts of the South, such as the Mississippi Delta, hardly a black person lived who did not know of a lynching at some time in the area. Author Richard Wright, who was born near Natchez in southwest Mississippi, knew of two men who were lynched—his step-uncle and the brother of a neighborhood friend. In his book *Black Boy*, he wrote: "The things that influenced my conduct as a Negro did not have to happen to me directly; I needed but to hear of them to feel their full effects in the deepest layers of my consciousness. Indeed, the white brutality that I had not seen was a more effective control of my behavior than that which I knew."

Although the practice of lynching had existed since before slavery, it gained momentum during Reconstruction, when viable black towns sprang up across the South, and African Americans began to make political and economic inroads by registering to vote, establishing businesses, and running for public office. Many whites—landowners and poor whites alike—felt threatened by this rise in black prominence. Foremost on their minds, some whites espoused the idea that black men were sexual predators and wanted integration in order to be with white women. Lynchings were frequently committed with the most flagrant public display. Like executions by guillotine in former times, lynchings were often advertised in newspapers and drew large crowds of white families. They were a kind of vigilantism in which southern white men saw themselves as protectors of their way of life and their white women. By the early twentieth century, the writer Mark Twain had a name for it: the United States of Lyncherdom.

Lynchings were covered in local newspapers with headlines spelling out the horrific details. Photos of victims, with exultant white observers posed next to them, were taken for distribution in newspapers or on postcards. Body parts, including genitalia, were sometimes distributed to spectators or put on public display. Most infractions were for petty crimes, like theft, but the biggest one of all was looking at or associating with white women. Many victims were black businessmen or black men who refused to back down from a fight. Headlines such as the following were not uncommon:

"Five White Men Take Negro into Woods; Kill Him: Had Been Charged with Associating with White Women" went over the Associated Press wires about a lynching in Shreveport, Louisiana.
"Negro Slain By Texas Poss: Victims Heart removed After His Capture By Armed Men" was published in *the New York World Telegram* on December 8, 1933.
"Negro and White Scuffle; Negro Is Jailed, Lynched" was published in the *Atlanta Constitution* on July 6, 1933.
"Alabama Negroes Lynched; Mob Takes Them from Officials" was published in the *New York Times* on September 30, 1919.

Newspapers even printed that prominent white citizens in local towns attended lynchings, and they often published victory pictures—smiling crowds, many with children in tow—standing next to the corpse. In the South, an estimated two or three blacks were lynched each week in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Mississippi alone, 500 blacks were lynched from the 1800s to 1955. Nationwide, the figure climbed to nearly 5,000. Although rape was often cited as a rationale for lynching, statistics now show that only about one-fourth of lynchings from 1880 to 1930 were prompted by an accusation of rape. In fact, most victims of lynching were political activists, labor organizers, or black men and women who violated white expectations of black deference, and were deemed "uppity" or "insolent." Though most victims were black men, women were by no means exempt. In 1923, whites burned the moderately prosperous black town of Rosewood, Florida, to the ground, killing scores of men and women in the process. Their excuse was that the town was harboring a black man who had beaten a white woman. Facts later revealed that the culprit was a white man whom the alleged victim was trying to protect.

According to black journalist and editor Ida B. Wells, who launched a fierce antilynching campaign in the 1890s, the lynching of successful black people was a means of subordinating potential black economic competitors. She also argued that consensual sex between black men and white women, while forbidden, was widespread. Thus, lynching was also a means of imposing order on white women's sexuality. Wells, who would later help found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was forced to flee Memphis after her offices were torched in protest of her antilynching and civil rights efforts.

With lynching as a violent backdrop in the South, with Jim Crow as the law of the land, and with the poverty of the sharecropper system, blacks had no recourse. This triad of repression ensured blacks would remain impoverished, endangered, and without rights or hope. Whites could accuse at will, and rarely was a white punished for a crime committed against a black. Even for those whites who were opposed to lynching, there was not much they could do. If there was an investigation, white citizens closed ranks to protect their own, and rarely were mob leaders identified (American Experience. http://pbs.org; *Bill Moyers Journal* "The Legacy of Lynching" www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/till/peopleevents/e_lynch.html)

Blacks also suffered violence during times of labor unrest. Often during strikes, white employers would hire blacks desperate for work to replace striking white workers. The thought that blacks were stealing their jobs augmented racial hatred, and whites reacted with violence. For example, during a nationwide railroad strike in 1912, the introduction of black strikebreakers in New Orleans led to a riot that left six dead, and during the same strike in Macomb, Mississippi, three black strikebreakers were killed. Another railroad strike in 1922 resulted in the death of one striker and six black strikebreakers.

In the antebellum period, a penal system in the South had been practically nonexistent. After the Civil War, the state was suddenly called upon to take over the plantation's penal functions. Penal officials thought they found a solution with a system called "convict labor," which put prisoners to work throughout the South. The South's "penitentiaries" became great rolling cages that followed construction camps and railroad construction. In areas such as north Florida, hastily built stockades were built deep in forests or swamps to provide labor for turpentine mills. This system was such an obvious throwback to slavery that it ignited the moral outrage of the country, and, beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century, reform groups across the country pressured the southern states to reevaluate their penal systems. One by one the states changed. Georgia abolished the system in 1908, and by 1917 Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Florida had done likewise. In place of convict labor, southern states established road prisons where inmates—including those who had only committed misdemeanors—were sentenced to obligatory work building new roads. In 1924 in Georgia, which was not unlike other southern states, 95 percent of those on the road gangs were black. Southern Progressives became strong advocates of the prison road gang system, as it seemed an adequate way of fulfilling their apparently conflictive goals of uplifting the prisoners through creative work projects and at the same time controlling their black population. Reformers applauded the work, which put prisoners in the open air exercising and breathing freely. Despite enthusiasm for the new system, the reality remained that conditions and treatment of prisoners in these road prisons were deplorable. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of the prisoners were black emphasized the reality that the system was inextricably linked to southern racism (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 1495–96).

WAR

The onset of a seemingly remote war in Europe set in motion forces that would have great consequences for daily life in the South. The most immediate impact was a sharp economic downturn caused by reduced cotton trade with Europe. The collapse of the cotton market, which in the mind of southerners was caused by the English naval blockade, initially caused financial hardship and also conjured memories of the Civil War blockade, creating hostility toward the Allies in the South. Even as the United States moved closer to war, many prominent southerners eschewed the martial tradition of their homeland and urged President Wilson to maintain the country's neutrality. Several southern politicians opposed the president's preparedness program and a few southern congressmen even voted against his declaration of war.

Despite their skepticism about the war, once America was involved, southerners, along with most of the nation, threw themselves wholeheartedly into the effort. Both culturally and ethnically the white South had strong ties to Great Britain, and the British enhanced those ties by purchasing huge amounts of cotton, which rejuvenated the sagging southern economy. Moreover, the strong military tradition of the South beckoned them to the patriotic call to arms in 1917.

The war eventually provided a great stimulus to the southern economy. Textile factories worked overtime providing jobs and money to mill workers, and southerners were able to avoid limits on the price of cotton at a time when the government was placing price controls on commodities. The war also accelerated fundamental changes in the South's economic structure. The seeds for an era of regional development and electrification would be planted when the government began the construction of explosives and chemical nitrate plants in the South. The plant they built at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, served as a model for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Military service also diminished the provincialism of the thousands of southerners who left home to serve in the military. It also changed the attitudes of those who remained at home, as the South saw the construction of numerous bases in their region, and along with the bases came young men from every region of the country. The presence of so many Yankees, westerners, and midwesterners in their midst forced southerners to think differently about themselves and the stereotypical images they held of "outsiders."

These demographic shifts caused much stress for many southerners, as the number of lynchings increased markedly during the war years. And for one of the first times in their post–Civil War history, blacks retaliated against white violence in kind. For example, in Houston, Texas, a black army unit responded to racial harassment by killing 17 white civilians. The war also caused social upheaval in the South by stimulating the first stage of the great black migration, as southern blacks lured by the promise of jobs and racial equality moved in great numbers to northern cities. Women were also touched by the war. In addition to losing brothers, husbands, and sons on battlefields, they saw other political changes stimulated by the war that brought them the vote in 1920. Wartime fervor also fueled the Prohibition movement, which gave southern women a long-sought goal: prohibition of the sale of alcohol. Although not as drastic as the Civil War, which still lingered in the South's collective memory, World War I also brought great changes to many aspects of southern life (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 672–73).

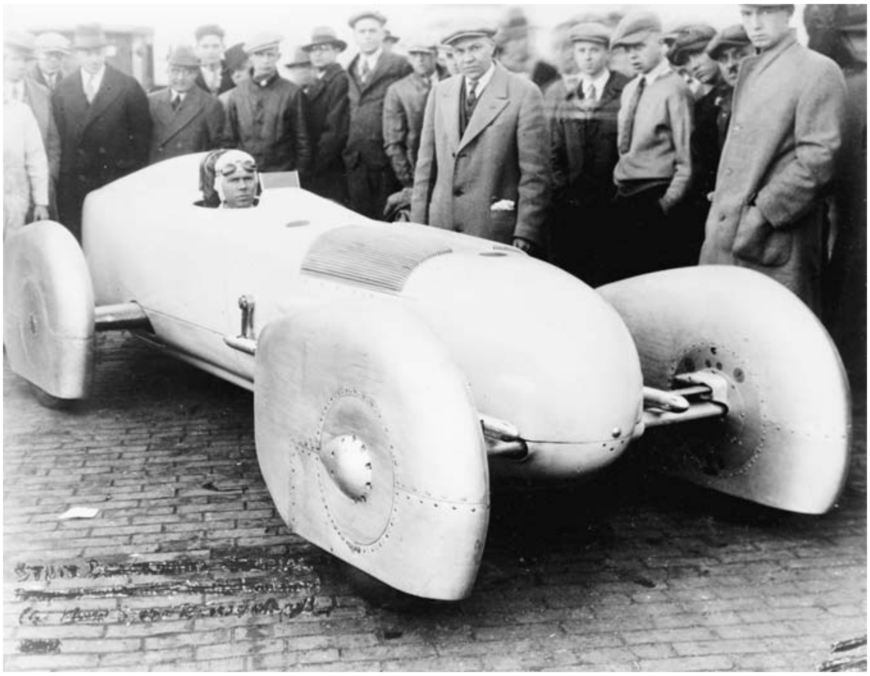
Recreational Life

SPORTS

The South shared with the rest of the nation the enthusiasm for college football. Although southern universities and colleges lagged far behind in academic standards, their football teams were the pride of the region, for they competed effectively with the best teams in the nation. In an attempt to bring some coordination to the rules governing college play, various regions established athletic conferences. The oldest was the Big Ten in the Midwest, but other regions soon followed them. The Southern Conference was formed on February 25, 1921, at a meeting in Atlanta. Fourteen institutions from the 30-member Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association (SIAA) reorganized as the Southern Conference. Those charter members included the universities of Alabama, Auburn, Clemson, Georgia, Georgia Tech, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi State, North Carolina, North Carolina State, Tennessee, Virginia, Virginia Tech, and Washington and Lee. Athletic competition began in the fall of 1921. In 1922, six more schools—Florida, Louisiana State, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tulane, and Vanderbilt—joined the fold. The University of the South joined the ranks in 1923, Virginia Military Institute in 1925, and Duke University in 1929. Since then, a series of membership changes have occurred, with 42 institutions having been affiliated with the league at some point. The league has undergone two major transitions during its history.

The first occurred in December 1932 when the Southeastern Conference was formed out of the 23-school Southern Conference. The league's 13 members west and south of the Appalachian Mountains reorganized to help reduce the extensive travel demands that were present in the league at the time. In 1936, the Southern Conference invited the Citadel, William and Mary, Davidson, Furman, Richmond, and Wake Forest to join the membership. Since then, the Atlantic Coast Conference also formed out of the old Southern Conference.

Although baseball was played in every city in the South, there were no Major League teams. The favorite Major League teams for many southerners in the 1930s were the Browns and the Cardinals, both of St. Louis. Not only were these teams the closest geographically to the heart of the South, but, given their proximity, it was often possible at night to hear broadcasts of their games on the radio. In the 1920s and after, for two months of the year, February and March, when spring training began, Floridians could see real Major League stars up close. Most cities, even small towns, had their own baseball teams. Often they were sponsored by local industry. Eduardo Gato Cigar Company, for example, in Key West, not only outfitted a team but built a stadium and also paid for his team to travel to other Florida cities and Havana to play. Blacks in the South also played baseball, but as in the rest of southern life, they were excluded from participation on white teams. Segregation laws throughout the South even prohibited blacks from playing on most fields. Despite these limitations



Frank Lockhart in his new Stutz Blackhawk Special in 1928. Library of Congress.

blacks formed their own semiprofessional and amateur leagues throughout the South, and baseball prospered in the black community. In the first half of the twentieth century, blacks also had their own professional leagues, but like their white counterparts, the Major League during this era eschewed the South and concentrated its franchises mostly in the Midwest.

Auto racing, the sport most identified with the South, began in 1902 when crowds gathered along the hard flat beach between Ormond and Daytona in Florida to watch Alexander Winton's "Bullet" outrace Ransom Olds's "Pirate" by seconds. The next year the Ormond Beach Hotel sponsored a winter festival, which culminated in a race sponsored by the American Automobile Association. From that time until the mid-1950s racing enthusiasts and participants gathered to watch races on the beach, which became known as the Daytona Beach Road Course. The first stock car races were held on the beach in 1936, and they continued there until the 1950s, when Daytona built an inland racetrack.

The South also laid claim to the country's premier horse-racing event, the Kentucky Derby. Kentuckians had been racing horses since the late eighteenth century, but the race that brought the state national attention did not begin until 1875, the year that owners of the Churchill Downs racecourse established the Kentucky Derby as a feature race. In 1894 the owners built the grandstand that became the symbol for the race. Since that time, the race has gained national, even international attention, and every spring horse-racing enthusiasts focus their attention on Louisville, Kentucky, the home of Churchill Downs and the Kentucky Derby. In the 1920s, horse racing also came to Florida when a track was built in Hialeah for the enjoyment of the wealthy Palm Beachers. Through the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s the elegantly landscaped horse track with its palatial grandstand track would host the wealthiest families of America, who would leave their mansions in Palm Beach and embark in their personal parlor cars on the train, which ran directly from Palm Beach to Hialeah Track.

MUSIC

Perhaps no other region of the country has contributed more to American music than the South. And although blues and jazz have been well integrated into the national musical scheme, country music continues to remain regionally identified with the South. This music was played in every hamlet of the South, but with the invention and spread of radio, the fountainhead of country music became Nashville, Tennessee. Since 1925, WSM Radio's *Grand Ole Opry* in Nashville has featured country music acts on its stage for live Saturday night broadcasts. This program introduced the nation to most, if not all, of the greats of country music. To this day, membership in the *Opry* remains one of a country music artist's greatest ambitions.

The most influential group at the *Opry*, and probably in country music history, remains the Carter Family. They changed the character of what was then more commonly called "hillbilly" music by switching emphasis from hillbilly instrumentals to vocals, and making scores of their songs part of the standard country music canon. They also created a style of country guitar playing known as "Carter-picking," which became the dominant technique for decades. Along with Jimmie Rodgers, the Carter Family were among the first country music stars. Comprising a gaunt, shy gospel quartet member called Alvin P. Carter and two reserved country girls—his wife Sara and their sister-in-law Maybelle—the Carter Family sang a pure, simple harmony that influenced not only the numerous other family groups of the 1930s and the 1940s, but folk, bluegrass, and rock musicians such as Woody Guthrie, Bill Monroe, the Kingston Trio, Doc Watson, Bob Dylan, and Emmylou Harris, to mention just a few.

It is unlikely that bluegrass music would have existed without the Carter Family. A. P., the family patriarch, collected hundreds of British/Appalachian folk songs and, in arranging these for recording, both enhanced the pure beauty of these "facts-of-life tunes" and at the same time saved them for future generations. Those hundreds of songs the trio found around their Virginia and Tennessee homes, after being sung by A. P., Sara, and Maybelle, became Carter songs, even though they were folk songs and in the public domain. Among the more than 300 sides they recorded are "Worried Man Blues," "Wabash Cannonball," "Will the Circle Be Unbroken," "Wildwood Flower," and "Keep on the Sunny Side." The Carter Family's instrumental backup, like their vocals, was unique. On her Gibson L-5 guitar, Maybelle played a bass-strings lead (the guitar being tuned down from the standard pitch) that is the mainstay of bluegrass guitarists to the present. Sara accompanied her on the autoharp or on a second guitar, while A. P. devoted his talent to singing a haunting though idiosyncratic bass or baritone. Although the original Carter Family disbanded in 1943, enough of their recordings remained in the vaults to keep the group current through the 1940s. Furthermore, their influence was evident through further generations of musicians, in all forms of popular music, through the end of the century.

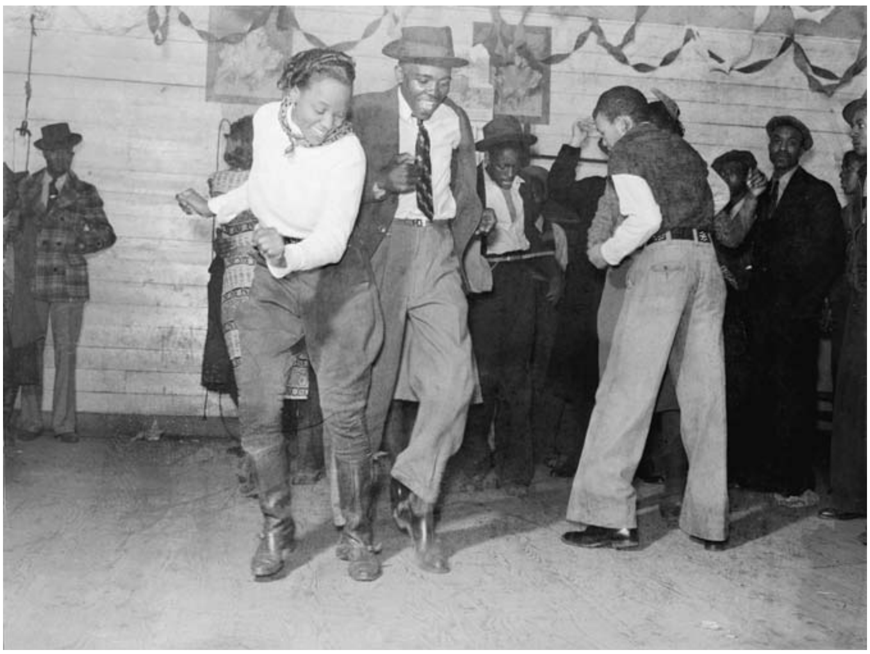
Another important member of the *Grand old Opry* in the early years was Roy Acuff. The *Opry* began as a show with primarily part-time artists who used the show to promote their live appearances throughout the South and Midwest, but with the help of Roy Acuff, the professionalism of country music became established at the *Opry*. By 1933, Acuff formed a group, the Tennessee Crackerjacks, in which Clell Summey played dobro, thus providing the distinctive sound that came to be associated with Acuff (and later provided by Pete "Bashful Brother Oswald" Kirby). Acuff married Mildred Douglas in 1936, and that same year he also recorded two sessions for ARC (a company controlling a host of labels, later merged with Columbia). Tracks from these sessions included two of his greatest hits: "Wabash Cannonball" (featuring vocals by Dynamite Hatcher) and "The Great Speckle Bird."

Making his first appearance on the *Grand Ole Opry* in 1938, Acuff soon became a regular on the show, changing the name of the band once more to the Smoky Mountain Boys. He won many friends with his sincere, mountain-boy vocal style and his dobro-flavored band sound and eventually became as popular as Uncle Dave Macon, who was the *Opry's* main attraction at the time.

During the 1940s, Acuff's recordings became so popular that he headed Frank Sinatra in some major music polls and reportedly caused Japanese troops to yell "To hell with Roosevelt, to hell with Babe Ruth, to hell with Roy Acuff" as they banzai-charged at Okinawa. These years also saw some of his biggest hits, including "Wreck on the Highway" (1942), "Fireball Mail" (1942), and "Night Train to Memphis" (1943).

ENTERTAINMENT

For many southerners, important forms of entertainment were visiting, porch sitting, and eating together on Sunday afternoons. For the less devout there was also music, dancing, and drinking moonshine. A uniquely southern contribution to this form of entertainment was the juke joint, which has given us the word *jukebox*, and was also the birthplace of the music form known as the "blues." There are two words or terms that are closely related today, namely, *juke joint* (a small inexpensive café mainly in the southern states) and *jukebox* (an automatic coin-operated phonograph). The term *juke joint* undoubtedly came first, because it was brought into the daily language in the South by the African Americans decades before the first coin-operated phonograph was demonstrated to the mainly white populations of the big northern cities. The juke joints were from the very beginning normally located next to the cotton fields and owned by the white owner of the fields. In a few cases, however, the café could also be leased to a longtime loyal old laborer, who could no longer work as hard as before (http://www.jukebox-works.com/historyTerm.htm).



Saturday afternoon in a beer and juke joint in Clarksdale, Mississippi, in 1939. Library of Congress.

During the 1920s, these rural weekend establishments were often run by a local bootlegger or by someone selling his product. They provided musical entertainment in homes or in abandoned sharecropper houses as a means of selling food and corn liquor for profit. Juke joints also contributed to the formation of one of the country's most enduring and important cultural legacies: the blues. If the Mississippi Delta was the cultural crucible that birthed the blues, then the juke joint was the kiln where the musical fires burned brightest. For black Delta sharecroppers, isolated by a lack of transportation, singing and listening to the blues provided a social outlet and a "pressure valve" to vent the week's stress.

"Sometimes they'd just drive that tractor up there and jump off and go on in there," one man recalled, remembering his mother's Charleston, Mississippi, joint. "[You'd] see a lot of tractors, mules and stuff. As long as you on the plantation, you could drive the tractor anywhere you want." Irene Williams, "Mama 'Rene" to locals, ran the Do Drop Inn in Shelby, Mississippi: "The juke joints, to me, enable the peoples to go out and ventilate. When you work hard, you're tense. . . . Not able to pay bills, not able to buy the amount of groceries that you need to buy. Not able to do a lot of things that you want to do. And when you go to these places you're able to ventilate and let off the stress, and you're able to cope the next week with your problems better." In the lawless days of early Delta culture, that blowing off steam would often get violent. Legendary slide guitarist Robert Nighthawk sang about the darker side of Delta nightlife. In one song, "Goin down to Eli's," he decides he's going to kill his woman whom he caught dancing in the local juke joint. He knows he'll go to jail, but he decides he'd rather be in prison than be worrying about his woman cheating on him.

Chester Johnson remembered: "If you stayed there till about 10 o'clock and didn't nothing happen, you better go on home. 'Cause from about 11 o'clock on there's gonna be some shootin' going on. Some guy's gonna whoop his old lady about dancing with somebody." Despite the occasional violence, and the obvious liquor law violations in dry Mississippi, juke operators and their patrons had little to fear from local law enforcement. "You paid that man to sell that whiskey," James Alford, manager of Smitty's Red Top Lounge in Clarksdale, Mississippi, said. "They didn't say it like that, but that's all they were doing—paying the sheriff or the chief of police or whoever would let you sell" (http://www.steberphoto.com/articles-1.htm).

HOLIDAYS, CELEBRATIONS, AND FESTIVALS

Special occasions in the South were often celebrated ritualistically with home-cooked meals with families and friends. Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's, weddings, and parties required special cooking and often long-term preparation. A large hen or rooster, straggling into the winter, was the obvious choice for holiday chicken and dressing, but many special occasion dishes required that rural southern families make that rare trip into town to purchase foods that signaled the holidays: apples, oranges, a coconut, light corn syrup, marshmallows, cocoa, raisins on the stem. A midwinter apple or orange was such a treat that many children appreciated them as gifts at Christmas.

Pecans, hickory nuts, and black walnuts added to the variety and interest of holiday fare. Most southerners also grew a few rows of popcorn specifically for Christmas, out of which came popcorn balls, made with sorghum, and popcorn for stringing around the freshly cut Christmas tree. The prevalence of rich, fruit-laden dishes that characterize special occasion southern cooking represented a celebration of life in the dead of winter, a recognition that luxury was possible even in hard times, because people had planned and worked hard to have the stored and store-bought goods. Parties and weddings, too, generated their share of fancy cooking, such as taffy parties or box suppers, designed to acquaint young men and women and to give those who were sweet on each other a chance to subtly make their designs public. Thanksgiving, as one southern woman remembered, didn't mean different food, but just more of the same thing:

> We always did have lots of company, so Mother would take two big old fat hens and make dressing. She sure could make good dressing.
>
> Mother never did cook anything the day before except at Christmas and New Year's and special days like that. She always made 3 or 4 kinds of fruitcake, and she had a big tin can—I guess it must have been ten gallons—and she'd put those fruitcakes in it and put the top on it and let it set for a long time. At Christmastime, we always had a ham and a variety of vegetables to go with it, but I've seen as many as four meats on a table. We grew everything, you know, and canned all our food, so we didn't have to buy anything but coffee and sugar and flour. So we'd have all those canned foods—vegetables and relishes and what all. We always had lots of pies at Christmas, and when I learned how to make fudge, I'd do that, and there were plenty of good pecans to go in it. For dinner on New Year's Day, we'd eat just about the same thing we had for Christmas except black-eyed peas, which always were eaten for good luck. We always had plenty of company on special days, because my mother would always set such a table, and all the relatives liked to come and fill up. Lots of times company didn't even let Mother know they were coming, just dropped in, but I never did see her get up and add to the dinner but one time. But I had to do the dishes, so I just wanted to boot those people out sometimes. It was like the grand hotel. (Strickland and Dunn 2002, 99–100)

One of the great celebrations in the Gulf Coast South was Carnival. The Gulf Coast Carnival absorbed Caribbean, Latin America, Native American, and African Caribbean traditions and created a celebration of food, festival, party, and parades that transcended class and race. The Carnival festival followed the Catholic liturgical calendar; thus, festivities began on January 6, the Feast of the Kings, and ended on Mardi Gras or Shrove Tuesday, the day before the penitential 40 days of Lent. The Carnival season could be as short as three and a half weeks or as long as two months, depending on the Easter date. During Mardi Gras the streets were filled with parades of colorful floats on which sat members of the various "krewes" who had spent the previous year designing the floats. As they wound their way through the streets, krewe members rewarded spectators with beads, trinkets, and candies thrown from the float. Various krewes sponsored different parades, which always ended in a grand party. Krewes, which had traditionally been made up of the economical and historical elite of the city, celebrated varied themes. For example, the Zulu parade of New Orleans, "krewed" by the black middle-class and elite community, began in 1909 as a reaction to white stereotypes of blacks as savages. Mocking those white stereotypes, Zulu members dressed in grass skirts and "wooly wigs," put on blackface, and threw rubber spears and decorated coconuts to the crowds. Since the early nineteenth century, various krewes have included comic cowboys, Indians, and various mythological themes. Despite the variety of themes, they all reflected the will to celebrate the triumph of joy over sorrow (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 1230–31).

Religious Life

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

In the ranks of southern Protestantism, regionalism thrived most conspicuously. Forty years after Appomattox, 3,500,000 of 6,200,000 white church members in the South still belonged to three explicitly southern denominations: the Southern Baptist Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Southern Presbyterian Church. Most others held membership in locally independent congregations unaffiliated with episcopate, presbytery, conference, or convention. A 1910 religious tract titled *The Fundamentals* laid out the essentials of fundamentalism, which insisted on the literal accuracy of the Bible as God's word. Fundamentalism was embraced by various theological seminaries as well as by a number of highly successful evangelists and prominent public figures. The rural homogeneity of the South, little disturbed by immigration, industrialization, new intellectual currents, and all the other forces that were elsewhere transforming society made the South the battleground for fundamentalism.

Fierce sectarian debate often obscured a consensus on fundamentals. On such precepts as heaven and hell, God and Satan, depravity and redemption, there was little dispute. Few southerners doubted the literal authenticity of the scriptures or the ever-presence of God in human affairs. For example, in 1905 a committee of the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly attributed a series of railway accidents to the operation of trains on Sunday. "So long as the nation shows such utter disregard for His authority," the committee declared, "so long may we expect the continued repetition of these and other so-called accidents."

Ecclesiastical isolation from the rest of the nation fostered regional accommodations between church and society. Thus, in the late nineteenth century, as racial distinctions in secular spheres were being drawn more sharply, southern Protestants regrouped into all-white and all-Negro denominations. The Mississippi State Baptist Convention of 1891 insisted that "they [blacks] are distinct, for their good and our's [sic]. To do otherwise is to inflict an evil on them and to raise an insurmountable barrier to success." "Theories of race were as much a part of Southern Baptist thinking as the Virgin Birth or the Second Coming," one student declared.

In a region lacking adequate resources either for public education or ministerial training, church leadership did not necessitate intellectual acuity. Episcopalians and

Presbyterians required a seminary degree for clerical ordination, but other denominations often prescribed nothing more than a call from God. Baptist congregations administering ordination seldom demanded formal schooling. Southern Methodists asked only that candidates be familiar with the Bible, "the ordinary branches of an English education," and two of John Wesley's sermons, "Justification by Faith" and "The Witness of the Spirit"; preachers thus licensed "on trial," however, had to complete a four-year correspondence course before final ordination. In 1907, the Nashville *Christian Advocate* lamented that many Methodist clergymen were "totally ignorant" of twentieth-century civilization. As late as 1927, only 4 percent of Southern Methodist clergy were seminary graduates, only 11 percent had college degrees, and approximately 32 percent had no schooling beyond the elementary level. Nor was there often time in the pastor's crowded routine for extensive independent study. A survey published in 1923 estimated that more than one out of three southern clergymen served four or more churches. Even so, many shared the experience of a Navarro County, Texas, preacher who had to "raise a little cotton" to supplement his clerical earnings. A Baptist leader complained that Baptist rural churches had won for themselves "the pitiful distinction of paying an average wage which is less than a capable field laborer now earns."

Many were indifferent to the lack of education among their ministers. One observer wrote, "whenever the day comes that the Methodist Church requires a college course as conditional to admittance to the [ministry], that day will sound the death-knell of the Church." "Send out men whose hearts are hot with love to God," he urged, " . . . and the Holy Ghost will use them to the pulling down of the strongholds of sin and the upbuilding of the kingdom of God." The Baptist *Christian Index* approvingly likened the reaction of a congregation to an "earnest" extempore preacher to that between steel and flint, "the sparks fly in all directions."

Despite such sentiment, Southern Methodists and Baptists both sponsored theological seminaries, the Methodist theological school at Vanderbilt University and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, in Louisville. Southern Presbyterians sponsored four seminaries: Union Theological Seminary (Worsham, Virginia), Columbia (South Carolina) Theological Seminary, Southwestern (Tennessee) Theological Seminary, and the Louisville Theological Seminary. With the exception of Vanderbilt, all lacked substantial endowments or other reliable sources of revenue. And all had to contend with a stifling popular distrust of scholarship. Where academic inquiry intruded into the realm of faith, ancient myth was often acclaimed over present truth. And the strongest prevailing myth was fundamentalism.

What evoked the greatest wrath among fundamentalists were attacks on a literal interpretation of the book of Genesis, which by the beginning of the twentieth century occurred with great frequency. By 1900, most non-fundamentalist theologians had accepted Darwin's theories as fact and could agree with James Wilson, professor at the Columbia School of Theology, who argued that evolution could be reconciled with a "not unreasonable interpretation of the Bible," and that evolution could be construed as "God's plan of creation." Southern fundamentalists stood firmly against this accommodation of religion to scientific fact and remained steadfast in their conviction that Adam came from dust, not from any other species (Bailey 1963, 618–35).

The most spectacular head-on clash between southern fundamentalism and science took place in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925. The Tennessee legislature, sympathetic to fundamentalist views, adopted a law banning the teaching of Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories in public schools. This led to a challenge by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which came to the defense of John Scopes, a high school biology teacher accused of breaking the law. The trial that ensued pitted the famous defense lawyer Clarence Darrow against perennial presidential candidate and recent Florida real estate tycoon William Jennings Bryan. The trial ended with Darrow cross-examining Bryan and mockingly pointing out the discrepancies between fact and reality in the Bible. Nevertheless, the jury found Scopes guilty and made him pay a nominal fine. Bryan died within a week of the trial. Some speculated it was the intense heat, but others thought it was the humiliation he suffered in Dayton, Tennessee.

Newspapers and magazines eager for a show in the age of "ballyhoo" characterized the trial as a circus and gave the impression that though Scopes was convicted, the victory went to modernism, which had shown up the ignorance and naiveté of the southerners' simple faith. In fact, the advocates of fundamentalism continued to rule local and state school boards in the South and evolution was off limits in many schools. Town boosters and Progressives bemoaned the image of the South as a land of ignoramuses, as H. L. Mencken described them, but most southerners remained firm in their belief in Scripture and suspicious of science as the final say on the meaning of human life.

Despite living in the most economically challenged region of the country, the Protestant churches of the South paid little attention to Christian teachings in the context of the economically devastated society to which they preached. If little attention was given to newer theological interpretations, even less was given to the application of Christian teachings to the social milieu. A Baptist historian finds that editors of Baptist journals in the southeastern states failed during this era "to perceive any relation between Christian morality and economic justice."

In 1900, a study sponsored by the Georgia Baptist *Christian Index* concluded that the majority of the poor,

> the submerged tenth, the begrimed masses who swarm in the slums and wretched tenement houses of our large cities, some of whom are also found in the smaller towns and even in the country, are dissipated, vicious, wicked and immoral. Many reformers of the day teach that, if you improve their surroundings and educate them, you can lift them up. Far be it from us to discourage any efforts along this line of work; but what these people need is to be made over again. There is but one power in the world that can do this, and that is the gospel of the Son of God.

Essentially, religious thought in the South had changed little since the era of frontier revivalism. An almost single-minded emphasis on individual regeneration remained. Sermons abounded in expositions on salvation, the joys of heaven, and the

A 1937 photo of Zora Hurston demonstrating a voodoo dance. Library of Congress.

horrors of hell; often they were a recital of the clergyman's "personal emotional experience and nothing else." A Baptist leader complained, "with gratifying but all-too-few exceptions, our country preachers confine themselves largely to evangelistic sermons." In an address before the Southern Baptist Convention in 1899, George W. Truett, pastor of the Dallas First Baptist Church and a renowned pulpit orator, belittled ministers who expounded "philosophy, or science, or culture, or worldly wisdom." Popular hymns warned of the uncertainty of human existence. A hymn in the official Southern Methodist *Hymnal* cautioned as follows:

Death rides on every passing breeze,
And lurks in every flower;
Each season has its own disease,
Its peril every hour!

A selection in the Southern Baptist *Hymn and Praise Book* warned as follows:

That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
When heav'n and earth shall pass away
What pow'r shall be the sinner's stay?
How shall we meet that dreadful day? (Bailey 1963, 618–35)

Churches in the South were devoid of ornamentation. In the first half of the twentieth century, these plain white clapboard church facades dominated the southern landscape. Sunday church attendance was an all-day affair, with no time for other secular activity. Southern Protestants who went to these services heard a strong folk mix of biblical fundamentalism, emotional conversion experiences, and periodic spiritual rejuvenation. The minister was an important member of the community and ever-present at the important rituals of birth, marriage, and death.

Although their churches were usually stark and humble, southern Protestants did find ways to express their faith to the world. As roads began to wind their way through the rural South in the 1920s and 1930s, travelers witnessed a new form of evangelization emerging in the South, the roadside message. Urban Christians may have had their grand churches, but in the rural South the sign—usually with no more than a terse "Jesus Saves" (anything more might have suggested uncertainty)—in the 1920s became an important southern icon that carried a basic truth upon which a stable life could be built.

After kinship, religion was the most important value in southern black life. In the antebellum South, religious expression was often a stifled or a secretive affair carried out under the suspicious and watchful eye of a white man. After emancipation, religious separation in the South became formalized as freedmen left their former masters' churches to establish their own houses of worship. Black Christian images of God differed greatly from what antebellum whites emphasized. African American Christianity celebrated Moses and the Israelites' deliverance from Egypt, and they envisioned a God more like African deities. The black religious South in the twentieth century included such practices as ecstatic trances and spiritual possession. This sometimes took the form of talking in tongues and always involved movement, loud singing, and dancing. Some black churches influenced more by the Catholic traditions of Caribbean blacks expressed belief in hags, witches, and hoodoo priests, who celebrated rituals that combined Catholic practices with ancient African worship. These churches flourished as an underground alternative religious system that in many ways ran counter to traditional Protestant Christianity. In the rural South those who had intimate knowledge of hoodoo or voodoo were called doctors. These doctors had the power of life and death over people whether they believed in voodoo or not. Zora Neale Hurston related a story of a hoodoo doctor in Florida who gave power to a woman to kill a man who had disgraced her daughter. Thanks to the hoodoo incantations, the woman was able to kill the culprit simply by shooting an image of the man. The voodoo doctors were usually older men and women who had apprenticed under earlier practitioners.

The more traditional black churches in the South continued to provide leadership in the black community from the time of emancipation through the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 136–37, 492–93).

Whether black or white, southern churches provided spiritual solace and social security in an ever-changing world. And so in the first half of the twentieth century, the South remained a land of piety and tradition. "There is no part of the world in which ministers of the Gospel are more respected than in the southern states," a distinguished Methodist editor declared, and he doubted whether there was "another territory of like area beneath the sun, where there is a stronger, better faith in the Bible, where the Sabbath is better observed, where a larger per cent of the people attend church, and where virtue in womanhood and honesty in manhood are more common and command a better premium." A preoccupation with individual repentance, a dogged insistence on biblical inerrancy, a tendency toward overt expression of intense religious emotions: these legacies of frontier revivalism still held a primacy. Of this most southerners were proud (Bailey 1963, 630–35).

SECULAR RITES OF PASSAGE

In the South, folk belief, customs, and superstitions related to childbirth endured well into the twentieth century. These traditions were an amalgamation of Native American, African American, and Euro-American folk remedies and beliefs. From conception though gestation, delivery, and postpartum, many southern families sought to ensure the health and intelligence of babies and the safety of mothers through a strict adherence to ritual based on folk culture.

For example, many southerners believed that it was possible to determine or control the sex of an infant at conception through certain acts performed by the parents. Some southerners believed that a baby boy was assured if the father kept a leather string in his pocket during conception. The side to which the female turned following intercourse (to the left for girls and the right for boys) was also believed to be effective in determining the sex of an infant. Other folk beliefs surround the gestation period of pregnancy, such as the notion that the pregnant female who crossed a threshold or began to climb stairs using her left foot would have a girl, but if she started with her right foot, it would be a boy.

One of the oldest beliefs about childbirth maintained that events occurring to the mother during pregnancy had important consequences for the baby. For example, if a pregnant women experienced fright, was deprived of cravings, or had contact with certain people or animals, the child in her womb could be affected. Women were told to only look at beautiful things during their pregnancy. Even a child's disposition could be determined during the gestation period. The belief was that a disagreeable mother would have a disagreeable child. Or if a mother looked on a dead baby while pregnant, her own child would be stillborn. Naming the baby or calling its selected name before birth could have similar fatal consequences.

Herbal teas were offered to the woman to hasten labor, and if that failed pepper was blown in the mother-to-be's face. An almost universal technique used to reduce pain during labor consisted of placing a sharp instrument—a knife, scissors, an axe—on or under the pillow or bed of the laboring woman "to cut the pain." Other pain remedies included herbal tea such as chamomile or even the southern refreshment of choice, Coca-Cola. Southerners believed it was inappropriate and even a bad omen for the father to be present at the birth, although in some areas of the South the presence of the father or some article of his clothing was often utilized to transmit male strength to the female in labor. One of the most persistent and widespread beliefs about childbirth in the South, especially among blacks, was about the psychic powers of babies born with faces covered with a veil or caul, the membrane of the amniotic sac. The belief prevailed that these babies possessed the power to foresee the future and to see and hear ghosts. The delivery phase of the birth process ended with the careful and traditional disposal through burning or burial of the placenta, membranes, and cord. These disposal methods were believed necessary for the future well-being of infant and mother (Wilson and Ferris 1989, 464–65).

SACRED RITES OF PASSAGE

Although the rest of the nation was turning more and more to funeral homes to direct mourning and burial of the dead, in the South the old practice of wrapping and rapidly burying the corpse remained the standard well up to the 1940s. Southern ministers comforted mourners at the grave with visions of an anthropomorphic eternity. Ideas of "heavenly recognition" conjectured that earthly friendships would be renewed after death and that "pastors will meet their dear flocks there and rejoice with them." The editor of the Methodist Raleigh *Christian Advocate* visualized the "hosts of the redeemed gathering about the great White Throne. . . . They are clothed in garments of white, with crowns of rejoicing upon their brows, and golden harps suspended on their arms, and palms of victory in their hands." Another North Carolina clergyman wrote that "it is sad to say farewell to those who are dying; but how sweet to think of greeting [them] on the eternal shore of rest, sweet rest." Other sacred rituals that remained peculiar to certain sects among the southern Protestants included snake handling, foot washings, and total immersion at baptism.

MORALITY

Perhaps because it had so little else to give its people, the South nurtured in them a generous and often obsessive sense of the past. The rest of the country might be committed to commercial expansion or addicted to the notion of progressive optimism, but many people in the South, even if they cared to, were unable to accept these dominant American values; they had been left behind, they were living on the margin of history—a position, they believed, that often provided the sharpest perspective on history. Southerners believed that their sense of tradition, cultivated from youth, gave them manners and morals that were superior to the rest of the materialistic, mongrelized nation. They did not have the material advantages of the rest of the country, but they took comfort in their spiritual and moral superiority. Fundamental Protestantism, segregation of the races, manners, and cultivation of personal relationships in the South, as opposed to rising Catholic influences in the North, racial mixing of the people, and the depersonalizing experience of the big northern cities, were objective facts that convinced white southerners of their moral superiority.

SACRED SPACE AND SACRED TIME

Sacred space and time became one in the South during their camp meetings, sometimes called revivals. Although camp meetings had been generally supplanted by more decorous indoor services, most southern congregations still sponsored special evangelistic campaigns each year. In the rural South, the revival season began in July and August, after the crops were laid by. And when it arrived, it became the major focus of the entire community. Religious newspapers devoted lengthy columns to revivals. A few reports published in 1900 are illustrative. A South Carolina dispatch related that they had been in a village that had "just passed through one of the happiest revivals that has ever been conducted in that section of the coast country." The pastor of the Dalton, Georgia, Methodist Church announced that "for three weeks, during a downpour of rain day and night, the greatest revival Dalton ever had has been going on" and that "practically the whole city [is] revived." A participant in an East Macon, Georgia, revival wrote, "I never saw such a meeting. It looked as if the entire community had professed conversion." The Lexington, Mississippi, Baptist Church likened its revival to "a cluster of rich grapes. We crushed them and drank the sacred wine and by faith inhaled the fragrant spices of the 'empty tomb.'"

At Union Baptist Church, in Tippah County, Mississippi, the service that was to conclude a revival ended "with a good old-time handshaking while the membership sang, with feeling, 'Amazing Grace,' with chorus, 'We'll all sing Hallelujah.' The interest was so marked . . . that it was thought best to continue the meeting." A report from the Hermansville, Mississippi, Baptist Church described their revival as a "spiritual earthquake." Luxora, Arkansas, Methodists felt they were "on high ground, having just closed one of the most successful meetings ever held in the county"; in that same state a report from the little town of Nashville declared that "our whole community was moved and touched" by a series of evangelistic services. From Texas came an account of a Methodist revival on the Glenwood charge, near Fort Worth, where "there was evident the 'old time power,' as Christians were made happy."

Where religious passions surged to a high tide, revivals were often protracted. In 1900 Methodist revivals at Tracy City, Tennessee, and Scottsville, Kentucky, lasted three weeks, while Russellville, Arkansas, Methodists were "blessed with a great meeting, which continued more than three weeks." Another meeting at Dalton, Georgia, continued three weeks and then was extended for "another week at least." The Knoxville Highland Avenue Methodist Church entered its sixth week of revival services in February 1900, "with added enthusiasm and zeal." And, in July 1904, the pastor of the Cherokee Avenue Baptist Church, at Gaffney, South Carolina, reported "almost a continous [sic] revival for the past two months." But the New Orleans *Christian Advocate* complained in 1900 that "most meetings have closed too soon to get great in gatherings."

Normally revivals were evaluated according to the number of conversions, although other results were not overlooked. During one east Tennessee revival, "many old neighborhood feuds" were said to have been settled. A Baptist revivalist in a turbulent area of southeastern Mississippi, "where they kill men and threaten preachers" and where the meeting house "had the sign of buckshot about the door that stole the life of a man," hoped he had been "at least some help" in promoting tranquility. A revival report from Fairmont, South Carolina, told of only one addition to the church, but rejoiced that "the church was strengthened spiritually."

Revivals, or camp meetings, as they were sometimes called, continued through the twentieth century. In the 1920s, the Klan, in an attempt to fortify their claims of a religious dimension to their crusades, helped promote and organize many camp meetings. And in the late 1930s as electricity arrived, artificial lighting systems replaced the great lightwood fires that used to light up the night. Despite these changes, throughout the decades revivals remained basically the same. They were a time when the unchurched were brought into church fellowship, hearts were warmed by the words of a visiting evangelist, local feuds were reconciled in the name of Christian fellowship, and the community was purged and revitalized for the forthcoming trials of winter. In the 1920s, a number of scandals involving corrupt evangelists brought ridicule on this southern tradition of revivalism, but the significance of the camp meeting to the continuity of community in the rural South cannot be underestimated (Bailey 1963, 632–34).

WORLDVIEW

The South has traditionally served as a counterpoint to the American way of life, because it seemed to differ from the North in a number of aspects. In the first half of the twentieth century, southerners had a greater sense of history than northerners, a greater attachment to place, and more deferential social customs. By all reports southerners placed more emphasis on personal relations and on ascribed statuses than did northerners. Not only did white southerners prize political and social cohesion, but also by most measures the South was more homogeneous than the other regions of the country (Hackney 1969, 906, 925).

In the first half of the twentieth century, regional consciousness remained stronger in the South than in any other part of the United States. This "historical lag" is the source of whatever is most distinctive in southern thought and feeling. After its defeat in the Civil War, the South could not participate fully and freely in the "normal" development of American society—that is, industrialism and large-scale capitalism arrived there later and with far less force than in the North or West. By the Reconstruction period New England's regional consciousness was in decline and by the turn of the century the same was true for the Midwest, which never developed a strong sense of regional consciousness comparable to the South, New England, and the West in literature, art, and politics. But the South, burdened by its history of defeat, felt its sectional identity most acutely during the very decades when the United States was becoming a self-conscious nation. While the other regions submitted to dissolution and began to mold into a single national identity, the South worked desperately to keep itself intact. Through an exercise of will, it insisted that the regional memory be the main shaper of its life.

Perhaps because it had so little else to give its people, the South nurtured in them a generous and often obsessive sense of the past. The rest of the country might be committed to commercial expansion or addicted to the notion of progressive optimism, but the South, even if it cared to, was unable to accept these dominant American values; it had been left behind, it was living on the margin of history—a position that often provides the sharpest perspective on history. For this reason possibly the South's greatest contribution to the country in the first decades of the twentieth century was its writers. They remained among the few Americans who could view the dominant bourgeois myths of materialism and progress with a detached critical eye, and who could evoke a spatial dimension or view that evoked another America, dominated by preindustrial mythology (Howe 1951, 357–62).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Books

Akin, Edward N. *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991.

Couch, W. T., ed. *Culture in the South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934.

Hagood, Margaret Jarman. *Mothers of the South: A Portraiture of the White Tenant Farmer Woman.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

LaFarge, Oliver. *A Pictorial History of the American Indian.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1956.

Miller, Randall, and George Pozetta, eds. *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South.* Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1989.

Percy, Will. *Lanterns on the Levy: Recollections of a Planter's Son.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.

Strickland, Laurie, and Elizabeth Dunn. *Old Time Southern Cooking.* Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 2002.

Sullivan, Mark. *Our Times: The United States 1900–1925.* New York: Charles Scribner, 1927.

Urban, Wayne, and Jennings Wagoner. *American Education: A History.* New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, 2003.

Wilson, Charles Reagan, and William Ferris, eds. *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South 1877–1913.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974.

Articles

Bailey, Kenneth. "Southern White Protestants at the Turn of the Century." *American Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (April 1963): 618–35.

Blackwelder, Julia Kirk. "Race, Ethnicity, and Women's Lives in the Urban South." In *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South,* ed. Randall Miller and George Pozetta, pp. 75–91. Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1989.

Clinton, Catherine. "Stars and Bars Feminism." *Reviews in American History* 21, no. 4 (December 1993): 612–16.

Daniel, Peter. Review of *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment* by James Jones. *Journal of Southern History* 48, no. 2 (May 1981): 303–4.

Graham, Robert Charles. Review of *Taking the University to the People: Seventy-five Years of Cooperative Extension* by Wayne D. Rasmussen. *Journal of Economic History* 50, no. 1 (March 1990): 200–221.

Hackney, Sheldon. "Southern Violence." *American Historical Review* 74, no. 3 (February 1969): 906–25.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd, Robert Konstadt, and James Leloudi. "Cotton Mill People: Work, Community, and Protest in the Textile South." *American Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (April 1986): 245–86.

Howe, Irving. "The Southern Myth and William Faulkner." *American Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1951): 357–62.

Link, William A. "Privies, Progressivism, and Public Schools: Health Reform and Education in the Rural South, 1909–1920." *Journal of Southern History* 54 (November 1988): 623–42.

Norell, Robert. "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham, Alabama." *Journal of American History* 73, no. 3 (December 1986): 669–94.

Orsi, Robert. "The Religious Boundaries of an In-Between People: Street Fest and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920–1990." *American Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (September 1992): 313–47.

Smith, Nancy Midgette. "In Search of Professional Identity: Southern Scientists, 1883–1940." *Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 4 (November 1988): 597–622.

Stowe, Steven. Review of *The House of Percy: Honor, Melancholy, and Imagination in a Southern Family.* by Will Percy. *Reviews in American History* 24 (March 1996): 138–43.

Web Sites

Almind, Gert J. "Jukeboxes." http://www.jukeboxworks.com/historyTerm.html.

American Experience. http://pbs.org. *Bill Moyers Journal* "The Legacy of Lynching" www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/till/peopleevents/e_lynch.html

American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1940. http://www.americanmemory.gov.

Journal Star Archives. http://www.journalstar.com/articles/2005/05/22/Sunday_am/doc428b981453c7e539709681.bat.

Steber, Bill. "Juke Joints." http://www.steberphoto.com/articles-1.htm.

Wickman, Patricia. "Seminoles." http://www.seminoletribe.com/tribune/40anniversary/history.shtml.

5

THE MIDWEST

Overview

In 1900, the century changed, but life for most midwesterners in many ways remained much the same as it had been since the end of the Civil War. The Victorian family model of father, mother, and children (more in the rural areas and less in urban settings) that had developed in the previous century was firmly intact as the new century opened. People still traveled from one place to another by walking, by horse, or by trains that were powered by steam, or in the cities by trolleys using the new power source, electricity. Newspapers and books remained the primary source of news and information, and entertainment came in the form of live shows. Rural and small town children usually attended school in a one-room schoolhouse, while schoolchildren in the cities went to public or parish schools organized in the Lancastrian method of neatly aligned rows of desks and strict discipline. Most food was purchased fresh, and, except for flour and other cereal products, some processed meats, and canned goods, most foods were still purchased locally. The federal government remained distant, and politics remained local and almost wholly a concern of—and run by—men.

But most of the midwestern world on which the sun shined on January 1, 1900, would be greatly transformed over the next 40 years. In fact, the events of the first four decades of the twentieth century made the nineteenth-century boasts of material progress seem quaint. In the ensuing decades the automobile and airplane not only revolutionized travel but also changed people's concepts of space and time like nothing had since the railroads of the mid-nineteenth century. Electricity expanded from solely industrial and commercial to private use, and people bought appliances, conveniences, and home entertainment media that their grandparents never could have dreamed possible.

Government also began to change the lives of the people in dramatic if also erratic ways. During World War I, for example, the federal government rationed or controlled food, drink, and travel, and regulated production in factory and field, and at the end of the war the government told Americans that alcohol was bad for them and they could no longer expect alcoholic beverages to be produced, distributed, or sold legally in their country. At the same time, state and local governments established work rules, set wages, regulated public conveyances, inspected foods, conducted hygiene and other public health programs, controlled public utilities and set their rates, laid down zoning rules, and in general made daily life more scheduled and managed than it had ever been, especially in urban areas. To many, these reforms and regulations seemed overly intrusive, yet when the economic devastation of the Great Depression reduced many people to hopeless poverty and despair, they were glad to see the government bring order into their lives. Federal programs that supported farm prices, helped the dispossessed recover a lapsed mortgage, put people back to work, provided safety nets in the form of pensions and workers' compensation, brought electricity to rural areas, and saved the banking system all persuaded many Americans to look to government as a source of inspiration, information, and improvement when the great American capitalist machine could not. And as a result of the Great Depression, most Americans began to understand the benefits of a government that concerned itself with improving their quality of life.

From 1900 to 1929, industrial development grew at a dizzying rate, especially in the Midwest. Led by the new automobile industry, the burgeoning steel conglomerates, and food processors, the Midwest exploded with industrial development, which swelled the population of the older cities and created many new ones. Workforces increased, and the relative standard of living climbed, though many industrial and agricultural workers suffered from harsh working conditions and low wages. Leisure time increased, as did the number of workers seeking recreational outlets. The entertainment industry led by movies, sports, and radio became massive capitalist enterprises. Religion also went through numerous transformations in this era as the dominant Protestant denominations of Midwest America dealt with the powerful appeal of Pentecostal and holiness movements and faced the massive immigration of European Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Jews, and others in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Along with the European migration, blacks from the South began their trek northward and transformed many of the cities of the Midwest both demographically and culturally. In many ways, the period from 1900 to 1940 remade the Midwest to such a degree that Americans worried about losing their old ways to modernism, immigration, and governmental regulation, and they fought back with appeals to religious fundamentalism, nativism, racism, and a political rearguard action against Progressivism and the New Deal.

Domestic Life

As the new century unfolded, forces evolved that radically altered the Victorian family model fabricated in the nineteenth century. The automobile, consolidated schools, youth clubs, birth control, changed expectations of marriage, migration, and women entering the workforce all contributed to the modification of the definition and role of family in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Men continued to perceive themselves as the principal breadwinners of the family, and they measured their worth in their ability to support their families and, when able, their communities. Women also made great strides toward economic independence in this era, and in 1920 they realized the long-sought goal of enfranchisement. Families became smaller, especially among the middle class. In urban areas, more attention was paid to children, and, as the century evolved, children became more educated. A child who would not be expected to complete more than six years of education in 1910 was finishing high school by the 1920s. Various immigrant and ethnic groups resisted women's economic independence and political empowerment, but changes in the national culture and economy had their effects on assimilating many women into wider expectations of social autonomy.

The Depression, with its high unemployment and home mortgage foreclosures, brought unprecedented pressures on families, but most survived. Although the family underwent many changes in this era, the concept of family continued to define the fabric of American life. This section will explore those changes and adaptations that families made over the first four decades of the twentieth century.

FAMILY LIFE

By the 1920s in the Midwest, more people both urban and rural were marrying younger. There were many factors motivating young people to marry. Aside from encouragement by the community to marry soon after graduating from high school, there was also the availability of factory jobs, which allowed a young man to avoid a prolonged apprenticeship and still obtain employment with a salary that could support a family. There also existed increased employment opportunities for wives to supplement family incomes. The relatively greater ease of dissolving marriages, the diffusion of knowledge regarding birth control, and the growing tendency to engage in leisure-time pursuits as couples rather than groups also contributed to lowering the age at which people married. The typical middle-class family structure in the Midwest, as in other parts of the nation, consisted of a married couple and their unmarried children.

Middle-class Protestant weddings in the Midwest usually included of a brief ceremonial exchange of pledges by a man and woman before a duly sanctioned representative of the community, usually either a judge or a minister. This ceremony, very largely religious in the 1890s, became for the Protestant middle class increasingly secularized in the new century. Just before the turn of the century, 85 percent of the local marriages were performed by a religious representative and 13 percent by a secular agent, while in 1923 those performed by the religious leaders had fallen to 63 percent, and secular weddings had risen to 34 percent. Such trends worried the clergy. A prominent minister in a midwestern city, for example, reported to sociologists Robert Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd in their study of *Middletown* (Muncie, Indiana) that the increase in divorce in the new century was largely due to the secularization of the marriage ceremony. He believed that taking marriage out of the sanctity of the churches relaxed the obligations one partner had toward the other in respect to their relationship.

The choice of a mate in marriage was nominally hedged by certain legal, religious, and traditional or customary restrictions. Interracial marriage, for example, continued to be legally prohibited in most parts of the Midwest. Laws also prohibited marriage with an insane person, an imbecile or epileptic, a person having a transmissible disease, or, within certain limits, with a male who had been a public charge, a person whose former marriage had not been dissolved, a person under the influence of liquor or narcotics, or a man under 18 or a woman under 16 years of age. Religious requirements varied somewhat from one religious group to another, but generally concerned two main points: first, nominal prohibition by Catholics of marriage outside the Catholic Church and a corresponding though weaker sentiment among Protestants against marriage to a Catholic; and second, varying but somewhat lessening emphasis upon the permanency of marriage, whereby a few religious leaders refused to remarry a divorced person. Some ministers would refuse to marry persons living in "open [sexual] sin," though the marriage ceremony was commonly regarded as the accepted means of regularizing such individuals (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 112–14).

Once married, the newlyweds usually left the homes of their parents at once and began to make a home of their own; the bride symbolically confirmed her new identity by dropping the last name of her father for the name of her husband. Financial support of the wife by the husband, sexual fealty to one partner only, and sufficient mutual consideration that excluded cruel treatment, sufficient "sobriety" and "morality" to avoid charges of "habitual drunkenness" and "criminal conviction," and the desire and the ability to have children—all represented the minimal expectations of marriage. Theoretically, among native-born Americans, love—the mysterious attraction of two young people for each other—was seen as the only valid basis for marriage. In some states, as a corollary to this belief, loss of affection after marriage, previously an unacceptable reason for legal separation, in the mid-1920s became recognized as sufficient cause for divorce. Commenting on the increasing divorce rate, social columnist and advisor Dorothy Dix pointed out the following:

> The reason there are more divorces is that people are demanding more of life than they used to . . . in former times . . . they expected to settle down to a life of hard work . . . to putting up with each other. Probably men are just as good husbands as they ever were, but grandmother had to stand grandpa. For he was her meal ticket and her card of admission to good society. A divorced woman was a disgraced woman. . . . But now we see things differently. We see no good purpose is achieved by keeping two people together who have come to hate each other. (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 128)

Along with rising divorce rates, a decline in births also brought changes to the middle-class family structure in the first decade of the twentieth century. The primary reason for the declining birthrate was the increase in the use of birth control among middle-class families. The male condom was the most frequently used form of birth control, although diaphragms were increasing in use. The 1920s and 1930s also witnessed a decline in parental authority over children as the automobile and school-centered activities began to draw children away from the family core.

While middle-class white families struggled with issues such as divorce, family size, and the loss of control over their children, the newly arriving black families from the South struggled with survival. Up until the second decade of the twentieth century, although life in the rural South had many difficulties, family ties and tradition kept southern blacks close to their roots. But during World War I, the immigrant labor supply from Europe had dried up, creating employment possibilities that were heralded in attractive articles written by the *Chicago Defender* and other black papers. These same papers used biblical metaphor in beckoning southern blacks north by extolling the advantages of living in the "promised lands" of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and other industrial cities. At the same time the arrival of the boll weevil in the South began to push blacks from their traditional home. Such factors caused the emotional and cultural ties that had held blacks in the South to begin to disintegrate, and the Great Migration north began. Large midwestern cities, which absorbed much of the movement, were strange and forbidding to black families who had lived seemingly forever on Mississippi Delta plantations or in small southern towns. Men in worn, outmoded suits carrying battered baggage and women clutching ragged, barefooted children crowded into the Midwest's large urban train stations.

Upon arriving, they hopefully looked for a familiar face. Every Sunday at train stations throughout the Midwest, migrants would mingle with local blacks who went to the station to meet a friend or a relative or just to see who had arrived from their hometown. Often there was no familiar face to depend on, and the family had to make it on their own. The first few days for a newly arrived black family were terrifying. Eventually they would find the "Negro section" of the city, where housing was scarce and ordinary conveniences were often lacking. Many black families who could not afford the high rent took in lodgers to share the burden. Sometimes they took in lodgers even when the added income wasn't necessary. The lodger might be a newly arrived migrant relative or a friend down on his luck. Regardless of the reason, the family structure often differed greatly from the Victorian model of middle-class America (Spear 1967, 147–49).

For most white middle- and many working-class families of the Midwest, the first decades of the century were relatively comfortable. For the newly arriving black families, even those who did not immediately experience economic improvement, at least there was hope. This era of modest prosperity and hope for most families came crashing down at the end of the 1920s when the Great Depression arrived. One immediate impact of the economic collapse was a further drop in the birth rate, which had already dropped below three children per family by the 1920s. Consequently, the generation born in the 1930s represented the smallest population increase in the history of the United States. During the Depression years, socializing with nonfamily members also declined, because the cost of going out or entertaining at home became prohibitive (Kyvig 2002, 226).

Franklin Roosevelt was elected president in 1932, promising a New Deal for Depression-riddled American families, which meant that midwestern families began to feel the impact of a socially involved federal government to a degree they had never before experienced. For example, to save families from losing their homes to foreclosure, one of the immediate acts passed by the Roosevelt administration with the support of a compliant Congress was the Home Owners Loan Corporation. On the day the corporation opened for business in Akron, Ohio, a double line of applicants stretched three blocks down Main Street. Eventually the Home Owners Loan Corporation would refinance one of every five homes in America (Kyvig 2002, 233).

MEN

As the new century unfolded, many middle-class men still clung to the social ethics of the Victorian model. They gained their manly identity through their occupations and were expected to work hard and be good providers for their families. Away from work, the family and home were the centerpieces of their life. Many blue-collar workers also accepted these values, which advocated sexual continence, work before pleasure, temperance, and punctuality. Men who supported capitalism believed such conduct was required to get ahead in the marketplace, to keep one's job in the workshop, and to become an independent master. Many working men believed that Victorian behavior would help revitalize their own culture of productivity through an emphasis on brotherhood and mutual cooperation. As a counterpoint there also existed a bachelor subculture that rejected piety, sobriety, sexual abstinence, and steady work.

In addition to saloons, favorite gathering places for working-class men were poolrooms and bowling alleys. Although at these venues the variant aspects of male culture converged, a survey in 1913 of 806 working men found that the majority of those who frequented billiard parlors were single and born in the United States or Great Britain. They were mainly transportation workers, clerks, or in domestic or personal service. While men with short workdays were the most likely to visit poolrooms, these halls also took up a large proportion of the discretionary time of those who worked 11 or more hours a day. There was also a very strong correlation between income for workers earning less than 35 dollars a week and use of the poolroom. There were probably more billiard parlors than any other commercialized entertainment except perhaps the movies.

In addition to poolrooms, bowling alleys, often associated with saloons, also provided a cheap and readily accessible male entertainment. Banned in large cities of the Northeast for several years because of its close association with gambling, bowling prospered in the Midwest. Because of the considerable gambling connected to the sport and because alleys were often located in the basements of saloons, bowling was not regarded as a respectable sport for women, and the proprietors of bowling alleys were closely associated with the male bachelor subculture (Riess 1991, 74–77).

Some historians have found that males of all classes at the turn of the century expressed a "national urge to be young, masculine, [and] adventurous" and rebellious against the "frustrations and sheer dullness of an urban industrialized culture" (Marsh, 1988, 165). They use this male image to explain the rise in popularity of boxing and football in the early decades of the century. While there is much truth to this generalization, others have suggested that during the first two decades of the twentieth century, a different male image emerged, especially in the newly developing suburban areas. This new male created an original model of masculine domesticity. Although this suburban male did not share household duties with his spouse, he did take up increased responsibilities for bringing up children, especially sons, by teaching them and taking them on trips. A domestic male would also be more inclined to make his wife, rather than male cronies, his regular companion on an evening out. And while he might not dust the mantel or make the bed, he would take a significantly greater interest in the details of running the household and caring for his children (Marsh 1988, 165–66).

This anti-halitosis advertisement for Listerine antiseptic mouthwash appeared in the July 5, 1929, issue of *Life* magazine. Library of Congress.

For the most part, middle-class men eschewed the gathering places of the working class, and many found male companionship in clubs founded to promote their own business interests. Eventually, the members of these organizations became less concerned with creating business contacts than with improving the communities in which they lived. Leaders in this movement toward charitable fraternal organizations were midwestern men. In 1915, for example, the first Kiwanis Club was organized in Detroit, Michigan, with the purpose of promoting the exchange of business among the members. However, even before the Detroit club received its state charter, the members were distributing Christmas baskets to the poor. By 1919, after lively debate over the club's mission, the organization officially became dedicated to community service. In 1917, Chicago businessman Melvin Jones established the Association of Lions Clubs with the belief that local fraternal business clubs should expand their horizons from purely professional concerns to the betterment of their communities and the world at large. In addition to earmarking specific fundraising projects to aid local charities, these fraternal organizations provided low-cost life insurance for their members, giving them the peace of mind that their families would be economically secure even if they died.

Catholic men joined the Knights of Columbus, which, like non-Catholic fraternal organizations, did charitable work in their communities, offered low-cost life insurance programs, and provided scholarships for deserving students. In Chicago, the Knights also took on the additional work of caring for delinquent boys (Shanabruch 1981, 189). Midwestern Knights also supported a vigorous public education program, which combated the lingering forces of anti-Catholicism in that region (Fisher 2000, 100).

Black men also subscribed to the cultural code that men had the responsibility of being providers for their family. That need was often the final and most compelling motive for making the decision to travel north. With much of white life closed to them, black males created their own space for expressing concern for the economic and social well-being of the community by building social and fraternal lodges and making them the center of community activities. Most important of these male organizations were the Prince Hall Masons, which traced their history back to the late eighteenth century. Membership in black Masonic Lodges transcended class, as men were measured by their virtue, not their pocketbooks. In addition to the Prince Hall Masons, most black communities included another male organization known as the Knights of Pythias. These lodges fulfilled the male aspiration to provide not only for their own families but also the larger black community. The lodges provided benefits for sickness or death in an age when few blacks carried insurance. They also established scholarships for promising young people.

Another important gathering place, particularly for black men, was the barbershop. The black-owned barbershop provided a space where black men aired their opinions and debated issues. The barbers who presided over these shops were usually important community leaders. Black barbers, in contrast to their white counterparts, melded their trade into a close-knit network, which enabled them to provide their customers with information about jobs and housing. In 1916, for example, Robert Horton, a barber from Mississippi, recruited nearly 40 men and women to join his family in a migration club that secured a discount for travel to Chicago, where he established a barbershop in his new city that became a gathering and information center for migrants from Mississippi (Reich 2006, 60).

In summary, the male culture of the Midwest, regardless of class or race, judged itself by men's ability to be good providers for their families, and when able, to extend their concern to their immediate community. They also left to women domestic responsibilities of household management and child rearing, and when possible, the majority of working-class men continued to prefer to pass their leisure time in the company of other men.

WOMEN

In their study of the "typical American" community, sociologists Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd discovered that "Middletown" (Muncie, Indiana) husbands, when talking frankly among themselves, were likely to speak of women as creatures purer and morally better than men but at the same time as relatively impractical, emotional, unstable, given to prejudice, easily hurt, and largely incapable of facing facts or doing hard thinking. One group of the city's "most thoughtful men" agreed that "there's something about the female mind that always short circuits a general statement into a personal criticism." A school official, approached regarding the possibility of getting a woman on the school board, replied, "with only three people on the board there isn't much place for a woman." Another group of "prominent Middletown men" also agreed that "Woman is the most unselfish creature on earth within her family, but with outsiders she is quick to imagine snubs to her family, bristle up, and become unsocial."

According to the Lynds' study, Middletown wives appeared in part to have accepted the impression of them that many of their husbands maintained. The mottos of two of the city's women's clubs ("Men are God's trees, women are his flowers," and "True womanliness is . . . the greatest charm of woman") suggested little change from the prevailing attitude reflected in the title of a commencement essay in 1891, which affirmed that "Woman Is Most Perfect When Most Womanly." At a local political dinner, the talk at one of the tables turned to women's smoking, and a woman politician said with an air of finality: "Women have to be morally better than men. It is they who pull men up or cause their downfall." Women, on the other hand, were frequently heard to express the opinion, accompanied by a knowing smile, that "Men are nothing but big little boys, who have never grown up and must be treated as such" (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 117–19).

If "Middletown" reflected the continuity of cultural values in the small-town Midwest, the large cities and their suburbs revealed significant social changes underway in the first decades of the twentieth century. As the new century opened, more women entered the workforce than ever before, and World War I propelled the movement of women into the workplace and became an important force in altering gender relationships not only in the Midwest but also throughout the country. In the 1920s the number of women in the Midwest working outside the home doubled, and they comprised 21 percent of all wage earners. Still, for the most part, women remained concentrated in low-paying and low-status jobs. These included clerical positions, store sales, teaching, and nursing.

A major issue that emerged for women in the new century in the Midwest and elsewhere was their rights as women in the workplace. During World War I when women entered new occupations because the men left to join the army and navy, unions and individual rank-and-file members often objected. The locals of the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees in, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit in 1917 and 1918, for example, fought the entry of the hundreds of women who became streetcar conductors. The male unionists maintained that women workers could be difficult to organize, even though in the past they had organized themselves and even participated in strikes. The result was that trade unions did not take women seriously as workers and for years the AFL (American Federation of Labor) refused to spend money for organizing low-paid women workers.

By 1920, a majority of women in the United States lived in cities and towns, rather than on farms. Yet even at that date literally thousands of women who worked for wages were in farming. Until the end of the nineteenth century, for example, almost half a million women were employed on farms, a figure that included only those who were actually paid for their work, or worked as farmers or planters. It did not include the millions of women who were farm wives, whose work in the home might be onerous and almost unending and who in addition might work for days or even weeks in the fields, especially at particular times in the annual cycle of farm work. Because wages were not paid for this labor in the home and in the field, it was not counted in the census figures on women's work. The great majority of women farm workers (that is, laborers) who were paid were black. In 1900, for example, there were 440,000 black women farm workers and 290,000 white ones. By 1930, the number of white women in agricultural labor (primarily as farmers) was still rising, reaching 345,000 that year, but at that date the number of black women had fallen to 420,000. This change reflected the migration of black families to midwestern cities like Detroit and Chicago, a trek that had begun during World War I and continued through the ensuing decades.

Under slavery, black women had generally worked in the fields, and during the late nineteenth century only in the South were white women used to working in the fields, mirroring, no doubt, the greater poverty of southern farmers after the Civil War. A survey made in 1921 of some 900 families in Nebraska, for example, showed that only 12.5 percent of white women ever worked in the fields. Even when a Midwest farm wife did not work in the fields, her job was a heavy one, as it had been on the frontier or during an earlier and less developed stage of American agriculture. By the early years of the twentieth century, whatever may have been the attitudes of farm wives earlier, to many women life on the farm seemed dull, draining, and disadvantageous. The benefits of city life were now evident to all farm people through magazines, catalogs, newspapers, and other means whereby city culture spread into the countryside. Especially in the eyes of women, the contrast between town and the individual homestead farm became more evident than at any other time in the country's history. In fact, there was sufficient discontent among farm women in the early twentieth century for the Department of Agriculture in 1913 to conduct a survey of attitudes among 55,000 correspondents on farms. Many of the farmers' wives wrote in directly, recording their attitudes and those of their neighbors. As one Iowa woman wrote, women want to feel "that they are partners in fact with their husbands and not looked upon as subordinates." In her opinion "the worst feature of farm work is too much work and too little pleasure. . . ." The main cause for dissatisfaction of farm women in the Midwest was their isolation. "The fathers get so accustomed to the mother staying at home they seem to forget that they might enjoy a little rest and recreation," the Iowan complained. "And the mother gets so accustomed to it she, too, seems to forget she is human."

A woman who lived on an admittedly "splendid" 320-acre farm in Minnesota with "unlimited opportunities" still found her situation almost intolerable "on account of being so shut off from the outside world." Women have to stay home, she noted, while the man "is less subjected to the monotonous drudgery than is the woman." A similar comparison of the life of the farmer and that of the farm wife was made by another farm woman: "The hardest phase of country life for the women in my neighborhood is the monotony, with no means or opportunity for any social life whatever." Even where there was no fieldwork, as a woman from Michigan made clear, work in the home could be backbreaking. "We do not feel so very much neglected by the department [of Agriculture] as by our men." Even on wealthy farms, with good and expensive equipment, "the women must still do the work much as their mothers before them did" (Degler 1980, 406). The Michigan woman explained as follows:

> There are no modern conveniences such as water in the house, bath, modern lights, vacuum cleaners, etc., and often not even such inexpensive things as an oil stove, fireless cooker, washing machine, gasoline iron, bread mixer, and many such small items which help so much to lighten the women's work; while the men have all the modern machinery and farm implements their work requires. (Degler 1980, 406)

The woman writing this report did not blame the men for selfishness or even indifference; rather, she ascribed the problem to men's lack of recognition of the large amount of work performed by farm women. A Colorado woman suggested "the department should educate the farm men to the necessity of labor-saving devices for the household. Improvements in the farm home seem to fall behind improvements on the farm" (Degler 1980, 406).

Regardless of how arduous and demanding of time and effort the life of the farm woman may have been, it was always possible to combine work and family on a farm. Both occupations took place at the same site, as it were. When work for women moved outside the home, however, women who could most readily follow it were those without family responsibilities or those who had no husband or no income. By the early years of the twentieth century, although the great proportion of married women did not work outside the home, there was a sufficiently large number of married women who did, for whatever reason, that the combining of home and work was neither novel nor rare (Degler 1980, 400–411).

During the 1920s women also entered into social spaces that were formerly the exclusive domain of men. In the 1920s, for example, many midwestern women made, sold, and drank liquor in unprecedented fashion. Decades later, a woman recalled the many evenings she donned her flapper finery and headed to the dance halls where she and her friends shimmied to jazz tunes and slipped outside to share a pint of moonshine. Until the advent of Prohibition, drinking in small midwestern towns was governed by clearly defined and understood social rules. Saloons were male preserves and reflected the ethnic and occupational strata of the community. Any woman who drank in a saloon was assumed to be a prostitute at worst, "loose" at best. When reputable women drank, they did so at home. Prohibition rattled these traditional patterns. It curbed some drinking, but more significantly, it changed the drinking habits of youth and women. Prohibition accelerated the advent of heterosocial nightlife as new watering holes welcomed young couples and groups of women, as well as men.

Prohibition also allowed ethnic groups and women to capitalize on the underground economy by launching new businesses in the manufacturing and sale of liquor. Women cooked liquor on the kitchen stove to supplement the family income.

Husbands and wives running "moonshine joints" and "home speaks" competed with saloons hastily converted into soft drink parlors. A few women operated bustling roadhouses. In the 1920s, gray-haired mothers appearing in court on bootlegging charges confounded judges and juries, whose previous contact with female criminals had been almost exclusively with prostitutes. In all aspects of the liquor business, women moved into spaces that had once been reserved exclusively for men. Prohibition allowed women to rewrite the script of acceptable public behavior and to transform one arena of commercial leisure bounded by rigid gender roles.

There is great irony in Prohibition. The law had, in effect, created a vacuum of rules, and women exploited the opportunity to slip into niches in the economy of liquor production, distribution, and consumption. Women had been in the vanguard of the Prohibition movement, a movement designed to restrict male behavior by abolishing the vice-ridden retreat of the saloon and curbing male drinking. Yet, a decade after legislative success, some of the very same women led the campaign for repeal of the 18th Amendment, having concluded that some kind of regulated liquor trade was preferable to moral anarchy. Much to their dismay, during Prohibition, drinking had become an equal opportunity vice. True, many saloons closed their doors forever and the consumption of alcohol did decrease. But during Prohibition, men and women reconstructed social drinking habits, and the greatest change was women's newfound penchant to belly up to the bar. Unforeseen by proponents and opponents, Prohibition effectively created new social spaces in speakeasies and nightclubs; this allowed a redefinition of sex roles in one of the most gender-segregated arenas of leisure—getting together for a drink. Behavior followed structural change. Public drinking was not on the list of rights demanded by twentieth-century feminists. Indeed, the seemingly frivolous activities of young women in the 1920s dismayed feminists, who saw them divert energy from politics. Nevertheless, the reorganization of drinking did increase women's autonomy. Whether they spent an evening drinking and dancing with their boyfriends, husbands, or members of their ladies clubs, doors that had been closed to them now opened in welcome. Prohibition provided women with new economic opportunities, greater choices of public leisure, and a chance to broaden the definition of reputable female behavior (Murphy 1994, 174–76).

When the Great Depression brought an end to the boom of the 1920s women felt the economic pressure in many ways that were determined by their gender. Among women who before the Depression were employed outside the home, the wave of layoffs hit them first. Employers, when making layoff decisions, showed preference to keep men on as the principal breadwinners and let women go. For those women who did not work outside the house, their home was their domain, and by 1933, many were threatened with the loss of the focus of their lives as over 40 percent of home mortgages fell into default. Sometimes under the pressure and humiliation of economic failure, families simply collapsed. Desertion rates soared in the 1930s as many husbands simply abandoned what they considered to be hopeless situations and many women were left alone to deal with the problems of maintaining a semblance of family order. Patterns of consumption reveal some of the difficulties facing women. While overall food sales declined, challenging women to become more creative with fewer resources, the sale of items such as scotch tape soared as women tried to repair household items rather than discard them. Almost half of the families in America survived the Depression years without losing their jobs or their homes, but for the women in the families of the other half who did, daily life became a serious struggle. Women did whatever they could to keep their families together. Many women stood in lines at garbage dumps to salvage some edible food for their family. Some took in wash and sewing, others cared for children in their homes, while others sought relief from private and public welfare agencies (Kyvig 2002, 226–28). For some the New Deal policies of direct relief, home loans, and public works saved their families; others would have to wait until World War II restored prosperity to the economy and their lives. But for many women, the Depression marked the end of their lives as they knew it and they would never recover what they had lost.

CHILDREN

In the Midwest as other areas of the country, parents considered the education of the young to be one of their foremost responsibilities, and for most people their religious faith remained a philosophical guide for child rearing. A mother who was prominent in the educational work of a medium-sized midwestern city stated in a forum on child rearing, "I believe there is no boy problem. Children are not a problem but a joy. We can trust them and God will lead them." Most of the papers given at the mothers' council tended to deal in generalities. For example, "The duty of parents is to make their children realize the sacred duty of every man to vote, to exercise the political sacrament of the ballot." In the case of working-class families, in answer to every question in regard to children, mothers of the working class would answer by such blanket explanations as "the cause of that is sin or the devil and the only remedy is salvation" (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 178).

In the first decades of the new century the responsibility of child rearing fell mainly on the parents, but increasingly the burden became shared with school, church, and youth organizations, both secular and nonsecular. In the new century in cities and towns, when a child turned six, the community became involved with the child's education. As children entered high school, a number of activities began to draw them away from the home. Aside from various clubs at school, there were the Boy Scouts, the YMCA, and the YWCA.

Catholics of the Midwest maintained their own schools and their own clubs. As a Catholic alternative to the YMCA and YWCA, for example, the Chicago Catholics under the leadership of auxiliary Bishop Bernard Sheil organized the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) in 1930. Sheil founded the CYO also because he recognized that young urban Catholics were being drawn away from the church by the competition of such exhilarating pleasures as drinking, fighting, and womanizing. He feared that the church, along with family and schools, apparently had lost its historic function as an agent of socialization and had little relevance to the needs of young Catholic males in the 1920s and 1930s. Sheil wanted to find a way to bring the young men back into the fold. The Catholic Church's concern over the protection of its young in America dated back to the mid-nineteenth century, when it created parochial schools to counter Protestant influence in the public schools. In the early 1900s, when most Catholics were unassimilated new immigrant stock, bishops worried that adult-directed boys' organizations like the YMCA and the Boy Scouts would undermine the faith of good Catholics by promoting the values of the Protestant core culture to the detriment of their own religious heritage. In fact, Sheil exaggerated the danger, for the Protestant-oriented YMCA and Boy Scouts drew few Catholics to them and were designed for rural American youth coming to the cities more than for immigrants. In any case, most immigrant families could hardly afford to allow children to spend time in clubs of any kind or even school. Their labor was too valuable. Also, among some immigrant cultures, schooling beyond learning catechism and basic literacy and arithmetic was deemed superfluous, even dangerous to cultural norms and family needs.

Still, as the second generation of children of immigrants grew up and as older Catholic populations such as the Irish and Germans continued to be city dwellers, such organizations as the CYO played larger roles in organizing youth activities. Sports were especially appealing to boys. The CYO began operations in 1931 with a huge boxing tournament and a 10-team basketball league. Sheil emphasized boxing because it appealed to poor working-class youth—the precise group he wanted to attract to the CYO. The CYO became an important training ground for boxers, three of whom made the 1936 Olympic team. The CYO differed significantly from Protestant-inspired youth athletic clubs in that the CYO reflected a Catholic perspective that did not fear the influence of women as teachers of older boys, as the late Victorians had. And the CYO used sport not to build manly, healthy, and physically muscular Christians but rather to save souls. Also, in the pre–World War II years, the CYO always served a heterogeneous lower-class Catholic clientele, while Protestant boys' groups started with a homogeneous middle-class WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) population. CYO branches were soon established all over the country and by 1940 reached 150,000 Catholic youth. Besides boxing, the CYO sponsored a baseball league and for years the biggest basketball association in the United States (Riess 1991, 101–2).

PETS

Although Pennsylvania (see Chapter 2, The Northeast) led the way in protecting stray animals, a second wave of humane organizations emerged around the turn of the century. This new group included the Chicago Anti-Cruelty Society, established in 1899. As in other parts of the country, the Midwest experienced an explosion of interest in house pets, particularly dogs, during the Victorian age, and at the turn of the century enterprising Chicagoans found ways to capitalize on the new money-making opportunities generated by pet enthusiasts. Taking advantage of the growing market created by people who kept their dogs indoors most of the time, one Chicago seller promised dog couches that had "a very smart finished appearance in complete harmony with the interior décor." Also by the mid-1930s, dog treadmills were being designed for apartment dogs that did not get enough exercise outdoors. As more people bought smaller breeds that were unaccustomed to the colder climates of northern cities of the upper Midwest, a Chicago entrepreneur offered "coat style" dog sweaters made to order, woolen dog blankets, and rubberized rain slickers with small rubber boots (Grier 2006, 308). All this reflected the trend toward anthropomorphizing pets and making them part of the family, especially in middle-class homes. Attitudes toward the purpose of keeping and the treatment of animals also distinguished rural from urban America, especially in the farm-rich areas of the Midwest.

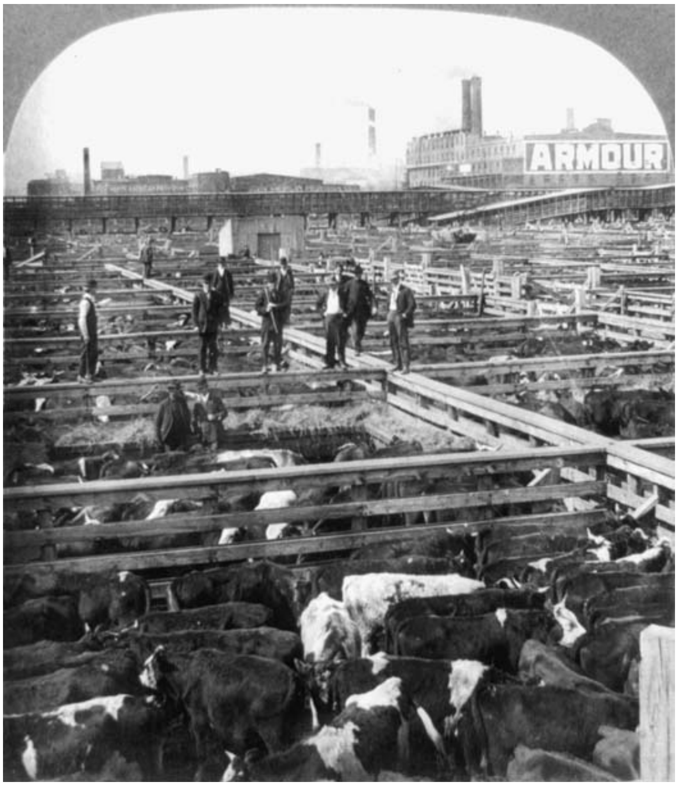
Economic Life

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Midwest became the industrial center of the United States. Taking advantage of the transportation infrastructure provided by the Great Lakes and the railroads, the abundance of cheap labor, and the open space of the Midwest, the industrial giants of the country settled into the Midwest. New factories sprang up in every city in the upper Midwest, and where there were no cities, such as along the southern shore of Lake Michigan, corporations created them. The myriad of unskilled jobs generated by the new industries created a new industrial working class, and along with them tensions of class and race, which would follow any large and rather hurried concentration of people from diverse backgrounds. The population explosion and the rapid development of technology in the cities also made divisions between urban and rural life more obvious than they had ever been in the country's history. Generally those working and living on farms, until well into the 1930s, did not experience directly the technological marvels occurring in the cities, and by 1930, the small family farms seemed almost to stand as memorials to a world left behind by an urban population that within one generation had shifted velocity from the speed of a horse to that of an airplane.

WORK AND WORKPLACE

The Midwest workplace became the venue for the greatest industrial innovations of the first half of the twentieth century. These new industries began and remained in the Midwest for the first half of the century. This revolution started with the automobile in 1901, when Ransom Olds of Lansing, Michigan, began producing a car for the middle class.

Even though the curved-dash Oldsmobile cost a mere $650, it remained out of reach to many living on an average income. In 1906, another midwestern automobile maker, Detroit's Henry Ford, began building a reliable four-cylinder 15-horse-



The Great Union Stock Yards in Chicago in 1909. Library of Congress.

power car intended for the middle-class market. The $600 Model N Ford was deluged with orders, and Ford was soon producing 100 Model Ns a day. In 1908 Ford announced the production of the Model T and by 1914 had reduced its cost to $490. Ford's greatest innovation was the replacement of individual construction crews with the moving assembly line. At the same time that Henry Ford was promoting the Model T, another Detroit businessman, William C. Durant, busied himself collecting small independent automakers, including Buick, Oldsmobile, Cadillac, and Chevrolet. He also purchased control of parts makers Fisher Body and Charles Kettering's Electric Starter and Battery Company. Together, these small companies would become General Motors Corporation. In 1919, awash in World War I profits, Durant also established the General Motors Acceptance Corporation as a means of financing his automobiles, and within two years, half of all automobile buyers, instead of paying cash for their cars, were entering into credit purchase agreements. By 1926, 75 percent of all car purchasers bought their car on credit, which expanded dramatically the population that could afford to buy automobiles. Credit buying also altered buying habits, as more drivers began to eschew the economically reliable but unchanging Model T for the more expensive but colorful and ever-changing styles and optional luxuries of General Motors cars.

New "scientific" production methods emerging in the Midwest not only contributed to the creation of new industries like the automobile, but they also transformed the working space of more traditional occupations. Before the turn of the century, for example, cleaning and preparing meat had been a skilled trade, but this craft also came under the influence of the rationalization of the new industrial order. By 1890, the assembly line, or rather the disassembly line, had been introduced to the meatpacking industry. From that time on, all that was needed to be a meatpacker was a strong back and the ability to do simple repetitive tasks. A laborer could spend an entire day for months at a time slicing jowls off hogs as their carcasses were drawn past them on a moving chain. After putting in nine very chilly hours at the plant, life was little better at home for many workers. In Chicago, these "factories" became an important and sometimes permanent stopping place for many immigrants who lived with their families in a dismal area called "the Back of the Yards." Houses were squalid frame buildings of varying sizes. They were divided into family dwelling units with as many as 12 people living in the same house. All the houses had running water, but there was usually only one toilet set in the hall between the housing units. Bathtubs were scarce; over 90 percent of the dwellings were without them. Despite such terrible conditions, stockyard workers remained unorganized.

As Saul Alinsky pointed out, "the packers froze and suffered side by side in the factories, but on the street they hardly spoke to one another" (Alinsky 1969, 80). Bonus systems established by Swift Meat Company also set workers against each other. It was not uncommon to see one person stab the hand of another with a fork to grab pieces of meat that could be trimmed more quickly. With so many forces pulling them apart, it took meatpackers longer than other industrial workers to organize for better pay and work conditions. It was not until the fall of 1939 that the Packing Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC) of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) organized a majority of workers, thereby forcing the meatpackers to recognize the union. This union victory could not have succeeded without the help of Bishop Bernard Sheil, who convinced the mostly Catholic immigrants that the Church supported their right to demand a just wage. After a successful summer of organizing by the PWOC, the industry accepted the demands of the PWOC and the meatpackers were on their way to better working and living conditions.

Snapshot

Scene from a Meatpacking Plant As Described in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906)

It was a long, narrow room. At the head there was a great iron wheel, about twenty feet in circumference, with rings here and there along its edge. Upon both sides of this wheel there was a narrow space, into which came the hogs at the end of their journey. . . . It [the wheel] began slowly to revolve, and then the men upon each side of it sprang to work. They had chains which they fastened about the leg of the nearest hog, and the other end of the chain they hooked into one of the rings upon the wheel. So, as the wheel turned, a hog was suddenly jerked off his feet and borne aloft.

At the same instant the car was assailed by a most terrifying shriek. The shriek was followed by another, louder and yet more agonizing—for once started upon that journey, the hog never came back.

Meantime, the men upon the floor were going about their work. One by one they hooked up the hogs, and one by one with a swift stroke they slit their throats. There was a long line of hogs, with squeals and lifeblood ebbing away together; until at last each started again, and vanished with a splash into a huge vat of boiling water.

The carcass hog was scooped out of the vat by machinery, and then it fell to the second floor. It was then again strung up by machinery, and sent upon another trolley ride; this time passing between two lines of men, who sat upon a raised platform, each doing a certain single thing to the carcass as it came to him. One with a swift stroke cut the throat; another with two swift strokes severed the head, which fell to the floor and vanished through a hole. Another made a slit down the body; a second opened the body wider; a third with a saw cut the breastbone; a fourth loosened the entrails; a fifth pulled them out—and they also slid through a hole in the floor. There were men to clean the carcass inside, to trim it and wash it. Looking down this room, one saw, creeping slowly, a line of dangling hogs a hundred yards in length; and for every yard there was a man, working as if a demon were after him. At the end of this hog's progress every inch of the carcass had been gone over several times; and then it was rolled into the chilling room, where it stayed for twenty-four hours, and where a stranger might lose himself in a forest of freezing hogs. (Sinclair 2003, 30–31)

The rapid rise of new industries such as the automobile in the Midwest stimulated an economic boom that lasted through the 1920s. At the end of this boom, the average per capita income for nonfarm workers in the Midwest was $854 and for farm workers it was $262. The Great Depression, however, put the brakes on this unprecedented prosperity for the unskilled worker. In Chicago, in 1931, in the depths of the Great Depression, a survey found that unemployment had reached 50 percent in the all-important manufacturing sector. African Americans suffered even more. In Chicago, blacks made up only 4 percent of the population, but they represented 16 percent of the jobless. African American women, often employed as domestic help in white middle-class families, were the first to lose their jobs as the economy took a serious downturn. Already by January 1931, African American female

A 1903 view of Chicago showing State Street, looking north from Madison Street. The Granger Collection, New York.

unemployment in Chicago had reached 58 percent; in Detroit it was 75 percent, and 51 percent in Pittsburgh. Because the economic depression was primarily a capitalist industrial collapse, wage earners in the largest cities remained the hardest hit. In the rural areas of Ohio, for example, unemployment stood at 12 percent, while in Cleveland it reached 23.7 percent in the late 1930s. At the height of the Depression, authorities in the city of Detroit, deciding they could no longer afford the luxury of a zoo, ordered the slaughter of its animals to feed the hungry people of their city.

The arrival of Franklin Roosevelt and the Democratic majority into Washington in 1933 stimulated a number of changes in the depressed American economy. Government public work projects designed to give the unemployed jobs, federally insured home finance programs, and rural electrification were just a few of the programs that directly affected midwesterners. Beer brewers of the Midwest were also grateful to the new leaders in Washington, because one of the very first acts passed made the brewing of beer (albeit 3.2 percent alcohol content) legal again. Being able to drink a beer and go back to work in a brewery gave millions of people throughout the Midwest, and the rest of the country, the feeling that the government was taking direct and prompt action to improve their lives (Kyvig 2002, 221–24, 293).

TRADE AND MARKETS

Since the nineteenth century, Americans had become accustomed to buying at the local store on credit, but the credit buying of big-ticket items such as cars, initiated by William Durant of General Motors, soon spread to other areas of the American economy and revolutionized buying and marketing in the 1920s. Soon everything from cars to washing machines and vacuum cleaners could be bought for a little down and small monthly payments. Clever advertising campaigns orchestrated by companies led by teams of behavior psychologists quickly transformed luxuries like automobiles into necessities, cigarettes into health and beauty aids, bad breath and body odor into curable afflictions, and cereal into a breakfast staple.

Nowhere could the rhythms of the pulsating marketplace of the new century be better measured than in Chicago's downtown area. The daily influx of commuters reflected the commanding importance of the Loop in metropolitan Chicago. Its most glittering attractions were the department stores along State Street. Marshall Field's was easily the most famous enterprise, with a floor area of nearly 40 acres in its new buildings, 45 display windows, and 50 elevators. It was, as a national magazine observed in 1907, "more than a store. It was an exposition, a school of courtesy, a museum of modern commerce" (Mayer and Wade 1969, 218).

But it had its rivals. Down the street was Carson, Pirie Scott Company's store. Louis Sullivan had designed the building and made it one of the landmarks of the "Chicago School" of architecture, and energetic entrepreneurs had made it a serious competitor of Marshall Field's. Mandel Brothers was on the same side of State Street, and the Boston Store was across the street just a little farther south. Chicagoans and those visiting the city could also shop at The Fair, Rothschilds, Siegel, Cooper and Company, and Stevens stores, all among State Street's retail giants. "These huge establishments are from twelve to fifteen stories high," wrote two astonished visitors, "and contain every possible article of trade, from watches and boot laces, to the most exquisite art treasures and priceless gems. Anything, indeed can be purchased there, even real estate and country houses." Comparing these department stores with the best in France and England, they declared Chicago's to be "larger and, if possible, more complete in scale, more daring and perhaps more fantastic in their display" (Mayer and Wade 1969, 220).

The Loop had something for every taste. Along Michigan Avenue, just east of the Loop proper, elegant shops catered to the "carriage trade" with the latest fashions from Paris and New York. The wholesale produce market ranged along South Water Street, north of the Loop. Just inside the Loop to the west, LaSalle Street contained the city's major financial institutions. At the head of the canyon rose the Board of Trade, emblematic of Chicago's domination of the nation's grain exchange. Banks and financial institutions lined both sides of the street, their austere classical facades bulging with the driving energy that had made them the commanding force in the financial affairs of the Midwest. In this expensive setting, Burnham and Root's Rookery Building was a special gem.

A 1905 view of Chicago showing Madison Street, looking east toward Lake Michigan from State Street. The Granger Collection, New York.

Few other large cities had so concentrated their central functions. "Within an area of less than a square mile," wrote City Club secretary George E. Hooker in 1910, "there are found the railway terminals and business offices, the big retail stores, the wholesale and jobbing business, the financial center, the main offices of the chief firms of the city, a considerable portion of the medical and dental professions, the legal profession, the city and county government, the post office, the courts, the leading social and political clubs, the hotels, theatres, Art Institute, principal libraries, the labor headquarters, and a great number of lesser factors of city life." He noted by contrast that in New York these features were "scattered from the Bowery to 59th Street, a distance of five or six miles," and in London from "Oldgate Pump to Victoria Station, a distance of four or five miles" (Mayer and Wade 1969, 218–26).

Other Midwest cities also boasted sophisticated downtown shopping areas located within the heart of their cultural and commercial life, which thrived in the first decades of the twentieth century. In Detroit, for example, throngs of people filled Woodward Avenue to shop at Hudson's, the tallest department store in the country, which stood near the palatial Public Library and Art Institute. Clevelanders boasted of their Arcade building on Euclid and Superior Avenues. Greatly influenced by King Vittorio Emmanuel II's Grand Galleria in Milan, the glass-domed, iron-framed building served as the commercial center of downtown Cleveland in the first part of the twentieth century. In later years, some referred to it as America's first shopping mall.

An innovation in marketing that developed in the Midwest around the turn of the century was the great mail-order houses led by Sears Roebuck and centered in Chicago. Mail-order houses had begun before the turn of the century, but their great growth was made possible by two innovations: Rural Free Delivery, which arrived in 1896, and parcel post, which began in 1913. Mail-order houses supplied customers in literally every town and on every farm in America with a greater variety and volume of things in common use than any other merchant in the world. They sold by mail everything from a paper of pins to a nine-room house. They received as many as 200,000 letters a day and sold upward of 100,000 different kinds of articles, including food, clothing, implements for farming, decorations for houses, tools for barns, and even the houses and barns themselves.

CASTE AND CLASS EXPERIENCE

The sense of community that had existed in small midwestern towns through the turn of the century began to erode in the new century. Community cohesion perceptibly wore down as the small cities of the Midwest grew up in the post–World War I era. More and more people were identified by the neighborhood in which they lived, their occupation, and what they owned. Tensions increased between the well-to-do and the not-so-well-off. The further one moved down the social line the less they felt like they "belonged" to the community. High unemployment among young people and the willingness of impoverished workers to take low-paying jobs lowered the overall wage scale, and during the Depression years the prospect of upward mobility seemed improbable. During these years the economic gap between the 3 of 10 residents who identified with the upper class and the 7 who did not grew even wider.

Business owners and managers ran the small towns in the Midwest. This class controlled the educational system, civic institutions, churches, government, and the local newspaper. This class also provided the bulk of charitable funds and the tax revenues. The well-to-do accepted as traditional their responsibility to care for destitute women, children, and the disabled, but tended to think of economic hardship as the result of an individual's flaws and therefore found it hard to grant relief to able-bodied males even when jobs were simply not available (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 494–95).

During the World War I years, the large cities of the Midwest, particularly Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit, began to experience the first wave of black migration from the South. An offer from an agent, an encouraging letter from a friend in the North, or the appeal of the militant black press, coming after years of smoldering discontent, sparked the final decision to migrate. Through these media, tenant farmers and sharecroppers, displaced by agricultural reorganization or disastrous floods, or merely weary of their marginal economic status and the proscriptions of the southern caste system, learned of the opportunities that awaited them in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, and elsewhere in the industrial Midwest. Each southern black who chose to migrate made a highly personal decision, but he was frequently influenced by the power of mass suggestion. Wherever African Americans gathered, particularly in the country towns of the South, the North became the principal topic of conversation. Jeremiah Taylor of Bobo, Mississippi, for instance, was resigned to his farm until one day his son came back from town with the report that folks were leaving "like Judgment day." Taylor went to town, skeptical, and came back determined to move north. As friends departed, many persons went along just because "it seemed like everybody was heading that way." A woman in Macon wrote to her friend in Chicago: "May, you don't no how much I miss you. . . . it is lonesome here it fills my heart with sadness to write to my friends that gone [*sic*]. . . . May, now is the time to leave here. . . . if I stay here I will go crazy" (Spear 1967, 136).

The early migrants had only vague notions of what they might expect at their destinations, and they often headed north with visions of fantastic wages and unbounded liberty. Moreover the image of the North filtered south through the promises of agents, the glowing letters of friends, and the appeal of the African American press. It took on a mythical quality that gave to the migration an almost religious significance. The rhetoric of the migration was highly charged with biblical imagery such as "The Flight out of Egypt," "Bound for the Promised Land," and "Going to Canaan." For example, a party of migrants from Mississippi held a solemn ceremony when their train crossed the Ohio River.

The profound changes that took place in the Chicago black community between the 1890s and 1920 had both internal and external dimensions. On the one hand, they were the result of the mounting hostility of white Chicagoans. Whites grew anxious as a growing black population sought more land and better housing; they feared job competition in an era of industrial strife when employers frequently used blacks as strikebreakers. Whites also viewed black voters as pawns of a corrupt political machine. All these fears were accentuated by the rise of a racist ideology in the early part of the century that reinforced traditional antiblack prejudices. On the other hand, blacks were not passive objects in the developments of the early twentieth century. Their response to discrimination and segregation, the decisions their leaders made, and the community activities in which they engaged all helped to shape the emerging black community. The rise of Chicago's black community resulted from the interplay between particular trends in the development of the city and major currents in African American life and thought.

The increasing physical separation of Chicago's African American community from the rest of the city was but one reflection of a growing pattern of segregation and discrimination in every major midwestern and northern city that received African American migrants from the South in the early twentieth century. As the black community grew and opportunities for interracial conflict increased, so a pattern of discrimination and segregation became ever more pervasive. Perhaps the most critical aspect of interracial conflict came as the result of black attempts to secure adequate housing. In Detroit, for example, where promises of jobs in the lucrative auto industry gave that city the second-largest black population in the urban Midwest (behind Chicago), white real estate agents, developers, bankers, and insurance agents used a variety of mechanisms from restrictive covenants to redlining to bar African Americans from all but a handful of inner city neighborhoods. Blacks who managed to break through the businessmen's barriers often met violent resistance from white homeowners. In 1925 alone, white mobs attacked five black families who had dared to move across the color line. Once neighborhoods were segregated, so were public schools and many other public spaces such as theaters, restaurants, and amusement parks. City officials ignored the needs of the largest African American area, a desperately overcrowded ghetto known as Black Bottom, while an almost exclusively white police force ran roughshod over the district's residents (Reich 2006, 249–50).

In Cleveland also, mass migration of blacks from the South led to residential segregation, and all-black pockets became evident by 1917 in the vast district running astride Cedar and Central Avenues. Because black housing options were constrained by low wages and the opposition of white residents in outlying districts, the World War I influx precipitated a severe housing shortage. Although a small number of black southern migrants succeeded in recreating a semi-rural subsistence living in a handful of outlying enclaves, the overwhelming majority became trapped in the emergent Cedar Central ghetto, which, by 1930, had a population density twice the city's average. Landlords divided single- and double-family houses into numerous kitchenette apartments and charged disproportionately high rents, while the less fortunate World War I migrants lived in garages, storefronts, even boxcars. The new arrivals in Cleveland also suffered discrimination from the long time black residents, who had formed business alliances and political ties with prominent whites. The northern-born "old elites" looked down on the new southern migrants and feared that they might jeopardize their own hard-earned status within the economic, political, and social community of Cleveland (Reich 2006, 201).

As white hostility almost closed the housing market to blacks in the major cities of the Midwest and created a physical ghetto, it also limited the opportunities for blacks to secure desirable jobs and gain access to public facilities. African Americans in the midwestern cities, as elsewhere, were largely confined to the domestic and personal service trades and were unable to gain even a foothold in industry and commerce. In Chicago, for example, in 1900, almost 65 percent of black men and over 80 percent of black women worked as domestic and personal servants, while only 8.3

percent of the men and 11.9 percent of the women were engaged in manufacturing (and most of the women so employed worked in their own homes as dressmakers and seamstresses). In 1910, the pattern remained the same. Over 45 percent of the employed black men worked in just four occupations: porters, servants, waiters, and janitors. And over 63 percent of the women were domestic servants or laundresses (Spear 1967, 20–30).

In Detroit those who found employment in the auto industry brought home paychecks larger than they had ever dreamed of in the South, but discrimination in the workplace relegated black workers to the most demanding and dangerous jobs in the auto plants. At the Dodge Brothers plant, for example, blacks were restricted to the spraying room, where they spent their days inhaling toxic clouds of paint particles (Reich 2006, 248).

In both 1900 and 1910 in the midwestern cities, more blacks were engaged in the professions than their numbers would warrant, but these were concentrated in professions that required relatively little formal training such as in music, the theater, and preaching. Relatively few black Americans could be found in the legal, medical, and teaching professions, and those who were served an almost exclusively black clientele in the racially segregated ghettos. A large portion of those blacks employed in manufacturing, trade, and transportation were unskilled laborers. Although blacks could find some decent homes on the fringes of their traditional neighborhoods, the core of the "black belt" remained a festering slum. In these areas, between 1900 and 1915, the lines were drawn in the struggle for housing. Racial tensions ran high along such contact points, and in some midwestern cities these tensions erupted into full-scale racial war.

Such injustice could not continue without reaction. Before 1915 in various cities there were several preliminary skirmishes that set the pattern for future, and more serious, confrontations. As in other cities of the Midwest, southern blacks flocked to East St. Louis in the early 1900s in search of job opportunities. By 1916 the city's African American population accelerated so rapidly that by the end of that decade black migration outnumbered the rate of European migration. The resulting tensions over jobs and housing led to a riot in 1917 that left 39 blacks murdered by rampaging white mobs and nine whites killed in retaliation (Reich 2006, 732).

The strongest blow to racial tranquility occurred two years later in the summer of 1919. On July 27, the south side of Chicago exploded after a stone-throwing incident on a beach led to the drowning of a black youth. When police ignored blacks' charges that white men had stoned a young boy to death for having crossed into the white part of the beach, a crowd of blacks attacked several white men. In response, after dark, white gangs beat, stabbed, or shot 38 blacks who had been walking through white neighborhoods. This instigated a race war in which 2 people died the first day and over 50 were injured. The following day white gangs assaulted blacks leaving the stockyards. Mobs pulled blacks off streetcars and kicked and beat them. Blacks retaliated by attacking whites who worked in black neighborhoods. The following night white rioters raided black neighborhoods, firing shots into their homes from automobiles. During this, the worst night of the terror, 20 people were killed and hundreds were injured. The next five days were the worst the city had known since the Great Fire. Fighting, shooting, stabbing, and pillaging left scores injured and over a half-dozen dead. Mobs pulled blacks from streetcars, bands of rioters roamed neighborhoods, homes were sacked and burned.

Finally the governor sent in the troops. Peace was restored, but the scars could not be easily erased, for the grim affair left deep wells of guilt and remorse, hate and bigotry. Worse still, conditions did not change, and the ghetto continued to expand and fester. Five days after the riot the *Chicago Tribune* editorialized, "So long as this city is dominated by whites there will be limitations placed on black people. A rebellion by Negroes against facts which exist and will persist will not help." A white minister was even more explicit. "I believe in segregating the blacks for their own good as well as the good of the whites." The Kenwood and Hyde Park property owners associations responded with demands for a conference to deal with the "promiscuous scattering of Negroes throughout the white residential districts of our city."

The following year, as black leaders refused to accept "segregation by mutual consent" as proposed by white neighborhood associations, bombs exploded in homes of those blacks who refused to remain restricted to the worst neighborhoods of the city. Between January and March 1920, eight bombings of homes were recorded. Blacks of Chicago, unlike most European immigrants, had no hope of escape from their ghetto. Forever marked by color, their only hope for success existed within a rigidly defined and severely restricted ghetto society. No physical wall encircled the black belt of Chicago or any other black ghetto in the Midwest, but an equally impervious wall of hostility and discrimination isolated blacks from the mainstream of life. Another half-century would pass before blacks could expect fair, just, and equal access to decent housing, economic activity, and all that comes with a dignified life. It took a revolution in law, politics, conscience, and civil rights to bring that expectation into being (Spear 1967, 147–66).

The mass migration of blacks from the South and Jews and Catholics from Europe to the predominantly white, Protestant, medium-sized towns of the Midwest caused the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan, a formerly southern phenomenon. Those who feared the changes to their community brought about by newcomers saw the Klan as a defender against the wave of unwelcome and uncertain change perpetrated by the arrival of so many new and different people. One member proclaimed, "This great country of ours is American, thank God! We make our boys and girls live here twenty-one years before we allow them to vote, and we ought to do the same with all foreigners." The Klan also attacked what they viewed as the "Catholic menace" rising in their midst. One woman, on being asked about her membership in the Klan, responded, "It's about time [to join] the other good people and [do] something about the Catholic situation, the Pope is trying to get control of the country." She warned that the "Klan will overcome this [Catholic] menace."

One Klan member defended the organization's anti-Semitism by declaring, "We are charged with being against the Jew, [but] we are against no man," he declared. "Jesus Christ is the head of the Klan. The Jew is not for Him and therefore the Jew has shut himself out of the Klan." In explaining prejudice against blacks, a Protestant preacher resorted to the Bible and declared that "God Almighty has commanded us, that we should not mix our blood. We must protect our womanhood," he warned. Although the Klan reinforced discrimination against blacks, Catholics, and Jews throughout the Midwest, the practice of discrimination (at least in the case of blacks and Jews) was also supported by a public policy that continued to advocate segregation, protected neighborhoods' self-proclaimed "rights" of exclusion, and still had not revoked the Supreme Court's flawed principle established in 1893 of separate but equal (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 483–85).

Native Americans in the first half of the twentieth century also suffered from an official policy of discrimination. Just before the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1890 at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Sitting Bull and a band of Sioux were massacred by federal troops. This event, according to Indian historian Alan Josephy, marked the completion of the white man's conquest of the Indian in the United States. Aside from a few Sioux reservations in the Dakotas and small Chippewa reservations in northern Wisconsin, by 1900 there was little in the Midwest that recalled the Native peoples who once dominated the region.

By the 1920s, federal policy had reduced many Indian tribes to a scandalous level of poverty. Indians received little or no education and were treated as wards of the state, incapable of self-government or making decisions for themselves. Whatever revenues the tribes received from land sales were dispersed, with virtually none of them going to assist the Indians to create sound foundations for the development of the human and economic resources of the reservation. The situation demanded reform. In 1924, as an acknowledgment of the nation's gratitude to Indians who had volunteered for service in the armed forces during World War I, the Snyder Act conferred citizenship upon all Indians. Two years later a special group under Lewis Meriam investigated Indian conditions for the Department of the Interior and proposed a sweeping list of reforms, including a halt to allotments, which—in an attempt to promote assimilation—distributed Indian reservation lands to individual Indian families. This practice had brought about a drastic reduction of reservation land and was finally recognized as one of the prime causes of Indian impoverishment and continued demoralization. The Wheeler-Howard Act, better known as the Indian Reorganization Act, stemming from the Meriam Survey and administered by Indian Commissioner John Collier, brought an end to the allotment policy, encouraged tribal self-government, extended financial credit to the tribes, began an improvement in educational and medical facilities, restored freedom of religion for Indians, and promoted a revival of Indian culture. Despite these efforts by the government to alter the pattern of injustice, on the eve of World War II, conditions of Native Americans in the Midwest, as elsewhere, remained deplorable (Josephy 1969, 342, 350–52).

URBAN AND RURAL EXPERIENCE

In the early twentieth century, large midwestern cities became characterized by the ethnic and racial diversity of their people and neighborhoods. According to the 1920 census, Illinois contained over 650,000 foreign-born males, most of whom lived in the Chicago area. In Michigan, 10 percent of the population was comprised of foreign-born males, most of whom lived in the Detroit area; and in Ohio 6 percent of the population was made up of foreign-born males, most of whom lived in the Cleveland or Cincinnati area. The great black migration to midwestern cities also added to their ethnic diversity. Chicago was home to 110,000 blacks, Detroit 44,000, and Cleveland 35,000. In the large urban areas of the Midwest blacks and European immigrants comprised 20 percent of the population in 1920. These groups tended to cluster in their own separate sections of the city, creating numerous ethnically distinct neighborhoods with their own bakers, butchers, taverns, mortuaries, parishes, synagogues, and churches.

Due to the variety and number of disparate cultures and national backgrounds, no single ethnic culture dominated the culture or politics of these midwestern cities, though several groups were largely excluded from it by reason of prejudice, poverty, ignorance, or cultural dispositions discouraging civic involvement. Except for the African Americans, whose movement was restricted by zoning laws, white intimidation, and violence, ethnic clustering began to break down by the end of the 1920s. This trend was encouraged in a time of urban prosperity and rapid growth, which provided improved housing possibilities in farther reaches of the city and suburbs, an excellent public transportation system, a growing number of chain stores, and attractive commercial districts. Mass commercial entertainment, including radio, vaudeville, motion picture theaters, and professional baseball teams, drew people out of their neighborhoods and into a common urban experience. At the same time, the closing of immigration from eastern and southern Europe, due to new federal legislation establishing nationality quotas, meant the immigrant and ethnic populations already in the Midwest, as elsewhere, did not get the steady influx of newcomers necessary to reinvigorate Old World cultures in America, and most of these groups gradually assimilated into American life.

Electricity created the great divide between urban and rural life in the first decades of the twentieth century. By 1920, 85 percent of urban dwellings were electrified, while only 10 percent of rural areas enjoyed the benefits of electricity. Twenty years later, even after the New Deal rural electrification program had begun, 95–99 percent of homes in cities such as Chicago, Kansas City, Cleveland, Dubuque, and Toledo were electrified, but the percentage of homes in rural areas with electricity ranged from 10 percent in rural Missouri counties to 76 percent in some parts of rural Wisconsin, with most rural midwestern areas hovering around 45 percent. Rural Americans, especially women, understood from magazines and mail-order catalogs what they were missing by not being connected to electric lines. Without an electric pump, water had to be hauled from well or stream to the house for bathing, cleaning dishes, and laundry. Heating of water and cooking of food had to be done on a wood- or coal-burning stove. In addition, risk of a fire in the house due to coal- or wood-burning heating devices was always greater than it was with electric heat. The lack of electricity also denied the rural family forms of entertainment that city dwellers were beginning to take for granted by the mid-1920s, such as the radio and the motion picture theater. Also, reading was limited to daylight hours. The gulf between urban and rural life would not be bridged until after World War II, when rural electrification would become commonplace (Kyvig 2002, 66–68).

Midwestern farmers also ate differently than their urban cousins. While urban dwellers began to make use of the rapidly developing variety of commercially processed foods, midwestern farmers depended largely on what they could raise themselves and what was in season. Whereas canned and, to a lesser degree, frozen products made vegetables and fruits available all year round in the city, on the midwestern farm these foods were limited to the "summer diet," while the winter diet centered around smoked or salted pork, storable grains such as wheat and corn, potatoes, beans, and dried fruit (Kyvig 2002, 108–9).

In the farmlands of the Midwest the Great Depression came much earlier than it did to the city. By the mid-1920s the agricultural depression of the postwar era had the agricultural Midwest in its grip. Those who had incurred debt to purchase land and equipment in the war boom found themselves deep in unpayable debt. Some farmers lost their land to mortgage-holding banks. Drought hit the area hard from 1934–1936, driving farmers deeper in debt. By 1940, as many as 52 percent of farmers in some areas were tenants farming on rented land. In reaction to worsening farm conditions in the Midwest, many enlisted into Milo Reno's Farm Holiday Association. Reno, from Oskaloosa, Iowa, called on farmers to withhold their products from the market to drive up food prices and focus attention on the plight of the farmer.

Midwestern farmers' lives began to improve in the mid-1930s when the New Deal's agricultural policies began to take effect. The Rural Electrification Administration, for example, brought light and convenience appliances into their lives, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act helped them realize some of Milo Reno's economic objectives by establishing price supports for staples and access to credit. With the help of the federal government most midwestern farmers endured the economic crises of the 1920s and 1930s and continued their rural lifestyle. Despite the many perceived cultural and social advantages of urban life, people in the country were not anxious to abandon their life for the city during a depression. According to the U.S. census, the proportion of urban to rural population remained relatively unchanged in the upper Midwest until after World War II.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND HUNTING AND FISHING

While the lower Mississippi Valley was recovering from the great flood of 1927, lower midwestern and western farmers were beginning to suffer a drought that would last well into the 1930s. The prolonged drought centered on western Kansas, eastern Colorado, and the panhandles of Oklahoma and Texas. The severe drought in this area, along with the strong winds that characterized the region and the farming that had loosened the topsoil, turned most of the area into what came to be called the "Dust Bowl."

This tragedy was more than simply a natural disaster with human social implications. It was, rather, the result of economic activity in the region that had begun around the turn of the century when farmers began to wrestle the land away from ranchers. The southern plains, which experienced very little rainfall and averaged

The drought of the early 1930s caused thousands of farmers in the lower plains of the Midwest to abandon their land in search of better opportunities farther west. Library of Congress.

winds of 10 to 20 miles per hour daily, was a land devoid of trees and large vegetation. Grass was the only plant that thrived in the area. As one farmer noted, "Grass holds the earth together." Denied woods, which provide traditional building products, resourceful farmers used the sod they were tearing up for planting to build houses. In the bare dirt that remained behind, the farmers planted wheat, which did not have the same earth-holding qualities of grass. During World War I, the price and demand for wheat rose, and farmers tore up more sod, which they replaced with wheat. The demands of food had sown the seeds of wheat and of disaster. It only took a long drought, such as occurred in the early 1930s, to bring the Dust Bowl calamity to the southern grass plains.

From 1932 onward windstorms swept the powder-dry soil a thousand feet into the air and created huge black blizzards that blotted out the sun and left a thick dirt residue in their wake. In May 1933 alone, dust storms removed an estimated 300 million tons of plains soil and deposited it along the eastern United States from the Great Lakes to Washington. In 1934, a single storm produced a dust cloud that reduced visibility from the Rockies to the Great Lakes and from the Canadian border to Oklahoma.

The storms worsened in 1935, with several deaths by suffocation reported. Respiratory problems became common throughout the Midwest, and physicians reported epidemic proportions of cases of pneumonia. The problem did not subside until 1939, when substantial rainfall over the previous three years began to reduce the Dust Bowl problem. Meanwhile, the farmers and tenant workers had abandoned the dust-choked plains. The population in the region was reduced by 34 percent between 1935 and 1937. So many people left this area that the region did not recover its population until the 1960s. Those who left, mostly for California, found little relief there, as the great agribusinesses developing in the area exploited the newcomers as migrant laborers.

Indian peoples experienced the boom and bust years of the 1920s and 1930s variously depending on location and economy, but most Native peoples were already impoverished by negligent and inefficient management of Indian Affairs programs, which cheated them out of already meager allotments, and by the lack of education and opportunity on reservations. The federal government did abandon the old policy of trying to convert Indians into "Americans" by breaking down tribal culture and breaking up tribal resources. But neither federal nor state governments did much to help Indians during the hard times of the Depression. Indians in the Midwest and plains states who lived near water supplemented their meager diets by fishing. In the lakes of Minnesota and Wisconsin, salmon, pike, and other food fish were harvested by Indians throughout the year or for as long as the weather permitted. Treaties with the federal government guaranteed Indians year-round fishing, which annoyed sport fishermen who viewed year-round Indian fishing as injurious to their interests (Green 2000, 165–66).

Snapshot

Life in the Dust

Everybody's going to leave this country. Boom is over. Wheat blowin out. Dust storms getting darker and darker. Everybody running and shooting and killing. Every body fighting every body else. These little old shacks like this, they're bad, no good for nobody. Lots of kids sick. Old folks [too].

This is the final battle! Armageddon! This dust blowin so thick ya cain't breathe, cain't see the sky, that's the scourge over the face of the earth! Men too greedy for land an for money and for the power to make slaves out of his feller man. Man has cursed th' very land himself! (Woody Guthrie, *Bound for Glory,* 1983, 186, 188)

Intellectual Life

THE MIDWEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Philanthropic gifts to museums and universities from those whom the new industries made rich elevated significantly the intellectual life in the Midwest in the new century. The new University of Chicago became home to some of the country's most important scholars, and the contributions at the school ranged from innovations in education and philosophy to the creation of the first controlled atomic reaction. Midwesterners also read newspapers that proclaimed themselves to be the world's greatest—though such boasts reflected midwestern boosterism rather than factual realities based on circulation, social, or cultural influence—and they listened to radios that not only brought them entertainment but news and commodity prices. This section will explore some of the innovations in science, education, literature, and communication that transformed the life of midwesterners and the rest of the country in the first half of the twentieth century.

SCIENCE

In an age that celebrated inventors and innovators as practical scientists, the Midwest gave the country some of the most renowned inventors of the early decades of the twentieth century. Probably the most popular of all in the first decade of the twentieth century were the Wright Brothers, who, in their bicycle shop in Dayton, Ohio, created the first successful heavier-than-air flying machine. Elmer Sperry, who was born in New York, moved to Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century and became a professional inventor in the first decades of the twentieth century, claiming over 350 patents. He made major contributions to the technology of electric light, electric railways, electric automobiles, batteries, and, probably most important of all, gyroscope guidance, which made control and stabilization of airplanes possible. Henry Ford of Michigan adapted the scientific principles of mass production to the automobile and provided Americans with an affordable car (Hughes 2004, 56–58, 84–85, 185–86).

While the Midwest reveled in the accomplishments of its practical scientists, in the late 1930s theoretical scientists at the University of Chicago were exploring the possibilities of atomic energy. Enveloped in great mystery and secrecy, the work of these men, drawn from all over the world, including refugees from totalitarian countries, was in some ways the most crucial struggle of World War II. For it was thought that Germany was close to success in creating a bomb that would dwarf all others and put the world at the mercy of the Nazis. The only safety rested with winning the scientific race, and beating the enemy to the decisive weapon.

The big breakthrough came on Friday, December 2, 1942. Late in the morning Enrico Fermi, the great Italian physicist who directed the construction of the experimental atomic reactor, was ready to take the fateful step. "We all knew this was the real test," Arthur Compton wrote later. "The Geiger counters registering the neutrons from the reactor began to click faster and faster, until their sound became a rattle. 'Throw in the safety rods,' came Fermi's order. Immediately the pointer moved back toward zero. The rattle of the counters fell to a slow series of clicks. For the first time, atomic power had been controlled and stopped." After a moment's pause, "someone handed Fermi a bottle of Chianti and a cheer went up. Outside on Ellis Avenue students and faculty and passersby moved briskly through the unpleasant, chilling winter air unaware that a few hundred feet away the 'Atomic Age' had begun" (Hughes 2004, 394–95; Mayer and Wade 1969, 370).

EDUCATION

In the first decades of the twentieth century a revolution in education originated in the Midwest. It began when the great philosopher of education John Dewey accepted a position on the faculty at the University of Chicago in 1894. Dewey's use of scientific experiments to link his ideas to his social interests was leading him into the philosophy of "pragmatism." Dewey and other early pragmatists believed that ideas, like biological organisms, survived and evolved according to their ability to interpret and guide real-world events. Pragmatism was an ideal philosophy for a man who wanted to make a difference in the world, and John Dewey was such a man.

Dewey was appointed to the newly established and richly endowed University of Chicago as head of its Department of Philosophy, which also included the fields of psychology and pedagogy. This multifaceted department allowed him to combine all of his developing interests under one academic umbrella and to have a major voice in all that would occur in each of the three fields. As a condition of his coming to Chicago, Dewey made it clear that his department needed a laboratory school for educational experimentation. Enrollment in Dewey's school grew quickly as its fame spread throughout national academic and professional circles. Dewey's work received even more publicity when Francis Parker's teacher-training school, recently detached from the control of the Cook County political apparatus, also became part of the university. Parker's school functioned as a teacher-training laboratory, while Dewey's school continued its mission as a testing ground for educational principles. When Parker died, the two schools were combined to form a School of Education with Dewey as the head. Dewey proceeded to lay out the intellectual foundations of his educational efforts in a series of books and articles.

For Dewey, the school itself was a social institution, a part of society, and needed to be consciously organized as such. In Dewey's formulation, learning was a natural by-product of concrete social activities. So, by organizing schools like other social institutions, Dewey believed learning would lose the abstract quality that permeated so much of the academic study that went on in schools in curricular terms. This meant aligning school experiences with the real-life occupational and democratic experiences of the surrounding society. Students and their teacher formed this real-life curriculum cooperatively. Together with a commitment to scientific methods and principles, this meant that the school functioned both as a learning laboratory and as a vehicle for the improvement of a democratic society. Dewey did not assume that a child-oriented curriculum meant abandoning traditional subject matter. Rather, he saw his program as an occasion for reorganizing traditional subjects to fit the needs of both children and society. Although child-centered, it still took the children from where they were to where the educators wanted them to be. Thus, for Dewey, teachers had to have knowledge of both children and subject matter to orchestrate the most productive blending of the two. The activities that constituted Dewey's curriculum were intended to improve the classroom society and, thereby, to improve the larger society of which they were a part.

Another important leader in pedagogy in the Midwest at the time was Ella Flagg Young, whose pedagogical progressivism was aligned with Dewey's views, despite the fact that she operated in a quite different environment from that of the philosopher. She spent almost her entire adult life in the public schools of Chicago. After teaching and traveling for a number of years, Flagg went to work in the Chicago school system, as principal of the city normal school. Her graduate studies, her European experience, and her long years in the schools made her an ideal candidate for this position. She had a unique ability to combine theory with practice, and she also had a long record of positive contacts with the teachers of Chicago. Her views of the dignity and importance of teachers made her the friend of classroom teachers and, potentially, the enemy of administrative Progressives, who sought to mechanize the teachers' role in the new top-down form of school management. She brought these beliefs to bear on the curriculum and staff of the normal school where she served until 1909, at which time she was chosen as superintendent of the Chicago schools.

Young dedicated her energies to collegial teacher-administrator relations. While a school principal, she had founded a club for her teachers where they could come for discussions of school affairs. This club soon became a movement, and Ella Flagg Young clubs flourished in most elementary schools of midwestern cities. Later, as an assistant superintendent, she founded a teachers' council in her district, a body that was to advise her in her administration of the schools. She had a long, cordial relationship with the Chicago Teachers Federation (CTF), the association founded to link the elementary teachers throughout the city with each other.

Neither Dewey nor Young were victorious in the battles they fought. Public education emerged from the Progressive era more influenced by the organizational reforms of centralization and curricular differentiation advocated by administrative Progressives than by the pedagogical alterations sought by Dewey or the empowerment of teachers sought by Young. Pedagogical Progressives such as Dewey and Young made significant headway in experimental and laboratory schools and had a substantial influence over many teacher-training institutions, all of which resulted in less rote memory work and more experiential learning for many students. However, the followers of Dewey and Young had little success in dislodging the traditional teacher-dominated, subject-centered curriculum that characterized most public and many private school classrooms, and for the most part students in the classroom continued with the rigid teaching system of the previous century, only now the classrooms and the teachers who worked in them were part of a streamlined, bureaucratic school system. Administrators were firmly in control of their teachers and deferential to their boards. A modernized educational apparatus had been firmly installed in the nation's urban schools (Urban and Wagoner 2003, 221–28).

At the beginning of the twentieth century in the rural Midwest, children averaged eight years of schooling, and in 1939 the 2.1 million Chicagoans who were born before World War I typically had a limited education. Four percent had never been to school, another 7.5 percent had attended fewer than five years, 60 percent had no more than an eighth-grade education, 75 percent had not finished high school, fewer than 10 percent had attended college, and less than 5 percent had completed college. Those statistics for both the rural and the urban Midwest would change radically for those born after the war. From 1920 to 1940, with the introduction of compulsory education laws in the upper Midwest, averages increased, especially in the number of high school graduates. According to U.S. census statistics, the number of young people in school at the age of 17 in 13 midwestern states grew by an average of 80 percent from 1920 to 1940. States in the Midwest where young people remained in school longest included Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin. In the latter the increase of

This Wisconsin schoolroom with its fixed desks in straight rows was typical of the early twentieth century. Library of Congress.

students in school at 17 years of age rose by 148 percent from 1920 to 1940 (U.S. Census).

The school, like the factory where many of these children would spend their adult lives, was a thoroughly regimented world. Immovable seats in orderly rows fixed the sphere of activity of the child. Bells divided the day into periods. There were study periods in which children learned lessons from textbooks, followed by recitation periods when they told the teacher what the book said. The rapidly industrializing Midwest demanded an educated population, which these schools provided. But the education went beyond academics to include a socialization of children to the regimen and order of the clock-driven industrial world.

Initially, the consequences of the Great Depression were slow to be felt in the public schools, particularly in the urban public schools. For example, city school systems actually had slightly larger budgets in the 1931–1932 school year than they had in 1930–1931. By 1932–1933, however, the situation was becoming critical, with several large cities in the Midwest and elsewhere on the verge of bankruptcy. In the Depression's initial stages, city school systems responded with a variety of cost-cutting strategies such as increasing class size and closing small schools. Business "efficiency," a watchword in schools since the early twentieth century, was now emphasized even more. Administrators and school boards embraced detailed budgeting as a way to stretch the dollars spent on public education. Inevitably, teachers' salaries, which comprised approximately 75 percent of most school budgets, became a target of budget cutters, and teacher layoffs and salary cuts became commonplace.

Additionally, many urban school districts launched campaigns to cut the "fads and frills" from school programs. This usually began with the elimination of programs such as night schools, summer schools, kindergartens, and playgrounds, and then spread to nonacademic subjects such as music, art, physical education, and industrial education, as well as to programs for the physically and mentally handicapped.

Perhaps the most notorious example of Depression-era cutbacks in urban public schools occurred in the city of Chicago. The Chicago situation was dangerous even before the onslaught of the Great Depression, with school and other tax revenues being gutted in the 1920s by poor collection procedures and skimming on the part of corrupt politicians. The arrival of the Great Depression exacerbated the situation and led to a full-blown crisis. In April 1931, the school board claimed that it no longer had the funds to pay its teachers. In the next two years, Chicago teachers were paid for only four of their nine months of work. To make matters worse, their payment was not by check but, instead, by a warrant that was redeemable for less than its face value. All this took place in the midst of a taxpayers' strike led by real estate interests but supported by many of the city's small property owners. Action by the city's mayor resulted in a symbolic victory for the teachers and the schools when he discharged from the city payroll a lawyer whose firm had represented the taxpayers' association. The mayor also intervened to prevent teachers from being arrested for not paying taxes on their vehicles and arranged in March 1932 to have them paid the wages they had earned in December 1931.

In 1933, the board of education announced that it would reduce expenses as its contribution to solving the schools' financial problems. This reduction resulted in abolishing all junior high schools, closing the city's junior college, cutting the number of kindergartens by one-half, reducing the number of physical education teachers, abolishing all coaching positions, reducing the numbers of music teachers and supervisors, making elementary principals responsible for two schools, eliminating manual arts and household arts from the elementary schools, suspending all textbook purchases, closing all school swimming pools, and abolishing the position of dean in the high schools.

The response to these massive cuts was a protest rally attended by 25,000 Chicagoans. However, the rally failed to get the attention of the school board members and, subsequently, many citizens sought court injunctions to stop the cuts. The court did not grant these injunctions, and the cuts were implemented. The result was that in September 1933, 300 kindergarten teachers, 455 junior high teachers, and more than 600 elementary teachers lost their jobs. The remaining teachers found their class sizes and course loads increased substantially.

Although the mayor was unable to help the teachers who had been laid off, he was successful in obtaining a loan from the federal government to pay the remaining teachers a portion of the salaries they were owed. The situation then stabilized, though at a level of service far beneath what had been offered previously. Further stability came later in the decade as the state government moved to increase its contribution to school funding and, thus, decrease school dependence on local property taxes. This was particularly important because property values, both in Chicago and in the rest of Illinois, had decreased by over a third from 1927 to 1935.

The Chicago situation resulted in an upsurge of union sentiment on the part of the teachers. While Chicago's teachers had participated enthusiastically in organizing teachers' unions in the early twentieth century, their various local unions had fallen victim to the antiunionism that characterized America during the business-dominated 1920s.

A less contentious, and more representative, situation existed in Detroit schools during the Depression. In contrast to the situation in Chicago, Detroit's schools and teachers underwent a much less tumultuous upheaval. Few if any teachers lost their jobs, teachers were usually paid on time, their salaries were not cut severely, and the school program remained relatively untouched. In Detroit, the mayor supported the schools in their battle for loans from the business community, and school board members resisted attempts to lay off teachers, cut salaries, and abolish programs. Finally, Detroit's superintendent was much more interested than his Chicago counterpart in maintaining educational quality and was more politically adept at maintaining existing levels of services. Although there were some salary cuts for teachers, they came only during the depths of the Depression. Despite an attempt to eliminate art, music, physical education, manual training, and home economics from the curriculum, a movement that had been successful in Chicago, the school board refused to accede and thereby preserved the existing curriculum. The board's reluctance to cut back was due in no small part to a large and active coalition of civic groups who defended these modern subjects.

A large part of Detroit's success in weathering the Depression was attributed to the actions of wealthy board members whose loyalty to the public schools outweighed their own immediate economic interests. Although most board members came from the same economic background as those wealthy businessmen who sought to cut property taxes and thereby severely reduce public school programs and teacher salaries, they placed their long-term loyalty to public education over their immediate economic interest. The wealthy board members in Detroit acted much more responsibly than the political hacks on the board in Chicago. Even this relatively positive action in Detroit had long-term negative consequences. For in the end, the school board's economic decisions in the Depression years put business interests firmly on the side of the cost cutters, which effectively ended the business-labor alliance that had supported the schools so effectively since the Progressive era.

While Chicago and Detroit offer alternative examples of urban districts' ability to weather depression conditions, the situation in rural districts was more uniformly negative. Even before the Depression, rural schools featured the lowest-paid teachers, the shortest school terms, the oldest and most inadequate facilities and equipment, and the highest rates of student absence. Depression-era conditions intensified these problems and thereby increased the gap between urban schools and their rural counterparts. Property taxes, the source of almost all rural school revenues, were particularly hard hit by an avalanche of farm failures and their accompanying financial devaluation.

In addition to this upsurge in rural economic distress, there was an increase in rural birthrates, particularly in the poorer southern states. This placed a heavier burden on rural schools already faced with decreasing revenues. In addition to making the usual cuts in personnel and salaries, many rural areas simply closed their schools during the height of the Depression. An urban district, even when facing cuts of up to one-third of total revenue, was in a far better position to absorb such a reduction than was a rural district that started with only a fraction of the revenue of its urban counterpart (Urban and Wagoner 2003, 258–60).

LITERATURE

Thanks to the electric light bulb, the increase in leisure time, and higher literacy rates, reading became more popular in the first decades of the twentieth century than it ever had been. Magazines and newspapers flourished, and in the 1920s a new form of marketing literature, the Book-of-the-Month Club, was born. The Literary Guild soon followed it. Although begun regionally, these two companies soon were selling books by mail nationwide and contributing to the developing national culture. *Reader's Digest,* founded in 1922, contained a brief, easily readable compilation of articles from various sources and thereby provided the reader with a broad spectrum of contemporary ideas, albeit from an ethically and politically conservative point of view. Advice books also became very popular in the 1920s. Advice columnists and writers such as Emily Post taught proper etiquette both at home and in the world of business. The popularity of self-improvement literature continued into the next decade. The most popular book of this type in the 1930s was written by Dale Carnegie,

An engraver working on the *Chicago Defender* newspaper, 1942. Library of Congress.

who instructed Americans on *How to Win Friends and Influence People*.

Newspapers continued to provide primary reading fare for most midwesterners. Every major city published at least two major dailies, which filtered out into the surrounding rural areas. Among the most popular and influential were the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Milwaukee Journal*, and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Blacks in the Midwest, no matter what city they lived in or near, read the *Chicago Defender*. Founded by Robert S. Abbott on May 5, 1905, and heralding itself as "The World's Greatest Weekly," the *Defender* had become, by the advent of World War I, the nation's most influential black weekly newspaper, with more than two-thirds of its readership base located outside of Chicago.

During World War I, the *Chicago Defender* waged an aggressive (and successful) campaign in support of the Great Migration movement. This movement resulted in over one and a half million southern blacks migrating to the North between 1915 and 1925. In subsequent years the *Defender* provided first-hand coverage of events such as the Red Summer Riots of 1919, a series of race riots in cities across the country. It campaigned for antilynching legislation and for racially integrated sports. The *Defender* also provided an important outlet for black literature. Included among its contributors in the 1920s and 1930s were Walter White and Langston Hughes. It also published the early poems of Pulitzer Prize–winning poet Gwendolyn Brooks. With its promotion of black literature, its up-to-date reporting on issues that affected black Americans, and its leadership in political and social campaigns that benefited black Americans in the first half of the twentieth century, the *Defender* became, if not in name certainly in fact, the national literary and cultural journal of black America (Grossman, Keating, and Reiff 2004, 248).

COMMUNICATION

In an age of technological wonders none could surpass the radio for the influence it had on the daily lives of Americans. On May 19, 1922, the age of commercial radio in the Midwest began when two socially prominent young Chicagoans and radio enthusiasts—Thorne Donnelley and Elliott Jenkins—formed Midwest Radio Central, Inc., and started WDAP as an experimental station. The first broadcasts originated from the Wrigley Building, where people complained that they had an "erratic effect" on the famous tower clock. The first programs that those fortunate enough to have receivers could hear were talks, weather reports, and three concerts a week. In that same year in July, after a tornado damaged the antenna at the Wrigley Building, WDAP moved its studios to two handball courts on top of the Drake Hotel. The station had only one microphone, which was occasionally carried downstairs to the Drake ballroom to allow listeners to enjoy live dance music from Jack Chapman and his orchestra. This became midwesterners' favorite program, as Chapman's programs increased the volume of station mail from 200 to 800 letters received a day.

In 1923, midwestern farmers began hearing regular updates on the prices of their products when the Chicago Board of Trade purchased WDAP from Donnelley and Jenkins. In that same year radio captured the imagination of Colonel Robert McCormick, who marveled over the "the little box that picks up sounds from the air." And soon his newspaper, the *Chicago Tribune*, was in the radio business. Using the call letters WGN (for World's Greatest Newspaper) the station expanded its service through the region. Soon midwesterners were listening to events live in their living rooms that previously they could only read about in their newspaper. In addition to news, weather, and commodity prices, WGN broadcast myriad live events, including the Democratic and Republican Party national conventions of 1924, the Loeb-Leopold murder trial sentencing, political debates, college football, Major League Baseball, and the Indianapolis 500. Even the Scopes "Monkey Trial" came live through the radio into homes throughout the Midwest.

Other Midwest newspapers also embraced the new radio technology. On August 20, 1920, the *Detroit News* began to operate a radio station for listeners in Michigan and claimed to be the first newspaper in the world to run a radio station. In May 1922, the *Milwaukee Journal* sponsored its first radio program on Milwaukee's first radio station, WAAK, which was owned by the Gimbel Brothers Department store. Then in June 1927, the Federal Communications Commission assigned the newspaper the call letters WTMJ, to stand for *The Milwaukee Journal*. They used their new station to sell newspapers. Milwaukee residents listened to the WTMJ Orchestra and Bill Carlsen's orchestra. Carlsen was later hired by WTMJ and went on to become Wisconsin's most widely known radio and television weather forecaster.

In 1924, a new Chicago radio station, with the assigned call letters WBBX, began broadcasting under the ownership of Sears. Despite the assigned call letters, Sears first broadcast the station under the call letters WES (World's Economy Store). An immediate hit, the station kicked off a grand opening from a broadcast station in Chicago's Sherman Hotel using new call letters—WLS (World's Largest Store)—days later. The station broadcast farm and weather reports, music, tips for housewives, and evening entertainment. *The National Barn Dance*, heard on Sunday evenings, became the most popular radio program in the Midwest.

In 1926, Freeman Gosden and Charlie Correll created a new form of radio entertainment when they premiered the *Sam and Henry Show*, a comic drama about African American life on the south side of Chicago. The show would soon become known as *Amos 'n' Andy* and would remain the most popular of all radio shows throughout the 1930s and 1940s. In 1928, WGN introduced radio advertising on a show called *Radio Floor Walker*. The mostly musical variety show had commercials interspersed throughout the presentation. Listeners complained so much about the barrage of advertising that WGN created a new format, the "single sponsor program," which became the common format throughout the golden age of radio.

Father Charles Coughlin addresses a large Cleveland rally in 1936. Library of Congress.

In 1928, William Lear invented the first car radio, and in 1929 WGN began interrupting programs to carry police bulletins to officers in their squad cars and to the listening public as well. This experiment would lead to police radio systems, which were implemented in the following decade. By the 1930s the radio had become a common household item. *Fortune* magazine surveys in 1937 and 1938 found that listening to the radio had become the nation's most popular pastime, edging out moviegoing and far surpassing reading.

Individual listening habits varied widely, but in any case, whether the listener was a Chicago worker or a farmer's wife, radio reduced the sense of personal isolation. The worker could listen to an ethnic station offering traditional music from his homeland, the Midwest farmer might listen to commodity price quotations or weather reports, and his wife might listen to a recipe show or soap opera. In any case, radio brought a variety of information and entertainment into the home, allowing people an escape from their daily routine and a chance to feel that they were connected to others as part of a vast unseen audience (Kyvig 2002, 71–90).

By far the most important and influential radio personality emanating from the Midwest in the 1930s was Father Charles Coughlin. A Roman Catholic priest in Detroit, Coughlin began his radio career in Detroit in the 1920s defending his faith against attacks by the Ku Klux Klan. In those days his calm mellifluous voice appealed to a common sense reason that attracted a large national audience. In the decade that followed, as his audience grew so did his ambition. Funds from enthusiastic listeners flowed into his coffers, and he was soon broadcasting weekly to a national audience from his newly constructed Little Flower Shrine in suburban Detroit. His broadcasts gradually changed from sermons to political treatises. He told his listeners that the reason for the Depression was rooted in a conspiracy by international bankers, mostly Jewish, in his calculations, and he advocated government control of banks. He had supported Roosevelt in the 1932 election, but when the president did not adopt his banking recommendations, Coughlin broke with the Democrats and formed his own National Union party, which in addition to a political agenda carried strong anti-Semitic undertones.

Many Catholics in America innocently listened to Coughlin's treatises on politics and religion and did not grasp the implications of his anti-Semitism, but others did. Forming a group called the Christian Front, these mostly young male bigots launched a campaign of hate against the Jews. Their plans to rid the country of Jews included overthrowing the national government. Most Coughlin fans doubted these allegations against his more virulent followers, but their skepticism was tempered when they read in the morning papers of January 14, 1940, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had uncovered a Christian Front plot in New York City to seize the ammunition in the National Guard Armory and launch a revolution against the United States. Even those who scoffed at the absurdity of such a plan shuddered when they discovered that those who would be the first line of defense against such an attempt, including the head of the National Guard in New York and many police captains, sympathized with the movement. Coughlin supported the Christian Front throughout their trial, and after this final flight from reality, Coughlin was silenced by his bishop, and he quietly retreated from the national scene. But for a short while this midwestern radio priest captured the imagination of a group of fanatics who certainly gave Jews reason to worry whether the atrocities against their brothers and sisters in Europe might not be repeated in their own American towns.

Material Life

Material life in the Midwest was modified by geography and recent history. Food consumption was varied, ranging from the ethnic meals that could be found in the restaurants and homes of immigrant neighborhoods in the cities to the farm produce that dominated meals of the Midwest farmer. Housing varied also. The most popular house in the Midwest was the single-family bungalow, but for the thousands of black and white migrants from the South and immigrants from Europe, this was a dream not in their reach, and they lived in overcrowded substandard housing in neighborhoods long since abandoned by the middle class. Some realized their dream; others had to pass it on to their children.

Manufacturing dominated the economic and often the social life of midwesterners in towns and cities. Most wage earners in the urban Midwest worked in a factory system, and the farmers in the region produced their grains for major food manufacturers. Although the automobile had come into vogue in this era, mass transit still remained the major mode of transportation for the rapidly growing population of the Midwest, and railways laced the cities and countryside, connecting neighborhoods, regions, and major cities to each other. This section will review these and other major changes that occurred in material life in the Midwest over the first four decades of the twentieth century.

FOOD

Midwest farmers' diets depended largely on what they raised. Most farm families processed their own food. Home canning increased among farmers after 1917, and the farm price crash of the post–World War I period reinforced this tendency. Up until the 1940s, in rural areas with no access to ice or no storage facilities, farmers dug vegetable kilns, usually underground, or cellars into which the vegetables were placed in layers separated by straw. If a spring was nearby, a shed might be built over it to provide cool storage for dairy products, which were packaged in crocks and wooden boxes. In any case, chances for contamination by bacteria were good, and many rural Americans caught periodic diseases that affected their digestion and drained their stamina. Smoked or salted pork was the common meat product eaten at the rural table.

In urban areas of the Midwest the diet of the new commercial age predominated. Processed foods from cans often made up the evening fare. Technological and organizational revolutions made it possible for giant meatpackers in the Midwest such as Armour and Swift to dominate the tinned meat market, solving the problem of meat storage in the home. While factory workers and common laborers usually carried their lunches from home, the noontime meal for the urban office worker in the postwar era was often taken at one of the new fast-food restaurants emerging in the Midwest. White Tower, White Castle, and Toddle House led the way in affordable quick-serve lunches and dominated this market in the Midwest. In the immigrant neighborhoods of the urban Midwest, the odor of native foods that emanated from homes and local restaurants could be smelled in the late afternoon hours. In terms of eating, the midwestern urban workers, who suffered from time to time from unannounced layoffs even before the Great Depression, did not fare as well as their neighbors on the farm. In 1923, a typical laid-off worker in Muncie, Indiana, trying to feed his family on five dollars a week, would spend two dollars on the cheapest cuts of meat and three dollars for the rest of the food, which would consist of bread, potatoes, and beans.

Given the changing population that brought new cultures and habits to the urban areas, and the rise of industry in the Midwest, which left little opportunity for the leisurely eaten lunch at home, eating habits and foods consumed changed greatly from what they had been just a decade before the turn of the century.

For the Indians of the plains and Midwest, changing food habits over the decades had placed them in a severe nutritional crisis. Before white domination in their area, Indian diet had been dependent on the low-cholesterol meats of the buffalo, the deer, and the elk. But by 1927 a study showed that the staple food of the Sioux reservation in South Dakota consisted of "grease bread," or white flour bread or biscuit dough fried in fat. Potatoes or beans were the only vegetables most tribes consumed, and squash and tomatoes were eaten by only a few. Inhabitants of the reservations in South Dakota consumed virtually no green vegetables, fruits, milk, eggs, butter, or cheese. Meat came from monthly government rations of 25 to 40 pounds of beef per family per month. Theoretically, this allotment might have been sufficient, but those not on the ration rolls usually moved in and ate with the recipients of the meat until it was gone, usually in about two or three weeks. For the remainder of the month the diet consisted of grease bread (Green 2000, 68, 165–66; Lynd and Lynd 1929, 62).

HOUSING

In the 1920s in a typical midsized midwestern city, researchers Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd discovered that single-family homes accommodated 86 percent of the population, semi-detached units another 10 percent, and various sorts of apartments 4 percent (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 93). In larger cities such as Chicago different patterns emerged, and the housing density, especially near the center of the city, was more immediately visible. To avoid the congestion, the wealthy, who had lived in exclusive neighborhoods along the shore of Lake Michigan south of the center of the city moved to large tracts of land outside this area, while those with modest but regular incomes occupied old houses or newer apartments in once-fashionable areas. Many residential districts near downtown continued to be overcrowded, with too many people for every room, too many families for every house, too many buildings for every block.

A visitor to the city could not get far from the Loop of downtown Chicago without encountering block upon block of two- and three-story houses and three- and four-story flat buildings, which compressed a great deal of humanity into very small spaces. Newspaper editors and reformers continually sought to touch the public conscience by exposing the social consequences of high-density housing in the heart of the metropolis. Yet, in one sense, this perspective was deceiving, because it obscured the important fact that Chicago was predominantly a city of middle-class homes and that the great growth in the metropolis took place in the outer zones. In the six years between 1910 and 1916, for instance, the population living within four miles of the corner of State and Madison Streets remained stationary at about 1,000,000 persons, while the number in the area from four to seven miles out jumped from 460,000 to 1,076,000; and in the belt from seven to ten miles from the center, the increase was from 180,000 to 332,000.

Among the most spectacular residential changes of the period was the shift of Chicago's social elite to the "Gold Coast" on the near north side. Presaged by Potter Palmer's move to Lake Shore Drive in the 1880s, the exodus from "the Avenues" became a stampede after 1893. Mansions on the south side sold for a fraction of their original cost. A house at Prairie Avenue and Eighteenth Street that cost over $200,000 sold for $25,000; another, one of the finest in the city, that cost $150,000 in 1870, went for $36,000 in 1909. On the west side, Ashland Boulevard met the same fate. As the new generation built lavishly along the lakefront or erected sumptuous townhouses along Astor and North State, the old baronial structures fell to the new landlords, who divided up the spacious buildings into small apartments and converted coach houses into multifamily dwellings. Those who stayed watched sadly as the most fashionable neighborhood in Chicago slipped into slumdom.

This residential change seemed even more abrupt because, to the west of the fine old south side neighborhoods, many of the newcomers were southern blacks. Although still only about 2 percent of the population in 1910, the African American population increased rapidly in the next decade. Soon black neighborhoods that had been limited to the areas just south of Sixteenth Street moved south along both sides of State Street almost to Fifty-Fifth Street. The center of black Chicago was the corner of Thirty-First and State, where business and professional people had their offices. Another large black neighborhood grew up on the west side bounded by Lake Street, Ashland, Austin, and Warren Avenues, but it did not yet have all the characteristics of the "black belt" farther south, because other immigrant groups still lived in the area.

Everywhere blacks moved, the grim specter of segregation followed. "The color line as it appears in the Chicago housing problem is too important to be overlooked," Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbot wrote reluctantly in 1912. They concluded that although the majority of Chicagoans believed in fair play, the attitude toward the Negro was formed by a minority. "And today they [the minority of whites] not only refuse to sit in the same part of the theatre with him and to let him live on the same street with them or even in the same neighborhood. Even where the city administration does not recognize a black 'ghetto,' the real estate agents who register and commercialize what they suppose to be universal race prejudice are able to enforce one in practice" (Mayer and Wade 1969, 252).

African American housing bore the marks of this discrimination throughout the urban Midwest. Poor blacks lived in houses that were small and mainly frame. Originally designed for single families, they were now occupied by several. Few blacks owned their own homes, and because they could not move elsewhere there was little incentive for landlords to maintain the properties. A survey in Chicago in 1913 found only one-quarter of the buildings in good repair; a third still had outdoor toilet facilities. Despite these conditions, rents for poor blacks generally ran about 25 percent more than similar housing for poor whites. Similar results could have been recorded in East St. Louis, Cleveland, and Detroit.

Midwestern cities had large immigrant populations, many of whom lived among their own immigrant groups in subdivided houses or apartments. If the annual income was less than $2,000, the family had little choice other than an apartment in a large building, but those with greater resources preferred flats because of what one visitor called "the restless characteristic of city life." The new buildings hugged the streetcar and elevated lines, giving the breadwinner quick access to the job downtown or in industrial areas. Mixed in, too, were individual houses. Some were large and spacious, if not pretentious. Others were modest, the result of thrift by "mechanics" or skilled craftsmen. With the help of "building societies," these workers were able to save enough money to buy their own homes. By the turn of the century, thousands of laborers had emerged from the most crowded blocks to move to the newer, more pleasant residential streets. The "bungalow"—usually a one-story floor plan with a living room, dining room, kitchen, two bedrooms, and a single bath—became the typical single-family house in the Midwest for people with a modest income.

Immigrant life in these districts centered more on the family and neighborhood than on the central city. Although their life in America had diluted many old customs, it was still possible to maintain a strong cultural flavor with their national parish church, shops and restaurants serving ethnic fare, and religious festivals wherever a critical mass of a particular immigrant group formed. Nearby shops fulfilled daily needs, and the growth of retailing at major traffic crossings reduced the dependence on downtown. Schools and churches increasingly became the focus of organized social life as other competing forms were excluded. In middle-class areas taverns and saloons were kept out by use of "local option" and "no licensing" laws. Even second-generation immigrants were willing to forgo the "corner club" for the propriety of the residential neighborhood. Thus, in cities of the Midwest, every year, second-generation immigrants moved from the overcrowded, centrally located neighborhoods into the middle-class world beyond. These areas occupied a wide belt around the densely inhabited residential and commercial core, thinning out toward the municipal limits and fading into nonurbanized areas or suburban settlement. The lots were larger, the buildings more substantial, and the people fewer (Mayer and Wade 1969, 252–62).

At the turn of the century the midwestern mail-order house, Sears, Roebuck and Company, created an innovation in affordable housing by selling through its catalog high-quality, low-cost, prefabricated houses. From 1908–1940, Sears, Roebuck and Company sold more than 100,000 of these homes through their mail-order "Modern Homes" program. Over that time Sears designed 447 different housing styles, from the elaborate multistory Ivanhoe, with its elegant French doors and art glass windows, to the simpler Goldenrod, which served as a quaint, three-room and no-bath cottage for summer vacationers. (An outhouse could be purchased separately for Goldenrod and similar cottage dwellers.) Customers could choose a house to suit their individual tastes and budgets.

Sears was not an innovative home designer. Instead, Sears was a very able follower of popular home designs, but with the added advantage of modifying houses and hardware according to buyer tastes. Individuals could even design their own homes and submit the blueprints to Sears, which would then ship off the appropriate precut and fitted materials, putting the homeowner in full creative control. Modern Home customers had the freedom to build their own dream houses, and Sears helped realize these dreams through quality custom design and favorable financing.

The process of designing a Sears house began as soon as the Modern Homes catalog arrived. Over time, Modern Homes catalogs came to advertise three lines of homes, aimed for customers' differing financial means: "Honor Built," "Standard Built," and "Simplex Sectional." Honor Built homes were the most expensive and finest quality sold by Sears. Attractive cypress siding and cedar shingles adorned most Honor Built

A reproduction of a page from the Sears, Roebuck and Company mail-order catalog "Book of Modern Homes" is shown in front of an original catalog-bought house in Glasford, Illinois, in 2006. Trisha and Michael Robertson's home was originally purchased for $725 through a Sears, Roebuck and Company mail-order catalog in 1909. From 1908 to 1940, Sears sold an estimated 60,000 to 70,000 mail-order homes through its catalog. AP Photo/(Peoria) *Journal Star,* Fred Zwicky.

exteriors. Depending on the room, interiors featured clear-grade (i.e., knot-free) flooring and inside trim made from yellow pine, oak, or maple wood. Sears's catalogs also reported that Standard Built homes were best for warmer climates, meaning they did not retain heat very well. The Simplex Sectional line, as the name implies, contained simple designs. Simplex houses were frequently only a couple of rooms and were ideal for summer cottages.

The ability to mass-produce the materials used in Sears homes lessened manufacturing costs, which lowered purchase costs for customers. Not only did precut and fitted materials shrink construction time up to 40 percent, but Sears's use of "balloon-style" framing, drywall, and asphalt shingles greatly eased construction for home buyers. Balloon-style framing systems did not require a team of skilled carpenters, as previous methods did. Balloon frames were built faster and generally only required one carpenter. This system used precut timber of mostly standard 2 by 4s and 2 by 8s for framing. Precut timber, fitted pieces, and the convenience of having everything, including the nails, shipped by railroad directly to the customer added greatly to the popularity of this framing style.

Before the invention of drywall, builders used plaster and lathe wall-building techniques, which again required skilled carpenters. Sears homes took advantage of the new home-building material of drywall by shipping large quantities of this inexpensively manufactured product with the rest of the housing materials. Drywall offered advantages of low price, ease of installation, and added fire-safety protection. It was also a good fit for the square design of Sears homes.

During the Modern Homes program, large quantities of asphalt shingles became available. Alternative roofing materials included, among others, tin and wood. Tin was noisy during storms, looked unattractive, and required a skilled roofer, while wood was highly flammable. Asphalt shingles, however, were cheap to manufacture and ship, as well as easy and inexpensive to install. Asphalt had the added incentive of being fireproof.

Sears helped popularize the latest technology available to modern home buyers in the early part of the twentieth century. Central heating, indoor plumbing, and electricity were all new developments in home design that Modern Homes incorporated, although not all of the homes were designed with these conveniences. Central heating not only improved the livability of homes with little insulation but it also improved fire safety, always a worry in an era when open flames threatened houses and whole cities. Indoor plumbing and wiring for electricity were the first steps toward modern kitchens and bathrooms. Sears's Modern Homes program stayed abreast of any technology that could ease the lives of its home buyers and gave them the option to design their homes with modern convenience in mind (http://www.searsarchives.com/).

MANUFACTURING

In the first decades of the twentieth century the Midwest developed into the largest and most diversified manufacturing region in the country. Many of the familiar giants appeared at that time, some by mergers, and others by sheer growth. The Illinois Steel Company, and later Carnegie-Illinois, became part of the U.S. Steel Corporation in 1901; most of the suppliers of agricultural machinery in the region joined the newly formed International Harvester a year later. Near Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Allis Chalmers Corporation manufactured bright orange tractors that were seen on farms throughout the Midwest. In Cincinnati in the early 1900s the Crosley brothers, Powell and Lewis, who manufactured a small economy car and the nation's first push-button radio, became the city's largest employer and remained so until the 1940s.

Chicago's traditional leadership in such areas as meatpacking and food processing continued. The men's clothing industry, which had accounted for 8 percent of the country's output in 1879, produced 18 percent by 1914. At the turn of the century, printing and publishing establishments employed over 20,000 people, and Chicago was second only to New York in both areas. Smaller manufacturing firms flourished in these and other industries, most congregating in multiple-storied buildings on the fringes of the central business district where they could take advantage of Chicago's excellent transportation facilities and be close to a large metropolitan labor force.

In the Midwest, manufacturers introduced the organized industrial district idea to the United States. Under this scheme, the district acted like a residential developer, assembling land, laying out streets, and installing utilities. It often also provided architectural engineering and financial services to the industrial clients; occasionally the district even furnished dining facilities and executive clubs. But most of all it brought together compatible business enterprises and created an attractive environment that most companies could not readily provide themselves. One of the first of these was the Central Manufacturing District, which developed a square-mile tract of land north of the Union Stock Yards on both sides of the south fork of the south branch of the Chicago River. Organized in 1890, it could promise its clients the same excellent freight facilities enjoyed by the stockyards. The section filled up rapidly with light manufacturing and distribution establishments. By 1915 the district was ready for its second enterprise, the Pershing Road Tract, immediately to the west. It, too, flourished and was ready for government use in World War I.

In Lake County, Indiana, another industrial complex developed when the federal government constructed an artificial lake front harbor and a canal to accommodate new steel, chemical, and refinery plants. Eventually, Indiana Harbor Canal would handle over 20 million tons of cargo a year and would become the leading petro-

Two "top women" at the U.S. Steel plant in Gary, Indiana, wear oxygen masks for their work cleaning the tops of 12 blast furnaces. Their job is one example of many taken over by women while American men were serving in World War II. Corbis.

leum shipping port on the Great Lakes. To find room for expansion, companies soon filled newly made land out into the lake along the south shore.

Farther east along the Lake Michigan shoreline were sand dunes that, to an industrial-minded observer in 1900, appeared bleak and forsaken. An early surveyor found that the face of the country looked like "some powerful convulsion had torn the earth asunder and thrown it up into sand peaks, leaving the cavities to be filled up with the lake and marshes." Yet to U.S. Steel, scouting about for a site for a new, modern plant, the site seemed ideal for development. The very remoteness of the place required that the corporation create not just a factory complex but a new city as well. The Pullman strike of 1894 had soured many businessmen on the desirability of "model towns." Far from producing a contented and productive labor force, Pullman's experiment had bred bitterness and resentment. The "most perfect city in the world" had become just another industrial town with its ordinary problems magnified by frustrated hopes when the Pullman Company refused to listen to workers' complaints during the depression of the 1890s. But U.S. Steel had no option; major facilities would require a large working population and all the installations and public services needed to sustain it.

However reluctantly, the company went into the city-making business, naming their urban creation Gary, Indiana, after the chairman of the board, Elbert H. Gary. A. F. Knotts, attorney for U.S. Steel, who was formerly employed by the Pullman Company, was determined to avoid the mistakes of his previous employer. Most of all he wanted to keep away from company housing, which he thought brought such woe to Pullman. Gary was more a gigantic tract development than a model town. The choice sites along the lake went into industrial plants and a harbor. A few blocks were reserved for public buildings, and others were set aside for institutional use. The rest was laid out in the conventional grid pattern. The utilities provided for a population of 200,000, and the names of the projected main business streets, Fifth Avenue and Broadway, reflected the pretensions, if not the scope, of the project.

Gary was incorporated on July 17, 1906. By December it had 10,000 inhabitants. Two months later, the first steel poured from the new furnaces. In its way, Gary was the country's first "instant city," although it never matched the grand expectations of its founders. For a long time, however, it was essentially a "company town," an appendage to the immense steel complex at the tip of the lake.

TECHNOLOGY

The electric revolution had a great effect on the industrial life of the urban Midwest. The assembly lines at Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant ran on electricity, and in Muncie, Indiana, Ball Brothers Glass Manufacturing Company adopted electrical bottle-blowing machines to turn out as many glass jars with 8 workers as previously it had required 210 skilled workers and their assistants to make. The impact of electricity in the midwestern rural areas was far less. By 1920, 47 percent of urban dwellings had been wired, but only 1.6 percent of farm dwellings. During the New Deal, the Rural Electrification Act of 1935 made low-cost loans available, which made electrical production and distribution in rural areas possible. In rural America the growth after this law was meteoric. By 1940, a third of American farms had electrical power, and 10 years later 90 percent of American farms had electrical power. The other great technological innovation of the first third of the century, the telephone, was seen as less a necessity. In midwestern urban areas such as Muncie, for example, domestic telephone use actually declined from 1926 through the Depression year 1936 (Kyvig 2002, 66–69).

TRANSPORTATION

In midwestern cities, as elsewhere, mass transit remained the crucial catalyst for expansion. The cable car, which had been so important in the 1880s and 1890s, quietly gave way to the electric street railway and the elevated train. Some of the old cable lines hung on, and in Chicago, for example, it was not until 1906 that the final epitaph was written. "State Street bade an unregretful farewell to the last cable train of the Chicago City Railway," the *Tribune* noted wistfully. "Groaning and decrepit it rattled and bumped around the Loop for its last performance at 1:35 A.M. The train consisted of a battered grip-car and a twenty-year-old trailer."

New electric street railway systems soon laced most cities of the Midwest, and in urban areas nearly everyone was within easy walking distance of some line. The route pattern was rectangular, with service along nearly every section-line street, some half-section streets, and most of the major diagonal arteries. The bitter competition for franchises so characteristic of the earlier period diminished; for example, in 1913 the city council of Chicago put the entire system—nearly 1,000 miles of track—under the management of the Chicago Surface Lines, thus creating what Chicagoans claimed to be the largest unified street railway system in the world. Its volume of traffic reached 634 million fares in 1913. By 1929 that figure soared to nearly 890 million. Chicago serves as a model, but throughout the Midwest, public transportation systems that created a mobile workforce stimulated the development and expansion of manufacturing cities more than any other single force.

For example, after 1913 Clevelanders commuted from their new suburb of Shaker Heights on streetcar lines, built by Oris P. and Mantis J. van Sweringen ("the Vans") to serve their new residential development. From 1913–1915, the Vans built most of the rail sections east of Shaker Square, routing streetcars to downtown Cleveland via existing tracks of the Cleveland Railway Company. Later, they built the grade-separated "rapid transit" section between Shaker Square and downtown Cleveland, for faster service. This opened in two stages, first in 1920 to East 34th Street, then in 1930 to the new Terminal Tower, which the Vans built as Cleveland's main railroad station.

The growth of cheap, reliable mass transportation made possible the "segregated city," with special areas devoted to residence, manufacturing, commerce, service business, and government. Gone were cities of "mixed use," where manufacturing, business, and residence were intermingled. Now a central business district, a streetcar suburb in the city, an industrial section, and working-class neighborhoods became the norm. The mass transit systems also connected people to entertainment such as amusement parks and baseball parks, located strategically along or at the end of the line. Paradoxically, the mass transit systems that connected the city also divided people, as racial and economic segregation went hand in hand with the transformation of the uses of urban space.

Most people in the cities embraced mass transit as an accessible and affordable means of expanding their available space. One exception to this rule was St. Louis. Although mass transit plans were discussed, the infatuation with the automobile (St. Louis was the first city to have a gas station, and the first automobile accident was recorded there) prevented serious rapid transit implementation. Instead, in 1912, St. Louis became one of the first cities to create a comprehensive automobile traffic plan complete with tree-lined parkways, benches, and streetlamps. The City Commission created the plan in hopes of alleviating congestion in the downtown business districts and reclaiming blighted downtown areas. Other midwestern cities also accommodated automobiles and trucks by widening streets and providing for on-street and off-street parking. Cities also installed signs and traffic lights to regulate flow and encourage movement of people and goods. Developers hitched their fortunes to the auto age by buying up areas away from fixed-rail service to promote new automobile-driven communities.

In 1922, J. S. Nichols of Kansas City, Missouri, opened his Country Club Plaza to serve as the business district for a large-scale residential development. It featured paved and lighted parking lots. In the 1930s and 1940s, Sears and Montgomery Ward set up large free-standing stores with on-site parking away from the centers of big cities. This new age of shopping was no longer dependent on ready access to mass transit. The shift to an auto-dominated urban and suburban culture took time, and although the Depression of the 1930s slowed the process for a while, the New Deal public works programs implemented in those years built roads and bridges that provided further infrastructure that later sped the dominance of automobiles and trucks as the principal means of transportation after World War II.

When Barney Oldfield climbed into a monster automobile built by Henry Ford in 1903, he said, "It might kill me, but they will say afterward that I was going like hell when she took me over the bank." Ford had built the car to win a race and $28,000 in prize money. But his dream was not to join the wealthy enthusiasts and sportsmen who up to that time had been the only ones interested in the new invention called the horseless carriage. Ford, the midwestern farmer's son, had a dream to build a car for the people. The money and notoriety he would gain from winning a big race with a big prize would put him on that path. By 1908, Ford had done it. He built a car that would sell for a price that people with average incomes could afford, and the automobile revolution was underway. In 1913, he created the first moving assembly line, and as production increased he dropped the price of each car. The car that initially sold for $950 in 1908 sold for $360 by 1915.

In 1906, Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University, remarked that nothing would spread socialism in the United States faster than the automobile. It offered, he said, a picture of the arrogance of wealth for all to see. Thanks to Ford, the story of the automobile did not turn out as Wilson envisioned. By 1920 the car for many had become a necessity. When a woman was asked how she could own a car and not a bathtub, her response was "you can't go to town in a bath tub." Although trains and buses would remain essential to the travel infrastructure of the Midwest, automobiles would become a fundamental factor in the transformation of the living habits of middle-class America throughout the region. Drive-in restaurants, movies, suburban shopping centers, and the suburbs themselves owed their rapid development in the first half of the twentieth century to the automobile.

Will Durant, another automobile pioneer who was more entrepreneur than inventor, brought another innovation to the industry. In 1919, after consolidating a number of small automobile companies into the giant General Motors, he used his abundant supply of capital generated from war profits to create the General Motors Acceptance Corporation (GMAC), the first commercial credit company in America. Now people of modest income had an alternative to buying Ford's dependable, economical, but boring Model T. With a little down and a little a month they could step up to one of General Motors' colorful and powerful models. G.M. operated under the principle of planned obsolescence, a production and marketing strategy that emphasized measured change in engineering and style, which encouraged customers to buy new "improved" models rather than hold on to the older ones.

At the beginning of the century, interurban lines began to connect major metropolitan areas of the Midwest. The history of these lines goes back to the mid-nineteenth century when, in 1850, the Aurora Branch Railroad made connections with Chicago. By the 1870s, seven interurban electric lines either entered Chicago or connected with surface and elevated lines at the edge of the city. At the edge of the Chicago lines, in turn, tracks connected to enter the other major cities of the Midwest, including Detroit, Milwaukee, and St. Louis. Most of these interurban lines survived the initial impact of the automobile, and well into the mid-twentieth century these trains provided transportation for people traveling from one midwestern city to another (Mayer and Wade 1969, 206–8, 250; Kyvig 2002, 29–30).

THE MIDWEST
|
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Political Life

The rapid growth of midwestern cities at the turn of the century brought demands for new infrastructures such as telephone lines, electric lines, and public transportation, which required large amounts of money and invited the corruption that money can bring. In the early decades of the century most cities of the Midwest had to deal with a flood of corruption in local government that within two decades would rise to the level of the White House during the Harding administration. Often political parties ran on a platform no more substantial than the pledge to "throw the bums out." The best that political parties could say in many cities was that they were less corrupt than the other guys. During this era, a group of political activists emerged, mostly professional and mostly middle class, who called themselves Progressives. They tried to bring honest and sound government to the cities by professionalizing the administration of the cities through the appointment of a city manager and the establishment of citizen oversight groups, such as public utilities commissions.

In the 1920s, midwesterners witnessed a rise in organized crime, as the illegitimate business of beer and liquor sales became the domain of criminals. Although other cities throughout the country suffered the same fate, the midwestern city of Chicago, because of its infamous citizen Al Capone and the bloody gang wars fought by him, received the reputation as being the gangland capital of America. At the same time in the late 1920s and 1930s, in an odd cultural juxtaposition, bank robbers became folk heroes to a population feeling cheated by large corporations and banks. These issues flavored the public life and helped shape opinions of midwesterners in the first decades of the twentieth century. They created a public opinion that on one hand was cynical about political life, yet on the other hand yearned and hoped for and believed in the possibility of reform.

GOVERNMENT

Political dialogue in the Midwest in the first two decades of the new century, as in much of the rest of the country, was dominated by Progressivism. Progressives embraced the cause of honesty and efficiency in government, a concern that led to a variety of reforms of state and local government. A group of reform mayors, including Hazen Pingree of Detroit, Thomas Johnson of Cleveland, Samuel E. "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo, and Socialist mayor Emil Seidel of Milwaukee, successfully attacked corrupt machines and provided efficient municipal services such as mass transportation, water, and electrical power. In Detroit, Progressive urban reform preceded the new century. It began with the administration of Hazen Pingree, who served as mayor of that city from 1890 to 1897. Pingree's career embodied the two models that Progressive reform movements throughout the Midwest would follow. First was structural reform, which stemmed from middle-class values and assumptions, which emphasized businesslike efficiency and honesty in government, and social reform that displayed sympathy for immigrant and working-class conditions and attempted to attack the causes of these conditions rather than the symptoms. While in office, Pingree championed municipal ownership of utilities, better government service, home rule, tax equalization, social welfare programs, improved schools, and more public parks and baths. In contrast to most reform governments, Pingree's administration depended on the immigrant and labor votes as his power base, which contradicted many assumptions that reformers' power base remained in the middle and upper middle class (Mohl 1970, 286–87).

In Cleveland, Tom Johnson, although a successful businessman with numerous property interests, advocated taxing wealthy businesses and property owners to generate funds for much-needed improvements in the city. Milwaukee Socialists led by Victor Berger, who would become the country's first Socialist representative in Congress, sought to reform the legacy of the Industrial Revolution on the local level. Progressivism and Socialism had different leaders and spoke different languages, but were, in many ways, remarkably similar in practice. Socialists rejected the Progressive idea of government regulation of industry. Instead, they sought to replace the capitalist system with a planned economy of state-owned industries that would protect workers from business monopolies. Until that time came though, Socialists supported measures that were quite similar to the Progressives. Like Progressives, Milwaukee Socialists also advocated cleaning up neighborhoods and factories with new sanitation systems, municipal ownership of water and power systems, community parks, and improved education systems. Many of these goals were realized when in 1910 Milwaukeeans elected Emil Seidel the first Socialist mayor in the country. These urban ventures in what reformers approvingly called "gas and water socialism," or in Milwaukee "sewer socialism," encouraged many Americans to accept the principle of government regulation of necessary services.

The most important Progressive victory at the state level came in 1900 when Robert M. La Follette defeated the Wisconsin political machine to win the governorship. Once elected, La Follette called on experts at the state universities to draft reform legislation. By the time La Follette had finished his three terms in 1906, Wisconsin had enacted a system of business taxation and regulation and social services that led Progressive president Theodore Roosevelt to call the state "the laboratory of democracy." By 1915, Wisconsin not only had passed a direct primary law but also raised taxes on railroads and other corporations, established a railroad regulatory commission, enacted a law controlling lobbying, inaugurated a state civil service system, and adopted a state income tax. La Follette's success in Wisconsin became a model for other Progressive victories elsewhere in the Midwest. A number of governors, most notably Albert Cummins of Iowa, later joined La Follette in the U.S. Senate to form a Progressive core in that otherwise formidable bastion of conservatism (Harrell, et al. 2005, 788–90).

Progressive reform did not permeate every city of the Midwest, as those Americans who read Lincoln Steffens knew only too well. In a series of exposés on city government at the turn of the century, Steffens reported on corruption in major cities in the United States. Of the seven cities he pointed out as particularly corrupt, five of them were in the Midwest. Describing St. Louis, he told his readers that it remained in 1901 "the worst-governed city in the land." He pointed out that in St. Louis corruption came from the top. Formerly the best citizens, the merchants and big financiers, used to rule the town, he pointed out, and they ruled it well. But a change had occurred, and he lamented that public spirit had become private spirit, public enterprise had become private greed. He wrote of St. Louis:

> Public franchises and privileges were sought, not for legitimate profit and common convenience, but for loot. Taking selfish interest in public councils, the big men misused politics. The riffraff, catching the smell of corruption, rushed into the municipal assembly, drove out the remaining respectable men, and sold the city—its streets, its wharves, its markets, and all that it had to the now greedy businessmen and bribers (Steffens 1957, 163).

As for Chicago, Steffens reported that the city was

> First in violence, deepest in dirt; loud, lawless, unlovely, ill-smelling, irreverent, new; an overgrown gawk of a village, the 'tough' among cities, a spectacle for the nation. With resources for a magnificent system of public parking, it is too poor to pave and clean the streets. They can balance high buildings on rafts floating in mud, but they can't quench the stench of the stockyards. The enterprise which carried through a World's Fair [in 1893] to a world's triumph is satisfied with two thousand five hundred policemen for two million inhabitants and one hundred and ninety-six square miles of territory, a force so insufficient (and inefficient) that it cannot protect itself, to say nothing of handling mobs, riotous strikers, and the rest of that lawlessness which disgraces Chicago. (Steffens 1957, 164)

In Kansas City, Missouri, government was controlled by the Tom Pendergast machine. Big money was made illegally in this town because Thomas J. Pendergast, lever of the crooked Democratic machine, let it happen. With a baronial presence—masquerading as a fine Catholic benefactor of the city since early in the century—he literally owned the town. Under him were an alliance of crooked magistrates, attorneys, sheriffs, policemen, aldermen, businessmen, poll hackers, and stooges who jumped immediately so as to not anger Pendergast. His chief lieutenant was Mafia-backed John Lazia, a product of the town's "Little Italy," and who served to enforce the decrees of "Tom's Town." Through much of the first half of the century elections often would be won on the simple promise of cleaning up city hall, but that rarely occurred. Despite the gains of Progressives, local politics in many parts of the Midwest remained a rough-and-tumble world where only the strongest survived (http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters_outlaws/outlaws/floyd/3.html).

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

Prohibition, which went into effect on January 16, 1920, stimulated the rapid growth of organized crime, which in the ensuing decades would become woven into the fabric of American society. Prohibition liquor sales became another means, along with drugs, prostitution, and even legitimate services such as laundry, by which money flowed from upper- and middle-class communities into the neighborhoods and purses of the poor. Because of middle- and upper-class patronage of speakeasies and purchase of illegal alcoholic beverages, Prohibition opened up a new criminal occupation with less risk of punishment, more certainty of gain, and less social stigma than traditional criminal activities. Mobsters even became popular culture heroes. As illustrated by the following quotation, Al Capone, the famous Chicago gangster who was invited to be among the official welcoming committee when Benito Mussolini visited Chicago, saw his criminal activities as providing a public service:

> If I break the law, my customers are as guilty as I am. The only difference between us is that I sell and they buy. Everyone calls me a racketeer. I call myself a businessman. When I sell its bootlegging. When my patrons serve it on a silver tray on Lake Shore Drive, its hospitality. (Gossop 2007, 164)

Besides supplying a public demand, organized crime also stimulated the economy of a number of legitimate businesses. Floral shops, truck mechanics, restaurateurs, undertakers, and lawyers all benefited from the activity of these extralegal entrepreneurs. A more lasting effect on the economy was their participation in labor-management relations, which entrenched organized crime in unions for many years after the end of Prohibition.

The city of Chicago under Capone became a stronghold of organized crime, but Chicago did not have a monopoly on this enterprise. Every major city in the country had a story, if not as dramatic, at least similar to Chicago's. Crime syndicates did not begin with Prohibition, They rose to power through the saloons, gambling houses, and brothels of the nineteenth century, but crime in Chicago took a large step toward organization in the early twentieth century under Big Jim Colisimo, a poor Italian immigrant who rose from waterboy on a railroad gang to famous Chicago restaurateur. His road to success was paved by politics and crime. Through astute organization of the voters in his neighborhood, Colisimo became a precinct captain. Once inside the political fraternity of Chicago, he could operate illegitimate services without fear of legal recrimination. He opened a string of brothels, the profits of which provided capital for his famous restaurant, Colisimo's Café, which achieved national fame and received famous visitors such as Enrico Caruso and George M. Cohan.

Although he was rapidly turning legitimate, small-time racketeers were constantly harassing Colisimo, and so he sent for his nephew Johnny Torrio of New York, head of the famous Five Points Gang. Once in Chicago, Torrio protected Colisimo, but he used his clients' connections to establish his own political and criminal hegemony. In late 1919, recognizing the potential financial boom that would arrive with Prohibition, Torrio tried to convince Colisimo to get in on the ground floor of the bootlegging business. Colisimo laughed at the idea of bootlegging and told Torrio to "stick with the women" (i.e., prostitution).

On May 11, 1920, five months after the Prohibition era began, Colisimo died from multiple gunshot wounds. The murderer was never discovered. Some said it was a jealous wife, others surmised that it was small-time racketeers, and still others suspected that Torrio's apprentice Alphonse Capone did it. But Torrio, who shed the most tears at the funeral, protested, "We wuz like brothers." Colisimo's funeral was the first of the gangland funeral extravaganzas that would become commonplace in the 1920s. The honorary pallbearers included three judges, an assistant state attorney, a member of Congress, a state representative, and nine aldermen. With a custom-made casket and magnificent floral tributes, the cost of the funeral came to $50,000, which Torrio paid.

Now in complete control, Torrio set his plan for expansion. To launch his start in the beer industry, he partnered with a well-known legitimate brewer, Joseph Stentson. Stentson brewed the beer, and Torrio handled distribution. He also brought the Italian Alky cooking guild under his complete control. Immigrants had been producing alcohol in the backrooms of tenements and selling it wholesale to bootleggers for decades. The Italian distillers organized themselves under the Unione Siciliano. The Unione, once a legitimate voting bloc in the Italian community, had by 1920 become synonymous with the Italian underworld.

Italians hardly monopolized crime. There were German gangs, Irish gangs, Jewish gangs, and others. But in several cities Italian gangs gained universal prominence, and in the popular mind they became synonymous with organized crime. Several factors contributed to Italian success in this highly competitive business of organized crime. Italians had a deep loyalty to family and clan tradition. They also possessed a fierce partisanship toward group laws as opposed to outside regulations, and a dislike and contempt for government, an attitude that they had brought with them from Italy. Their failure to integrate into the rest of the society also brought them closer together. Finally and most importantly, they brought with them from Italy a *padrone* system, which demanded unfettered loyalty to their local leader and provider.

Torrio efficiently organized these various clan groups into the most powerful criminal organization the country had known up to that time. He understood there were other non-Italian gangs who would never come under his control. Therefore, he organized Chicago and Cook County into small kingdoms. Each leader promised not to invade the other's territory. The leaders even met periodically at Torrio's restaurant, The Four Deuces, to discuss differences and to ensure peace.

Despite Torrio's efforts, there remained too much suspicion, which eventually precipitated major fissures in the pact. The first was with the Irish gangster Dion O'Bannion, who had risen from newspaper boy to small-time burglar to florist and leader of one of Chicago's most important gangs. His flower shop was across the street from Holy Name Cathedral on North State Street at Superior Street, where he had served as an altar boy. He wore specially tailored suits that concealed three revolvers. He was quick-tempered, crude, undiplomatic, and lacked the cool savvy of Torrio. In 1924, Torrio offered to combine enterprises with O'Bannion, but the Irish gangster refused. He did not want any part of Torrio's brothels, which he considered immoral. On November 10, 1924, the first incident in what would be called the "Bootleg Battle of the Marne" occurred when three members of Torrio's Unione Siciliano shot and killed O'Bannion in his own flower shop. Torrio thought removing O'Bannion would bring harmony to the underworld, but he was wrong.

Unwilling to risk his life, and happy with the $50 million dollars he had made in the first four years of Prohibition, Torrio fled with his wife to a villa in Italy. He turned his entire organization over to his deputy Al Capone, who waged a vicious and uncompromising war against O'Bannion's successors. The war culminated on February 14, 1929, in the vicious machine-gun murder that became known in local folklore as the St. Valentine's Day massacre. Capone's men, disguised as police officers, entered a garage on Clark Street that was a known O'Bannion gang hangout. The "police" told the gang members to put their hands up and face the wall. Supposing a typical police shakedown, they complied. In the next moment machine guns filled the room with bullets, smoke, noise, and blood, and the O'Bannion gang members lay dead on the floor.

The gruesome execution of several of his enemies ended gang resistance against Capone and his empire. Capone continued to work the rackets, brothels, and speakeasies and rapidly became a multimillionaire. Capone's control of the city was so tight that in the autumn of 1928 Frank Loesch, president of the Chicago Crime Commission, went to Capone (not the police or the mayor's office) to ensure legitimate elections, and the elections turned out to be the cleanest and fairest in 40 years. By this time, however, Capone's days as a free man were numbered. An Internal Revenue Service (IRS) investigator, Elmer Irey, had built a case against him that was strong enough to convict him on tax evasion charges. Capone was sentenced to 11 years in prison and a $50,000 fine. He spent the larger part of his sentence in Alcatraz, the harsh prison in San Francisco Bay, where it was discovered in 1938 that he suffered from an advanced case of syphilis. After his release, he spent the last years of his life at his south Florida estate on Palm Island, Miami Beach, where he lived as a feeble recluse dying of advanced neurosyphilis in 1947 at the age of 48.

In addition to organized crime, the Depression years also saw the emergence of a number of criminals who, with the tools of their trade, a submachine gun and a fast car (preferably a Ford Model A), acted as independent entrepreneurs in the underworld of crime. Their victims of choice were the banks, but they were not beyond robbing a roadside store for groceries, gas, or a pack of cigarettes. Among the criminals that dominated the headlines of the Midwest were John Dillinger in Indiana and Illinois, "Pretty Boy" Floyd in Ohio, Missouri, and Oklahoma, and "Baby Face" Nelson in Illinois and Minnesota. Despite their differences and distinctive habits, they shared the love of fast cars, machine guns, bank robberies, and the knowledge that they would probably die young. Unlike most criminals, whom normal law-abiding citizens would hold in disdain, these Depression-era gangsters became folk heroes

A re-enactment of the 1929 St. Valentine's Day massacre from the film *The St. Valentine's Day Massacre*. Library of Congress.

to many. Perhaps this was so because they created public personas as down-home folks who were caught in a struggle with the impersonal forces of finance and law enforcement. Americans who had lost their savings to a failed bank or their possessions to a sheriff's sale or knew somebody who had suffered that fate felt an odd camaraderie with these often psychopathic criminals.

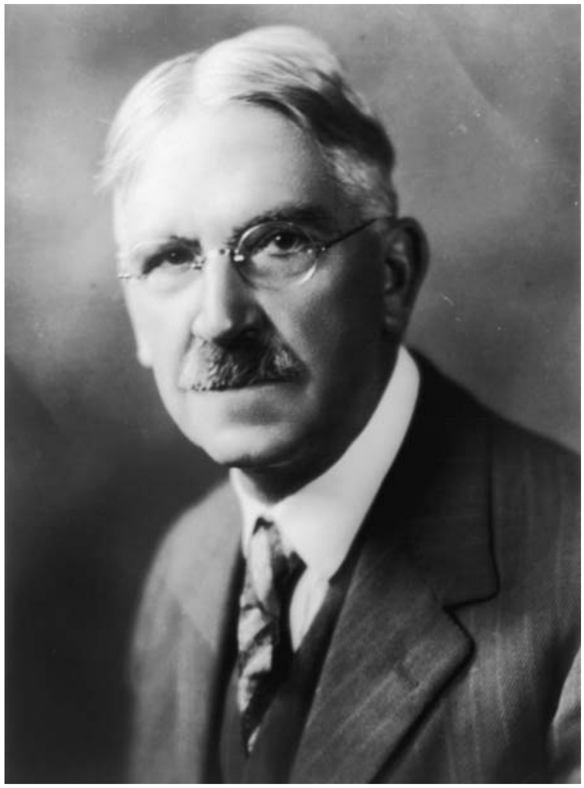
REFORM

At the turn of the century, despite rampant political corruption, Chicagoans could boast of a number of reform movements, which served as models for the rest of the country. In 1894, William T. Stead, an English editor and Christian socialist, issued a challenge to Chicagoans with his sensational exposé of social conditions in the city, *If Christ Came to Chicago*. Stead described graphically the plight of the workers, the savage brutality with which their aspirations were crushed, and the corruption and indifference of Chicago's leaders. "If Chicago is to be the Capital of Civilization," he wrote, "it is indispensable that she should at least be able to show that every resident within her limits enjoyed every advantage which intelligent and public-spirited administration has secured for the people elsewhere."

Stead's widely read book struck a responsive chord. Progressive reformers, churchmen and women, and people resentful of the dirt, noise, pollution, and corruption in the city pushed for reform on every front from clean water to clean streets to clean government. Reform activity in Chicago, the largest city in the Midwest, characterized the middle- and upper-class nature of most reform movements occurring throughout the region and the United States at the same time. Typical of such groups was the Civic Federation, headed by many of Chicago's most prominent businessmen and their wives, who dabbled in social reform. Committed to the city's current economic structure and at the same time to the idea of class conciliation, the federation made noteworthy efforts to provide systematic relief for the needy, improve housing and sanitary conditions, and drive the grafters and boodlers from City Hall.

Others paid less attention to structural reform and immersed themselves in social reform. Jane Addams, for instance, and the remarkable women she enlisted at Hull House, knew through personal experience the problems of alienation and exploitation faced by Italian and Slavic immigrants who huddled in Chicago's west side tenements. Addams and her followers established settlement houses (the most famous of which was Hull House) where the poor received child care services, a needed meal, job and housing information, and a myriad of other services otherwise inaccessible to the poor. By means of surveys and reports on housing, work, and sanitary conditions, the settlement house also informed other Americans of the intolerable physical and social conditions that mired immigrants and working-class urban dwellers in dirt, poverty, and alienation from American norms. Motivated in part by the work of Addams and her followers, many middle- and upper-class women in cities throughout the Midwest contributed to efforts to establish settlement houses for the working class and immigrants and through them received their first taste of public life and civic responsibility.

By the turn of the century, some five hundred women's clubs in the United States boasted over 160,000 members, and through the General Federation of Women's Clubs, they funded libraries and hospitals and supported schools, settlement houses, compulsory education, and child and women labor laws. Eventually they moved beyond the concerns of home and family to endorse controversial causes such as women's suffrage and unionization. To that list the National Association of Colored Women added the special concerns of African Americans.



American educational reformer John Dewey. Library of Congress.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the newly emerging Jewish community of Cleveland remained instrumental in reform in that city. Indeed, the Jewish community even took over a Protestant organization, the Council for Educational Alliance, when it was on the brink of collapse. The Jewish community also pioneered in the establishment of a system for unified fundraising that benefited numerous charitable agencies in the city. The reform movements in both Cleveland and Detroit reflected a dynamic multicultural movement, which contradicted the historic model of reform being driven primarily if not exclusively by the elite WASP middle and upper class (VanTassel and Grabowski 1986, 6–9).

Another important midwestern reformer was Clarence Darrow. Already known nationally as the "people's lawyer," Darrow brought to the reform movement a searching critique of the American industrial system. Other midwestern reformers include Thorstein Veblen, who sought to revise classical economic theory, and John Dewey, who formulated a philosophy of education designed for the new industrial age (see the sections on Intellectual Life and Education).

Religion entered the campaign for social reform with men like Graham Taylor of the Chicago Commons settlement house, who combined practical knowledge of the plight of the poor with a strong belief in the Social Gospel. Catholic priests throughout the industrial Midwest, armed with the social encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, reminded the immigrant workers of their parishes that they had a God-given right to live and demand wages that allowed them to support their families in dignity. Influenced by the Catholic personalist philosophy of Peter Maurin and the work of his follower Dorothy Day in New York, in the 1930s, groups of young Catholics established Catholic Worker Houses of Hospitality in cities throughout the Midwest including Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Chicago where the poor could come for shelter, a meal, information, or simply a few moments respite from the harsh world of the Depression 1930s. As this discussion implies, reform in the first decades of the twentieth century took on many forms, and motivation varied from those who wanted to reform a system they felt to be basically sound to those who wanted to overturn the entire social structure of the country.

WAR

When on April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson asked Congress for a formal declaration of war against Germany, normal life in the Midwest as well as the rest of the nation underwent numerous convolutions. None had their lives changed more drastically than those young men who received notice that they had to go to war. To supply the million men deemed necessary to fight the war, Congress early in May 1917 passed a draft bill, and President Wilson declared June 5, 1917, as registration day. Ray Stannard Baker's wide-flung, high-powered propaganda campaign to make the day a festival and patriotic occasion succeeded in stirring up a national sentiment that dispelled or intimidated any remaining reluctance to the draft. To the polling places went 10 million young men. Each set down the data required—name, address, age, physical features, occupation, and reason, if any, for exemption. Each received a small green card certifying his registration. Without disturbance anywhere, almost one male out of every five in the country had shown his readiness to be tested for the army. The next step was to create a lottery that would determine who out of the 10 million would be sent to fight in Europe (Sullivan, V 1933, 302).

Almost three million were drafted; another two million volunteered. Most were white and young, between the ages of 21 and 31. Some 20,000 women served as clerks, telephone operators, and nurses. In a nation of immigrants, nearly one draftee in five was born in another country. Training often aimed at educating and Americanizing ethnic recruits. In special development battalions drill sergeants barked out orders while volunteers from the YMCA taught American history and English.

Mexican Americans and African Americans volunteered in disproportionately high numbers. Blacks quickly filled out four all-black army and eight National Guard units already in existence. They were also granted fewer exemptions from the draft than their white counterparts. Only 10 percent of the American population, blacks comprised 13 percent of the draftees. Southern Demo-

Snapshot

You're in the Army Now!

In the following excerpt from *Our Times,* Mark Sullivan describes the lottery as it unfolded on the morning of July 20, 1917, in Washington, D.C.

> A distinguished group of Senators, Representatives and High Army officers gathered in the public hearing room of the Senate Office Building around a large glass bowl containing 10,500 black capsules with numbered slips inside. Rarely has human eye been so privileged to see fate engaged in concrete functioning, the gods of the machine in operation. The gods for once made a formal ceremony of their distribution of destinies, Secretary of War Baker was to draw the first capsule, Senator George Chamberlain of Oregon, next in hierarchical order, was to draw the second, Representative S. Hubert Dent of Alabama the third, Senator Warren of Wyoming the fourth, and so on through a long list of minor gods.
>
> At 9:49 A.M. Secretary of War Baker, blindfolded, put in his hand and drew out a capsule—it was number 258. Flash powder boomed, cameras clicked, reporters sprang for the door. By telephone and telegraph the number "258" sped over the country to waiting newspaper presses, to stock tickers, to crowds standing before bulletin boards of Draft Offices. In each of the 4500 local villages and precincts across the country any man with the number 258 was chosen to fight—he had to now go to camp or show cause why he should be exempt.
>
> The lottery went on until after two the following morning; one blindfolded man took out the capsule, three tellers verified the number, and six tallymen recorded the list, one on a large blackboard which was photographed and reproduced on front pages everywhere. That day there was more excitement throughout the country than on the day of declaring war, for the lottery told each registrant how close he was to battle. War in general had become war personally. (Sullivan, V 1933, 304–5)

crats in Congress had opposed training African Americans in arms, fearful of the prospect of putting arrogant strutting representatives of black soldiery in every community. Consequently, the majority of blacks in the armed services remained in support roles. However, four regiments of the all-black 93rd Division brigaded with the French army were among the first Americans in the trenches and among the most decorated units in the army.

On the home front many Americans reacted to the propaganda against Germany with a personal hate campaign against Germans in this country. Sauerkraut became liberty cabbage, frankfurters became hotdogs. German dogs were tortured and killed. The Midwest, which had become home to many Germans in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, became especially susceptible to this nativistic patriotism. In Chicago, for example, a German practice of walking with friends or sweethearts in Grant Park was forbidden as Germans were prohibited from areas (such as parks) where large numbers of people gathered. And throughout the Midwest as well as the rest of the nation German American institutions came under attack. Although merely cosmetic, some discrimination was hateful. The names of schools, foods, streets, and towns were often changed, and music written by Wagner and Mendelssohn was removed from concert programs and even weddings. Physical attacks, though rare, were more violent. German American businesses and homes were vandalized, and German Americans accused of being "pro-German" were tarred and feathered and, in at least once instance, lynched.

The most pervasive damage was done to German language and education. German-language newspapers were either run out of business or quietly chose to close their doors. German-language books were burned, and Americans who spoke German were threatened with violence or boycotts. German-language classes, until then a common part of the public school curriculum, were discontinued and, in many areas, outlawed entirely. None of these institutions ever fully recovered, and the centuries-old tradition of German language and literature in the United States was pushed to the margins of national life and in many places effectively ended (http://rs6.loc.gov/learn/features/immig/german8.html).

Recreational Life

THE MIDWEST
|
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Baseball, movies, sports clubs, and taverns made the city the place to be for entertainment in the first decades of the twentieth century. As the working class increased, so did the number of people searching for recreational outlets in the small amount of free time they had. As the demand for entertainment grew, so did the entertainment industry. Sports and movies were the main benefactors of this new market demand. Movies have been discussed elsewhere, but this section will show how sports and music became entwined into the lives of Americans and even became a means for European immigrants to enter into the cultural milieu of their new home, and how black migrants from the South used their music to make a significant contribution to American culture.

SPORTS

Diverse ethnicity dominated the sports of the cities of the Midwest. One of the few new immigrant groups that came to America with any organized sporting heritage at all, the Bohemians, established themselves in heavily Czech neighborhoods in Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Cleveland. In 1862, as part of a romantic resistance movement against the ruling Austrians, Bohemian nationalists had organized the Sokol movement. Its philosophy, modeled after the German *turnverein*, sought to develop nationalism and strong bodies and minds for the future revolution. The Sokol tradition in America went almost as far back as in Bohemia; a unit was established in St. Louis in 1865. The primary goals of American Sokol units were to promote physical culture and to encourage newcomers to identify with their fellow Bohemians and their language and culture. By 1900 there were 184 units in the United States, mostly in the Midwest. The members were mainly working class or small merchants who were freethinkers. Hostility between freethinkers and devout Catholics eventually caused the latter to organize their own Sokols.

The Sokol hall was normally one of the largest buildings in a Bohemian neighborhood, and the center of its cultural and social life. It often housed the community's major recreational institutions like the Czech theater and choral societies. Sokols sponsored annual gymnastic exhibitions and family holiday outings that would include Sokol drills and folk dancing. The Sokol leaders met the challenge of attracting the interest of the American-born by organizing Sunday Bohemian baseball leagues for them. This got the youth involved in the Sokol and encouraged them to sustain their ethnic identity. The quality of play was quite high; by 1910, several Chicago Bohemians had made the Major Leagues. Their achievement was a source of great pride in the community, even among non-baseball fans.

Baseball by the turn of the century was well on its way to becoming America's national pastime. Urban politicians played an influential role in professional baseball from its earliest days. However, unlike boxing and horse racing, which operated under severe legal constraints and social opprobrium, baseball did not need to circumvent antigambling laws or operate in violation of the penal codes. The national pastime, the preeminent commercialized spectator sport in the city and its surrounding area, was regarded as a clean, exciting game. Club owners cultivated public images as selfless, civic-minded businessmen who sponsored teams out of a concern for the public welfare.

In reality owners were usually profit-oriented businessmen, typically professional politicians or friends or business allies of politicians, just as involved in urban politics as other sports entrepreneurs. Although not all executives were members of urban political machines, in cities that had powerful bosses, teams were often affiliated with their organizations. Political connections helped club owners in a variety of ways, such as providing protection against interlopers, obtaining inside information, obtaining public lands at reduced prices, and securing preferential treatment from the municipality. These services greatly enhanced the security and profitability of an entrepreneur's investment in baseball.

During the first three decades of professional baseball, when teams came and went with great regularity, nearly all major and minor league clubs had direct or indirect connections to urban politics. Ted Vincent examined the occupations of 1,263 officials and stockholders and found that nearly half were politicians, including 50 mayors, 102 state legislators, and countless judges, councilmen, and police commissioners—in sum, mainly professional politicians trying to profit from a new business venture in a field disdained by old money, while picking up votes from fans who were grateful to them for sponsoring a popular entertainment. A number of politicians, especially those who founded new teams, were also civic boosters. The first all-salaried team began in the Midwest. The Cincinnati Red Stockings, organized in 1869 by local boosters under the leadership of businessman and politician Aaron Champion, used sports to publicize their hometown. The team was a great success on the field, going undefeated in 1869 (56–0–1) and winning its first 25 games a year later before suffering its first loss. The club did a great job advertising the Queen City (Cincinnati) but only broke even at the box office. Its example encouraged the formation of at least four other fully salaried teams in 1870, including the Chicago White Stockings, a club backed by leading business and political leaders who also wanted to use baseball to publicize the sophisticated and progressive character of their city (Riess 1991, 194–95).

By 1893, the National League was on sound economic footing, and in 1901 the American League formed. Attendance in what became known as the big leagues doubled between 1901 and 1908, and Major League owners made very substantial profits. Between 1901 and 1911 the Chicago White Sox, owned by former player and manager Charles Comiskey, a son of a former Chicago city councilman, earned over $700,000. Across town, the Cubs were also making large profits. At the end of 1905, sporting goods tycoon and ex-player Albert G. Spalding sold the team to Charles W. Murphy for $105,000. Charles P. Taft, whose brother was secretary of war, financed the purchase. In the following season the new owners made $165,000. Between 1907 and 1913 their earnings reached $810,000, about an 800 percent return on their original investment.

Major League Baseball's success in the early decades of the century helped to alter the physical space of the cities where they played. In Detroit, at the corner of Michigan and Trumbull, on April 12, 1912, 26,000 fans crammed into a newly renovated ballpark for opening day. It was one of many new baseball venues that would rise up in the first decades of the twentieth century. Urban fans coming to games often had never seen such an expanse of open green space (consequently, across the nation baseball stadiums were always referred to as parks). Paul Sommerkamp, the Cincinnati Reds public address announcer, captured the sensation of fans entering these glamorous monuments to baseball. "There it sat," he wrote, "in kind of a dilapidated neighborhood, like a jewel. It was sort of an oasis. You'd walk up through the portals to the seats. The sight of that bright-green grass would hit you, and you'd think you'd walked into another world" (http://www.crosley-field.com/).

In Chicago, the owner of the White Sox, Charles Comiskey, decided that his team needed a new steel and concrete ballpark. In 1909, he bought a piece of land that had once been the city landfill to construct his ballpark. Construction on the ballpark began on February 15, 1910. It was completed in just five months and was named White Sox Park. Within the decade every Major League city in the Midwest had a new baseball park, and Chicago had two.

In 1918, the two leagues played a 130-game schedule, and total attendance barely topped three million. Planning another short season and fearing continued losses in 1919, many owners lowered salaries further and slashed expenses. Although the aura surrounding owners like Connie Mack, and to a lesser extent John McGraw, had declined during the 1910s, that of Chicago White Sox owner Charles Comiskey continued to shine. After his club won the 1917 World Series, an article attempted to demonstrate how the "Old Roman" had "won a fortune and whole army of personal followers through enlightened business methods." In 1919, with the war over and Babe Ruth in ascendance, baseball attendance had mushroomed to record levels, generating dramatic profits for the owners without comparable rewards for the players. Comiskey through shrewd business acumen was able to afford to buy a team that included the best players of the decade, including Eddie Collins and "Shoeless" Joe Jackson. But Comiskey's tight purse strings also left players convinced that although they were the best at what they did, they were being paid the same as the worst in the league. After Comiskey's White Sox won the American League pennant, the players found themselves in a position as World Series participants to capitalize on their accumulated resentments. Several of the players conspired with gamblers to fix the Series, and others through their silence became complicit in the plot. After the fix was discovered, the disillusionment of a generation of fans was captured by a young boy who ran up to Shoeless Joe Jackson and pleaded, "Say it ain't so Joe!"

A Fatima cigarettes coupon for a portrait of the 1913 Chicago White Sox. Library of Congress.

In the end Comiskey's primary sin rested not so much with his employment practices, as abysmal as they may have been, but with his subsequent efforts to protect his team and investment by covering up the scandal and undermining the prosecution of the participants. Neither Comiskey nor the White Sox, at least during his lifetime, ever recovered from the devastation of 1919. Forty years would pass before the White Sox would win another pennant, and almost 90 years before they would win a World Series. Comiskey was, by all accounts, broken by the scandal. Although he died a wealthy man in 1931, his estate totaled far less than it might have had the scandal not occurred. The priest who delivered his funeral sermon attributed his death to "a broken heart" (Tygiel 2000, 61).

In 1934, at the height of the Depression, the Cincinnati team, on the verge of bankruptcy, was bought by millionaire industrialist Powell Crosley. His ownership not only changed the name of their field from Redland Field to his own, but also changed the game in ways that secured its survival during the Depression and its continued success thereafter.

Baseball aficionados always claimed that baseball was tailor-made for radio. Although ball games were included among some of the first broadcasts, the marriage between the two was not obvious from the start. From the beginning, many owners had feared that accessibility to baseball on the radio would reduce ticket sales, and during the Depression years, when baseball attendance took a deep downturn, many owners blamed it on the radio. Some teams even prohibited the broadcast of their games in hopes of reviving ticket sales (Tygiel 2000, 99). Crosley, the owner of several radio stations and the manufacturer of the famous push-button radio that bore his name, was convinced otherwise. Seeing baseball as a means of selling radios and promoting his team, he announced that all games of the Reds would be broadcast. To announce the games, he introduced Red Barber, who would become a legend among radio broadcasters. From that point on, the union of baseball to radio was secured. Crosley brought another innovation to the game when in 1935 he convinced the skeptical owners to allow him to install lights and play the game at night. James T. Golden of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* remembered that special evening when fans for the first time saw Major League Baseball under the lights:

> The field showed up in a more uniform light, green and tan, than it does in daytime. . . . What clouds there were were so thin that the ball, when it flew high, shone through them like a bald head in a steam room. And when there was no mist, the sphere stood out against the sky like a pearl against dark velvet.

From 1901, which begins the modern era of baseball with the establishment of two major leagues, until 1940, five Major League teams have played and continue to play in four midwestern cities. From 1901 until 1940, these teams together won 28 pennants and 13 World Series. And fans in those midwestern cities were able to root for some of the greatest that ever played the game: Ty Cobb, Eddie Collins, and Cy Young, to name a few. The teams established in these cities, the Chicago Cubs, the Chicago White Sox, the Detroit Tigers, the Cincinnati Reds, and the Cleveland Indians, have continued to be among the most successful and stable in Major League Baseball (Tygiel 2000, 60–62).

After baseball, football also emerged as a great spectator sport in the early decades of the twentieth century. Unlike baseball, people had much more interest in the collegiate game in this era than the professional one, and the midwestern colleges fielded some of the best teams in the country. All but one of the major teams of the Midwest were organized in a conference that became known as the Big Ten. The original members organized in 1895 included University of Chicago, University of Illinois, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, Northwestern University, Purdue University, and University of Wisconsin. Indiana University and the University of Iowa were admitted in 1899. Ohio State joined in 1912. Chicago withdrew in 1946 and Michigan State College (now Michigan State University) was added three years later in 1949. Football in this era became the social focal point of every fall weekend at colleges of the Midwest as students, alumni, and local supporters descended on campuses where hundreds of thousands of dollars had been spent building football stadiums that could hold up to 80,000 fans.

Over the first decades of the twentieth century major rivalries developed among the Big Ten schools themselves and between some of the more important programs such as Michigan and the biggest schools in the East, which at the time included West Point, Penn State, and a number of what later became known as the Ivy League schools. As the decade of the 1920s unfolded, however, the biggest football program by far belonged to independent Notre Dame, a small Catholic college located in northern Indiana. By bringing innovations to the game such as the inclusion of the forward pass as an integral part of the game; by producing skilled players who in addition to being good athletes provided good newsprint, such as George Gipp and the "Four Horsemen"; and by winning more games and championships than any other college team, the small midwestern school became the darling not only of their alumni, but also of working-class Catholics throughout the country who included themselves among the "subway alumni" of Notre Dame.

Professional football attempted to ride the coattails of the collegiate game into popularity, but up until the early 1930s it had little success. In 1920, the American Professional Football Players Association (APFA) was formed. Of the 19 teams that comprised the league in 1921, 17 were located in the Midwest. In 1922, the APFA changed its name to the National Football League (NFL) and the Chicago Staleys changed their name to the Bears. That year marked the beginning of the NFL, and of the 14 teams that formed the first NFL, 13 were from the Midwest. Team location in the first years made the Midwest the center of gravity and birthplace of professional football. The roots of the NFL are midwestern, and the two oldest franchises, the Chicago Bears and the Green Bay Packers, are from that region. Each of these teams owed their endurance to the ingenuity of their pioneer owners George Halas and Curly Lambeau, respectively. In 1919, Lambeau was able to get financial backing for uniforms and salaries for players from the Indian meatpacking company where he worked. With this financial backing, Lambeau picked up college stars from all over the country, plus some unknowns who turned out to be "greats." In 1929, tiny Green Bay won the first of three straight national professional football championships, pacing stalwarts from New York and Chicago in league standings (the playoff system began in 1933). The 1929–1931 title teams featured all-time pro greats like Red Dunn, Verne Lewellen, Cal Hubbard, Bo Molenda, Jug Earp, Mike Michalske, Johnny (Blood) McNally, Bill Kern, Arnie Herber, Clarke Hinkle, Lavvie Dilweg, Tom Nash, Milt Gantenbein, and Hank

American football coach Knute Rockne when he was captain of the Notre Dame football team in 1913. The Granger Collection, New York.

Bruder. In many games, players would play for almost the full 60 minutes. These teams were hailed all over the country as some of the greatest ever.

In 1925, George Halas, owner of the Chicago Bears, was desperately seeking a special gate attraction to help draw attention not only to his team but also to the National Football League as a whole. University of Illinois running back Harold "Red" Grange, who ran with ghostlike speed and elusiveness, seemed to be the answer. Although college stars rarely turned to pro football in those days, Halas and his partner Dutch Sternaman pondered just how much Grange could do for their team. Grange, who worked as an ice deliveryman during his college summers, agreed to play for the Bears. On Thanksgiving Day, 1925, just 10 days after Grange's last college game, 36,600 fans filled Wrigley Field to see Red's pro debut against the Chicago Cardinals. Up to that time that crowd represented the largest to see a professional football game. Ten days later more than 70,000 packed New York's Polo Grounds to see Red and the Bears take on the New York Giants. From that day, the success of Halas's Bears and professional football was assured.

In an age that witnessed the birth of big-business professional spectator sports, midwestern cities led the way by providing the birthplace for professional football and the venue for some of professional baseball's most successful franchises. Professional sports, while bringing notoriety to midwestern cities, also provided a basis for community for the otherwise ethnically and culturally diverse and divided people of the urban Midwest.

Jim Thorpe on a 1984 U.S. postage stamp. The Granger Collection, New York.

MUSIC

In the 1920s, amid the misery of the highly segregated life on the south side of Chicago, a musical synthesis that would come to be known as the Chicago blues developed. The blues form, which originated in the Mississippi delta in the post–Civil War era, was first popularized about 1911–1914 by the black composer W. C. Handy. The poetic and musical form of the blues first crystallized around 1910 and gained popularity through the publication of Handy's *Memphis Blues* (1912) and *St. Louis Blues* (1914). Although instrumental blues had been recorded as early as 1913, the blues became a national craze when Mamie Smith recorded the first vocal blues song, *Crazy Blues*, in 1920. The blues influence on jazz brought it into the mainstream and made possible the records of blues singers like Bessie Smith and later, in the 1930s, Billie Holiday.

In the 1930s and 1940s, blues artists in Chicago added electric guitars, saxophones, and drums to the traditional guitar and harmonica of the Mississippi delta blues, and a number of important record companies, including the famous Chess Records (in the late 1940s) captured these sounds and distributed them nationwide. There are

Chicago bluesman Muddy Waters. Library of Congress.

thousands of Chicago blues artists who can still be heard in blues joints around Chicago, particularly on the south side and at the House of Blues in downtown Chicago. Although there were thousands of blues men and women in Chicago, only a relative handful have gained national fame. Among them are Howlin' Wolf, Sun Seals J. B. Hutto, Muddy Waters, Sonny Boy Williamson, and Willie Dixon. Their music has influenced such well-known stars as Paul Butterfield, Fleetwood Mac, and the Rolling Stones. Although blues were and are played throughout the nation, the Midwest contributed most to the developing sound of the blues. Blacks brought the music from its origins in the Mississippi delta up through the Mississippi River cities of Memphis and St. Louis, and over to Kansas City, up to Chicago. In each of these cities, something new was added. For instance, in Kansas City a fast style of playing with a piano accompaniment called "Boogie Woogie" was added to the repertoire. Since its proliferation in the early part of the century, blues music has continued to influence every form of American music from rock to hip hop to classical (Lloyd 1968, 69–70; http://www.history-of-rock.com/blues.htm).

ENTERTAINMENT

In the early decades of the twentieth century Chicago typified, though on a larger scale, the kind of entertainment one might find in the urban Midwest. Just south of Van Buren on State Street, the penny arcades, cheap saloons, burlesque palaces, and tawdry vaudeville beckoned to the tourist and the unwary. A little farther away the vice district operated around the clock without much official interference, indeed often with police collusion. For those seeking higher things, there were theaters on Randolph Street, the Art Institute, the Public Library, and Orchestra Hall along Michigan Avenue, and numerous bookstores and art galleries scattered about downtown.

The Coliseum on South Wabash provided a convenient site for all kinds of large civic affairs. Throughout the country it was famous, because both political parties had chosen it several times for national conventions. But Chicagoans knew it best at this time as the site of the notorious annual First Ward balls staged by the amiable and corrupt "bosses" of the central city—"Hinky Dink" Kenna and John "The Bath" Coughlin—to raise money for the Democratic organization. On these joyous occasions, the city's political swells mixed with masses at the levee, and thousands would frolic far into the night. In 1908, one reporter counted 2 bands, 200 waiters, 100 policemen, 35,000 quarts of beer, and 10,000 quarts of champagne. All this was easily consumed before the hosts "sent for reinforcements." "It's a lallapalooza," said city boss Hinky Dink Kenna with measured understatement. "All the business houses are here, all the big people. Chicago ain't no sissy town," he declared (Mayer and Wade 1969, 224).

Religious Life

THE MIDWEST
|
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the early twentieth century, religiously the Midwest could be divided into two major groups, the Protestants who dominated rural and small town areas and the Catholics who formed majorities in the larger urban areas. By the 1920s, Jews entered the mix in the midwestern cities of Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Detroit. Although Catholics and Protestants represented by far the largest groups, they by no means represented two unified institutions. Protestants were torn by their views of the modern world and Catholics by the cultural differences they brought with them from Europe. While membership declined among most mainline Protestant groups in the 1920s and 1930s, white pentecostal and evangelical congregations grew. Catholics, meanwhile, remained steadfast in their faith. One major reason for Catholic allegiance was that the Church remained a familiar institution in a new and strange world. Despite myriad theological and cultural differences, all religious groups worried about the antireligious trends of modernity that pulled their young away from their religious roots. This section will explore religion in the Midwest and its influence on the habits and morals of the people of the region.

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

Outside of the major cities of the Midwest, where immigrant Catholics represented the largest single religious group, evangelical Protestant denominations and Lutheran churches dominated the rural areas and small to medium-sized towns and cities. The evangelical Protestantism practiced was loosely linked to the capitalist materialist myth embraced by most Americans. The Lynds in their study of an average-sized city in the Midwest found the following statements quite indicative of the religious perspective of the people: "I believe in prayer because of experiences," remarked an active member of Rotary. "A couple of years ago everybody told me not to buy [a material essential in his industry]. Experts said to me, 'Trim your sails. It sure is a time to sit tight.' Well, my judgment was against it, but just the same I went ahead and bought fifty carloads—and in ten days it went up 50 per cent in price.

Now, I don't mean that God said, 'There's Jim in Middletown. I'll help him out,' but somebody guided me, and I think it was Him. That's why I believe in prayer." When the high school Bearcats were playing for the state basketball championship, those unable to attend the game assembled in the high school auditorium to hear the returns. A minister conducted the meeting, opening it with prayer, and as the tension grew during the game, a senior class officer prayed, "Oh, God, in thee we entrust this win. Jesus, wilt thou help us!"

One midwestern Protestant minister observed that for many the gospel of faith was predominantly preached in contrast to the gospel of works followed in everyday living. As an example he cited the minister of a well-to-do church who, during a period of dire unemployment, prayed, "O Lord, care for the 3,000 unemployed in this city and raise up friends to them. Set the factory machines going that [they] may again have work." In the 1920s, townspeople of the Midwest often gathered, as some sociologists noted, every Sunday in an ethnically homogeneous group that gave emotional and spiritual support to their own material and social position in the community (Lynd and Lynd 1929, 371–76, 402–4).

But the image of class and religious solidarity of one midwestern town does not belie the tensions that welled beneath the apparently united front of Protestantism. In the upper Midwest, as in the rest of the northern states, the tensions of modernism versus fundamentalism tore at the unity of the Protestant denominations. This was particularly true among members of the Northern Baptist Convention and the Presbyterian Church. Until 1925, conservatives controlled the denominational boards and agencies in both churches, but there was a growing concern that liberals had undue influence on the missions supported by the churches. In the early 1920s conservatives conducted minor purges of liberals, and in 1925 moderates, disenchanted by the increasingly caustic tactics of the fundamentalists, deserted the conservative alliance. Both the Northern Baptists and the Presbyterians suffered defections, but by the end of the decade they both had joined the Methodists and the Episcopalians in tolerating, if not promoting, more modernistic views of Christian theology (Harrell, et al. 2005, 870–71).

Despite the fact that during the Depression years of the 1930s most mainstream Protestant churches lost members, the spirit of religion remained strong. Protestant churches that escaped declining membership during the Depression were those that emphasized local and regional leadership and reinforced traditional values. Conservative churches in the Midwest and elsewhere were the hardiest survivors of the Depression, and during these times of hardship, millions of Americans remained intensely loyal to their local churches. Despite public ridicule of fundamentalists during the 1920s caused by (among other peculiarities) their stubborn defense of creationism, the 1930s witnessed the beginning of a shift in American Protestantism toward conservative evangelical churches. In 1942 a poll conducted by *Fortune* revealed that 82 percent of Americans believed in a God who "rewards and punishes after death" (Harrell, et al. 2005, 937).

Catholics in the big cities, representing for the most part a diverse immigrant population, faced different challenges than their predominantly native-born Protestant counterparts. The membership in the Catholic church in the Midwest, and especially in its larger dioceses of Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Detroit, and St. Paul represented for the most part a multiplicity of ethnic groups that became advocates for a Church that more closely characterized the Church they remembered in their home country. During the nineteenth century in Chicago, for example, the Germans sought and received a German auxiliary bishop, the Poles and other central Europeans established their own ethnic parishes, and in St. Paul the Germans bought land for their own ethnic cemetery. The greater heterogeneity and strength of nationalist groups in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century made the problems of nationalist aspiration even more acute.

Responding to the needs of immigrants was not a problem that suddenly appeared at the end of the nineteenth century and vanished at the beginning of the new century. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church was called upon to acknowledge the uniqueness of each ethnic group as soon as enough people of one nationality existed to organize a lobby for special treatment or demand a voice in ecclesiastical affairs. That the Catholic Church survived the storm of immigrant nationalism is remarkable. It might have been deemed unreasonable to expect that one institution could withstand the centripetal force generated by more than 20 nationalities. Yet its bishops and archbishops, without benefit of successful models, brought unity out of potential chaos. The Polish National Church in Chicago was the only schismatic break, and it made but limited progress. Unlike Lutheranism and other Protestant groups north and south that broke into denominations, the Catholic Church maintained its ecclesiastical and spiritual unity and prospered. For European peasants, the Church was an integral part of life. It was their mediator with the supernatural and a center of community life. When these people came to America, it remained the only recognizable public institution that gave them a sense of community and belonging. The sacrifices that immigrants made to build schools and churches reflected their commitment to and their need for the Catholic Church. As Protestant membership diminished in the 1920s and 1930s the Catholic churches grew and thrived under the leadership of "bricks and mortar" bishops who built Catholic institutions of learning, worship, social service, and health care throughout the major urban areas of the Midwest.

As a church of the working class, the Catholic Church defended the interests of its constituency. Church leaders realized that supporting the workers' struggle for a just wage was not only a moral responsibility but also the best means to counteract the influence of radical organizations whose economic theories were based on what Catholic leaders considered atheistic materialism. Unlike its counterparts in Europe, the Catholic Church in the Midwest was not bound by a self-serving commitment to repressive regimes or repressive social and economic policy. Throughout the Midwest parishes set up labor schools to explain to workers their rights to organize and to demand fair wages as outlined by the great social encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. When workers in the major cities of the Midwest engaged in labor battles in the 1930s with big steel and later with the auto industry, they found the Church on their side. A group of young Catholics in Chicago, calling themselves the Chicago Catholic Workers, even opened a soup kitchen at the Great Republic steel strike of 1937 and published a paper that presented the strikers' point of view when their grievances were ignored by the mainstream press. In 1930, in St. Paul, the Catholic archdiocese opened a free clinic for needy children, the first established by a privately owned hospital in Minnesota. And in the same year, the archdiocese sponsored a Catholic conference on industrial problems, at which was discussed the ethical aspects of labor, wages, and employment. Unlike some of their Protestant counterparts, Catholics did not accept the idea that wealth or poverty was a result of divine approbation; they viewed them as temporal problems that needed to be solved by material means.

Like Catholics, Jews in the Midwest represented for the most part an immigrant population. Due to the rising anti-Semitism in central Europe, the Jewish population in the Midwest as well as the rest of the country experienced a rise in the early 1930s. The total Jewish population in the midwestern cities of Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland numbered just under 60,000 in 1916, but due to immigration and births, that number increased to over 650,000 by 1936 (http://www.thearda.com). Like Catholics, many American Jews continued to live in enclaves. Although most sent their children to public schools, they maintained their own school systems and felt very strongly about resisting the homogenizing, assimilationist pressures of American society. In 1925, a Chicago rabbi asked the following questions:

> What will become of our children? Do we want them to grow up men and women who have an understanding of the problems of life, who know the history of their ancestors, who are proud Jews, and who will be a credit to us? Our children are running away from us. . . . Let us build houses of worship, social centers and Hebrew schools and let us provide the means for the coming generation to learn and to know. (Harrell, et al. 2005, 870)

Many Protestant ministers and Catholic priests could have expressed similar sentiments. And their words would have been received in earnest by many Americans who in the 1920s and 1930s had embraced religion as a refuge from the modern world of constant change and turmoil.

WORLDVIEW

Midwesterners in the first four decades of the twentieth century comprised a diversity of groups that included southern migrants both black and white, European immigrants of myriad cultures and religions, and native-born midwesterners with one or more generations behind them. Despite the diversity of origin, tradition, and religion, these midwesterners, both new and old, shared certain views.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the midwestern economy expanded, with new farmland and new industries that promised unlimited and unrestricted opportunities. The region represented the renewal of the American myth (as old as the nation) of a new, more natural world unhampered by a corrupt artificial order. Whether they had come from the remnants of the broken slavocracy of the South, the new financial plutocracy of the Northeast, or the corrupt aristocracies of Europe, they (or their parents) had escaped a world of unnatural artificial order, which had maintained wealth exclusively for the privileged. Midwesterners optimistically believed that in the natural order of things, honesty and hard work would be rewarded. These beliefs gave midwesterners, despite their various differences, and despite the prejudices experienced by many, a common sense of optimism, belief in fair play, and a naive sense of superiority, which created an isolationist worldview that would continue until the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 ended the illusion that they could remain unaffected by the outside world.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Books

Alinsky, Saul. *Reveille for Radicals*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.

Degler, Carl. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Fisher, James T. *Catholics in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Gossop, Michael. *Living with Drugs*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.

Green, Harvey. *The Uncertainty of Everyday Life 1915–1945*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Grossman, James, Ann Duskin Keating, and Janice Reiff, eds. *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Guthrie, Woody. *Bound for Glory*. New York: Penguin Books, 1983.

Harrell, David Edwin, Edwin S. Gaustau, John B. Boles, Sally Foreman Griffith, and Randall Miller. *Unto a Good Land: A History of the American People*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005.

Holli, Melvin. *Reform in Detroit: Hazen Pingree and Urban Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Hughes, Thomas P. *American Genius: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870–1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Josephy, Alvin M. Jr. *The Indian Heritage of America*. New York: Knopf, 1969.

Kyvig, David E. *Daily Life in the United States 1920–1940: How Americans Lived through the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.

Lloyd, Norman. *The Golden Encyclopedia of Music*. New York: Golden Press, 1968.

Lynd, Robert S., and Helen Merrell Lynd. *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1929.

Mayer, Harold, and Richard Wade. *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Reich, Steven A. *Encyclopedia of the Great Black Migration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Riess, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Shanabruch, Charles. *Chicago's Catholics: The Evolution of an American Identity*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981.

Sinclair, Upton. *The Jungle*. Tucson, AZ: Sharp Press, 2003.

Spear, Allan. *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Steffens, Lincoln. *Shame of the Cities*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1957.

Sullivan, Mark. *Our Times: The United States 1900–1925: Over Here 1914–1918 V*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

Tygiel, Jules. *Past Time: Baseball As History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

VanTassel, David, and John J. Grabowski, eds. *Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1986.

Urban, Wayne, and Jennings Wagoner. *American Education: A History*. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, 2003.

Articles

Marsh, Margaret. "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1915." *American Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (June 1988): 165–86.

Mohl, Raymond. Review of *Reform in Detroit: Hazen Pingree and Urban Politics* by Melvin G. Holli. *American Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 286–87.

Murphy, Mary. "Bootlegging Mothers and Drinking Daughters: Gender and Prohibition in Butte, Montana." *American Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (June 1994): 174–94.

Web Sites

Association of Religious Data Archives (ARDA). http:// www.thearda.com.

Crime Library. http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters_outlaws/outlaws/floyd/3.html.

Geostat Center: Historical Census Browser. http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php.

German Immigration. http://rs6.loc.gov/learn/features/immig/german8.html.

History of Chicago. http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/.

History of Crosley Field, 1912–1970. http://www.crosley-field.com/.

History of the Blues. http://www.history-of-rock.com/blues.htm.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, Library of Congress. http://www.americanmemory.org.

Sears Archives. http://www.searsarchives.com/.

6

THE SOUTHWEST AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN WEST

Overview

In this chapter, the Southwest includes the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, while the Rocky Mountain West comprises Montana, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho. As the twentieth century opened, two of the states of the Southwest had not yet entered the Union; and, with the exception of Colorado (1876), the Rocky Mountain states had just entered the Union within the previous decade. Until the post–World War II era, these sections of the country remained relatively underpopulated, with migrant families from the Midwest and East and immigrants from Europe and Asia mingling with the older Mexican and Indian cultures of the region. After experiencing rapid growth in the early 1900s, New Mexico's and Arizona's growth slowed down to a rate only a little above the national average. The exception was Texas. Stimulated by the oil boom from 1920 to 1940, the population of Texas grew by 37 percent to almost four million people. Growth in the equally underpopulated Rocky Mountain West over the first four decades of the twentieth century was also slow. Only Colorado, energized by a thriving mining industry, surpassed the one million mark by 1940. Populations in each of the other Rocky Mountain states hovered around 200,000 at the beginning of the century and the half million mark by 1940. The least populous state was Wyoming, which began the century with 92,000 people and expanded to 225,000 by 1940.

Although the newest region of the United States, some of the oldest cultures in the hemisphere lived there. Some Pueblo Indians, for example, still lived in towns that had been continuously inhabited since the twelfth century. The Mexicans with Euro-Indian ancestry traced their cultural roots to native peoples of centuries past and to the sixteenth-century Spanish encounter. The impact of these ancient cultures could still be felt in the early twentieth century. The Indian population remained the largest in the country and for the most part fixed in their traditions, and in the Southwest, Catholicism remained the dominant religion.

Oil dominated and propelled the economy of Texas in the first half of the twentieth century, though agriculture and ranching remained important. But limited resources and population in the other states of this region restricted their commercial and economic growth. In Arizona and New Mexico, tourism stimulated by the natural wonders of the area and the rich cultural tradition of the native peoples became the most important industry, while Colorado and other Rocky Mountain states depended on mining and agriculture to maintain their economies. As immigrants and white Americans from other regions began to migrate to the West, three major cultures—Indian, Mexican, and Euro-American—converged, sometimes commingled, and sometimes conflicted. Mexican dietary habits changed, and they learned enough English to survive in the workplace. Many "Anglos," as non-Mexican whites were called, greeted their friends with a "*Buenos dias*" or said good-bye with "*Hasta luego,*" and they learned to enjoy Mexican food and to appreciate the benefits of adobe construction. At other times, Mexicans (even those with American citizenship) were expelled from the region; and some Native Americans, like the Apache, suffered from loss of their land and means of livelihood.

Left out of this cultural mix for the most part were the Pueblo Indians, who managed to maintain farming and herding economies that remained peripheral to the larger American economy until well into the twentieth century. The Pueblos resisted the dynamics of the invading cultures and in many ways, including religious worship and dietary and dwelling habits, lived much as they had for the previous thousand years. This is in contrast to the Navajos who, as the twentieth century unfolded, began to feel the increasing pressure of white social and political encroachment on their way of life (White 1991, 237). But neither Indians nor Mexicans nor Americans could avoid the impact of world events. The economic boom of the pre–World War I and then the World War I years brought thousands of Mexicans across the border where they were welcomed by a labor-hungry region. When the economic downturn of the following decade turned into an economic collapse, these same Mexicans suddenly became unwelcome. Other events of the first half of the twentieth century also affected the region. When the automobile became the darling curiosity and then the necessity for Americans, these regions, like other parts of the United States, began a massive highway building plan. People of the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West also listened to the radio and enjoyed playing sports such as golf and football, which were rapidly becoming national fixations.

In the 1920s, children of the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West, as in other sections of the country, left their little one-room schoolhouses behind and took buses to the larger, more efficient, more specialized consolidated schools. Like Americans everywhere, the people of these regions witnessed changes in technology, education, even in the habits and complexions of the people they met every day as the new twentieth century brought a whirl of transformation that many could hardly understand, much less absorb.

This section will explore the dynamics created when distinct cultures, new technology, and new politics converged in the Southwest and the Rocky Mountain states in the first decades of the twentieth century. Confronted with this upheaval, the various peoples of the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West assimilated what they found beneficial in other traditions while trying to preserve the integrity of their own unique cultures.

Domestic Life

FAMILY LIFE

In the rural Spanish American homes of the Southwest, during the early twentieth century, the family still continued to be a strong primary group under paternal authority. In the villages, the Catholic Church served as the focal point of social activities as well as religious worship. For recreation, the young and old alike enjoyed feast days, dances, wedding parties, school functions, and political rallies. The virtues of those communities have been well described by John H. Burma in his 1949 article in *Social Forces*, which he concluded with this summary:

> In a day of almost cut-throat competition, the rural Spanish-American village represents a non-communist form of co-operation between persons who live and work in a compact social group. Here a real social consciousness, even if limited in scope, shines out to the larger individualistic society.

English was spoken in the school, but it remained the only place in the village community in which English was used. The resort to Spanish among family members and in neighborly greetings was regarded as an expression of regard for the old traditions; yet, the language of the street had become a corrupted oral Spanish composed of persistent archaisms and new fused forms, with an English word injected here and there for the modern innovations. While the Spanish-speaking people were borrowing English words to enlarge their vocabulary in a multicultural world, the English-speaking newcomers were also injecting some Spanish words into their conversation (Perrigo 1971, 381–82).

The Pueblo Indians of the Southwest used passive resistance and a deliberate policy of trying to exclude outside influences that might destroy their way of life in order to retain many of the traits of their original family culture. The Pueblo communities remained closely knit units in which, for the sake of solidarity and welfare of all, the individual was subjected to the group. Parents treated their children gently and permissively but threatened them with punishment from spirits if they misbehaved. Pueblos were monogamists. Marriage involved little courtship and scant display of emotion. Within the Pueblo all domestic affairs were responsibilities of extended families or households. These units included an old couple and a number of their children. Each nuclear family of the household unit was separated from the others by having one or two rooms or even a separate house to itself in the same area of the pueblo.

Frequent interaction of its members, cooperative work in numerous tasks, and the sharing of food characterized the household. Preparation and eating of food was normally done separately by each nuclear family, but frequently one member of the household would spend a day with the older couple, help them prepare their meal, and eat there as well. The building of houses, as well as the addition or repair of rooms, was done together, and during that time all lived and ate together in the home of the nuclear family that was benefiting from the task. Other activities such as planting and the harvesting of crops were also household tasks. All members worked together on such tasks.

Special sacred rituals such as attending the death of a member of the household also brought the extended family into cooperative action. The funeral rites, including a feast celebrated four days after death, were prepared and shared by all members of the household. Other ceremonial occasions also brought all members of the household together. All shared in the preparation of food for the various festivities, which lasted from one to three days. In winter, the home of the senior couple was the place where nuclear families gathered for the evening meal to gossip and listen to old folktales.

The Pueblos maintained marriage patterns and customs established in earlier times. Marriage with first cousins was prohibited regardless of household affiliation. Initially a newly married couple could be undecided whether to identify with the wife's or husband's household. A number of factors might influence the choice, the most important being the amount of property that was offered to the couple. In theory land and houses were owned by the village, but the distribution of land was based on inheritance.

Upon the death of the senior couple, the position of household leadership was sometimes assumed by the oldest married son or daughter. In the few cases of separation or divorce that occurred, the spouse who changed household allegiance returned to his or her natal household and gave up all rights in the former spouse's family. In the event of the death of a spouse in a childless marriage the surviving spouse gave up all rights within the household and returned to his or her original household. If there were children, the surviving spouse remained in the household with all rights intact. However, if the spouse remarried, he or she had to leave the household. For this reason, if there was a remarriage, it usually occurred within the same household. By maintaining these closely knit interdependent familial communities, the Pueblos successfully resisted intrusion from outside cultures and influences and well into the twentieth century were able to maintain a lifestyle ordered by traditions hundreds of centuries in the making (Josephy 1969, 161–62; Dozier 1960, 156–57).

For the Navajos, the basic social unit was the nuclear family. Society was matrilineal, with the position of women very strong and influential in all phases of social, economic, political, and religious life. Married couples usually, though not always, built their houses or "hogans" near that of the wife's mother, but a married man kept strong ties with his own mother's family. Extended families, composed of husband and wife and unmarried children, together with married daughters and their husbands and children, all usually lived near one another and formed a cooperative unit whose members worked together in farming, herding, and house building (Josephy 1969, 173).

The transient nature of life in the mining towns of the Rocky Mountain West did not create an environment supportive of the Victorian model of family life prevalent in the established communities of other parts of the country. At the turn of the century in the camp towns of the Rocky Mountain West, prostitutes, gamblers, and saloon owners existed as a kind of antithesis or replacement for what most middle-class Americans considered a family-based community. Prostitutes might have formed a community among themselves, or a community of sorts might have developed among prostitutes, their pimps, and their customers. Western myth often pretends that such commitments did form. In these myths prostitutes have hearts of gold. They nurse the sick and contribute to charity, and men in the bordellos pay for sex but have real affection for those who sell. Most of the men who populated these towns shared a common belief in the Victorian moral order, in which community revolved around domesticity and the home and in which "true" women were pure and pious, managing the home as a haven from the world. But in the mining camps these ideals remained largely absent. As a result, as one observer in Montana wrote, "Men without the restraint of law, indifferent to public opinion, and unburdened by families, drink whenever they feel like it, whenever they have the money to pay for it, and whenever there is nothing else to do" (Nugent 1999, 159). Bad manners followed and profanity was a matter of course. Miners tolerated this half-world because they believed that they would only reside there temporarily. Far from envisioning a future spent outside familiar community boundaries, they intended to reenter those traditional communities as wealthy men.

The lack of stable family life in the camp towns drew the attention of reformers led by merchants (who saw stable, family-based communities as a key to financial success) and the missionary impulse of Protestant women in the West that took the conventional female virtues of piety, purity, and domesticity and made them subversive. Eventually as towns grew and became more stable, men did settle down and marry "true women" who eventually established domestic tranquility. Prospectors' camps soon were abandoned, but hard-rock industrial mining towns lasted, where soon women and children became more evident. Teachers and housewives decidedly outnumbered prostitutes and dance hall girls. The working man and his family were what are called today social conservatives; in an Irish Catholic town, like Butte, Montana, for example, this was certainly the case. Wives created homes as havens; husband and wife were head and heart of the home, as traditional marriage theology prescribed. It actually worked that way in a great many cases (Nugent 1999, 159).

But the bordellos and saloons of the West remained as a counterpoint to stable family life throughout the twentieth century. What made bordellos and saloons notable in the West was not their existence, for they existed throughout the country, but their centrality to early social life in the towns of the new West. These places would not retain their eminence as towns developed, but neither would they disappear, and they remained as a constant counterpoint and threat to the ideal of domestic tranquility (White 1991, 305–6).

One group of migrants to the West that was able to secure stable family structures was the Mormons. Since the mid-nineteenth century when they first moved West, Mormons were able to create cohesive, homogenous, family-based communities centered around the church. The Mormons cooperatively built schools, canals, irrigation ditches, meeting houses, and homes. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Mormons had developed over 500 communities stretching from Alberta, Canada, to the Mexican border and from Bunkerville, Nevada, to San Luis Valley, Colorado. These communities continued to thrive well into the twentieth century (White 1991, 301–2).

WOMEN

At the beginning of the twentieth century men continued to outnumber women in the West. In New Mexico, men outnumbered women by a ratio of 17 to 10 and in Arizona by a ratio of 4 to 1. The numbers were even more lopsided in Colorado. Even though the numbers were uneven, men depended upon women to provide for the families by preparing meals, raising chickens, making butter and milk from the family's dairy cow, growing a garden, keeping the home clean, and making or mending clothing. When necessary, women assisted men in the fields by walking behind the plow planting, cultivating, or harvesting (Bakken and Farrington 2003, 318–20).

Women were also scarce in the western mining towns. In 1900, in the two largest industrial mining centers—Butte, Montana, and Colorado's Cripple Creek—the ratio was 3 men to 2 women. In an economy that drew a disproportionately male population, women found a narrow set of options. Because there were vastly more men of marriageable age than women, particularly among migrant miners, women tended to marry young. They were likely to be considerably younger than their husbands, who had to delay marriage until they had the skills and commanded the wages needed to support a family. Given age differences and occupational diseases and underground dangers of mining, wives tended to outlive their husbands. They had to support their families when their husbands were sick or disabled and after they died.

Whether they had to work outside the home or not, women's conditions varied with the success of mining organizations. The Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) began to organize miners around the turn of the century. Although women's wages were lower than union men's wages, mining town women benefited both directly and indirectly from organized labor. Women in union towns depended on higher wages commanded by union men, and on union services like sick and death benefits. Although women's conditions improved somewhat with the arrival of the unions, their lives in the first decade of the twentieth century were nonetheless hardly secured or leisured. Women grew vegetables in arid mining camps at high altitudes, preserved food, cooked on wood-burning stoves, made clothing, and did laundry for extended households. Few had running water and so had to haul it from an outside well and heat it for cooking, cleaning, and for baths for men covered with grime from the mines. Women also cared for the young, the old, the sick, and the infirm.

Mining town women's options varied by class, race, and marital status, and by whether they labored at home, earned "respectable" wages, or sold sex and companionship. Regardless of age or marital status, in the paid workforce, or in their households, all women cooked, cleaned, laundered, sewed, waited on tables, and provided companionship for men. Whether they were paid and what they were paid for distinguished reputable women from those who were considered disreputable.

Before the 1920s, few respectable married women performed public wage work, and most of the larger mining communities accommodated segregated red light districts. Married women and widows might earn money and remain respectable in the privacy of family households. Many kept boarders or did laundry for single men, especially when illness struck or unemployment jeopardized men's wages. Single women could work in the respectable marketplace as waitresses, laundry workers, domestic servants, and clerks. A small number found professional opportunities as teachers or nurses. Though numerically few, proportionately more women worked as doctors and lawyers in the West than in other parts of the nation, because gender was not a handicap in an area that had a desperate need for people with professional skills. Often, however, the largest group of women wage earners consisted of those who sold sex, companionship, drinks, and dances throughout the mining West.

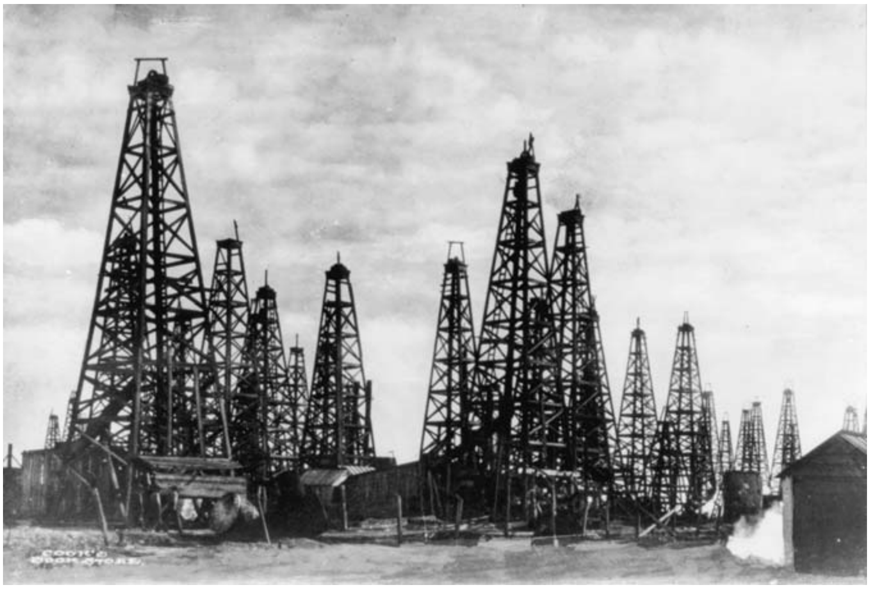
As mining industrialized, more women joined the male majority in towns that offered steady work, union wages, schools, and sufficient stability to support families. However, as minerals were depleted in western towns, mining companies shrank and their populations aged. In the 1930s, the Great Depression closed many mines, but a number of closed former mining towns like Aspen Park City, Breckenridge, and Telluride became ski resorts and tourist destinations. These enterprises, like the older mining communities, offered women low-paying service work in hotels and restaurants. In this way, women's labor connected the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mining towns to the later twentieth-century tourist boomtowns of the West (Bakken and Farrington 2003, 305–7).

Economic Life

THE SOUTHWEST AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN WEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

WORK AND WORKPLACE

In the emergence of the modern Southwest, in the early decades of the twentieth century, one of the impressive changes in the landscape was the appearance of oil derricks on the silhouette of the skyline in many localities. Oil had been discovered quite early in Texas, but full capitalization of that resource had been delayed until more uses for oil could create a greater demand. After 1900, an unprecedented market for the "black gold" was created by the conversion of heating plants from coal- to oil-burning furnaces, the increase in the number of automobiles and trucks, the development of the diesel motor, the progress of aviation, and the utilization of more and more petroleum-based products. As the price of oil increased, "wildcat" prospecting became frenzied; eventually several Texas oil companies emerged as industrial giants. In the oil boom Texas climbed quickly to first place in the Union and continued to hold that leadership. The initial area of rich production was the Spindle Top



The Beaumont, Texas, Spindle Top oil field. Library of Congress.

field near Beaumont, which opened in 1901. Within the next few years other fields were tapped near the Gulf Coast. A major oil strike occurred at Ranger in 1917, followed by the development at Big Lake in 1923 and the discovery of the rich Yates pool in 1926 in the valley of the Pecos River. From there, exploration successfully ventured northward on the high plains, and the annual production of 257 million barrels put Texas in first place among all the states in 1928. Another boom followed in 1930, when the richest field yet found was opened in eastern Texas. Soon "black gold" was being pumped out of 19,000 new wells, and the area of successful drilling continued to expand. By 1930, the 90,000 wells in Texas were producing nearly half a billion barrels, or one-third of the petroleum output of the United States.

The oil boom had far-reaching effects. Wherever new fields were opened, new towns mushroomed immediately and became the centers of feverish land sales at speculative prices. They also attracted a concentration of shops for the assembly and repair of equipment that in turn attracted people looking for work from other regions of the country. Such rapid growth in Texas had a negative impact on the people that settled there. For this spectacular expansion preceded the construction of good roads, the provision of adequate protection against fire, and the adoption of proper police and sanitary measures. Trucks broke down, fires raged out of control, disease threatened to become epidemic, and crime increased disproportionately.

Eventually the Texas Rangers and local vigilance committees established order in the oil camps, and then the newcomers rebuilt the towns and obtained improved roads. As orderly development emerged in the fields, the center of financial activity shifted to Houston, the "oil capital." There, after the port had been improved and a ship canal had been built, the oil companies erected their refining plants. Wealth from this new industry also built several skyscrapers where the oil tycoons maintained their offices. This absorption of the leading citizens of Houston in the accumulation and protection of their fortunes made many of them very conservative in politics. On the other hand, the petroleum industry also had a progressive influence, in that the taxes levied upon it contributed immensely to the building of good public schools and colleges throughout the state.

Many of the oil fields also produced natural gas, which Texans soon accepted as a convenient fuel. As early as 1910, a pipeline was laid from the Petrolia field to Dallas and Fort Worth; and after 1927 when the Panhandle gas fields were tapped, more distribution systems were built. By 1940, one-half of the households in the state were consumers of natural gas. Pipelines were laid into 16 other states, and Texas began producing 42 percent of the natural gas of the United States. Due to the abundance of this fuel in Texas, Americans across the nation were learning to heat and cook with gas.

Among other mineral products, Texas had risen to first place in the Union in the processing of asphalt, another product brought into demand by the use of motor vehicles. Texas also stood near the top in the production of sulphur, salt, cement, helium, and gypsum.

From Texas, exploration for oil extended into the neighboring states of New Mexico and Arizona, and in the former some rich fields were found. The first to be opened, in 1922 and 1923, were the Hogback and Rattlesnake fields on Navajo lands in San Juan County and the Artesia field near Carlsbad. In 1926 and in 1929, others came in at Hobbs and Eunice. As soon as refineries were built to serve those fields, production increased steadily but not spectacularly. New Mexico and Arizona never came close to rivaling Texas, nor would oil have the cultural and economic impact on those states that it did in Texas (Perrigo 1971, 327–28).

Snapshot

Everyday Setting: Spindle Top, Texas

Without warning, the level plains of eastern Texas near Beaumont abruptly give way to a lone, rounded hill before returning to flatness. Geologists call these abrupt rises in the land "domes" because hollow caverns lie beneath. Over time, layers of rock rise to a common apex and create a spacious reservoir underneath. Often, salt forms in these empty, geological bubbles, creating a salt dome. Over millions of years, water or other material might fill the reservoir. At least, that was Patillo Higgins's idea in eastern Texas during the 1890s.

Higgins and others imagined such caverns as natural treasure-houses. Higgins's intrigue grew with one dome-shaped hill in southeast Texas. Known as Spindletop, this salt dome—with Higgins's help—would change human existence.

Texas had not yet been identified as an oil producer. Well-known oil country lay in the Eastern United States, particularly western Pennsylvania. Titusville, Pennsylvania introduced Americans to massive amounts of crude oil for the first time in 1859. By the 1890s, petroleum-derived kerosene had become the world's most popular fuel for lighting. Thomas Edison's experiments with electric lighting placed petroleum's future in doubt; however, petroleum still stimulated boom wherever it was found. But in Texas? Every geologist who inspected the "Big Hill" at Spindletop told Higgins that he was a fool.

With growing frustration, Higgins placed a magazine advertisement requesting someone to drill on the Big Hill. The only response came from Captain Anthony F. Lucas, who had prospected domes in Texas for salt and sulfur. On January 10, 1901, Lucas's drilling crew, known as "roughnecks" for the hard physical labor of drilling pipe deep into Earth, found mud bubbling in their drill hole. The sound of a cannon turned to a roar and suddenly oil spurted out of the hole. The Lucas geyser, found at a depth of 1,139 feet, blew a stream of oil over 100 feet high until it was capped nine days later. During this period, the well flowed an estimated 100,000 barrels a day—well beyond any flows previously witnessed. Lucas finally gained control of the geyser on January 19. By this point, a huge pool of oil surrounded it. Throngs of oilmen, speculators, and onlookers came and transformed the city of Beaumont into Texas's first oil boomtown.

The flow from this well, named Lucas 1, was unlike anything witnessed before in the petroleum industry: 75,000 barrels per day. As news of the gusher reached around the world, the Texas oil boom was on. Land sold for wildly erratic prices. After a few months over 200 wells had been sunk on the Big Hill. By the end of 1901, an estimated $235 million had been invested in oil in Texas. This was the new frontier of oil; however, the industry's scale had changed completely at Spindletop. Unimaginable amounts of petroleum—and the raw energy that it contained—were now available at a low enough price to become part of every American's life. (Black 2006, 1–2)

In Oklahoma, oil started flowing just before statehood in 1907. The Phillips brothers made their first strike at Bartlesville, in 1905, and were in on many others, forming Phillips petroleum, later the sellers of Phillips 66—named after the highway built in 1917. Strikes in Cherokee, Creek, and Osage lands sent oilmen scrambling to persuade the Indians to sign leases and allow drilling to begin. The Osages, who controlled their own mineral rights by treaty, found themselves to be among the "richest people in the world," receiving $12,400 per head by 1923. Tulsa proclaimed itself, justly enough, the "oil capital of the world" with 800 oil companies and 140,000 people by 1930. Many were transient or seemed so. Herbert Feis, the future state department official and historian, visited Tulsa in 1923 and saw "crowds of men" on "the street corners day and night who looked as if they had just come to town with no place to go." Many were in khaki shirts, army breeches, and high boots—ordinary dress of the oil fields and plains. "The oil industry, is, after all," Feis observed, "one which keeps its people on the move without notice. Often after the first rush, workers traveled with wives and children who showed up in school any day, at any point in a semester." Companies moved their employees whenever and wherever their skills were needed, all over the oil patch (Nugent 1999, 198).

Cheap oil stimulated further economic development. Among the western states, Texas ranked first in manufacturing industries. The timber resources in the eastern part of the state, which previously had been drawn upon in the early production of lumber, now were utilized more and more in the manufacture of pulp and paper. After 1911 this trend was stimulated by the invention of a process for the making of sulphate paper from the fiber of yellow pine; and by 1940 the annual return from all forest products, including paper pulp, was near $50 million. Another early industry, flour milling, also had expanded with the growth of the state; so that by 1940 it, too, had attained an annual production valued at about $50 million. A third early industry that had continued to grow rapidly was meatpacking. By 1940 it was yielding a gross return about as much as that of flour milling and timber processing combined. Likewise, textile manufacturing, which had originated before 1900, continued to grow, especially in the Dallas area.

The manufactured products of Texas, worth only about a quarter of a million dollars in 1910, had grown 20 years later to a figure of approximately one and one-half billion dollars. Attracted by this newly developing wealth, Americans from other regions moved to Texas. In the early decades of the twentieth century the state's population grew by 37 percent, most of which came from other regions of the United States. Only the Great Depression of the 1930s temporarily slowed this meteoric growth.

Arizona and New Mexico, although producers of mineral ores, were less favorably endowed in other conditions required for great growth of manufacturing industries. The cost of transportation to distant markets was prohibitive except for specialized light goods, and the population of the two states was not large enough to provide much of a local market. Moreover, most cities in these states lacked abundant electric power at low commercial rates and did not have the supply of water essential for many large industries. Not until after World War II, when young men who had been stationed in training bases near Albuquerque returned to the region to live, were there sufficient workers and consumers to support manufacturing (Perrigo 1971, 333–34).

In the final decade of the nineteenth century, Arizona had the last gold-mining revival it was to see until the Depression of 1929. In the 1890s, new gold deposits were discovered in Yuma and Yavapai counties, where the Congress and Octave mines in the Date Creek Mountains and the King of Arizona, Fortuna, and Harqua Hala in the Yuma County desert all enriched their owners. The Mammoth, north of

Tucson, also became important at this time. New milling methods and development of the cyanide process aided production in the new mines as well as in the old but also added to the polluting effects of the mining.

At the beginning of the century the rising price of copper made that mineral more attractive than gold or silver to speculators. Nevertheless, Arizona's production of gold and silver increased with the development of these new large copper mines, due to the fact that many copper ores contain large amounts of the precious metals. In the early to mid-1900s copper ores yielded 70 percent of the state's silver production and from 40 to 50 percent of the gold.

The increase in the price of gold in 1933, plus Depression conditions and their effect on copper, resulted in a renewed interest in the gold fields and prospecting. However, while production from these sources increased, lode gold mining remained a minor industry in Arizona. The greatest stimulus to Arizona's copper industry came from outside the region. As more and more Americans discovered the benefits of electricity, the demand for the vehicle that delivered this new product, copper, increased exponentially. During this period Arizona's annual production grew from 800,000 pounds valued at $9,000,000 in 1874 to the peak of 830,628,411 pounds valued at $146,190,600 in 1929.

Another important industry that developed in Arizona in the first decades of the twentieth century was tourism. More and more Americans, liberated by their new automobiles from the restrictions of distance, came to discover the majesty of the Grand Canyon and the other natural wonders of the state. Of all the businesses dedicated exclusively to the tourist trade, the lodging of visitors was probably the most important; and of the thousands of tourist courts, fine hotels, sanitariums, and guest homes, the guest ranches were regarded as most characteristic of the state. By the 1930s there were more than 300 "dude ranches" in Arizona. Some had large herds of ranging cattle and only a few guests, while others had many guests and just enough cattle to keep the visitors entertained. Still others dispensed entirely with the cows and specialized in swimming pools, tennis, and relaxation in the sun. But because guest-ranching developed more or less fortuitously from a combination of bad times in the cattle business and the eagerness of visitors to live on a real ranch, many dude ranches still retained the cowboys, horses, and atmosphere of the old-time western ranches.

Most of the forests of Arizona, about 12 million acres, were set aside in the early twentieth century as national forest land. They became invaluable to the state for recreation and for the conservation of water, soil, and game; in addition, they yielded between four and six million dollars in lumber annually. Practically all of the wood was taken from the 3,607,000 acres of commercial saw timber. And in the first decades of the twentieth centuries Americans looking West were attracted to jobs in the lumber mills of Arizona cities such as Flagstaff, Williams, and McNary.

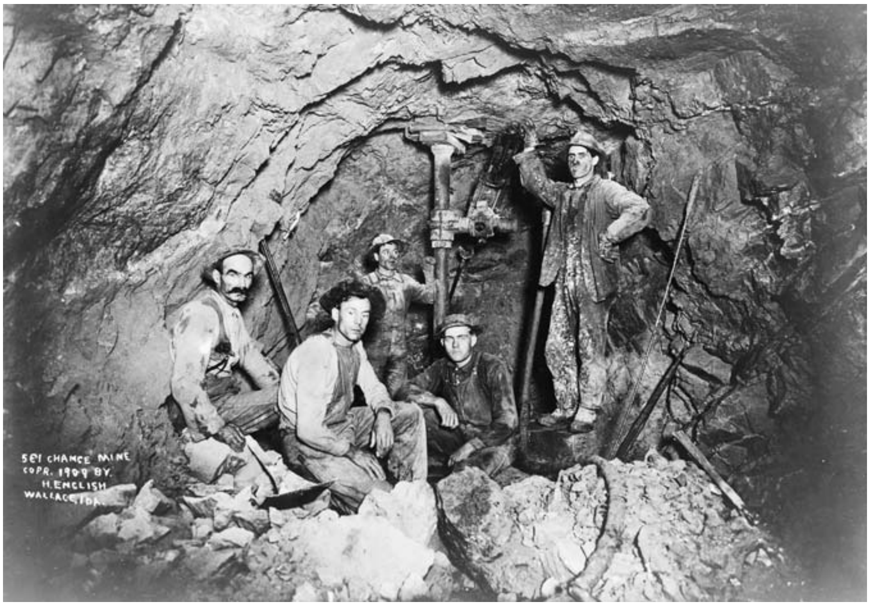
Although Arizona's economy depended on its agriculture, mining, lumber, and visitors, less than half its employed population was engaged in occupations specifically connected with those basic sources of wealth. Of the 165,000 gainfully occupied persons, 38,700 were employed in agriculture; 17,600 in extraction of minerals; 2,000 or more in lumber; and several thousand in occupations devoted principally to accommodating visitors. That left more than half the working population engaged in other trades and professions—19,600 in wholesale and retail trade; 17,000 in building, manufacturing, and mechanical industries; 13,000 in professional and semiprofessional occupations; and 16,000 in transportation.

Primarily a vacation land and a producer of raw materials, a large part of Arizona's energy has always been spent in maintaining its lifelines, the channels of interstate traffic and commerce connecting it with the rest of the world. The state had few factories. Those it did have were chiefly concerned with the production of materials used in the basic industries, or commodities and novelties for local markets—for example, dynamite, fruit and vegetable crates, saddles, wood novelties, canned milk, grapefruit, and vegetables. Some grain was milled; some meat was packed; some cotton was ginned; and some hides were tanned. But hardly a pound of Arizona cotton and wool was spun within the state, beyond what was used in Indian blanket weaving; and not an ounce of Arizona copper was fabricated there, except a few hand-hammered novelties made from metal refined in other states.

When Arizona entered the Union in February 1912, the rights of workers were written into the new state constitution. For example, the constitution prohibited the use of a labor blacklist, and it also contained provisions for employers' liability and workmen's compensation. This constitution encountered powerful opposition, both at the time it was written and during the course of ratification. Arizona nevertheless became a state under it in 1912, a clear indication that the working men of the territory were represented by effective leadership.

The skilled railroad workers were the earliest to organize in Arizona. The engineers and trainmen established the first lodge of the Railroad Brotherhoods in Douglas about 1883 and branched out rapidly. Until the turn of the century they represented practically every member of their craft in the territory. The Arizona Brotherhoods developed with their national organizations into well-organized and powerful unions, which the railroad operators soon recognized and bargained with. Once their strength was built up in the territory, they never lost it. The objectives of the brotherhoods sprang from their determination to secure safety, tenure, and increased wages, and their program to decrease the large number of accidents on the railroads brought them into active participation in federal, and sometimes state, politics. In 1903, for example, they succeeded in getting the Arizona Legislature to pass an act forbidding the working of trainmen for more than 16 consecutive hours (Perrigo, 1971 330–31, 342–43, 351–52).

The miners' unions, which sprang up in the Rocky Mountain West more or less spontaneously out of the dangerous and semifeudal conditions existing in most of the early mining camps, had neither the influence nor the central organization of the Railroad Brotherhoods. Most of them were connected with the Western Federation of Miners, but they functioned as independent unions. Strikes were frequent and were characterized by the militancy of the miners and the refusal of the operators to bargain with their employees in any way except as individuals. By the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, western miners waged armed warfare in open class conflict with their capitalist adversaries.



Five miners in a lead mine in the Coeur d'Alene region of Idaho, 1909. Library of Congress.

This war began in 1892 when armed miners confronted the gunmen of mine owners in the mining towns strung out along the canyons of the Coeur d'Alene River of Idaho. The Mine Owners' Protective Association (MOA) had hired Pinkerton and Thiel detectives to infiltrate the local miners' union and, allegedly, to act as agents' provocateurs. One of these detectives, Charles A. Siringo, actually became secretary of the Gem Miners' Union local.

The Coeur d'Alene strike had begun when the MOA reduced wages. The miners walked out, and the owners, vowing never to hire a union man, set out to break the union. They perfected a set of tactics that would become increasingly common over the next two decades wherever the unions commanded significant local support. Knowing local officials to be unsympathetic, the mine owners, while maintaining their own armed force of guards, claimed that local authorities could not preserve order and appealed to the governor of the state for militia. If the governor refused, the mine owners turned to the federal government and courts for marshals and, if possible, troops.

Such tactics proved effective in Coeur d'Alene. Although initially peaceful, angry miners, frustrated over the length of the strike and the federal injunctions that the mine owners obtained against them, took up arms in July 1892. They assaulted the Frisco and Gem mines, destroyed the Frisco mill, and captured all the guards and scabs. They then marched on the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, and, after capturing the company's ore concentrator, which had cost $500,000, they secured the dismissal of all the scabs there. The fighting left six men dead.

The miners had won a Pyrrhic victory. The MOA now easily obtained a declaration of martial law. Six companies of the Idaho National Guard marched in and made wholesale arrests of union members and of local businessmen and lawyers who sympathized with the union. The soldiers herded more than 300 men into crude stockades or "bullpens." Eventually, in 1893, the United States Supreme Court overturned the convictions of those who were found guilty of crimes rising out of the strike, but by then the MOA had largely broken the union.

One of the greatest achievements of the mine owners in the late 1890s and early twentieth century was their success in driving a wedge between middle-class and working-class members of the mining towns. Many of the people in the bullpens of Coeur d'Alene in 1892 had been merchants and lawyers who had backed the strike. Middle-class men and women who sold the miners goods and provided services often sympathized with their customers. Such support became rarer and rarer in the late 1890s and the early twentieth century. Labor violence in many places became not just a struggle between laborers and their employers but also a struggle between classes that convulsed communities.

Two strikes at Cripple Creek, Colorado, illustrated the changing relations between the workers and the middle class. At Cripple Creek in 1893 the miners' union fought a bitter and violent strike when mine owners attempted to increase the working day in the mines from 8 to 10 hours. Armed miners confronted armed deputies, with casualties on both sides. The miners seized mines, banished scabs, and dynamited one mine. The miners, however, obtained significant middle-class support. Governor Davis Waite, in one of the few cases in which a state government proved sympathetic to striking miners, helped negotiate a settlement and used the state militia to prevent further violence rather than breaking the union. When the strike ended, Cripple Creek returned to normal. Both business and the miners prospered.

The second strike came a decade later. It arose because the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) was an industrial union pledged to protect not only the underground miners who were victorious in 1893 but also the less skilled and more vulnerable mill and smelter workers. The 1903 strike arose over the refusal of the Colorado Reduction and Refining Company to allow the WFM to organize its mills. The WFM and the underground miners of Cripple Creek backed the smelter workers, and a strike ensued.

The strike was long and complicated, but bitterly antiunion mill owners defeated the WFM because they could rely on an antiunion governor to send troops and because the miners gradually lost the support of the local middle class. Governor J. H. Peabody of Colorado twice dispatched the militia to Cripple Creek over the protests of local officials. They came the second time not to preserve order but, in the words of their commander, "to do up this damned anarchistic federation." In "doing up" the WFM, militia officers refused to obey court orders or honor writs of habeas corpus. But the critical blow to the union was the rise of a local Citizens' Alliance. As the lengthy strike progressed, merchants found it impossible to extend any more credit to miners. The union then opened cooperative stores, a move that alienated local shopkeepers. This dispute gave conservative elements in the community an opening, and by the end of August they had organized the Citizens' Alliance, with largely compulsory membership among local businessmen. The Citizens' Alliance operated as a vigilante organization and was determined to break the union and the strike. By March 1904, members of the Citizens' Alliance had begun forcibly deporting union leaders and strikers from the town.

The conflict exploded in a series of ugly incidents in June 1904. That month, shortly after nonunion men reached a railroad station to board a train, someone blew up the railroad depot, killing 13 men. The Citizens' Alliance blamed the WFM; the WFM blamed agents provocateurs hired by the mine owners. But initiative lay with the Citizens' Alliance, whose members forced, at gunpoint, the resignation of the sheriff and other local officials sympathetic to the WFM. The militia and the Citizens' Alliance then began the wholesale arrest and deportation of union members, while Cripple Creek employers introduced a permit system designed to deny employment to all union workers. The Citizens' Alliance broke the union, but in doing so they in effect also broke themselves. Two years later Cripple Creek had nonunion miners and lower wages, but business was stagnant, buildings were vacant, and real estate values had declined by half. Wealth continued to pour from the mines, but merchants of towns learned too late that they indeed lived not off the mines but off the miners.

A bird's eye view of the 1896 fire at Cripple Creek, Colorado. Library of Congress.

The Cripple Creek strike was only one of a series of violent confrontations that shook the West at the turn of the century. Throughout the West striking miners faced federal troops and state militia as well as small private armies of gunmen hired by the mine owners. Although the WFM bore the brunt of the violent conflict with employers, the conflict extended beyond the hard-rock mines. One of the bloodiest incidents occurred in 1917 in the coal mines of Ludlow, Colorado, that were owned by John D. Rockefeller. After a bitter strike in which the wives and daughters of the largely Greek, Slavic, and Italian miners played as active a role as did their husbands, strikebreakers, militia, and deputies attacked the tent colony that strikers had erected after their eviction from company housing. The strikers resisted, and, as the battle raged, the attackers set fire to the tents. The attack killed 39 people, including 2 women and 11 children who suffocated in a pit underneath a burning tent.

The Ludlow Massacre was particularly notorious because so many women and children were among the victims, but neither attacks on armed strikers nor murders of union organizers were unusual in the first years of the twentieth century. Nor were they confined to mining. They occurred also in the lumber industry. The Wobblies (the nickname given IWW members) in particular developed, and reveled in, a fearsome, if largely unwarranted, reputation. They often preached industrial sabotage but rarely practiced it. They were more often the victims of violence than its instigators. Armed gunmen hired by the employers, militia, federal troops, and vigilantes from citizens' alliances repeatedly assaulted IWW (International Workers of the World) organizers. In Butte, Montana, in 1917, for example, vigilantes lynched Frank Little, a one-eyed, part-Indian, antiwar Wobbly organizer, and in the lumber mill town of Everett, Washington, in 1916 local vigilantes fired on a boatload of arriving Wobbly organizers. A gun battle ensued in which five Wobblies and two deputized vigilantes died and at least 51 others, mostly Wobblies, were wounded (White 1991, 346–50).

The IWW attracted the fierce loyalty of the migratory workers of the West, who were in many ways the backbone of the western extractive economy. They cut timber and worked in sawmills, built and repaired the railroads, harvested the crops, and worked the less skilled jobs available in the mines. Most of these workers were semiskilled or unskilled. In the Southwest many of them were nonwhite, but in the late nineteenth century, particularly in the Rocky Mountains and in the Pacific Northwest, many were European immigrants. They moved from job to job because their work was often by its very nature seasonal, and long bouts of unemployment in the mines and mills interrupted their working life. Between jobs, migratory workers were the men who rode the rails looking for work. If they were lucky, they traveled in empty boxcars or gondolas; if not, they suspended themselves beneath the cars, where they hurtled along 10 inches above the roadbed. William Z. Foster, who became head of the American Communist Party, had been a western migratory worker; so, too, for a period, was William O. Douglas, the future Supreme Court Justice. Usually single, often foreign-born, and owning little beyond what they carried with them, these men were an alienated and potentially revolutionary segment of the western working class.

The Wobblies survived because they understood the nature and the needs of the migratory working force whom the AFL (American Federation of Labor) organizers usually ignored. Wobbly union halls became dormitories, social clubs, mess halls, and mail drops for migratory workers. Wobbly union cards became a pass to ride the trains unmolested. The social network the Wobblies created explains how the IWW could hold worker loyalty despite the nearly constant defeats Wobbly unions endured.

Ironically, one of the few successful strikes the Wobblies organized in the West led to their demise. Capitalizing on long-standing worker discontent with long working hours, horrible conditions, and low pay, the Wobblies virtually shut down the Washington and Idaho timber industries in the summer of 1917. The strike, however, took place in a nation at war. The United States had just entered World War I, and the armed forces demanded timber for cantonments, railroad cars, and ships. But above all, they needed Sitka spruce for the biplanes of the period, and Sitka spruce was available only in the Pacific Northwest. The government jailed the union leaders.

The Wobblies returned to work but continued the strike on the job. They acted as if they had been granted an 8-hour day, quitting work after 8 hours or putting in only 8 good hours in a 10-hour day. They engaged in ingenious slowdowns and sabotages. They crippled lumber production nearly as effectively as if they had gone on strike. The government attempted to pressure lumbermen to concede the eight-hour day, but it failed. To procure necessary production, the government organized the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen and demanded membership from all those who wished to work in the woods; the government also delegated 25,000 troops, the Spruce Production Division, to work in the woods as needed. In exchange for breaking the union and disciplining the workers, the government mandated, and the lumbermen accepted, an eight-hour day for the industry. The loggers had won their central demand, and reforms in working conditions and wages followed; but the government had, nonetheless, broken the Wobbly unions and jailed their leaders. Between 1917 and 1919, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, and other states passed criminal syndicalism laws aimed at the Wobblies. The laws made illegal membership in any organization "advocating crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism" as a means of accomplishing reforms.

With the end of the war, fear of Bolshevism swept the nation following the Russian Revolution; and this fear brought the Wobblies under renewed attack. In 1919, American Legionnaires attacked a Wobbly hall and lynched Wesley Everest, a Wobbly and a war veteran with a distinguished record. This killing was part of a more general reaction against labor radicalism that followed World War I. As the government arrested and deported many radical leaders, others, including IWW leader Big Bill Haywood, jumped bail and fled to the Soviet Union (White 1991, 293–94).

Unions attracting less attention than that of the miners, but influential in their trades and localities, were organized in the printing and building trades and among the barbers, bartenders, gas and steam fitters, boiler makers, and other skilled workers. In agriculture—where the farm field workers were nearly all Mexicans, and the range hands were cowboys with a tradition of individual action and loyalty to the "old man"—there was no organization.

The depression of 1921 was another setback for labor, but by 1925 the American Federation of Labor was again making gains in many trades. In agriculture, effective AFL unions were formed among the fruit and vegetable packers, the aristocracy of labor in this field. But 1929 brought retrenchment again, and for several years unemployment overshadowed all other problems. Organizations unaffiliated with the AFL began to grow among the unemployed. In 1934, a hunger march on the Arizona capitol at Phoenix, followed by a strike among relief workers for more adequate relief, received much publicity and met with drastic opposition from civil authorities. By 1935 union activity had again increased. One of the AFL's outstanding accomplishments was the solid organization of the lumber workers around Flagstaff, McNary, and Williams, Arizona, where the industry employed Mexican, black, and white workers.

In 1935 the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) also became active in the West. Many of the fruit and vegetable workers withdrew from their AFL union to form branches of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, a CIO organization that organized among all agricultural workers. Of the farm laborers in Arizona, for example, in the 1920s and 1930s some 20,000 were Mexicans, migratory workers, or dispossessed farmers from the Midwest, who were seasonal workers earning an average annual income estimated at $259. The CIO also took over two miners' locals, at Bisbee and Oatman, in the 1930s and over the next few years carried on a vigorous organizing campaign in most of the mining and smelting towns of the West (Works Progress Administration 1940, 100–101).

In areas of the Southwest, the old Spanish American villages had long been battered by disintegrating influences; yet the people, especially those of the older generation, persisted in occupying many of them. Their ancestors had had access to grazing lands on the mesas as well as possession of their own irrigated fields in the valleys. By application of their ingenuity and hard labor in the frugal use of their limited resources, Southwest Indians once had maintained a village life, which had been nearly self-sufficient in its economy and eminently satisfactory in its social relationships. In the nineteenth century, after the abolition of primogeniture, the family of a deceased landowner divided his fields among his direct heirs. A tract of land that once grew food for a family was cut up into narrow strips of only a few acres each for the families of sons and grandsons. Simultaneously the villages lost ownership of much or all of the co-op lands. By the beginning of the twentieth century, as the land base of the village economy dwindled away, many of the men supplemented their meager income by leaving the community several months annually to work in the beet fields of Colorado or in local mines or ranches or in railroad construction. Many moved their families to neighboring cities where they found employment, and some of them became successful proprietors of business establishments. Even so, they retained possession of small tracts of land in remote villages and returned frequently for visits, where the pull of family ties and relatives remained strong.

The early twentieth-century subsistence-based economy of the Rio Grande Pueblo Indians of the Southwest remained, as it had for centuries, largely agricultural. Agricultural produce was raised in irrigated gardens, which surrounded the village. These gardens consisted mainly of corn, but wheat and beans remained important secondary crops. Melons introduced by the Spanish in a number of varieties were also an important part of the diet. Cleaning and upkeep of the irrigation canals from both the Rio Grande and its tributaries remained important activities of the Rio Grande Pueblos.

An Indian plowing his land on the Sacaton Indian Reservation in Arizona in the early twentieth century. Library of Congress.

In the villages of the more western Pueblo Indians, the Hopi for example, there were no permanent streams or water supplies, and successful farming depended on the exigencies of the weather. Rainfall in that area was less frequent (often fewer than 10 inches a year), and when it fell, it often did not fall where it was needed. In this environment religion was thoroughly integrated into the workplace, and the Hopi created a complex ceremonialism, which emphasized the magical control of the weather. Farming in the western Pueblo regions required no complex system of canals, terraces, or dams. Corn, melons, and beans were planted in alluvial fans or on the banks of dried streams (arroyos). Rain in the summer brought floodwaters that swept over the fields and provided the essential moisture for the planted crops. Farming was a hazardous occupation for the Hopi Indians because there was little and insufficient rain, and when it came, it often caused uncontrollable floods, which often uprooted or buried growing crops in sand. The Hopi farmers thus planted several fields to guard against loss from flood and relied on magical rites to bring about just the proper amount of moisture to ensure a harvest (Perrigo 1971, 378–80).

CASTE AND CLASS EXPERIENCE

Westerners usually divided the nonwhites in the West into four divisions: the Indians, the Mexicans (as they called both Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants), the "Mongolians" (as they called the Chinese and some Asians), and blacks. Until lumped together by whites, none of these groups except, perhaps, blacks had ever thought of themselves as a single race. Mexicans, far from considering themselves a single race, had subdivided themselves according to racial distinctions of their own. The creation in the white American mind of an Indian race also imposed homogeneity on a people who usually considered themselves as made up of numerous distinct peoples or nations. The Chinese similarly had many divisions of their own and were, in any case, as ethnocentric as any white American. They thought of themselves as a superior people and would never have lumped themselves into a single race with other Asians.

As used in the West, the concept of race created a confusing system of classification. Sometimes it seemed to rest on biology, using, for example, skin color and other features to distinguish Indians as a single group. At other times, however, racialists described people who were of mixed descent as a single race. The many blacks who had some white ancestry were still black. Mexicans were a mixture of people of Native American, European, and African descent; but racialists lumped them together and labeled them as a single race. This confusion of criteria illustrates how much race was a cultural construction and not simply a recognition of any biological "facts."

Having created races, racialists could then ascribe characteristics to them, which were demeaning and derogatory. According to the ruling racialist mythology, for example, both Indians and Mexicans were dark, dirty, without morals, incapable of sexual restraint, cruel, vindictive, and lazy. Racialist stereotypes could easily be joined to sexual stereotypes. Whether condemned as sensual and lascivious or as ugly drudges, nonwhite women had to bear unfavorable comparisons to Anglo-American "true" womanhood. Racialists distinguished between racial groups according to both their particular mix of undesirable traits and their usefulness for whites. Thus, "useful" Mexicans and blacks often ranked ahead of "useless" Indians. At other times, "brave" Indians ranked ahead of "cowardly" blacks and Hispanics.

Not all whites accepted the tenets of racialism. Virtually all early twentieth-century white Americans were racially prejudiced—that is, they thought that nonwhites were inferior to whites. But racialism was more than mere prejudice. It was an assertion that not only were nonwhites inferior but they were permanently inferior. God and nature had doomed them to be either the servants of whites or to disappear. Many whites rejected racialism's assertion that nonwhites were permanently inferior people whose only choice was between extinction or underclass status. Instead they believed that "inferior" peoples could, with help, redeem themselves by imitating white Americans. Racial differences for these assimilations were neither innate nor permanent. They gave these differences a distinctive cultural interpretation.

The Christian reformers who governed U.S. Indian policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, did not seek either the biological extinction or the permanent subordination of Indians. Instead they sought to destroy the Indian customs that they thought were the cause of Indian inferiority. Having taught Indians "proper" American values and gender roles, the larger society could assimilate them just as it assimilated European immigrants. For the reformers, assimilation was the alternative to extermination, and they argued that it was the proper course by drawing on both democratic ideology and Christian morality.

If either the racialists or the reformers had been able to achieve their goals, the distinctive social arrangements of the western United States would have proved unnecessary. If the racialists, for example, had succeeded, they would have simply eliminated nonwhites or reduced them to permanent servitude. If the assimilationists had succeeded, they would have eliminated any separate identity for western minorities. But in fact neither racialists nor assimilationist reformers proved able to succeed completely in their plans. Racialism ran into serious problems when nonwhites failed to fade away or accept subordination as predicted (White 1991, 320–21).

By 1900, the Southwest and the Rocky Mountain West had emerged predominantly Anglo-American in population and culture. Yet these regions also had acquired some large and influential minority groups. The ancestors of two of these groups, first the Indians and then the Spaniards, had in turn been the majority people who once had regarded this land as their own. They had sought strenuously to keep it that way, but the great infiltration by others had transformed them into minority status; and then they were joined by more recent minority accretions: the African Americans, the Asian Americans, and the Mexican Americans. All of them had contributed much of the labor that had transformed the Southwest and the Rocky Mountain West so remarkably in the brief span of one century. Meanwhile, either overtly or unconsciously, all had also made some cultural contributions.

Indians officially became a minority group in 1924, when the granting of citizenship theoretically terminated their inferior status as "wards," or "stepchildren." Since 1887, assimilation had been attempted under the provisions of the Dawes Act, but, because the individual allotment of land as authorized by that act could not be carried out effectively in this semiarid climate, most of the reservation land remained undivided. A family could not live by farming 160 acres of rock and cactus; therefore, a majority of Indians remained under tribal management and tried to maintain a pastoral economy. In some instances, as in the case of the Pima, the lands were distributed, but more often the reservation pattern was modified only by the sale or lease of some of the land to ranchers, followed by the purchase of additional acreage for the reservation by the federal government (Perrigo 1971, 371–72).

Although most Indian communities managed to maintain a diminished land base, they faced numerous economic challenges and changes. Some Indians attempted to link their communities to the larger economy through farming, but these efforts largely failed. Most Indians by the early twentieth century had learned to scrape together a minimal living by mixing hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening with casual labor and payments from the federal government. These payments represented money owed Indians under treaties, funds won in land settlement cases, or rent from allotments leased to whites. When all else failed, the government would provide rations to those in desperate need. Taken together, these sources of income managed to sustain most Indian communities in abysmal poverty. Indians became at once the poorest and the most dependent of western minorities. Most Indians escaped integration into the dual labor economy, but the price was economic marginalization. By the early twentieth century most reservations had no functioning economy at all. By 1900, conditions on the reservations had degenerated badly, in part due to misunderstanding that fostered errors in reservation management and in part due to negligence that permitted exploitation of the Indians. In New Mexico, Arizona, and southern California, a few boarding schools had been provided, but they too often left the children to be maladjusted and unhappy when they returned to their family homes. Consequently, after 1892 some government-supported schools were opened on the reservations. Such marginalization necessarily meant disaster for many Indian communities.

Strong Indian communities remained in the Southwest among the Navajos and Pueblos, but at their worst, southwestern reservations, like many more reservations elsewhere in the West, could become sinks of misery. By the twentieth century, for example, the Jicarilla Apaches on their high, mountainous reservation in New Mexico had attained a level of suffering as deep as that found anywhere in the West. The government had allotted the reservation, and whites soon gained access to most of its prime resources. White squatters and homesteaders claimed the best agricultural land, and officials leased the Jicarillas' winter grazing lands to Anglo and Hispanic herders. The government sold off part of the reservation's timber and deposited the proceeds in noninterest-bearing accounts in the federal treasury.

Until drought hit in the mid-1890s, the Jicarillas survived by combining food rations, annuity payments due them by treaty, some livestock raising, and handicraft production. A few obtained jobs in the Indian police, the only regular jobs available at the agency. But with the drought the Jicarillas' herds died, and the Indians nearly died with them. Their population fell from 815 in 1900 to 588 in 1920. They lived on corn tortillas and black coffee. The government responded callously. In 1911, officials cut Jicarilla food rations in half. Poorly housed and poorly fed, the Jicarillas sickened; by 1912 an estimated 75 percent of the tribe had tuberculosis, and the disease made it even harder for the Jicarillas to end their free fall into misery. Even when temporary work became available, about 61 percent of the Jicarilla men were too sick to take advantage of it. Those who could work found that their employers routinely paid them less than non-Indians for equivalent work. In such circumstances the community became difficult to sustain (White 1991, 324–25).

In 1926, the U.S. Department of the Interior authorized the Institute for Government Research to make a survey of conditions on the western reservations. Published in 1927, the "Meriam Report," as it was named, called attention to the deplorable conditions prevailing on the reservations and the inferior services rendered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Schools were inadequate, salaries were too low, living quarters were wretched, health services were substandard, the death rate of Indians from tuberculosis was several times higher than that of the nation-at-large, and some of the reservations actually faced a state of emergency.

In 1929, a new commissioner of Indian affairs, Charles J. Rhoades, a banker and scholar, undertook alleviation of the social ills revealed in the Meriam Report.

Before the end of his term of office, in 1933, he had obtained an increase in appropriations and a reorganization of the administrative service. By that time, however, the Great Depression had made the plight of the Indians even worse. Simultaneously the economic catastrophe had installed in Washington, D.C., a new administration with a passion for experimental reforms. The next appointee as head of the Indian Bureau was John Collier, a social worker who had edited *American Indian Life* magazine and had long been a scathing critic of past practices. Collier immediately inaugurated sweeping reforms. He ordered that the bureau should employ qualified Indians, that no more reservation land should be sold, and that henceforth the emphasis should be upon providing day schools instead of boarding schools. Then he secured a congressional appropriation for emergency relief and another one for support of an Indian Civilian Conservation Corps. The next year, 1934, he obtained the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act, which contained these provisions: that no further distribution or alienation of tribal land would be permitted; that the existing reservations should be enlarged by purchase of contiguous areas; that the tribes should be given assistance in the drafting of constitutions providing for their own local government; that they should be authorized to establish business corporations; that the Congress would create a revolving fund from which loans could be granted for improvement of production on the reservations; that Indians should be prepared for positions of leadership among their own people; that they should be encouraged to revive their traditional cultural practices; and that this new program would be effective for each tribe only after it had been accepted in a referendum by the tribe.

Immediately, most of the tribes of the West voted for acceptance of their "New Deal," although the largest, the Navajos, failed to adopt a constitution because their experience had made them skeptical about promises emanating from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They continued to be governed by a traditional tribal council, which was recognized by the Congress in an act adopted in 1950. The tedious drafting and adopting of a constitution, which placed responsibilities for management upon the Indians themselves, with the government agents functioning as advisers, followed acceptance by other tribes.

Then the tribes obtained loans for the opening of cooperative stores, the development of their craft industries, the drilling of wells, and the improvement of farms and livestock. New emphasis was placed upon day schools, 32 of which were opened on the Navajo reservation alone by 1937. The encouragement given to the Indians to prepare for leadership resulted in the employment of more Indian teachers, so that by 1940 one-fourth of the teachers were Indians. Adult education was also promoted and bilingual textbooks were prepared. Likewise, the health service was expanded by means of an increase in appropriations to four million dollars by 1936 (Perrigo 1971, 372–73).

The northward flow of migrants from Mexico had begun during World War I when crossing the border was restricted only by qualifications as to age, health, literacy, and means of support. During the war years even those restrictions were disregarded so that by 1920, 250,000 Mexicans had crossed into Texas, 62,000 had come to Arizona, and 20,000 had moved into New Mexico. After the war the increased demand for cheap labor tripled those numbers. During the Depression, as jobs became scarce, Mexicans and Mexican Americans became targets of discrimination for local authorities throughout the West. Authorities argued that they were concerned about the possibility of having to care for expanding numbers of indigents. During this decade tens of thousands of Mexicans were deported, including native-born Americans of Mexican descent.

Although not in numbers that equaled their movement to the Midwest and Northeast, southern blacks also migrated to the West in the first decades of the twentieth century; they followed the population of roughly 1,600 black cowboys who had migrated to Texas and Oklahoma in the post–Civil War era, the more than 25,000 black soldiers (buffalo soldiers) who had been stationed there between 1866 and 1917, and the few who had come west to find their fortunes and then remained in places like Helena, Montana, where there were over four hundred African Americans, descendents of those who had first come there during its gold rush and remained to operate restaurants, hotels, and retail stores, some becoming rather substantial as early as the 1880s (Nugent 1999, 389).

Many blacks migrated to the cotton fields of Texas. Despite the sorry conditions, the Texas Cotton Belt actually indulged in less prejudice than did the Deep South; and in the western communities of the state, where blacks were not very numerous, they generally were well treated. As a rule the African American leaders of that era were inclined to be patient and to place their hope in vocational education, more of which was made available after 1912 by the founding of junior colleges for black Americans. Through those years Texas had two race riots, both in 1919. After fighting for democracy elsewhere, many blacks who had served their country in World War I were determined to carry the struggle for democracy into their own neighborhoods. The whites in Texas sensed this awakening and were determined to squelch it, and open clashes with loss of lives occurred in both Houston and Longview in that one year. In the 1920s, terror again took over in that state, as the newly resurrected Ku Klux Klan resorted to the burning of property and the flogging or hanging of "uppity" blacks. By that time, too, a new way of nullifying the black vote had been devised. Insisting that their party was a private association that could restrict membership, the Democratic Party of Texas excluded blacks, thus preventing them from voting in Democratic primary elections, in which the winning candidates nearly always were selected in the general election.

Nevertheless, blacks were steadily gaining in economic status and increasing in numbers. By 1930, the 850,000 blacks there comprised close to 15 percent of the total population of the state. Although about two-thirds of them were small farmers, and one-eighth of the total were still sharecroppers, those who had broken such bonds now accounted for the ownership of 23 percent of the total number of farms. The 38 percent who dwelt in the cities had employment in business and manufacturing. By 1930, the African American community of the Southwest supported 4,000 churches, six junior colleges, two senior colleges, numerous adult evening classes, and several welfare associations (Perrigo 1971, 385–86).

In the Rocky Mountain West, the ethnic variety of the early twentieth-century industrial mining towns was as great as anywhere in the United States. Bingham, in the Utah mountains, for example, had 1,210 Greeks, 639 Italians, 564 Croats, 254

Japanese, 217 Finns, 161 Englishmen, 60 Bulgars, 59 Swedes, 52 Irish, and 15 Germans in 1911. These were the top years of European immigration to the Americas, and the West received its full share. Railroad agents recruited and sold land to farm families and also recruited wageworkers. Labor "padrones," like the Greek Leonard Skliris, contracted their countrymen's labor (for a cut) to mining companies and other employers. After years of being exploited, Greek workers broke his hold in 1912.

Greeks and Italians soon outnumbered all other Europeans and Americans in Carbon County, Utah. In 1915, Greek miners in Price, the county seat, petitioned their bishop in Crete to send them a priest, and a year later young John Petrakis, with his wife, mother, and four children, arrived. A thousand miners from all over the Utah mountains greeted their train when it pulled into Salt Lake City "with a celebratory thunder of gunshots fired into the air." Men who had not seen women or children from Crete since leaving home "knelt and prayed in gratefulness, and some wept and reached gently to touch the hem of my mother's dress as she passed," writes the novelist Harry Mark Petrakis of his parents' arrival in Utah. Greeks earned a reputation as fighters for workers' rights. One, Louis Tikas, took part in the overthrow of the grafter Skliris and then gave his life in the infamous Ludlow Massacre.

In Wyoming, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company bought up a copper camp named Hartville in 1899, and in a year the area's population boomed to around fifteen hundred. The majority were recent immigrants, led by hundreds of Italians and Greeks, scores of Swedes, English, Lebanese, Japanese, and others. By 1910, Greeks and Italians were running bakeries, grocery stores, saloons, and construction firms. Hartville had become a family-oriented working-class community. Butte, Montana, continued its maturation from mining camp to community in the first decades of the new century. The censuses of 1910 and 1920 counted about 40,000 people there, and in 1917, at the height of wartime copper demand, it was doubtless higher. Irish men and women had been arriving since the 1870s, and, as happened in San Francisco, early arrival meant easier assimilation. The Irish were not the only ethnic groups; before 1903 even more miners from Cornwall were there, and by 1910 Croatians, Germans, Italians, and Finns contributed fifteen hundred to three thousand each. Idaho also had an ethnically diverse population. In 1910, two of every five Idahoans had been born outside the United States. The predominant group was Scandinavian, but Germans, Italians, Finns, Greeks, Japanese, and Chinese also lived there. A number of black families populated and farmed the Snake River valley, while Spanish Basques herded sheep on the ranges south and west of Boise (Nugent 1999, 154, 158–59).

URBAN AND RURAL EXPERIENCE

As the new century opened, American society turned away from its rural past: the lifeways that had been part of most people's common experience in Anglo America since colonial days faced a new metropolitan future. The shift signaled a change far larger than simply a move from farm to city, from raising crops and livestock to working in factories and offices. Rather, it was a shift in lifestyles and worldviews and one that required decades to complete. The first decades of the twentieth century were the last years in American history when both cities and new farms would proliferate. New York emerged in the 1880s census as the first million-plus metropolis, to be joined by Philadelphia and Chicago in 1890. At every census throughout the nineteenth century, city people took a greater share of the American population, from 1 in 20 in 1800 to 1 in 7 in 1850 to 2 in 5 in 1900. Yet farms and farm people multiplied too. In 1913, 59,363 final homestead entries, covering 10,885,000 acres of land, were "proved up"—that is, deeded over from federal to private ownership. Never before or since did proved-up acres exceed 10 million in one year.

This parallel pattern of both farm and city growth continued to about 1913. After that cities kept developing, but rural America began leveling off. New homestead entries averaged over 83,000 every year from 1901 through 1910 but slipped to 53,000 a year between 1911 and 1915, and below 24,000 between 1921 and 1925. Fingers of new settlement probed into certain isolated areas after 1913, to be sure, but after that peak year American farms and farm population stopped expanding, stabilized for 25 years until the late 1930s, and then started to shrink and have shrunk ever since.

This of course was not evident in 1901. The western horizon was not cloudless, but there were plenty of reasons why land-seekers should have been optimistic. Vast lands remained "open," railroads were eager to sell their grants, and Congress kept inflating homestead sizes to try to accommodate the aridity of the high plains. Experts insisted that irrigation and dry farming were the answers to the devil of drought. So the frontier of settlement, stalled since the outset of the Great Plains farm depression in 1887, started moving west again. Simultaneously cities and industries proliferated. Mining, more than ever an industry involving substantial capital and wage labor, attracted migrants as multiethnic as in the Northeast. Serbs, Croats, Greeks, and others did not fear to cross the Mississippi. In Arizona, Bisbee with its mines and Douglas with its smelters, almost unpopulated in 1900, topped 9,000 persons a dozen years later. Price, Utah, attracted several thousand people. Northern Idaho communities from Lewiston to Coeur d'Alene nearly doubled their population. Mexicans and Japanese were much more visible than before 1901.

Several small towns in 1901 became cities as they easily passed 100,000 persons by the 1910 census. Salt Lake City rose from 34,000 in 1900 to more than 100,000 by 1913; and by the 1910 census Spokane had gone from 39,000 to 104,000, Oakland from 67,000 to 150,000, Portland from 90,000 to 207,000, and Seattle from 81,000 to 237,000. Several counties in California's San Joaquin Valley more than doubled their populations because of irrigated crop raising and intensive stock farming. California's "hydraulic society" had begun. Los Angeles County became the population leader of the entire West, exploding from 170,000 in 1900 to 504,000 in 1910 and nearly doubling to 936,000 in 1920.

With drought and depression behind it, the West became briefly a rare and clear case of simultaneous urban and rural growth, the dual expansion of both the very customary and the very new. This was nearly the final hour of the traditional, Jeffersonian, homestead-seeking America, yet also a time of headlong rush into a new kind of world. By the early years of the century the West was already resisting generalization. Texas was not Montana; Idaho was not Wyoming.

In the first 13 years of the century the Great Plains west of the 98th and 100th meridians truly opened up. Homesteads, railroad lines, whistle stops, grain elevators, churches, courthouses, and all the trappings of commercial farming and stock raising filled the treeless, sunbaked sea of grass from south Texas to the middle of Alberta and Saskatchewan. No part of the region lacked migrants. The most startling increases took place in Texas and Oklahoma, which between them added 1,715,000 people in 1900–1910 and another million or more by 1917. Expansion in the four plains states north of them (Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas) was also considerable: 787,000 between 1900 and 1910, and 300,000 between 1910 and 1920.

So strong was the optimism, so confident the people, so reassured were they by scientific theories of dryland farming and the possibilities of irrigation that they surged beyond the 100th meridian, beyond the 102nd into Colorado, the 103rd into New Mexico, the 104th into eastern Montana. In 1890 two giant counties occupied all Montana between Wyoming and Canada for about 125 miles west of the Dakota line. Only 7,400 people rattled around in them. By 1920 they had portioned off into 16 counties with 117,700 people settled on farms or ranches or in small towns sprinkled along the routes of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific Railroads. None of those towns came near having 10,000 people, or ever would. Similar county chopping took place in eastern Colorado and New Mexico as scores of thousands homesteaded the grasslands and sprinkled them with little towns marked from miles away by their tall white grain elevators (Nugent 1999, 133–34).

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND HUNTING AND FISHING

The story of animal husbandry in the West is closely connected to the story of the treatment of Indians in the first decades of the twentieth century. At the end of the nineteenth century, parts of several Apache tribes were settled on the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona, where for many years they sickened in idleness and survived on government rations. The reservation embraced acres of good grazing land, and neighboring cattlemen argued that, since Apaches never could or would use that range, white men should have access to it. Consequently, under duress, and under the eternal threat of troops, Apaches were led to sign away about a quarter of their reservation to the cattlemen.

All the good rangeland on the remainder was leased to a few powerful cattle companies. Then, in the early 1920s, the Apaches started running some small bunches of cattle of hopelessly mixed breed on the most worthless parts of their range. The white cattlemen were only amused. Then, by the most intense efforts, the Apache cattlemen began making a little money and buying good bulls, so that their herds were working up to where they were producing presentable, saleable beef cattle. Encouraged by this modest success, the tribe refused to renew certain leases to the white cattlemen and began to expand their own operations. Immediately the pressure became heavy upon senators and congressmen and upon the Indian Bureau to force the Indians to lease to the white ranchers. The senators from Arizona showed conscience, and the Indian Bureau remained firm. By 1932 there were some 28,000 head of Indian-owned cattle grazing the range, and all the leases had been ended. Still, the cattle interests had a string tied to the whole affair, for the Apaches were not allowed to breed their own bulls.

Their herds had started with odd longhorns—some from Mexico—dairy cows, and anything they could acquire. To obtain decent "grade" beef cattle required careful breeding with registered bulls and continuous culling of off-colored cows. The production of suitable bulls demands a bull-breeding herd of registered cows and registered bulls. Otherwise, a cattle producer must buy expensive bulls from other breeders. As the big Apache operation grew prosperous, the Indian cattlemen were required to spend thousands of dollars of their profits yearly buying good sires from non-Indians.

The Indians solved their problem during the great drought of the 1930s. As a relief measure, the government bought cattle from drought-devastated ranches. Some "drought relief cattle" were issued to Indians; many were butchered and distributed as food for relief purposes. A Bureau of Indian Affairs agent appointed by New Deal Interior Secretary John Collier spotted a herd of registered heifers that were due to be bought before the creatures starved to death. The heifers were quietly shipped to the San Carlos Reservation. They were in such miserable condition that nobody thought twice about them. On the Apache grass they prospered, and suddenly the cattle interests were presented with something done and finished: the Indians had a registered bull-breeding herd, and in a short time the San Carlos cattlemen would begin selling registered bulls to white cattlemen (La Farge 1956, 242–43).

In the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West in the first decades of the twentieth century, the sportsman could find a plentiful supply of big game. Bison were rapidly becoming extinct, but brown and black bear, mountain lion, deer, elk, and other species of big game were found and could be hunted in season. In Arizona, the mule deer, so called because of its long ears, was the principal big-game animal of the region and was found nearly everywhere except in the Navajo country in the northeastern section of Arizona. More than 15,000 (comprising the largest single herd of mule deer in the United States) roamed the Kaibab forest, north of the Grand Canyon. The largest bucks weighed up to 240 pounds dressed and carried antlers with a spread of from 30 to 40 inches. The little Arizona whitetail, seldom weighing more than a hundred pounds, was more numerous but also more elusive and was found only in rough, brushy country. Certain Arizona business firms offered prizes to the hunter bringing in the first deer as well as the heaviest buck of the season.

Of the six indigenous species of cloven-hoofed animals found in Arizona by the first white settlers, the elk alone became extinct. But imported stock, preserved through supervision and protection, were to be found on the Mogollon Plateau. Additional stock released in the Hualpai and Bill Williams mountain areas brought the number of elk in the state to between three and four thousand head by the late 1920s. Elk hunting was revived in 1935, and during the 1936 open season 85 bull elk were taken. Special permits were required for elk hunting.

The only wild bison or buffalo of the Southwest were found in Arizona in Houserock Valley, in the north-central part of the state, where a short hunting season was permitted under closely restricted conditions. Many hunters sought bear as well as deer on the Mogollon Rim. The state's most predatory animal, the mountain lion, could be hunted year-round. The great cats were usually found in the roughest and most brush-covered country, where deer were plentiful. Since a mountain lion would commonly destroy no fewer than 50 deer in a year, the killing of one lion meant saving the lives of hundreds of deer. Occasionally, the jaguar, called *el tigre* by the Mexicans, drifted in from Sonora, but, unlike the mountain lion, the jaguar could seldom be treed.

Hunting mountain lion and bear on horseback, with a pack of dogs, was a sport that was truly western. The hunter, racing at breakneck speed over rough and broken ground with the roar of dogs in his ears, experienced an unforgettable thrill. Numerous species of smaller game also attracted the sportsman to the Southwest. The wild turkey, the largest of American game birds and classed as big game, could be found throughout the northern pine and oak area of the West. Various species of duck, snipe, and other waterfowl inhabited the lakes and streams, including green-winged and blue-winged teal, mallard, widgeon, redhead, and goose. White-wing pigeons, quail, and doves were hunted as well as jack rabbits, for which there was no closed season limit.

An American bison, 1909. Library of Congress.

The development of dams and aqueducts in the West in the first decades of the twentieth century created an increasing number of artificial lakes, which were stocked with fish and provided ample opportunities for the game fishermen. A string of beautiful lakes below Flagstaff and the big bodies of water from the Salt River irrigation system offered good fishing for bass as well as numerous other varieties (Works Progress Administration 1940, 132–33).

For centuries the buffalo, or more properly the North American bison, had provided Native Americans of the West with both food and material to make clothing, shelter, and weapons. However, by the turn of the century, this animal became the last fur bearer to suffer near extinction. The discovery that buffalo hides could be turned into a cheap leather suitable for making machine belts, together with the expansion of the railroad across the West after the Civil War, sealed the bison's fate. The wholesale slaughter of the buffalo eventually abated from lack of targets, but killing continued for a while on a retail basis, with hunters like Theodore Roosevelt who rushed off and paid for the privilege of hunting a trophy before it was too late.

Others, however, sought to save the pitiful remnants of the species. Some ranchers started private herds. William Hornbaday, of the New York Zoo, organized the Bison Society; and George Bird Grinnell, the editor of *Field and Stream,* worked to protect the small group of bison in Yellowstone from poachers. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the buffalo moved from being a commodity to a symbol of the American West, gracing American coins and appearing in Wild West shows. Such symbolic status became the last refuge from extinction open to this animal, whose uniqueness, size, and power caused Americans to endow it with a special national meaning (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 246–48).

Intellectual Life

EDUCATION

In the Rocky Mountain West, the availability of schools and teachers varied widely. In the late nineteenth century, Nevada had only 38 schools, or about 7 for every thousand school-aged children, while at the same time the figures for Montana and Nebraska were among the highest in the nation. In general western states did well in placing urban children into the classroom and poorly in putting rural children into schools. Because western population was sparse, fewer taxpayers provided for schools than in the East, thus increasing individual tax burdens. Between 1880 and 1920 the West spent more per capita on education than any other region.

The widespread perception that male schoolteachers in the West took the job because they were "too lazy to work, hadn't the ability to gamble and . . . couldn't scrape a little on the fiddle" created particular opportunities for women teachers. Wages, while higher than in the East, were not high enough to hold qualified male teachers. Also, under male supervision the inherent violence of the West sometimes crept into the classroom. For example, in Leadville, Colorado, the local school board had to urge the prosecuting of an instructor for "shooting at scholars." These factors contributed to a large proportion of women teachers—larger than the rest of the country—in the West. And by extending the "cult of true womanhood" to the classroom, middle-class western women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had little trouble in establishing the classroom as a domain as rightfully theirs as the kitchen or parlor. Classrooms seemed to be but extensions of the home and thus rightfully under control of women. In many areas of the West the one-room schoolhouse also became the community social center, allowing the female teacher's domesticating influence to extend beyond the students in the classroom and into the community (White 1991, 313–14).

In the territories of New Mexico and Arizona the quest for statehood served as a stimulus to the development of their educational system. As early as 1874 the legislature in Arizona had founded a system of schools with the governor presiding as ex-officio territorial superintendent; and, in 1889, a separate superintendent office was created. By that date, development funds had been provided and a uniform series of textbooks had been adopted. A university was established at Tucson. In addition, normal schools for the training of teachers opened in Tempe in 1885 and in Flagstaff in 1899. By 1910, the public schools of Arizona had an average daily attendance of approximately 20,000 pupils.

In New Mexico, the effective efforts for improvement in education began with the founding of a university in Albuquerque in 1889, and four years later normal schools were established in Silver City and in Las Vegas. Meanwhile, in 1891, the legislature had enacted an improved public school law, which created a territorial system headed by a board and a superintendent. Expenditures increased from $85,000 in 1892 to a quarter of a million dollars seven years later. Thereafter additional funds were derived from the letting of leases on nearly three million acres of land that had been obtained in 1898 as a gift from the federal government through the efforts of Harvey B. Ferguson. By 1910, the public schools in New Mexico enrolled almost 60,000 pupils.

The national trend in rural and sparsely settled regions in the 1920s was away from the local one-room schoolhouse toward consolidation, and the states of the Southwest followed this trend. In Arizona, for example, elementary and high school districts ranged in size from 5 to 100 square miles. A union high school district was composed of two or more adjacent elementary districts. Temporary "accommodation schools" were established in regions not yet organized into school districts. Bus transportation was provided for pupils in the larger districts. Reflecting another national trend in education at the time, Arizona children from 8 to 16 years old were required to attend school for not less than eight months of each year.

Elementary teachers must have completed four years, and secondary teachers five years, of college work to qualify for teaching in the public schools. Although Arizona had many sparsely settled areas in the first four decades of the twentieth century, elementary and secondary schools were available for most of its children. In 1930, 91 percent of the children between 7 and 13 years of age were actually enrolled in public schools, as compared with 79 percent in 1920.

As in other regions of the country, the educational system in the West suffered during the Depression years. In Arizona, for example, public school enrollment, which in 1930 was 103,806, decreased during the next few years. The number of public school teachers was 3,273 in 1930. But during the difficult Depression years it declined seriously, until in 1934 there were only 2,834 public school teachers working in the state. These teachers received an annual average salary of $1,637 in 1930 and $1,309 in 1934.

Reflecting another national trend, courses in home economics, agriculture, trade, and industry were provided in a considerable number of the public high schools of the West; and vocational instruction in rural areas was supplemented by the work of county farm and home demonstration agents. In Arizona, technical training in law, engineering, agriculture, music, and education was offered by the three institutions of higher education, which had a combined enrollment of 3,157 in 1934. Because of the large percentage of Mexicans and Indians in Arizona's population, "Americanization" work was an important part of the school programs.

The education of Indian children in Arizona remained under the jurisdiction of the Office of Indian Affairs in the U.S. Department of the Interior. For the year ending June 30, 1938, there were 13,000 Indian children, 6 to 18 years of age, in the state, of whom 8,000 were enrolled in Indian schools. There were several types of these schools: federal day schools, reservation boarding schools, and nonreservation boarding schools; and mission, private, and state day schools and boarding schools. A small number of Indian children were also cared for in the regular public schools. According to the 1938 annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, the majority of the Indian children attending school were in the federal day schools. This was in line with the general policy of the Office of Indian Affairs to strengthen family ties by allowing the child to remain at home during the school year, in distinction to the policy of former years that sought to educate the Indian children by separating them from home influence and tradition (Works Progress Administration 1940, 119–20).

Snapshot

The Great Disaster at a Consolidated School in Texas

On March 17, 1937, the *New York Times* reported that "All of the fears of consolidation were realized one afternoon in Texas in New London, where a new consolidated school exploded and crashed in with a deafening roar, killing 500 teachers and children." The *Times* report continued, "The building was fireproof, so flames died quickly, but the strength of the blast and the massive volume of falling debris killed almost everyone inside the building instantly. Seven hundred children from nine through eighteen years of age and forty teachers were in the structure when the explosion occurred. More than five hundred students and teachers were killed, with fewer than two hundred escaping with injuries. Most of the children and teachers were gathered in the auditorium when the blast wrecked the school as though a bomb from an air-raider had found its mark." Horrified mothers who were gathered for a PTA meeting in a cafeteria three hundred feet from the auditorium helplessly watched the building collapse on their children.

Screaming hysterically, the mothers raced across the campus. With bare hands they clawed at the debris, trying desperately to reach children whose cries could be heard from beneath the crumbled structure. As darkness fell on the ruins of the school, the community center for this region of scattered oil camps and small hamlets, the campus presented a macabre scene. Sightseers crowded elbow to elbow with grief-stricken parents, watching the rescue crews at work with acetylene torches beneath floodlights from the football field and a string of electric bulbs hastily put in place above the wreckage. Alongside the tragic pile, an ever lengthening line of white sheets told the magnitude of the disaster.

The story of the disaster also led some observers to question the wisdom of putting so many children together in large schools. A *New York Times* article dismissed such fears, arguing that the new "consolidated schools are of sand and stone, have stairways of slate and cement, and are classed as fireproof." Many parents and educators agreed "the consolidated school is the antithesis of the little red school house." For rural communities, "it provides facilities held equal to those of city schools, enabling sparsely populated districts to combine in one well-equipped school." (Lindenmeyer 2005, 151–53)

COMMUNICATION

Radio found immediate and enthusiastic acceptance in the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West. The topography of mountain and desert, resulting in isolation of remote settlements, made the miracle of radio a welcome antidote for either forced or chosen solitude. In the 1920s, when the radio arrived in the West, there were still people alive who had watched the smoke signals of hostile Indians; ridden the narrow twisting roads along sheer canyon cliffs in stagecoach or on horseback; and watched the slow, tedious transformation of barren deserts into fertile valleys and gem-like cities. These survivors of a more bucolic age bridged two separate eras, and by no means the least of the changes witnessed was the coming of the radio.

In awed respect, old-timers watched the conquest of the treacherous vastness of space. Suddenly, great distance was dwarfed to virtual nonexistence and the still air became vibrant and alive with human voice. Although neither the Southwest nor the Rocky Mountain West could claim any part in the initial discoveries in regard to the radio, its subsequent interest was ambitious and aggressive. Licensed on June 21, 1922, KFAD in Phoenix became the thirty-sixth station in the entire country and was the first to be licensed in the state. Soon after, KFCB, also in Phoenix, which had been broadcasting for some time as an amateur station, was also licensed to operate.

The amateurs of Arizona assisted in radio development in the state. Amateurs were the only ones who could build or repair or understand the earlier "contraptions," and the tinkerers who knew the intricacies of the subject were men set apart and admired. From 1922 to 1924 more than 75 percent of the sets used were built by amateurs. Initially, all of the radio receiving sets were crystal sets (Works Progress Administration 1940, 129).

The two largest population centers in the area, Texas and Oklahoma, also were early pioneers in radio. In 1922, radio station KOMA went on the air in Oklahoma on Christmas Eve. The station had only 15 watts and its chief function was to rebroadcast the programming of the larger eastern cities. In Dallas, KFJZ (in 1917), WRR (in 1920), WPA, WBAP, and WFAA (all in 1922) all competed for air space. In the early unregulated days, there were virtually no rules to allow a fair distribution of the dial for broadcasters, and so in 1922, all five Dallas stations agreed to a timesharing plan on each frequency. November 11, 1928, was declared "National Frequency Allocation Day," when the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), predecessor to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), brought organization to the dial by assigning dedicated frequencies to the strongest stations and culling out many of the small-time opportunists and enthusiasts. WBAP of Dallas was awarded a clear channel position on the dial, becoming one of only a small handful of stations in the nation that was allowed to send its signal to a reported 42 states. To honor the art of "DX-ing" (distance listening) Wednesdays after 3 P.M. were declared "Silent Night" in the 1920s, which meant that low-powered stations turned off their transmitters so that high-powered stations across the United States could be easily received on anyone's dial (http://www.knus99.com/amlist.html).

THE SOUTHWEST AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN WEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Material Life

FOOD

Canning, inventive packaging, and advertising were changing the dietary habits of many Americans in the early twentieth century, but for Mexican Americans in the Southwest, their diet remained much the same as it had for centuries. It consisted mainly of corn-based breads, beans in various forms, and meat, usually chicken or pork, which was highly spiced to disguise hints of putrefaction. The Mexican American diet consisted of a variety of foods and dishes that represented a blend of pre-Columbian and Spanish cultures. The typical Mexican diet was rich in complex carbohydrates, provided mainly by corn and corn products, beans, rice, and breads. The typical Mexican diet contained an adequate amount of protein in the forms of beans, eggs, fish, and shellfish, and a variety of meats, including beef, pork, poultry, and goat. Because of the extensive use of frying as a cooking method, the Mexican diet was also high in fat. The nutrients most likely to be inadequately provided were calcium, iron, vitamin A, folacin, and vitamin C.

Traditionally, Mexicans ate four or five meals daily. The foods eaten varied with factors such as income, education, urbanization, geographic region, and family customs. With emigration to the United States, major changes occurred in the Mexican American's diet. Healthy changes included a moderate increase in the consumption of milk, vegetables, and fruits, and a large decrease in the consumption of lard and Mexican cream. The introduction of salads and cooked vegetables increased the use of fats, such as salad dressings, margarine, and butter. Other less healthy changes included a severe decline in the consumption of traditional fruit-based beverages in favor of high-sugar drinks. Consumption of inexpensive sources of complex carbohydrates, such as beans and rice, also decreased as a result of acculturation. In addition to the negative impact on the health of this population, these dietary changes also adversely affected the family's budget when low-priced foods were replaced with more expensive ones.

Eastern and midwestern migrants to the West brought their own dietary habits with them and, as mentioned earlier, these habits had an impact on both the Mexicans who had recently moved into the area and on those who had called the region home for generations. But the Mexicans also influenced the dietary habits of their northern neighbors, as Americans became introduced to the flavor of chili, frijoles, and tortillas. Remaining outside of this culinary cultural mix were the Pueblo Indians, who remained steadfast in their diet of locally grown foods including corn, beans, and melons.

HOUSING

The most typical architecture of the Southwest was that based on the adobe designs of the Pueblo Indians. The Pueblos dwelt in adobe residences that usually sat atop mesas or plateaus. These adobe houses were single- or multistoried structures with apartment-like rooms; the buildings, made of adobe or stone, were either rectangular, square, or oval and rose in terraced tiers overlooking a plaza. At the turn of the century the largest Pueblo was that of the Zuni, which was inhabited by some 2,500 people. There are at least two Pueblo Indian towns, Acoma and Orqibi, that date back to 1150 A.D., making them the oldest North American towns in existence. In the twentieth century the Pueblos added glass windows, wooden doors, and factory-made furniture to their ancient adobe homes.

Snapshot

Harvey Houses of the West

Fred Harvey was just 15 years old when he emigrated to the United States from Liverpool, England. He first worked as a dishwasher in New York for just $2 per day. Saving his money, he soon moved on to New Orleans, where he worked again in the restaurant business, learning the trade from the ground up. In 1853, he moved to St. Louis, Missouri. Six years later, he and a partner opened a restaurant in St. Louis. His partner soon left Harvey to join the Confederacy and the restaurant closed.

Harvey took a job at the St. Joseph, Missouri, post office. From there he sorted mail for the first railroad post office in Leavenworth, Kansas. The connection with the railroad changed his fortune.

During this time, the young entrepreneur noticed that the lunchrooms serving rail passengers were deplorable, and most trains did not have dining cars, even on extended trips. The custom at the time was to make dining stops every 100 miles or so. Sometimes there would be a restaurant at the station, but more often than not, there was nothing to feed the famished travelers. The dining stops were also short, no longer than an hour, and the passengers were expected to find a restaurant, order their meal, and get served in this short amount of time.

Harvey saw an opportunity to return to the restaurant business. He opened his first restaurant in the Topeka, Kansas, Santa Fe Depot Station in 1876. Leasing the lunch counter at the depot, Harvey's business was an immediate success. Impressed with his work, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe soon gave Harvey control of food service along the rail line. The Harvey Houses along the Santa Fe route became the first chain restaurants. At its peak, there were 84 Harvey Houses. They continued to be built and operated into the 1930s and 1940s.

In the Southwest, Fred Harvey hired architect Mary Colter to design influential landmark hotels in Santa Fe and Gallup, New Mexico, Winslow, Arizona, and at the South Rim and the bottom of the Grand Canyon in the 1910s and 1920s. The rugged, landscape-integrated design principles of Colter's work influenced a generation of subsequent western American architecture.

After World War I, when people began to travel in automobiles, the company began a gradual decline. However, once again they adapted, moving away from full reliance on train passengers. Soon they began to package motor trips of the Southwest, including tours of Indian villages and the Grand Canyon.

During the Depression, the Harvey Company suffered along with the rest of the nation, as no one could afford to travel. However, the trend was reversed with the commencement of World War II. Suddenly the trains were filled with troops and the Harvey Houses began to feed them. (http://www.legendsofamerica.com)

In the Rocky Mountain and Great Plains West, the idealized agrarian image of Currier and Ives's late nineteenth-century western farmers' homes reflected eastern sensibilities, not western reality. Often during the first months of settlement, some families lived in lean-tos, or even canvas-topped carts or wagon boxes. In the plains areas the lack of lumber made people look to other building materials. Houses were often scooped out from the sides of creeks, with front walls of sod. Once families could build more substantial houses, cultural influences became apparent, such as the differences between the Yankee and the southern tides of settlement. The well-built southern-style log cabin had a breezeway through the center, while Yankees built two-story wood frame houses. Less affluent people of the West often lived in wooden shacks reinforced with an additional coating of tarpaper nailed to board walls, Without insulation this construction barely provided sufficient shelter against the blizzards of the Rocky Mountain winters (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 297).

In the period between World War I and World War II suburban sprawl in major western cities stimulated a new western architectural design called the ranch house, which in the post–World War II era dominated American home design. The ranch home originated in southern California. It was the particular work of San Diego architect Cliff May, who was inspired by nineteenth-century haciendas, with their rooms opening onto wide porches and interior courtyards. By the early 1940s, the design began showing up in architects' plan books. The very name evoked myth. "When we think of the West," a writer in an architectural design book mused, "we picture to ourselves ranches and wide open spaces where there is plenty of elbow room." The ranch house sought to capture this feeling with its horizontal orientation, low-slung roof, rooms flowing one to the other, picture windows, and sliding glass doors inviting residents outdoors to the patio and the barbecue grill. The ranch house conjured up dreams of informal living, ideal weather, and movie star glamour. In the early post–World War II period the rest of America became captivated with the western ranch house. In Levittown, New York, the first great post–World War II suburb, ranch houses commanded a 20 percent premium over the Cape Cod style (Hine and Faragher 2000, 526–27).

A Fred Harvey eating house and Santa Fe Station in Chanute, Kansas, c. 1900. Library of Congress.

TRANSPORTATION

Government subsidies and a rash of enthusiasm after the Civil War to connect the entire country by rail sparked an explosion of railroad construction in the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, for example, with a land grant subsidy of more than 10 million acres along the 35th parallel in Arizona, began to lay its tracks westward across the territory in 1882. By 1890 or soon afterward, all the important mining centers of the West had railroad service.

After the quiescent depression years of the 1890s, the railroads again began laying track and platting towns prodigally throughout the West—from 1901 to 1913 usually 50 to 100 new miles of track a year. In 1905 alone, the railroads had constructed 300 new miles of track and platted nearly 40 new towns. The Northern Pacific, confident that farmers would keep coming, started selling tracts no larger than 320 acres. The Great Northern not only promoted irrigation and dry farming but also backed the "good roads" movement, the campaign in the Midwest and West to create a network of all-weather paved roads. The railroads also sent demonstrator trains to educate settlers in home economics and better farming methods, and in 1911 they began sponsoring dozens of demonstration farms.

In the 1920s, the railroad industry, as it had in other parts of the country, reached its peak in the Southwest and Rocky Mountain states. From that decade onward it suffered from sharp competition with newer forms of transportation. Considerable retrenchment began to take place after 1930, and many branches ceased operations in that decade. Railroads continued to be important, but after World War I they no longer led the way west or anywhere else. The story of Coburg, Montana, typifies what happened in the 1920s to country towns that the railroads had called into existence, only to be snuffed out later by weather and economics. Coburg began life as a railroad siding on the Great Northern line in the late 1880s. By World War I, 50 families lived there in an apparently successful settlement. Life was not plush; a dry summer in 1918 turned into a brutal winter for both cattle herds and for homesteaders huddled in tarpaper shacks. Still homesteaders kept arriving, and banks kept extending credit well into 1921. Then came a sharp national recession. Credit dried up; land auctions proliferated. By the late 1920s all that remained of Coburg were the train depot, the hotel, a storage building, and an isolated shack or two. Everything else had been burned, torn down, or hauled away. The railroad pulled out in the 1930s, and by that year Coburg was no more. Where once there was a farmstead on every 320 acres, there was not a sign of human habitation in 200 square miles (Nugent 1999, 183–84).

At the turn of the century, when there were still plenty of people in the West who had never seen a railway train, an automobile was unloaded at the Southern Pacific depot in Tucson. Dr. Hiram W. Fenner, who had ordered it, fiddled with the contraption until it got up steam, and finally drove gingerly through the tremendous crowd in the first automobile to enter the territory. The remarkable record of the West in catering to sportsmen, nature lovers, and sightseers was achieved by taking advantage of automobile transportation. As early as 1905 a few courageous men in each state owned automobiles, but at that time they were able to travel only on a few local roads of dirt and gravel radiating from the larger towns.

An advertisement for the Southern Pacific Railway showing a new streamlined train, the interior of a dining car, and maps of four routes of the Southern Pacific, 1937. Library of Congress.

The first cross-country car trips occurred in the next decade, but they were not for those with shallow pockets. Auto travel required plenty of time and money and a vehicle more substantial than the Model T Ford, the utilitarian car that had introduced the middle class to the wondrous world of the automobile. A frequent traveler to the West in the earliest era of automobile travel recalled, "The tourists of 1913 to California were prosperous Eastern types, the mainstays of the big hotels—bank directors, corporation presidents, young bloods without hats and in white flannels talking golf, polo and motor cars, elderly ladies of comfortable embonpoint with lorgnettes and lapdogs" (Nugent 1999, 179). Many of these early adventurers kept accounts of their journeys, which were sometimes published and then read by thousands of Americans who, at the time, could only dream of such an adventure.

Alice Huyler Ramsey, for example, started out in 1909 with three women friends in a Maxwell automobile from New York. Forty-one days later they arrived in San Francisco. They crossed the Mississippi River on a bridge of "wooden planks and just wide enough for passing." The Iowa mud almost defeated them, and after 13 days of slogging they put the Maxwell on a freight car for the last hundred miles to Omaha. As they crossed Nebraska their nemesis was sand. Not a road was paved, and the "highway was a mere trail into Cheyenne as it crossed ranches and hills." Ranchers, not expecting much auto traffic, had fenced in the range with gates that "we had to open and close as we passed through. After a harrowing climb over the Sierras' cliffs and switchbacks, on a road heavy with sand [and] in truth not an automobile highway [but] an old wagon trail," they reached the ultimate West, the Golden Gate (Nugent 1999, 179).

As the cars became more numerous, the counties and states improved some of the roads; and in 1916 the federal government inaugurated a program of matching funds for the development of an interstate system of improved and numbered highways. Annually more and more of the state roads were incorporated into that system. In 1919 Beatrice Larned Massey drove 4,154 miles in 33 days from New York to San Francisco via Chicago, Yellowstone Park, Salt Lake City, and Reno, together with her engineer husband and another couple in a Packard twin-six touring car. The Masseys carried all manner of cables, towlines, spark plugs, tire pumps, wrenches, and other auto first aid equipment. They also took along their tennis rackets and golf clubs, but no camping equipment, because they intended to stay in good hotels. Conditions had improved since Ramsey's trip. Utah had some real cement roads, and California, "the beautiful land of sunshine and flowers had miles of good roads smooth as marble with no dust" (Nugent 1999, 180).

With the close of World War I, motorists clamored for better highways, and the road-building programs in the western states as well as the rest of America began in earnest. The exclusivity of the automobile excursion westward waned rapidly in the 1920s when the newly developed national highway system made cross-country trips almost commonplace. By 1929, the national highway network and mass-marketed cars, as well as intercity buses and trucks, had in little more than a decade transformed auto travel to the West from an upper-class preserve to a fairly common experience. In the 1930s travel books such as Ramsey's and Massey's changed into guidebooks, from accounts to be read for vicarious pleasure by the fireside to lists of tips for soon-to-be travelers. Car travel was available to the masses by the 1930s, permitting many thousands to drive west to California on U.S. 66 to escape the farm depression closing in on the Midwest.

In January 1910, 11 planes, 3 dirigible airships, and several free balloons were exhibited at Los Angeles at the first international meeting of fliers on American soil. The following month three of these aviators came to the Southwest on a barnstorming tour. The "Men-Birds," as they were called, made their first flights in Arizona at Phoenix, and thousands of awe-stricken spectators crowded into the capital city to see them. Tucson, not to be outdone, also arranged for a Man-Bird exhibition by Charles K. Hamilton, one of the three performing in Phoenix. Tickets were sold for the spectacle, and to prevent gate-crashing, aviator Hamilton was required to take off and land in a very small field surrounded by a high board fence. In his flimsy and awkward ship, Hamilton accomplished this feat, which modern airmen would pronounce absolutely suicidal, three times; and the newspapers reported that "despite a stirring breeze he attained the terrific speed of 40 miles per hour."

In 1911, Robert G. Fowler broke the world's sustained flight record by flying from Yuma to Maricopa without stopping—165 miles in 206 minutes—and Cal P. Rogers, trying to top the transcontinental flight record, reached Tucson 27 days after he left New York. Both of these flyers had difficulty in landing at Tucson, and as the word was passed among aviators, the airships that visited other southwestern towns passed right over the Old Pueblo. But Tucson was air-minded enough to establish the first municipal airfield in the United States—one of such dimensions that Tucsonians could say in triumph, "If that isn't big enough for them to land, we'll rent the county."

Regularly scheduled passenger and express plane service into Arizona was begun late in November 1927, when the Aero Corporation of California inaugurated a triweekly line between Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Tucson. The schedule became a daily one about a year later. Planes also stopped at Winslow and at Boulder Dam (Works Progress Administration 1940, 115; Perrigo 1971, 347).

Political Life

GOVERNMENT

Progressive politics emerged on the national scene dramatically and swiftly in 1901 when an assassin's bullet felled President William McKinley and thrust Theodore Roosevelt into the White House. America's western frontier past fascinated the new president, and he feared that the closing frontier might endanger the nation's democratic heritage. As president he believed himself to be in a position to protect what he viewed as the country's frontier legacy by conserving America's natural resources and preserving the remnants of a vanishing wilderness landscape where one could recover the "vigorous manhood" that the "rough riders" of an earlier day had enjoyed as a birthright. Gifford Pinchot, head of the forest service, shared Roosevelt's vision, and with the president's support he crafted conservation policies in the West that would directly affect the daily lives of western Americans who hoped to turn the vast resources of their region into immediate financial profit.

The most striking proof of Pinchot's influence came in 1905, when Roosevelt transferred 63 million acres of forest reserves, the great majority of them in the West, from the Interior Department to the Agriculture Department and placed them under Pinchot's control as the head of the renamed U.S. Forest Service. More than any other agency, the Forest Service epitomized Progressive-era conservation. Pinchot and his followers committed themselves to promoting professional management, believing that only those with scientific expertise should decide how best to use forest resources. They feared that a hunger for quick profits might tempt corporations and private landowners to cut the forest more rapidly than it could replenish itself. Politicians might be wooed too easily by local constituencies eager for rapid development, no matter what its cost. Only a scientific forester—so the argument ran—could know enough and be disinterested enough to look after the long-term interests of people and forests alike.

To produce this new style of government manager, Pinchot relied on the new schools of forestry, all more or less inspired by German traditions, that were appearing at Cornell, Michigan, and Yale (the latter financed by a gift from Pinchot's father). Young men—and they were all young men in the early years—who hoped to become foresters received their training from these schools and then made their way into the Forest Service to be inculcated with the values it represented. Energized by an elite esprit de corps and a vision of disinterested public service, the young foresters fanned out across the western landscape with a goal of managing public forests so that frontier abundance could be saved from scarcity and could last forever.

Like other Progressives, Pinchot, Roosevelt, and their followers strongly believed what the historian Samuel P. Hays has called "the gospel of efficiency." For Progressives the greatest villain was the waste of resources that prevented "the people" from enjoying their fullest use. Pinchot liked to borrow and extend Jeremy Bentham's famous utilitarian principle as the central goal of conservation: "the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest time." To waste resources, to use them inefficiently, was to steal from future generations. The correctness of this principle seemed so self-evident that it was hard for conservationists to see their opponents as anything other than venal and corrupt. The Progressives believed that short-sighted landowners, dishonest bureaucrats, domineering monopolists, and craven office-holders all had bad motives for putting their own interests above the public good.

There was, inevitably, a darker side to this vision of scientific management. Despite their democratic rhetoric, their apparent defense of the people and democracy against monopoly and corruption, the Progressive conservationists were suspicious of many democratic institutions. They tended to look more toward executive authority than toward the legislature to enact their reforms, and they saw the good of the whole (by which they often meant well-to-do middle-class easterners like themselves) as being more important than the special concerns of individual constituencies. Progressives preferred expert knowledge to the messier judgments of public debate. They generally preferred centralized authority and decision making to local control. Pinchot's Forest Service was notable for the decentralized organization of its district system but ultimately derived its authority from Washington rather than from local communities. In pursuit of what they saw as democratic ends, the Progressives sometimes thought it necessary to circumvent democratic means.

And so it was perhaps inevitable that Roosevelt and Pinchot should come into conflict with people who did not share

President Theodore Roosevelt, left, and Gifford Pinchot stand on the deck of the steamer *Mississippi* during a tour of the Inland Waterways Commission, 1907. Library of Congress.

their vision. Among those who opposed the expanding system of national forests were senators and representatives from the western states and local citizens, who saw more and more of their local landscape being removed from development and placed under Forest Service control. The conflict came to a head in a famous confrontation in 1907. Congress sought to limit Roosevelt's ability to withdraw western land from settlement by passing an appropriations bill that required the president to have congressional permission before creating any new national forests in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming. The list included the most heavily timbered states in the nation and the ones most hostile to Washington's control. All were in the West. Roosevelt had no choice but to sign the bill, but the night before doing so, he ordered the creation of new national forests on 16 million acres of western lands. These "midnight forests" enraged western congressmen and perfectly expressed the mingled idealism and arrogance that typified conservation during the Roosevelt years. The conflict between western property holders and developers on one side and conservationists on the other continued on throughout the twentieth century.

Many westerners railed against government interference in land management, but they wholeheartedly supported federally funded reclamation projects such as the Newlands Act, which created the Bureau of Reclamation. Although numerous water diversion projects existed throughout the West before massive federal involvement, Progressive engineers were the first to promise water as a consistent resource. Beginning with the construction of the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona in 1911, the federal government throughout the century has played a major role in western land policies, which continue to affect the daily life of those living there. From the time of its initial proposal, the Progressive concept of using federal dollars to guarantee water for agrarian users was viewed as a blessing by westerners. Although many in the region opposed government regulation of timber and mining industries, they welcomed government programs that brought new sources of water, without which daily life in many areas of the West would have been impossible.

Aside from their conflict over land management, the West responded enthusiastically to Progressivism, particularly to the call for regulation of the railroad and other corporations and to increased participatory democracy. As historian Arthur Link has pointed out, "The most distinctive feature of western progressivism was its passion for more democratic anti institutional political reforms. . . . they were more common than anywhere else in the nation." In the West the first wave of reform often came at the municipal level, where local civic leaders would lead a campaign to eradicate a corrupt machine government in league with utilities and other corporations doing business with the city, replacing the ousted powers with a reform mayor. This is what occurred in Denver, for example, where the reform coalition included the wealthy activist Josephine Roche and two men who went on to national prominence, George Creel and Judge Ben Lindsey. Of all western cities, however, it was Galveston, Texas, that made the greatest contribution to urban Progressivism. In reaction to the local government's incompetence in the face of a terrible hurricane and tidal wave that ravaged the city in 1900, killing at least 6,000 people, Galveston instituted a businesslike city commission form of government that soon became a model for cities throughout the country.

On the national level the West stood in the vanguard of Progressivism. In 1904, Republican Theodore Roosevelt carried every western state except Texas, and in the 1912 race the progressive Democrat Woodrow Wilson took every state in the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West except Utah. The region also produced a number of Progressive leaders on the national stage. Among them were Hiram Johnson of California, George Norris of Nebraska, William Borah of Idaho, and Francis Newlands of Nevada. In addition to conservation, already discussed, the West figured largely in two other major facets of national Progressivism: women's suffrage and Prohibition.

Before 1917, the only states that had granted suffrage to women were in the West, and the region also pioneered in females holding public office. Mary Howard of Kansas, Utah, became the first female mayor in the country, and Jeannette Rankin of Montana the first congresswoman. Miriam "Ma" Ferguson of Texas and Nellie Taylor Ross of Wyoming became the first women governors in 1925. Although Ferguson was a stand-in for her husband, Ross won the office outright on her own.

Sociologist Edward Ross voiced conventional wisdom when he explained, "In the intermountain states, where there are two suitors for every woman, the sex becomes an upper caste to which nothing will be denied from street car seat to public ballots and public offices." Scarcity was indeed a factor, but not the only one. Frontier egalitarianism and individualism affected women as well as men. Promoters often featured the vote to lure women and families westward; and established groups like the Mormons saw women as a counterbalance to the new wave of foreign immigrants, which tended to be heavily male. Thus for a variety of reasons, some commendable and others less so, the West truly pioneered in basic political rights for women in the United States.

In the minds of many, women's suffrage went hand in hand with the Prohibition movement. As historian Norman Clark has written, "In those states where women could vote on such issues before 1919 (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Montana, Nevada, and New York) all but two (California and New York) adopted by popular vote a state law prohibiting the saloon." In fact women's organizations did attack the saloon, and various brewers' associations opposed women's suffrage. However, it is also true that some suffragists, such as westerner Abigail Scott Duniway, viewed Prohibition as a quixotic diversion and a danger to the suffrage campaign.

Nevertheless, the West (along with the South) forced national Prohibition on the wet cities of the Midwest and Northeast. First by local option, then by state vote, one state after another in the first decades of the twentieth century went dry, often with considerable turmoil. Among the earliest was Kansas, where Carrie Nation first captured national headlines in 1900 by entering a Wichita saloon wielding an iron rod and throwing rocks at a painting of Cleopatra at the bath (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 506–9).

Within the restrictions of the local, state, and federal government, the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest maintained their own governmental forms. Typical of the

Pueblo government structure in the early twentieth century was the Moiety Organization of the Tewa Pueblos. As with other Pueblos of the era, the governmental, familial, and religious structures were interrelated. The members of each pueblo were divided equally between the Winter and the Summer people. Moiety affiliation had to be confirmed by initiation. Each Moiety conducted an initiation rite every four years, the Winter group in the fall and the Summer group in the spring.

At this time both male and female children who were from 6 to 10 years old were admitted. The nucleus of the Moiety was the Moiety Association. This association was envisioned as a human being. The head was the chief or head priest; the arms were his right- and left-arm assistants, and the body incorporated the members of the association. When the head priest died, he was replaced by his right arm; the left arm moved to the right-arm position, and a new left arm was chosen by the association.

Moiety associations were responsible for all the primary religious and governmental functions of the Pueblo, which included maintenance of the annual solar and lunar calendar, organization of communal dances, coordination of purification rites conducted by the medical associations, coordination of communal hunts, coordination of warfare ceremonies, organization of planting and harvesting activities, supervision of cleaning and construction of irrigation ditches, repair and construction of pueblo courtyards for tribal ceremonies, appointment of officers to compel members of the community to participate in all government and religious functions, and installation of officers of the civil government needed to interact with outside government officials. From what can be understood about the Pueblo, it appeared that their governmental system remained the most democratic and egalitarian of government systems within a country that prided itself on the same (Dozier 1960, 152–53).

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

The twentieth century claimed to have a number of "crimes of the century." One of the earliest occurred on December 30, 1905, in Idaho when a homemade bomb rigged to a latch exploded as former governor Frank Steunenberg opened the gate to the front lawn of his home in the small town of Caldwell. The bombing captured the nation's attention because it involved issues that had captured the attention of many Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Starting with the Haymarket bomb in 1886 and lasting through the Wall Street bombing and rash of letter bombs in 1920, Americans had been confronted for the first time with the terrorism of random killing by anarchists. In 1906, when Steunenberg became the first American assassinated by dynamite, his murder and the ensuing kidnapping of three officers of the World Federation of Miners (WFM) became a cloak-and-dagger saga of intrigue that Americans followed daily in their local papers.

A drifter, Henry Orchard, who possessed vague ties to the WFM, committed the crime. The bombing came after years of a protracted union struggle in which Steunenberg, while he was governor, had supported the mine owners. Orchard was easily fingered for the crime, because he had carelessly left crumbs of dynamite sprinkled around his hotel room and burglar tools in his trunk. After his arrest he was placed in solitary confinement and fed little for several weeks. Eventually he was invited to a sumptuous dinner including cigars and brandy with the chief investigator, James McParland. At the dinner he was explicitly encouraged to link union leaders Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George Pettibonne to the crime. In return he was transferred to a private but comfortable bungalow on the prison grounds, where he resided until his death in 1954.

With Orchard's accusations in hand, McParland set out for Colorado where the union officers resided. He found Haywood in a brothel and arrested him without a warrant. He also found Moyer and Pettibone and hustled them onto a specially prepared train, back to Idaho. Making no stops for fear of being served with a writ of habeas corpus, McParland arrived in Boise, where he deposited Haywood in the death row cell previously occupied by Orchard.

While Haywood and the others waited in prison for their trial, their arrest became a *cause celebre* among radicals and socialists worldwide, including Jack London, who contributed to their defense fund and gave fiery speeches across the nation denouncing their kidnapping. Clarence Darrow came to the defense of Haywood and his associates. Initially Darrow went directly to the Supreme Court and argued that the men should be released because they were denied the right to habeas corpus and in fact had been kidnapped out of the state of Colorado. The Supreme Court agreed that the method of capturing Haywood and the others was extralegal but because they were at the present time in Idaho, they could in fact be tried. What ensued was one of the greatest show trials in western history, in which Darrow was able to win the acquittal of Haywood and his associates. The trial attracted national attention because of the terror of the original act, the dramatics in the courtroom, and the sinister actions of the government. Fear of terrorism stirred many who thought that if such a thing could happen in Caldwell, Idaho, it could probably happen anywhere, but there were others, especially those who sent their dollars to the defense fund, who worried to what degree a frightened people would allow the government to trample on their rights (Clymer 2003, 137–42).

Recreational Life

THE SOUTHWEST AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN WEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

SPORTS

In addition to the sports fare typical of the United States in the first decades of the twentieth century, the Southwest had sports they could call particularly their own. With the great majority of visitors and permanent residents alike, the favorite outdoor pastime was horseback riding, which was a year-round activity in southern Arizona. Cow ponies were generally used, although almost any other kind of mount suited to the experience and desires of the individual could be obtained in the larger communities. Mule and burro pack trips, with or without the services of a guide, were especially popular in the mountain and desert sections. And a bit of amateur prospecting for gold or silver commonly added to the interest of such trips.

Guests at dude ranches often accompanied the cowhands on spring and fall round-ups and exhibited their skill in horsemanship at the amateur rodeos staged by many of these ranches. Also in the Southwest, the amateur or professional rodeo with its bronco busting, calf roping, and steer bulldogging was a prominent sporting event in nearly every community or resort.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the universities and teachers colleges of Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico were represented in the Border Conference Intercollegiate Athletic Association, The major sports sponsored by this organization were football, basketball, and track events, along with baseball, boxing, tennis, and golf.

High school teams of the Southwest competed in events sponsored by state interscholastic athletic associations. Football, basketball, and track events constituted the major conference sports. Although most competition was intrastate, some high school football teams competed with schools from other states within the Southwest region, and in the 1930s the annual Greenway Track and Field Meet in Arizona offered classified competition to local athletes from elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges, as well as athletes from neighboring states (Works Progress Administration 1940, 131–34).

Another sport that became popular, especially in the Rocky Mountain West, was snow skiing. In this region the sport dates from the mid-1930s when the Union Pacific Railroad opened its posh Sun Valley, Idaho, resort complex, the West's first major ski facility. World War II temporarily blocked expansion, but Sun Valley's development stimulated the beginning of other ski resorts throughout the region, particularly in Colorado.

THE SOUTHWEST AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN WEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religious Life

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

In the Southwest well into the twentieth century, the Spanish Catholic roots of the region still influenced the religious culture. In Arizona, for example, according to the federal religious census of 1926, of the 153,086 Arizonans who were church members, 96,471, or 63 percent, were Roman Catholic. Spanish- and English-speaking Mexican immigrants, together with Indians, constituted the majority in this denomination.

Protestant churches were slow to develop in the Southwest. For example, there was no Protestant church in Tucson until 1878, when a Presbyterian mission was built there and used by all non-Catholic denominations. In 1881, various other denominations began building churches of their own. The Methodists with 10,571 members, the Presbyterians with 6,163 members, and the Baptists with 8,040 members became the principal Protestant denominations in the early twentieth century.

Terrace Homes of Hopi Indians at Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation in Arizona, c. 1903. Library of Congress.

Religious beliefs and practices among the Indians were extremely complex. The Hopi responded least of all to the white man's religion and retained their ancient dances, including the curious ceremony in which live rattlesnakes are held in the dancers' mouths. While the Yuma were willing to accept some of the tenets and ceremonial forms of Christianity, many remained faithful to at least some of the most important of their old rituals. Each Easter in the Yaqui village near Tucson, and in the village of Guadalupe not far from Phoenix, the Yaqui Indians stage their Passion Play. The Papago, who were among the first to accept Christianity, perform their ancient rites each March at San Xavier. The *Chill-ko*, or harvest ceremony, and various bird songs give thanks to the gods and ask for further beneficence. The sacred songs are handed down from one generation to another (Works Progress Administration 1940, 120–22).

The Spanish character of Catholicism in the Southwest also sets it apart from the Catholicism of the rest of the United States, where in the pre–World War II era the Irish dominated both the administration and the traditions of the Church. Most distinctive of the Mexican Spanish influence in the Southwest, especially in the more remote Spanish American villages, was membership in *Los Hermanos Penitentes*—a curious cult that had existed since the time of the Spanish missionaries and continued well into the twentieth century.

The group was banned in the Mexican period but that ban, along with the annoying curiosity of rude newcomers, caused the order to go "underground." The fraternal rites, including the procession during Holy Week with its carrying of the cross and moderate flagellation, were performed thenceforth in strict secrecy, and members were forbidden to write or relate to outsiders anything about their rules and ceremonies. Under those circumstances the maintenance of standardized rules became impossible. Because each chapter handed down its own procedures by oral transmission, many variations appeared in local practices. Some chapters even degenerated into mere political clubs that were maintained by their leaders for promotion of solidarity in their competition with Anglo-American rivals for election to local offices (Perrigo 1971, 395).

The turn-of-the-century Pentecostal movement had tangled roots in both the West and the South and in two interrelated beliefs. One belief emphasized "Christian perfection" or "entire sanctification," a second grace that cleansed the believer from the tendency to sin. The second belief derived from events in the book of Acts and

The most effective publicist of the Pentecostal movement was Aimee Semple McPherson. Library of Congress.

emphasized "speaking in tongues" or glossolalia. Although historians of Pentecostalism have uncovered scattered references to glossolalia during the nineteenth century, they agree that the 1906 Azusa Street (Los Angeles) revival began modern Pentecostalism. Led in part by William J. Seymour, a one-eyed black minister from the South, the rise of Pentecostalism is a little-known black contribution to white religious life. In the early days, most Pentecostal churches were integrated, but by the 1920s they had separated into primarily white or black congregations.

From Azusa Street, the Pentecostal "full Gospel" revival spread up and down the West Coast and into the rural areas of Oklahoma, Texas, and Missouri. There the Pentecostals also created yet another religio-social subculture. Their world emphasized spiritual healing, religious ecstasy, glossolalia, and general renewal. The faith demanded a strict personal morality (no cards, jewelry, cosmetics, or bodily ornamentation, and minimal amusements). Their musical imagery, which would later influence early rock and roll (for example, the song "Great Balls of Fire") called for a high degree of participation and emotional release. For many, the profession of the ministry proved a popular road to success. The democracy of the message was obvious. As one minister stated, "We did not honor men for their advantage, in means or education, but rather for their God-given gifts" (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 381). In this sense, the Pentecostals reached out to the religious needs of the common people. Not surprisingly, they manifested great strength in old populist or socialist areas of the West.

The most effective publicist of the Pentecostal movement was Aimee Semple McPherson. Reared in a Salvation Army family, McPherson arrived in Los Angeles in 1918 to establish the Four Square Gospel Church, revealed to her in a vision. A strikingly beautiful woman, she utilized the Hollywood atmosphere to turn her worship services into media productions. "Sister Aimee" also established a religious radio station (KFSG, Kall Four Square Gospel) to spread her message. From the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s, she appeared on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* approximately three times a week. Beneath the hype and extravagance, McPherson emerged as America's first "superstar" media evangelist. She provided a national platform for the Pentecostal message, one that it would not regain until the 1970s and 1980s. By that time, the charismatic dimension of Pentecostalism had spread into Roman Catholicism, the Episcopal Church, and a number of Native American communities as well as among many televangelists.

A revival of religious conservatism occurred in the decades between the two World Wars. The rapid growth of the Ku Klux Klan, which claimed a tenuous link with right-wing Protestantism, provided the most extreme example of this religio-social backlash. Another form of repression came in the attacks on Native American faiths. During the 1920s, the fundamentalist–modernist controversy split the mainline Protestant churches into two warring camps. All of these national movements affected the West.

The Klan proved exceptionally strong in several western states, especially Colorado, Texas, and Oregon. Its anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic message drove some Catholics out of Oregon and Colorado and soured Protestant–Catholic relations in El Paso for a decade. In Oregon, militant nativists introduced legislation in 1922 that would have required all children to attend public school, ostensibly for reasons of "Americanism." The real goal was to destroy the Catholic parochial school system. Catholic resistance found ready allies from the Lutherans, Seventh-Day Adventists, and the American Jewish community as well as several liberal Episcopal and Presbyterian clergymen. In 1925, the law was overturned by the Supreme Court.

Religious suppression also found its way into the long-festering question of the First Amendment and Indian religious liberties. Through the 1920s and 1930s, Indian religious freedom was a major issue for Native Americans. In the 1920s, the debate pitted Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke against the reformer John Collier. In 1921, Burke issued a circular that reinforced the directive of 1883, prohibiting ceremonial dances and "celebrations" that included actions deemed improper and even harmful. As the historian Francis Paul Prucha has pointed out, this attack infuriated Collier and inspired his "campaign in support of religious liberty for Indians." The ensuing national debate climaxed in 1926 when Collier and his followers defeated a congressional bill that would have legalized Burke's position.

But the fight was not over. In the 1930s, when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed Collier as commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Collier viewed Indian religious freedom as a cornerstone of his blueprint on Indian policy. Like Burke, he issued a directive. The 1934 circular entitled "Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture" declared that Indians be granted "the fullest constitutional liberty, in all matters affecting religion, conscience, and culture," and that "no interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression will hereafter be tolerated." Reversing the centuries-old approach, Collier declared, "The cultural liberty of Indians is in all respects to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group." At BIA schools, Collier prohibited compulsory attendance at religious services and permitted students to return home for ceremonies. Christian reformers and Christianized Indians saw Collier's circular as a step backward. Some tribes opposed the concept of religious freedom as a matter of principle: it would violate tribal sovereignty by interfering in internal tribal affairs. If the majority of a tribe, such as the Lakotas, opposed the Native American Church, for example, the tribe did not want Washington ordering it to legalize peyote. The issue of religious freedom for Indians was not resolved in the 1930s, but Collier's stand did begin to bring Indian religions under the constitutional guarantees granted to other citizens.

The fundamentalist–modernist controversy, which so disrupted the nation's Protestant churches, also had a strong western component. Two transplanted Pennsylvanians, Lyman and Milton Stewart, used the profits from their Los Angeles–based Union Oil Company to support a series of conservative evangelical causes from the 1890s forward. During the Progressive era, Lyman Stewart began to attack theologi-


The Masked Kachinas (Hopi Indian "Rain-makers") dance at the Village of Shonghopavi, Arizona. Library of Congress.

cal liberals, especially Presbyterian Thomas F. Day, who was eventually dismissed from the San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1912 for teaching higher criticism, which questioned fundamentalist views. In 1907, Stewart helped found what would become the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. He also financed the publication of William E. Blackstone's millennial tract *Jesus Is Coming*, which became the most widespread premillennial piece of literature in the world. Finally, Stewart funded the publication of *The Fundamentals* (1912–1916), a series of conservative pamphlets that are usually acknowledged as the opening shots in the fundamentalist–modernist controversy. The Stewart brothers helped inaugurate what became the most disruptive twentieth-century controversy among American Protestants. Over the years, the nation's Protestant churches began to divide along theological lines (liberal–conservative) rather than denominational ones. The sociologists Robert Wuthnow and James Davison Hunter have argued that this ever-widening liberal–conservative split lies at the heart of the post–World War II "restructuring of American religion" (Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss 1994, 381–84).

RITUALS AND RITES OF PASSAGE

Although converted to Christianity by Spanish missionaries, the Pueblo Indians adapted themselves to Catholic ritual only externally. Behind that convenient screen they continued to practice their own indigenous patterns of culture, including adherence to many of their ancient religious rituals. For example, the Hopi Rain Dance, in which members of one of the religious societies dance with live rattlesnakes, was held every August. Like other Pueblo ceremonies, outsiders could view the rain dance, because the Indians felt that anyone who watched with sympathy and respect was also a participant who contributed to the efficacy of the rite.

The strong attachment to such established rituals, together with the maintenance of personal responsibility to the group, the security afforded by the close-knit relationships and society of the Pueblo, and the continued observance of personal and group conduct designed to ensure harmony between the people and the supernatural world continued to protect the towns from the disintegrating influences of the surrounding non-Indian culture well into the twentieth century (Josephy 1969, 163–64).

WORLDVIEW

When the American novelist James A. Michener died in 1997, he left his papers and a large endowment to the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley. Sixty years before, the young Michener had received an offer to teach there. Anxious for a job in those Depression years, yet equally anxious about leaving his boyhood home in Pennsylvania, Michener had gone to one of his former professors at Swarthmore College for advice. "You'd be making the biggest mistake in your life," the man told him. "The sands of the desert are white with the bones of promising young men who moved west and perished trying to fight their way back East." Without prospects, however, Michener reluctantly decided he had no choice but to accept the position.

Much to his surprise, Michener fell in love with the West. "Almost all that I saw I liked," he later recalled. He was awed by the landscape—majestic buttes rising abruptly from the plains, mountain valleys crowded with blue spruce and aspen—and astounded by the irrigation systems that turned deserts into thousands of acres of melons and sugar beets. But what struck him most forcefully were the people. "For the first time I caught the fire and fury that characterizes life in the West," he wrote. "A new type of man was being reared in the West. He was taller, ate more salads, had fewer intellectual interests of a speculative nature, had a rough and ready acceptance of new ideas, and was blessed with a vitality that stood out conspicuously to a stranger from the East." Over a long career as one of the most successful American writers of the twentieth century, Michener traveled to many exotic places, but he always treasured his western sojourn. "One of the good things about my life was that I spent the formative years in Colorado and got away from an insular Eastern-seaboard perspective," he reflected in 1980. "Having had that experience, and having renewed it constantly, I built or acquired an optimism which I've never really lost." Michener spoke for many when he evoked the mythic and real power of the West (Hine and Faragher 2000, 512).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Books

Bakken, Gordon Morris, and Brenda Farrington, eds. *Encyclopedia of Women in the American West*. London: Sage Publications, 2003.

Black, Brian. *Nature and the Environment in Twentieth-Century American Life*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Clymer, Jeffory A. *America's Culture of Terrorism: Violence, Capitalism, and the Written Word*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Hine, Robert V., and John Mack Faragher. *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Josephy, Alvin M. *The Indian Heritage of America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969.

La Farge, Oliver. *A Pictorial History of the American Indian*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1956.

Lindenmeyer, Kristine. *The Greatest Generation Grows Up*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005.

Milner, Clyde, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss. *The Oxford History of the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Nugent, Walter. *Into the West: The Story of Its People*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Perrigo, Lynn. *The American Southwest: Its Peoples and Cultures*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

White, Richard. *A New History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Works Progress Administration, ed. *Arizona, A State Guide*. New York: Hastings House, 1940.

Articles

Burma, John H. "Present Status of the Spanish-Americans in New Mexico." *Social Forces* 28, no. 2 (December 1949): 138.

Dozier, Edward. "The Pueblos of Southwestern United States." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 90 (1960): 146–60.

Web Sites

"Dallas Fort Worth Radio History." http://www.knus99.com/amlist.html.

Legends of America. http//: www.legendsofamerica.com.

7

THE PACIFIC WEST

Overview

At the turn of the century, the Pacific West still remained the great frontier of America. The largest city in the region was San Francisco; Los Angeles still remained a small town with great dreams. Over the next 40 years all this would change, as the population boomed, bringing with it large buildings, bridges and roads, and massive public works projects to provide water for farms and cities. Yet much about the West would remain the same. Frontier families still lived in the Pacific Northwest without the conveniences that the rest of Americans were beginning to take for granted. The West was home to the first great national parks, which were set aside to preserve what was natural, grand, and expansive about America's self-image.

The great convergence of many varied people in such a concentrated period of time produced social, economic, and cultural clashes. These showed in various ways, but most obtrusively in the violent labor conflicts in the agricultural areas of California, as well as the mining areas of Nevada, and the lumbering regions of the Pacific Northwest. Tensions worked themselves out more subtly in politics and in education.

The free and open spirit of the frontier West provided a fertile environment for scientific investigation and educational expansion. California became home to some of the country's greatest universities and centers for the study of science and engineering, fields especially useful to the vast region needing new infrastructure, water projects, agricultural techniques, and ways to extract the mother lodes of minerals from the ground. California also became a social laboratory, where strands of Progressivism and then many of the political experiments of the 1920s and 1930s redefined public life and policy.

Because it represented novelty and excitement, the West, especially California, captured the attention of the rest of the country, and by the 1930s, with innovations in science, technology, architecture, lifestyle, and of course its film industry, the West for many Americans became the trend-setting region of the country. Improved roads in the new century and improved communication in film, radio, and print meant people could imagine being and going there. Americans also moved further west and northwest into the territories of Hawaii and Alaska in this era, where they found well-rooted indigenous cultures far different from their own. They also found new opportunities for wealth in the minerals of Alaska and the rich soil and inviting climate of Hawaii. Although Americans had been settling in the Pacific West since the early nineteenth century, the majority of Americans settling in this area had come more recently, and they considered themselves the last of the American pioneers. This section will explore the lives of those who lived in the last American frontier of the Pacific West, which in this chapter includes California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and the territories of Alaska and Hawaii.

Domestic Life

FAMILY LIFE

Easterners and westerners from the United States as well as easterners and westerners of the world come together in the Pacific West. Most families living in this region in the first half of the twentieth century had family and ancestors in the Midwest, in the East, and some in Asia. In the nineteenth century family patterns in the West had been distinctive; however, with the increasing flow of population to the West in the first decades of the twentieth century, the daily life of the Western family began to appear more and more like that of the East and Midwest. By the 1940s, patterns of family life originating in New England, the old South, and the Midwest had mingled with the pioneer traditions of the far West. During much of its history, the West had been little more than a series of colonial outposts, economically and psychologically exploited by the East, but with the development of metropolitan centers like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and Denver, the West ceased to be a colonial appendage of the East, and these urban aggregations tended to exhibit the same concentric pattern of family types as in eastern cities.

Despite the characteristic urbanization of the first decades of the twentieth-century, much of the West remained rural, and as one moved away from urban centers and out into the hinterland, one could find pioneer ruggedness and self-sufficiency seldom found in the older regions of the country. For example, during the Great Depression the Jim Burns household, consisting of his wife, two sons, a housekeeper, and a family cow, survived on $200 a year on Waldron Island in Seattle's hinterland. They ate seagull eggs, fish, clams, wild nettle greens, homegrown whole wheat, and free fruit from a friendly neighbor's trees.

One distinctive characteristic of western families in the first decades of the twentieth century was their mobility and their diversity. From the Imperial Valley of southern California north through the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys the cotton, citrus fruits, and other crops demanded seasonal laborers. A simple agrarian folk from the Middle West and Southwest, displaced by drought and the mechanization of agriculture in the 1930s, flowed west to meet this need. The fictitious Joad family, immortalized by John Steinbeck in his novel *The Grapes of Wrath*, dramatized the problems of these itinerants as they "starved" their way to California in a dilapidated truck. Says Ma Joad in a closing comment: "We ain't gonna die out. People is goin' on—changin' a little maybe but goin' right on!"

Prior to 1882, the Chinese, and later Japanese and Filipinos, moved to the American West in large numbers into the early twentieth century, and well-rooted traditional family relationships played an important role in the integration of those from Asia and the Asian Pacific into western society. Statistical studies in the 1940s showed crime among Asians varied inversely with the degree to which they were incorporated in closely integrated family and community groups. Sociologists of the era explained the low crime rate among Japanese in the first decades of the twentieth century by the clear definitions and moral discipline of the transplanted patriarchal family and by the efficiency and organization of their community. Higher crime rates among Chinese and Filipinos in these same decades were explained by the relative lack of family life, a weak community organization, and disorganizing contact with Americans.

Among the Native Americans of the Pacific Northwest, the changes in family life from the days of their great-grandparents to the generation of the early to mid-1900s were tremendous. The contrast between the relatively self-sufficient homesteads of the white pioneer in the region and the urban apartment house life of some of his grandchildren was great, to be sure, but not nearly so great as the difference between the wood plank houses of the nineteenth-century Indian and the modern bungalows of some of his descendants. In the first half of the twentieth century most Native Americans of the West remained true to their traditional cultural and family values; however, some drifted toward the Anglo-American culture. The degree to which they became disorganized in large part was determined by the intensity and character of contacts with white civilization, on the one hand, and by the source and adequacy of sustenance, on the other.

At the turn of the century, four-fifths of the adult population of Utah and one-fifth of that of Idaho was Mormon. This fact created a distinct family life in that part of the region. Desert isolation and church sanction made it possible for the early "saints" to develop a polygamous form of family life. But non-Mormon hostility, together with the monogamous backgrounds of husbands and wives, which made adjustment to a multiple-mate situation difficult, had almost eliminated the plural marriage by the early 1940s.

In the first decades of the twentieth century and up to World War II, progress on one hand and disorganization on the other characterized family life in the Pacific Coast states. The average income per family equaled the wealthiest regions of the country. The circulation of daily newspapers was higher and the number of passenger cars in proportion to population was greater than in any other geographic division. Infant and maternal mortality rates were lower, and more playgrounds were available for urban populations of the Pacific and Mountain states than for other regions. Most of the national parks were in the West, and relatively more families visited them from near points than from far. Western families spent more for recreation than eastern families of comparable income.

In contrast to these statistics, which reveal a relative degree of material comfort, at least for middle-class families living in the West, divorce rates increased as one moved west and southwest across the United States. The estimated divorce rate in the far West per 1,000 population, in 1940, was double that for the remainder of the United States. One in every 40 American divorces was secured in Reno. However, it must be remembered that in the 1920s Nevada became a migratory divorce destination when that state passed a law that permitted anyone who had resided in the state six months to divorce spouses easily. Sociologists also blamed family instability for crime rates in the region. The number of robberies and auto thefts known to the police per 100,000 population was almost twice as high as for any other region. Pacific Coast cities also led America in suicides.

Perhaps these statistics were related to the fact that in the first half of the twentieth century, families in the West were the least religiously affiliated in the United States. The highest percentage of adults not in church was found in the Mountain and Pacific states—about 70 percent for the Far West as compared with 50 percent for the United States as a whole.

In conclusion, it could be said that the western family of the pre–World War II twentieth century was more distinctly American in its characteristics than was the family of any other region. Since most families had come to the Far West from the Middle West, East, or South, often in several stages, there was more opportunity to lose European traits and acquire American ways of living. Unassimilated foreign groups could be found during this era in the West to be sure—small groups of patriotic Asians, for example—but not to the same extent as east of the Rockies. Americans in the 1920s and 1930s became notorious, as compared with the citizens of other countries, for their individualism, mobility, and frequent divorces. Americans also loved their homes, had small families, and believed in education, recreation, and hospitality. All these points became magnified in the far West.

Home ownership in this era was as high on the Pacific Coast as for any region in the country. The average size of a family household in the far West was smaller, the percentage who had completed four years of college was greater, people were considered more hospitable, especially in the hinterlands, and families spent more for recreation than in other sections. Sociologists in the pre–World War II twentieth-century America speculated that the principal problem for the average American family was how to combine compatibility and comfort with stability. Western families, with their demonstration of material success on one hand, and the spiritual crises of divorce and crime on the other, seemed to have demonstrated that they shared in that American family dilemma (Hayner 1948, 432–34).

In Hawaii, the family system was the essential element of the social structure of the islands. The main configuration was an extended family, the *ohana*. Some members of the *ohana* lived in the highland rain forest, others in the mid-level farmlands, and others on the coast. Families shared the bounty of each region. Regardless of their specific living area, *ohanas* spent the majority of their time on the coast, where families lived together in large houses (Barnes 2007, 20).

MEN

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the West remained a "man's world." In many parts of the region local custom seemed to have resisted the domestication of males that had occurred during the Victorian age in the Midwest, Northeast, and Mid-Atlantic sections of the country. Refined demeanor was not necessarily a virtue, and informality was commonplace. A Montana tourist house, for example, bore a sign that read "throw your hat on the floor and make yourself at home." In a region where a man had to prove his worth through his own abilities, personal worth carried far more value than personal connections. Class lines were less sharp, and male camaraderie was more prevalent. "A man makes friends without half trying," was the boast of many small western towns.

The popular male Hollywood film images of the 1930s and 1940s were built on this idealized western male image. Sam Spade of San Francisco—the fictional detective popularized by Humphrey Bogart—was a loner, an independent man with his own convictions and a self-created sense of honor; Gary Cooper's grave voice and homespun morality made him the most beloved male star of the decade; and Clark Gable became famous "just being myself" on the screen. It was a world that made virtues of self-prescribed morality, loyalty, ruggedness, and individualism.

Many men in the early part of the century had moved west because of the greater occupational opportunities. This was well illustrated in the western lumbering industry, which, around the turn of the century, attracted workers from the depleted forest regions of Wisconsin and Michigan. Lumbering, certainly one of the trades that displayed the masculine characteristics of the West, remained the principal economic activity of the Pacific Northwest through the early decades of the twentieth century. Until the 1930s, these loggers seldom married, but by that time, with the changes in technology that made logging operations more accessible, the peripatetic bachelors of the earlier days were largely replaced by married men. By the late 1930s, the typical logger of the Pacific Northwest was no longer an uncivilized, unwashed individual. He became, more often than not, a family man.

In the urban areas of the West, male habits of work, play, and style were similar to those of other regions. Ironically, the nationally more homogenous fashions and lifestyles of males as well as females were being determined, not in the older, more established regions of the country, but rather in the new West of Hollywood, California, where the new film industry played a major role in influencing male and female lifestyles.

WOMEN

In the first decades of the twentieth century in the hinterlands of the West, one could still find hardworking pioneer women hazarding crude kitchen and household equipment in the wilderness, which included hungry and ferocious cougars. Many of the women of the rural West mirrored the robust women portrayed by Betty Mac-

Donald in her novel *The Egg and I*. Days were long, work was hard, and housekeeping and cooking were done without the benefit of electricity or indoor plumbing.

In the more isolated coastal regions of the West such as the Olympic peninsulas, fishermen of the region spent many months at a time away from home. Consequently their women gradually took over control of the family.

In metropolitan areas of the West such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle women's daily life became increasingly like that of the Midwest and East, and by the late 1930s western women were receiving commendation from eastern fashion leaders for stylish dressing, and Hollywood also was setting the national trends for fashion and style.

CHILDREN

Through the 1930s in the West, home delivery remained the most common birthing experience, especially for families with limited economic resources or those living outside cities. Most believed that having a baby at home could be perfectly safe with the help of an experienced midwife, nurse, or physician and a situation free of complications. Although by the 1930s a growing number of Americans understood that healthy babies and mothers needed at least the help of a trained nurse or doctor at the time of delivery, in the West, especially outside the cities, access to good care remained difficult. Mildred Kine safely had her first child at home in Boulder City, Nevada, in January 1933. Kine was part of the wave of more than 5,000 workers and their families who had moved to the area when the federal government began construction on what eventually became Hoover Dam. "I had a nurse come in and help," Kine recalled. "It was either that or go to Las Vegas, because the hospital up here was only for workmen and they didn't want to have maternity cases up there." Lillian Whalen, another Boulder resident, remembered that a local doctor also supervised many births in the town. Many local deliveries occurred, she recalled, "on the screen porches of the little houses, with the fans drifting around . . . evidently it was a healthy thing," she concluded, " because [the doctor] never lost a mother or a baby" (Lindenmeyer 2005, 34, 35).

During the industrial era, the middle classes invented childhood as a distinct phase when children should be protected from the cares of a competitive world. They believed children should play and romp freely, not only for their pleasure, but for their full emotional and physical development. Working-class children, however, were often compelled to work to help support their families. The difference between malnutrition and eating enough, for many families, was bridged through a child's wages. Karen Sanchez-Eppler comments on the industrial era, "Thus to the extent that childhood means leisure, having a childhood is in itself one of the most decisive features of class formation. The working child was, in many ways, deprived of the primary activity defining childhood—play."

In the West, as elsewhere, employment for children—and adult attitudes toward child labor—ranged widely during the industrial era. Many children worked in traditional settings, on family farms alongside their parents. Farm work was often regarded as wholesome and character-building. Juvenile delinquents and orphaned or abandoned children, in fact, were frequently sent to the countryside as workers on family farms. Many children, however, experienced farm work far differently than those who extolled it imagined. In the West, some worked long hours as itinerant laborers, picking sugar beets or dragging heavy bags of cotton. Stooping for 12-hour days under a hot sun could result in heat exhaustion or back injuries. Carrying bags or boxes of produce to weighing stations, children were expected to lift enormous loads for their sizes. A report from the Children's Bureau revealed that 70 percent of children working in Colorado's beet fields were physically deformed "apparently due to strain" (Lindenmeyer 2005, 38).

> ***Snapshot***
>
> **A Woman's Life in the Pacific West Frontier**
>
> This I'll go where you go, do what you do, be what you are, and I'll be happy philosophy worked out splendidly for Mother for she followed my mining engineer father all over the United States and led a fascinating life, but not so well for me, because although I did what she told me and let Bob choose the work in which he felt he would be happiest and then plunged wholeheartedly in with him, I wound up on the Pacific Coast in the most untamed corner of the United States, with a ten gallon keg of good whiskey, some very dirty Indians and hundreds and hundreds of most uninteresting chickens. . . .
>
> "Now," I thought, " we have all the livestock warm and comfortable, surely it is at last time to fix the house."
>
> That's what I thought. It was time to plow and plant the garden. I had read that the rigors of a combination of farm and mountain life were supposed eventually to harden you to a state of fitness. By the end of those first two months, I still ached like a tooth and the only ting that had hardened on the ranch was Bob's heart.
>
> Right after breakfast one May morning he drove into the yard astride a horse large enough to have been sired by an elephant. Carelessly looping the reins over a gatepost he informed me that I was to steer this monster while he ran along behind holding the plow. All went reasonably well until Birdie, the horse, stepped on my foot. "She's on my foot," I said mildly to Bob who was complaining because we stopped. "Get her off and let's get going, " shouted the man who had promised to cherish me. Meanwhile my erstwhile foot was being driven like a stake into the soft earth and Birdie stared moodily over the landscape. I beat on the back of her knee, I screamed at her, I screamed at Bob and at last Birdie absentmindedly took a step and lifted the foot. I hobbled to the house and soaked my foot and brooded about men and animals. (MacDonald 1945, 4, 44)

In the cities, street peddlers—the children who sold newspapers, matchbooks, and gum, or who scavenged for junk—comprised another class of child laborers who were often viewed romantically. These "street merchants" seemed, by some accounts, to turn work into play, roaming the streets with a familiarity and élan many adults admired. They frequented bars, gambling houses, and theaters. They gave some of their earnings to their parents but often kept some for candy and other treats.

In California, half of all teenage boys and one-fourth of teenage girls held part-time jobs. Overcrowded working-class homes in the city provided little to no space for children to play. Consequently, children flocked to the streets, some to become the "little merchants" hawking newspapers or collecting junk ("junking"), and some to play improvised games. With no other place to go, these children appropriated the streets as their own, but police officers saw such public space quite differently.

Indicative of the life of Mexican Americans and of working-class children was the story of César Chávez. Chávez, born on March 31, 1927, in Yuma, Arizona, a Mexican American community where Spanish was more common than English, typified the life of working-class children in the West. During his early childhood, Chávez's parents worked on his grandfather's ranch and in the family's small store in Yuma. The Depression eventually crushed the family's businesses, and by the early 1930s

Snapshot

Jack London: San Francisco Newsboy

By the time I was ten years old, my family had abandoned ranching and gone to live in the city. And here, at ten, I began on the streets as a newsboy. One of the reasons for this was that we needed the money. Another reason was that I needed the exercise.

And so, at ten, I was out on the streets, a newsboy. I had no time to read. I was busy getting exercise and learning how to fight, busy learning forwardness, and brass and bluff. I had an imagination and a curiosity about all things that made me plastic. Not least among the things I was curious about was the saloon. And I was in and out of many a one. (London 1913, 23)

the Chávez family headed to California in hopes of finding work. Like most migrant farm families, everyone, even young Chávez, was expected to work in the fields. State child labor laws did not forbid the employment of entire families in agricultural piecework, even including young children like César. Lobbying by the owners of large farms and outdated cultural assumptions about children's farm labor being restricted to family chores contributed to the absence of child labor regulations in agriculture. His family's constant moves and young César's responsibilities in contributing to the family's income greatly hindered his education. By the time he entered the eighth grade, he had attended 30 different schools. At 14 he spoke little English and quit school altogether before entering high school.

A study of sugar beet workers by the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1935 showed that there were many young migrant farm workers like César Chávez in the United States. The 946 families interviewed for the study included 670 children between the ages of 6 and 16 who reported that they had worked for wages in the beet fields sometime during the past year. Among the youngest workers, 280 were under age 14 and only two-thirds had enrolled for any schooling in 1935. Workdays could be as long as 12 hours, and pay was low. Families earned a median income of only $340 for the entire year. Government officials judged that poor living conditions resulted in an "inadequate diet, insufficient clothing, poor housing, and [a] lack of needed medical service" for all workers. Some of the families in the study were of Mexican or Spanish American heritage. Families identified as "Russian-Germans" comprised the second most frequent ethnic group at 22 percent. Profits drove landowners to hire entire families, "due in part," investigators concluded, "to the fact that men with families are considered more reliable and more likely to see work through to completion than solo workers." Officials estimated that more than 15,000 children worked in the sugar beet fields each year.

Jack London, c. 1910. Library of Congress.

Working the beet fields involved two infamous tools despised by migrants and especially dangerous for children: the short-handled hoe and the machete. The short hoe had a 12- to 18-inch handle; the machete was kept very sharp. Workers used the hoe to remove weeds from between young beet plants. The tool's short handle forced workers to stoop over. Employers believed this stance made it less likely workers would damage the beet plants, but the tool caused aching backs, and the stooped posture could cause permanent spinal deformities in children. The machete's razor-sharp, semi-curved blade was used to pick up beets off the ground and cut off their green tops. Many beet workers, both children and adults, lost fingers to the sharp machete (Lindenmeyer 2005, 56–57).


César Chávez, 1966. Library of Congress.

The Depression years were difficult for children of working-class families like the Chávez family. For most children, cutting back, making do, and doubling up became common phrases that characterized their lives during the country's worst economic crisis. Most American households were touched in some way by the Great Depression's hard times. Yet not every young person's family suffered economic loss during the 1930s. For example, the affluent family of Henry Barr, who was born in 1928, seemed far removed from the nation's economic slide. Henry's father held degrees from a prestigious college and law school. In the early 1920s, the elder Barr headed the San Francisco branch of a New York law firm. He left that position in 1926 to start his own business. Henry's mother had attended an elite women's college before marrying. At the time of Henry's birth the Barrs also had a four-year-old son and a two-year-old daughter. During the 1930s the family lived in what an interviewer from the University of California at Berkeley's "Oakland Growth Study" described as "a large, vine-covered, masonry house set on a terraced lot, with substantial lawn and garden." Full-time nannies tended to Henry and his siblings, and the children attended schools with youngsters from similar family circumstances. Once Henry reached the upper-level elementary grades, he spent his summers at camp and enjoyed a variety of recreational activities. He received a "moderate" allowance from his parents, and from the age of 12 earned money at part-time jobs such as "gardening for neighbors, working as a stock boy, selling mistletoe at Christmas." Henry did not need the money; the jobs were supposed to instill a strong "work ethic" in the growing boy. From an early age, Henry felt he was "destined for the law," and his pathway to social and economic success as an adult was not hampered by the fact that he grew up during the worst economic crisis in U.S. history.

Henry Barr's childhood was very different from the lives of children of most Americans growing up during the Great Depression. Still, even children and adolescents like Barr, whose parents were able to shelter them from the major deprivations of hard times, witnessed the shifts in popular culture and public policy influenced by the Depression. Children and adolescents living in families that Franklin Roosevelt identified as "ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed" became the focus of New Deal efforts to ease the Depression's worst effects. Many children and adolescents growing up in families that lost income during the 1930s took part in their parents' efforts to maintain a "brave social front . . . to present to its neighbors." Some historians have speculated that such issues may not have been as important to children from families that were already poor or members of the working class before the onset of the Depression. But it appears that during the 1930s many children, especially adolescents and youth at the lower rungs of American society, were unhappy about their families' circumstances and the inequities highlighted by the decade's economic challenges. Shifts in public policy and popular culture probably contributed to this trend.

The economic problems of the 1930s shook many stable families and completely toppled the most fragile ones. The same study that included Henry Barr also uncovered stories of other children in Oakland who lived in families directly affected by hard times. The mothers of children and adolescents in the study attributed "problems with offspring, kin, friends, and community roles to lack of money and its side effects." Many other families throughout the United States would have shared this circumstance. Seventy-seven percent of American households had incomes of less than $2,000 per year (the equivalent of $30,000 in 2000). Between 1929 and 1933, the national average household income fell from $2,300 to $1,500. New Deal programs aimed at providing work relief pumped millions of federal dollars into the nation's infrastructure. Combined federal and state relief efforts kept the poorest American families from starving and also helped improve the lives of many children and adults who were not direct recipients of federal relief. But as late as 1940, 35 million American homes still had no running water, 32 percent continued to rely on outdoor privies, 39 percent did not have a bathtub or shower, and 27 percent contained no refrigeration device. From the perspective of a glass half full rather than half empty, these numbers also show that by the end of the Depression decade most children did have access to at least the basic amenities associated with growing up in modern America. The years after Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932 brought a new attitude to Washington that included the implementation of programs that helped ease the Depression's worst effects for many children and their families. That shift was part of a new definition of modern American childhood that became embedded in law and public policy (Lindenmeyer 2005, 12–14).

Despite the infinite variations in individual circumstances, the 1930s generation shared some common features. For one, the median age in the United States had risen gradually, from 23 in 1900 to 26 in 1930, and then climbed sharply to 29 during the Depression decade. Adults simply chose to have fewer babies during hard economic times. This allowed them to focus their available family resources and energies on fewer children, thereby underscoring reformers' efforts to establish childhood and adolescence as a sheltered and protected stage of life for all American children. Life expectancy continued to rise, also contributing to the higher median age. During the Depression, children under 19 years of age formed a smaller portion of the total population than any generation to that date in U.S. history. As in the past, society depended on families to care for the economic security, psychological development, safety, and health of children. But the onset of the Depression challenged the long-held belief that families could accomplish those tasks without help from the government. This shift occurred at the same time a growing number of Americans embraced a model of ideal American childhood as a period best spent in school and protected from adult responsibilities through age 17. By 1940, public policy and popular culture recognized this ideal as the sole model for modern American childhood.

As adolescents in the West as elsewhere remained in school longer than ever before, their leisure activities became progressively distinct from those of children and adults. An important expression of their independent style and taste was music. Swing music particularly appealed to teens and youth partly because it was their own. In 1934, the 25-year-old Benny Goodman and his band introduced this new sound to a national radio audience on the New York–based show *Let's Dance*. Unfortunately for the East Coast teenagers, the Goodman band did not perform until the last hour of the 9:00 P.M. to 1:00 A.M. show. But on the West Coast teenagers heard Goodman's band in prime time. In 1935, the Benny Goodman band went on a road tour across the United States. Most people who came to the shows during the early days of the tour offered only lukewarm reception to the unfamiliar musical style. The story was different when the band reached the Los Angeles Palomar Ballroom on August 25, 1935. There Goodman and his fellow musicians received an enthusiastic welcome from young fans very familiar with the band's Saturday night broadcasts (Lindenmeyer 2005, 192–93).

Generational disagreements over musical tastes and standards of acceptable behavior preceded the 1930s. But the growing age segregation and proliferation of popular culture in the 1930s added to tensions within families. A woman from California wrote the U.S. Children's Bureau asking for parenting advice. "We are elderly parents (50 and 65)," she explained. Her daughters, age 13 and 16, were popular and had many friends. "However," the mother lamented, "we feel ignorant of how best to control their good times. We want to allow them all the liberty we can—but it is quite plain that youngsters are 'different'—the boys do not seem gentlemanly—the girls have little reserve of manner—if any. Perhaps living in the age of bathing suits has a lot to do with it." The Children's Bureau's Ella Oppenheimer sympathized and replied, "You are not alone in your difficulty in knowing how best to handle your girls. I wonder if your girls belong to the Girl Scouts? The influence of this organization during adolescence, especially, is salutary" (Lindenmeyer 2005, 194).

Group activities dominated the free time of most adolescents. Having fun with a group lowered social pressure between the sexes and was generally more inexpensive than dating. Dating could present problems for boys who had little money to spend on entertainment. Social practice dictated that males pay the evening's expenses while on a date. "Going Dutch" meant that girls would pay their own way during an evening of coed socializing. The practice was not unique to the 1930s, but it became increasingly popular among adolescents during hard times. It also took some of the pressure off a girl to provide sexual favors in exchange for a boy paying for entertainment or food.

"Going steady" was another popular dating practice. The announcement that a boy and girl were going steady meant that the two had agreed to an exclusive relationship but were not serious enough to proceed with formal engagement and marriage. A girl who went steady could enjoy consistent male companionship and still maintain a respectable reputation. She needed to avoid kissing and necking in public, but doing so in private with her steady beau was less perilous to a girl's reputation than dating several boys at the same time. During the 1930s adolescent boys and girls spent a lot of time together outside the watchful eyes of adults. Going steady was one way teens devised to self-regulate the new freedoms surrounding dating and social activities (Lindenmeyer 2005, 195–98).

A woman who grew up in Oakland, California, in the 1930s married her high school boyfriend. Several years later the woman told researchers that she and her boyfriend had used his car to neck when he brought her home at the end of a date. The girl's mother would flick the porch light on and off to signal that it was time for the girl to come in. If she did not respond right away, the girl's mother "would come out and yell and stamp her foot." The couple had a strong physical attraction for each other but waited until they married to have intercourse. But some teens did "go all the way." About one-fourth of female teens in a California study acknowledged that they had sex in high school, or at least before marriage (Lindenmeyer 2005, 14–15).

Janice Rice remembered that she "only went to high school because I had to. . . . I didn't like it, wasn't happy there at all." She felt rejected by her peers and began hanging out in dance halls where she met older men and felt "popular." Asked whether she engaged in sexual intercourse, Rice replied as follows:

> Most of the time I'd go all the way, and I got in trouble. Then my mother bought me a diaphragm and made me wear it—even if I went to the movies with a girl friend, because "you never can tell." That's what I'd do with a daughter, get her a diaphragm. . . . Once you've

Snapshot

A Southern Black Family Moves West, 1906

Paul Bontemps had left Alexandria armed with a railroad ticket that would allow him to go as far West as the railroad would carry him. But it was unthinkable that he should go through Los Angeles without at least stopping long enough to say hello to his relatives and friends who had migrated there from Louisiana. Furthermore, a layover in the City of the Angels provided a much-needed chance to rest and bathe and eat home cooking.

He soon decided that Los Angeles would be the place where he would rear his children. Wages for bricklayers were considerably higher in California than they had been in Louisiana. Los Angeles afforded an ample number of good nursery schools and kindergartens to choose from, and the public and private schools were nonsegregated. The city also provided excellent playgrounds and library facilities. So Paul decided to select a house in the Watts section of the city, an area where friends and relatives from Central Louisiana were already residing. Watts was a pleasant, integrated residential community with neat houses and lawns. When Paul Bontemps compared the muddy streets and Jim Crow customs of Alexandria with this bright new California neighborhood, Watts must have seemed like a heaven on earth. He found just the house for the family, one he was sure Maria would like.

"This was one of the happiest times of my mother's entire life," recalled Arna Bontemps. At last she was free of the fear she had carried in her heart since becoming a wife and mother in Louisiana, a dread that one day her husband or one of her younger brothers would be killed or maimed. Maria Bontemps did not consider returning to teaching after the family moved to California, for her daughter was still quite young. Before her marriage Maria had taught in the public schools. She was a polished young woman. Soft-spoken and somewhat retiring, Maria Bontemps divided her time between her family and her etchings. She was also an accomplished dressmaker. Before long, she had more customers than she could accommodate.

Paul Bontemps and his wife Maria worked hard to put the South as far behind them as they could. Paul Bontemps was not especially proud of his African heritage, nor of the French culture that was his, a fact that set him apart from his son and that would be a lasting source of disagreement between them. Actually, his feelings about life in Louisiana remained ambivalent, for while he considered the vestiges of his background to be a disadvantage in his new home, he always remembered Louisiana with nostalgia, asserting, from time to time, that if it had not been for the "conditions" he would never have left Alexandria. He even harbored a secret desire to go back and give Alexandria another try. But the thought of his children's future was a sobering one; it always made him glad he had left the South when he did. (Jones 1992, 29–34) gone all the way, it's hard to stop. . . . I didn't want to stop. . . . If they don't get it from you, they will from someone else, and you don't want that to happen. (Lindenmeyer 2005, 197)

Janice Rice had an illegal abortion while still in high school and married for the first time at age 19. Between then and age 38 she married and divorced five times. Janice was a rebellious teen and continued to resist mainstream conventions throughout her life. She was an extreme example of teen sexual experience in the 1930s, but the increase in unsupervised social activities did foster opportunities for sexual activity among adolescents. Since most did not have good access to information about birth control, it is likely that the traditional condemnation of birth outside of marriage discouraged many young couples from engaging in intercourse. In the West as elsewhere, although changing social mores in the first half of the twentieth century dictated that children be treated as children for a longer period of time, they seemed to be growing up faster than ever before (Lindenmeyer 2005, 197).

PETS

In the United States, large-scale breeding of canaries and other small caged birds for wholesaling developed during the first two decades of the twentieth century. By the 1920s, the warm climate of California proved hospitable for raising large numbers of exotics such as parakeets and zebra finches, which were once exclusively imported from Europe. In addition to raising their own exotics, western dealers also began to import birds from neighboring countries to the south. An Omaha, Nebraska, business that shipped birds anywhere in the United States offered for sale "Mexican Mockingbirds, Mexican Cardinals and Brazilian Gray Cardinals" (Grier 2006, 247).

Economic Life

THE PACIFIC WEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Opportunities abounded in the Pacific West from the turn of the century onward. Whether it was lumbering, mining, or the grand new public works projects in damming great rivers or building infrastructure for growing cities, a person could find work in this area of the country. As the new century opened, the Pacific West also began to rival the great fisheries of the Northeast, as motorized boats made the negotiation of the rough north Pacific a greater possibility and opened up large areas of previously unfished waters. Even during the Depression years many western workers, specifically those outside of agriculture, suffered far less than their counterparts in the rest of the country.

In the rush for prosperity, racial differences did not evoke the same level of hatred that they did in other sections of the country, at least on the surface. And blacks who migrated from the South found far greater opportunities in the West with far less prejudice than they experienced in other sections of the country. World War II brought a surge of blacks westward to work in the aircraft and defense industries, and with the influx racial tensions rose. It might be said that blacks experienced less discrimination because there were more people to share discrimination with. The West was also home to thousands of Japanese, Chinese, and Mexicans, all of whom felt some of the prejudice of white Anglos, elsewhere reserved for blacks.

In addition to racial differences, there was probably no other region that experienced such pronounced differences between urban and rural life as did the West. The greatest contrasts might be found between an apartment dwelling family in the newly burgeoning city of Los Angeles and the frontier family of the Pacific Northwest. The latter until as late as 1940 still did without indoor plumbing, electricity, and the conveniences that accompanied that technology.

WORK AND WORKPLACE

At the turn of the century it was easy to make a living in the booming economy of the Pacific West. From the railroad building and gold in Alaska to the lumbering industry in the Pacific Northwest to the booming cities of California, opportunities for work were abundant. Los Angeles led the way; the construction of the Los Angeles aqueduct kept thousands employed between 1907 and 1913. To Los Angeles came the produce and products of agriculture, and packing, shipping, canning, and food processing continued to offer seasonal and regular employment. So too did transportation and shipping via two railroads, two large streetcar companies, and the fourth busiest port in the nation. With home building constant across three decades, there was an expanding job sector in the building trades. The oil industry was producing 106 million barrels a year by 1920, a quarter of a million barrels of it coming from Signal Hill south of Los Angeles. More tires were manufactured in greater Los Angeles than in any place other than Akron, Ohio, and more automobiles were being assembled than in any city other than Detroit.

In California, the hotel and tourist industry gained even further strength, along with two new economic sectors, aviation and motion pictures. An ambitious fishing industry grew up among the Portuguese in San Diego and the Japanese in San Pedro. Consciously designing itself as the Gibraltar of the Pacific, the city of San Diego wooed and secured the large and permanent presence of the U.S. Navy and the Marine Corps, and the Port of Long Beach became an important naval installation. The earlier western products such as beef, wheat, and gold continued to flow into and through California ports, but by the 1920s they were augmented by, and in some instances surpassed by, some newer ones—automobile accessories, cotton fabrics, furniture, machinery, motion pictures, tuna fish, canned and frozen vegetables, wine, and then in the 1930s and especially the 1940s, airplanes and their accessories—all produced, made, or processed in the West (Starr 2005, 182–83).

Among the new industries, that of motion picture making was unique. Film production had originated in the East, but after the production of California's first commercial film, *The Count of Monte Cristo,* in 1908, the advantages of the southwestern climate and scenery, and the lack of unions, attracted the other principal producers to Hollywood in the years from 1910 to 1912. They brought with them the actors and actresses who were to become the idols of that generation. Soon *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), produced by D. W. Griffith, was grossing millions of dollars, and the era of lavish expenditures and the creation of "stars" had dawned. In the 1920s, however, the industry provoked public criticism as a result of the scandalous conduct of some of the actors and the excessive appeal to sensuality by some of the competing producers. To forestall censorship by a government agency, the producers voluntarily employed Will H. Hays as their "czar" for the fixing of standards and the policing of the industry. This step restored at least the veneer of respectability and responsibility to the industry and revived public confidence. Soon afterward, in 1927, a remarkable technical improvement made possible the synchronization of sound with the picture, and the popular reception accorded Al Jolson in the first "talkie," *The Jazz Singer* (1927), inaugurated a new era in filmmaking. By 1930 it had climbed to a position among the top 10 industries in terms of value of product in the nation (Starr 2005, 276–78).

In California another industry that experienced phenomenal growth was electric power production. Because the power conducted on high-tension lines from distant hydroelectric plants was inadequate to meet the demands of the booming industries, gas from the oil fields was piped in for use as fuel in large steam-power plants. In the early 1920s, those plants became absorbed into three major companies, the Great Western Power Company, the San Joaquin Light and Power Company, and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Later in that decade the three merged into a new company that took the title of the latter, which became popularly shortened to the PG&E. By 1940 California ranked third among the states in the production of electric power, and 13 years later its output of 26 billion kilowatt hours from both privately and publicly owned facilities was second only to that of New York.

The location of flight centers in California contributed to a westward migration of the aviation industry, so that as early as 1935 the production in California plants was valued at almost $20 million. Even greater expansion came on the eve of World War II, when the government spent $150 million on aviation in California, and private investors accounted for an additional $80 million. Numerous colleges and universities, dominated by a rapidly expanding University of Southern California and the newly established University of California at Los Angeles, also sustained large payrolls and promoted study and research in science and technology useful to the region's growth and development.

Nowhere in the West was the economic boom of the first decades of the new century more evident than in the ambitious construction projects. Megadevelopers not only built large housing tracts throughout Los Angeles but also grand public structures such as the 900-room Ambassador Hotel (1919) on Wilshire Boulevard, with its wildly popular Coconut Grove nightclub; the Coliseum and Rose Bowl stadiums (1921); the Biltmore Hotel (1923) at Fifth and Olive facing Pershing Square in the downtown sector, designed in opulent Italian and Spanish Revival motifs; the Central Library of Los Angeles (1926); the California Club (1929); and the new and expanding university campuses.

By 1929 Southern California's rapid emergence as a fully materialized American space resembled a motion picture studio set. Indeed, a scene in the film *Intolerance* (1916) shot between Sunset and Hollywood Boulevards might very well stand as a paradigm for the interconnection of the nascent film industry and the rising region. Intended to depict the city of Babylon at the height of its power, the 300-foot-high set functioned, like the expositions recently concluded in San Francisco and San Diego, as a dream city of past and future (Starr 2005, 176–77, 183).

The demand for labor in this rapidly growing region created a workforce that in some industries became more militant in demanding fair pay and benefits from their employers than their counterparts to the east. Some of the most radical and most violent worker demonstrations and strikes of the twentieth century took place in the West. Workers in this region wielded more political power than workers in other regions. The West was also the center of the anarchist International Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies) strength. One example of this power was the General Strike of 1901, which led to the formation of the Union Labor Party in San Francisco. This Union became so powerful that they were able to elect two mayors from their ranks: orchestra leader Eugene "Handsome Gene" Schmitz, president of the Musicians' Union, and Patrick Henry "Pin Head" McCarthy, president of the Building Trades Council. Schmitz was removed from office in 1907 for corruption, a conviction that was later overturned on appeal. McCarthy, who followed Schmitz in office did a more-than-creditable job as mayor until he left office in 1912 to amass a fortune in the construction industry. McCarthy's successor as mayor, the flamboyant James "Sunny Jim" Rolph Jr., maintained excellent relations with the unions of San Francisco during his tenure, which lasted almost two decades.

Los Angeles unions never fared as well as their counterparts in San Francisco. One major obstacle was *Los Angeles Times* publisher Harrison Gray Otis, who was a major power in the city and a vociferous opponent of unions. On the morn-

Snapshot

Oil and the Spirit of Los Angeleos

Oil and gas came to mind when William Andrew Spalding, reminiscing about the city's mood at the turn of the century, commented on the unfailing cheerfulness of Angelenos in the face of adversity. They had seen their cattle die, their banks fail and their real estate boom collapse; they had survived earthquakes, fires, floods and the Southern Pacific, and always they had "come up smiling after each throw-down" and gone on with the business of building a metropolis.

"When an oil belt was developed within the city boundaries which seemed to bring as much destruction of values as it produced—when there was no system, no order—when oil went to waste and the gas escaped—when there was no market for the product, and the price fell to ten cents a barrel—then the people addressed themselves to solving the strange problem, this embarrassment of riches.

"They constructed storage tanks, and devised means of transportation; they invented burners, and learned how to use crude oil for steam generation and brick-making; they learned how to utilize the crude oil in road making; they acquired the art and devised the apparatus for refining; they discovered a way for saving and utilizing the gas that had been escaping from their wells; they prospected with 'wild-cat' boring until they had extended the territory miles outside the originally developed area. In short, they established one of the greatest petroleum fields in the world. With such a record of courage, persistence and achievement, it is no wonder that Los Angeles began the new century with a stout heart and a confident air." (Weaver 1973, 55–56) ing of October 1, 1910, in reaction to Otis's staunch opposition to a metal workers strike, union members bombed the headquarters of the *Times*. Unfortunately the victims were workers like themselves. The bombing left 20 employees dead and 17 injured. An investigation led by the well-known private detective William J. Burns soon discovered three suspects—Ortie McManigal, a radical with a taste for dynamite; James McNamara; and McNamara's brother John, an official of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Union. Famed attorney Clarence Darrow came to the union workers' defense, but the McNamara brothers confessed and when the trial ended, McManigal and the McNamara brothers were condemned to life sentences and some 33 union members were convicted of various degrees of complicity in the crime. The negative publicity surrounding the bombing and the trial impeded the union movement in Los Angeles for the next quarter of a century.

Two years later, in 1912, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) spearheaded a bitter dock strike in San Diego. The IWW already had a reputation for often resorting to violence to achieve their ends and it was this capacity for violence in fact as well as in rhetoric, that gave the union a dreaded reputation. By 1909, there were IWW locals in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Redlands, and Holtville in the Imperial Valley. Now dubbed "the Wobblies" by the *Los Angeles Times*, the IWW favored free-speech confrontations and strike actions. Between April 1910 and March 1911, Wobblies flooded into Fresno, demonstrating continuously and filling the jails to capacity.

In 1912, when the Wobblies descended on San Diego, the city leaders prepared themselves for battle. Police and vigilantes pulled incoming Wobblies off trains, took them into custody, and roughed them up, forcing them to run violent gauntlets. When a crowd of roughly 5,000 gathered outside the city jail to protest the Wobblies' incarceration, high-pressure fire hoses were used to disperse them. During the demonstration at least one detainee was beaten to death. On May 4, 1912, two San Diego police officers shot and killed an IWW member in front of the union's headquarters. At the height of the tension, Emma Goldman, the anarchist, and her companion Ben Reitman, arrived in San Diego on a lecture tour. A hostile mob gathered outside the U.S. Grant Hotel where they were staying and kidnapped the radicals. They tarred and feathered Reitman and then put him on the same 2:45 A.M. night owl train on which they had forcibly boarded Goldman.

The very next year, on August 13, 1913, a deadly riot in the hop fields of Wheatland in southern Yuba County in the Sacramento Valley created yet another IWW scare. Given the seasonal nature of harvest work in California, living conditions for migrant workers were by and large appalling. Nowhere was this more true than on the Ralph Durst hop ranch outside Wheatland. In the early summer of 1913, Durst had spread circulars throughout California, southern Oregon, and northwestern Nevada advertising harvest work on his ranch. By late July, some 2,800 men, women, and children—approximately one-third of them people of color—had flooded onto the Durst ranch in search of work. Living conditions were more horrible than usual (there were as few as eight toilet sheds for the entire workforce), and wages averaged $1.50 a day, with workers expected to pay for their own food and water (temperatures frequently soared to 120 degrees) at Durst-owned concessions.

With the help of IWW activists, a strike action was organized. Ralph Durst called in the sheriff, a posse of sheriff's deputies, and the district attorney of Yuba County. When this group confronted a crowd of workers listening to IWW activist Richard "Blackie" Ford, a bench on which some workers were standing collapsed, startling the crowd. Scuffling ensued, which led to fistfights. Someone began swinging a two-by-four as a club. A deputy fired a shotgun into the air, trying, as he later said, to sober the crowd into cooperation. Instead, more gunfire broke out, some 20 shots in all, this time from within the melee. The deputies fought their way back to their automobiles and sped off. When the crowd dispersed, five prostrate forms were revealed on the ground: the sheriff, clubbed into unconsciousness but still alive, together with the dead bodies of the district attorney, a sheriff's deputy, and two unidentified workers. The IWW fled the scene, leaving the impression that they were responsible for the violence. A manhunt ensued, with the usual round of arrests and beatings. Eventually, two IWW activists, Blackie Ford and Herman Suhr, were tried, convicted, and sentenced to life in prison.

Labor tensions continued for the next six years. On July 22, 1916, a bomb went off on lower Market Street in San Francisco in the course of a Preparedness Day parade intended to support American entry into the European war. Although no one could determine who set the bomb off—historians have concluded it was probably a German agent provocateur—a radical socialist leader by the name of Tom Mooney and his associate Warren Knox Billings were arrested, charged, and put through a near-kangaroo trial in which the district attorney used fabricated evidence and perjured testimony to win convictions and death sentences. Even though their sentences were later commuted to life, the Mooney/Billings convictions remained a rallying cry for labor and the left for the next 20 years.

In reaction to the rising tide of violence among labor organizers in the state, Governor William Stephens signed the Criminal Syndicalism Act into law in April 1919. This act declared it a felony, punishable by 1 to 14 years in prison, to advocate or in any other way to promulgate violence as a means of "accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control or effecting any political changes." Mere membership in an organization advocating such doctrines constituted a felony. Passed at the height of the nationwide anti-Red hysteria following World War I, the California Criminal Syndicalism Act was a draconian measure specifically directed against the IWW. By 1921 40 Wobblies were convicted and serving time at San Quentin under this act, which remained law until 1968, when the Ninth Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals declared it unconstitutional.

During the later 1920s and 1930s numerous violent confrontations between capital and labor continued. In 1927 Mexican American field workers organized the Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas, or the Confederation of Mexican Workers, which organized farm workers in 20 locals throughout southern California. In the Imperial Valley, 2,746 Mexican workers, with the assistance of the Mexican consul general in Calexico, formed a local of the organization calling themselves the Mexican Mutual Aid Society of Imperial Valley. In May 1928, just before the start of the cantaloupe harvest, the organization submitted a list of demands for improved wages and working conditions. Growers and civic leaders united against the action.

The local sheriff arrested the union leaders and charges of a Communist conspiracy were immediately launched. The union appealed to the president of Mexico, who protested to the president of the United States, Calvin Coolidge. The president sent a state department official to the Imperial Valley to investigate. The cantaloupe growers and state officials defeated the union in 1928, but the sheer magnitude of what had been accomplished—the organization of a Mexican agricultural workers' union—was not lost on either the growers or workers of California. The confederation promised to be an organization that would have to be reckoned with in the future (Starr 2005, 203–4).

During the Great Depression, even as California and other western states drove out Mexican and Mexican American workers, California alone was flooded with more than 300,000 Americans from the Great Plains and the Southwest, the drought- and Depression-stricken Dust Bowls of Texas, Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, and, most dramatically, Oklahoma, whence the generic pejorative epithet for all such people, "Okies," was derived. By the middle of 1934, there were 142 agricultural workers in California for every 100 jobs. Wages plummeted by more than 50 percent. In May 1928, for example, after organizing, Mexican workers in the Imperial Valley were receiving 75 cents an hour for picking cantaloupes, but in June 1933, many of them were working for as little as 15 cents an hour.

The Communists, who had been making great inroads into unions in the early 1930s, entered this struggle. The Trade Union Unity League, a national organization chaired by William Zebulon Foster, the Communist Party candidate for president in 1924 and 1928, organized the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU). When 8,000 Mexican, Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, and Sikh workers—led by the Mexican Mutual Aid Society—went out on strike in the Imperial Valley in January 1930, organizers from the CAWIU hastened to their assistance. The CAWIU activists printed thousands of leaflets in English, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog, and Slavonian together with a Spanish-language newsletter, and spread them via automobile throughout the Imperial Valley, provoking further organization and strike action. Empowered by the Criminal Syndicalism Act, police, sheriff's deputies, American Legion vigilantes, the district attorney, and the courts launched what by now had become the almost standard counteroffensive of Red Scare roundups, arrests, harassments, indictments, and trials. Nine union leaders were convicted of criminal syndicalism. Five of them were sentenced to 3 to 42 years in Folsom or San Quentin; another defendant was given 28 years; and the judge deported three Mexican defendants. Superior court judge Von Thompson declared that all the defendants were Communists in conspiracy to destroy the economy of the Imperial Valley, and therefore anything short of a life sentence should be considered too lenient. Two of the defendants, when released on parole in early 1933, were immediately deported to the Soviet Union.

In late July and early August 1931, the CAWIU organized a strike by 2,000 cannery workers, mostly women, in the Santa Clara Valley south of San Francisco. Once again, the local sheriff went into action, rounding up the usual suspects. Once again, an assembly of strikers was assaulted by squads of police wielding blackjacks and nightsticks, and water cannons were used to disperse the crowd. In late November

1932, CAWIU organizers turned their attention to Vacaville in Solano County, with the same scenario of confrontation, Red Scare, and arrests. All in all, the CAWIU played leadership roles in 24 agricultural strikes in 1933, including pea pickers in Santa Clara and Alameda counties, a beet strike in Ventura County, peach strikes in Fresno and Merced counties, a grape strike in Merced, and a cherry and pear pickers strike in the Santa Clara Valley.

Then in autumn 1933 Californians witnessed the largest single agricultural strike in the history of the nation: a cotton pickers strike in the San Joaquin Valley with 10,000 strikers across a 500-mile front, led in part by the CAWIU. The confrontation that followed resulted in a succession of violent clashes, arrests (300 strikers in jail by early October), the cooperation of local government with the growers, and a brilliantly organized resistance. Antistriker vigilantism reached new dimensions during the cotton strike, and it was fully legitimized by local authorities. The sheriff of Kern County deputized more than 300 growers to confer legality on their efforts to break the strike. On the afternoon of Tuesday, October 10, 1933, an automobile caravan of 40 armed vigilantes drove into the small Tulare County town of Pixley as CAWIU organizer Pat Chambers stood speaking to a gathering of strikers. Leaving their automobiles, the vigilantes approached the crowd with drawn pistols and rifles. Delfino Davila, a 58-year-old part-time consular representative of Mexico in nearby Visalia, approached an armed vigilante and pushed his rifle to the ground. A nearby vigilante clubbed Davila to the ground, then shot him to death. "Let them have it, boys!" one of the vigilantes yelled as he and the others fired into the crowd. Another striker, 50-year-old Dolores Hernandez, was killed and eight others were wounded.

The Cotton Strike of 1933 ended violently. And although the results of the strike were inconclusive, it did move California in a decidedly conservative direction on the issue of labor unrest. Over the next half-decade, the ubiquitous presence of California law enforcement officers remained constant and foreboding during a myriad of new strike actions. The American Legion also became an almost permanently mobilized vigilante force. The Associated Farmers of California, Inc., became a potent force both in the suppression of local strikes and in the state legislature, where it blocked any proposed pro-striker legislation. Its magazine, *Associated Farmer,* continued to fan the Red Scare. Extensive spy networks were established. In July 1934, at the height of the dock strike in San Francisco, Sacramento police raided the CAWIU state headquarters, arresting 24. Seventeen defendants were brought to trial on six counts of criminal syndicalism. The Sacramento Conspiracy Trial, as it came to be known, represented the most powerful courtroom counterattack to date by the California right. The city of Sacramento went into a de facto condition of martial law, with a National Guard colonel placed in charge of the police and 500 businessmen sworn in as deputies. When the trial was over—the hostile judge, the intimidated jury, the denied motions by defense attorney Leo Gallagher, the rising hysteria of the community—it was perhaps a miracle that four defendants were acquitted and that two of the convicted were recommended for probation. Eight of the convicted were sentenced to 1 to 14 years in state prison, where they languished until, after long and tortuous arguments, the Third District Court of Appeal of the State of

California on September 28, 1937, reversed the verdict and ordered the remaining defendants released (Starr 2005, 204–7).

Even as the Sacramento Conspiracy Trial was being conducted, National Guardsmen were patrolling the Embarcadero waterfront of San Francisco with rifles and fixed bayonets or manning machine gun emplacements at strategic locations or sweeping through the area in tanks. This display of force was instigated by the outbreak of the largest maritime strike—up to that point—in American history. The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) had called the strike in protest against employer domination of hiring halls through a shape-up system of spot-hiring and the issuance of a company-controlled blue book allowing an individual longshoreman to be chosen for work. The longshoremen walked out in early May 1934, joined by other locals in Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, San Pedro (Los Angeles), and San Diego. In San Francisco other unions joined the strike in support of the longshoremen including the San Franci sco Teamsters Union; the boilermakers and machinists; the Sailors Union of the Pacific; the Pacific Union; the Ship Clerks Coast Marine Firemen; the Oilers, Water Tenders and Wipers Association; the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association; the International Seamen's Association; the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association; and the Masters, Mates, and Pilots Association. The Waterfront Employers Union, meanwhile, launched plans to bring in up to 2,500 strikebreakers, to be housed in two ships offshore so as to avoid the necessity of their crossing picket lines to get to the docks.

At the center of resistance and counter-resistance were two charismatic San Franciscans. Roger Dearborn Lapham became the spokesman for the owners. This 51-year-old president of the American Steamship Company was the absolute paragon of establishment values—preparatory school, Harvard, the Bohemian and Pacific Union clubs, poker, duck hunting, golf, and a sultanic appetite for the good life. Leading the strikers was Australian-born Alfred Renton "Harry" Bridges, 34, thin, sharp-featured, terse, and sardonic, a look of feral distrust in his narrowed eyes, long suspected of Communist affiliation. The fleshy Lapham wore double-breasted suits, cuff-linked white shirts, old-school ties. Bridges wore blue denim shirts, a flat white longshoreman's cap, and heavy black canvas pants with a cargo hook hanging from the back pocket. Bridges openly welcomed Communist participation in the strike, which soon erupted into violence. In preparation for the strike, San Francisco police chief William Quinn organized an antistrike task force of patrolmen, mounted policemen, and radio cars. This force clashed with 500 longshoremen near the waterfront, prompting Chief Quinn to purchase a cache of tear gas bombs. Throughout the rest of May, police and strikers clashed frequently. On July 3, 1934, 5,000 longshoremen and their sympathizers gathered on the Embarcadero to prevent the exit of trucks from Pier 38. Later that day, at approximately 1:30 in the afternoon, police and strikers clashed at Second and Townsend Streets. The police fired into the crowd, and a striker later died from a fractured skull.

Two days later, on July 5, 1934—soon to be known as "Bloody Thursday"—police and strikers spent the morning in a full-pitched battle atop Rincon Hill near the waterfront. In a classic military maneuver, mounted police advanced up the hill behind a covering barrage of rifle and pistol fire, and longshoremen defended their position on the heights with two-by-fours and bricks and, in one instance, an oversized slingshot capable of propelling missiles at a high velocity for distances up to 400 feet. That afternoon, during a lunchtime lull in the confrontation, a phalanx of police converged on the ILA headquarters on Stewart Street, where downtown San Francisco ran into the Embarcadero. Once again, tear gas and guns were fired; 2 strikers lay dead on the street, 30 others suffered gunshot wounds, and 43 others were clubbed, gassed, or hit by projectiles. At this point, Governor Frank Merriam sent in 4,600 National Guardsmen. San Francisco workers responded with a general strike on July 15, 1934, which virtually shut down the city. At this point, with government and the strikers in a condition of total confrontation, a civic group led by newspaper publishers organized a mediation, and on July 18, 1934, the Strike Strategy Committee, over the strong objections of Harry Bridges, voted 191 to 174 to end the general strike the following day and to submit the entire dispute to the National Longshoremen's Board for arbitration.

The sheer drama of the San Francisco waterfront strike, its capacity to stimulate such a panorama of open insurrection and suppression, underscored the volatility of California, battered as it was by powerful forces on both the left and the right (Starr 2005, 208–10).

The most important strike in the West and perhaps in the entire United States in that era was the one that occurred in Seattle in 1919. The war was hardly over, it was February 1919, the IWW leadership was in jail, but the IWW idea of the general strike became reality for five days in Seattle, Washington, when a walkout of 100,000 working people brought the city to a halt.

It began with 35,000 shipyard workers striking for a wage increase. They appealed for support to the Seattle Central Labor Council, which recommended a city-wide strike, and in two weeks 110 locals—mostly American Federation of Labor, with only a few IWW's—voted to strike. The rank and file of each striking local elected three members to a General Strike Committee, and on February 6, 1919, at 10:00 A.M., the strike began. Unity was not easy to achieve. The IWW locals were in tension with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) locals. Japanese locals were admitted to the General Strike Committee but were not given a vote. Still, 60,000 union members were out, and 40,000 other workers joined in sympathy.

Seattle workers had a radical tradition. During the war, the president of the Seattle AFL, a socialist, was imprisoned for opposing the draft and was tortured, and there were great labor rallies in the streets to protest. The city now stopped functioning, except for activities organized by the strikers to provide essential needs. Firemen agreed to stay on the job. Laundry workers handled only hospital laundry. Vehicles authorized to move carried signs: "Exempted by the General Strike Committee." Thirty-five neighborhood milk stations were set up. Every day 30,000 meals were prepared in large kitchens, then transported to halls all over the city and served cafeteria style, with strikers paying 25 cents a meal, the general public 35 cents. People were allowed to eat as much as they wanted of the beef stew, spaghetti, bread, and coffee.

A Labor War Veteran's Guard was organized to keep the peace. On the blackboard at one of its headquarters was written: "The purpose of this organization is to preserve law and order without the use of force. No volunteer will have any police power or be allowed to carry weapons of any sort, but to use persuasion only." During the strike, crime in the city decreased. The commander of the U.S. Army detachment sent into the area told the strikers' committee that in 40 years of military experience he hadn't seen so quiet and orderly a city. The mayor swore in 2,400 special deputies, many of them students at the University of Washington. Almost a thousand sailors and marines were brought into the city by the U.S. government. The general strike ended after five days, according to the General Strike Committee because of pressure from the international officers of the various unions, as well as the difficulties of living in a shut-down city. The strike had been peaceful. But when it was over, there were raids and arrests: on the Socialist party headquarters, on a printing plant. Thirty-nine members of the IWW were jailed as "ring-leaders of anarchy."

In Centralia, Washington, where the IWW had been organizing lumber workers, the lumber interests made plans to get rid of the IWW. On November 11, 1919, Armistice Day, the Legion paraded through town with rubber hoses and gas pipes, and the IWW prepared for an attack. When the Legion passed the IWW hall, shots were fired—it is unclear who fired first. They stormed the hall, there was more firing, and three Legion men were killed.

Inside the headquarters was an IWW member, a lumberjack named Frank Everett, who had been in France as a soldier while the IWW national leaders were on trial for obstructing the war effort. Everett was in army uniform and carrying a rifle. He emptied it into the crowd, dropped it, and ran for the woods, followed by a mob. He started to wade across the river, found the current too strong, turned, shot the leading man dead, threw his gun into the river, and fought the mob with his fists. They dragged him back to town behind an automobile, suspended him from a telegraph pole, and took him down, and locked him in jail. That night, his jailhouse door was broken down, he was dragged out and put on the floor of a car, his genitals were cut off, and then he was taken to a bridge, hanged, and his body riddled with bullets. No one was ever arrested for Everett's murder, but 11 Wobblies were put on trial for killing an American Legion leader during the parade, and 6 of them spent 15 years in prison.

Why such a reaction to the general strike, to the organizing of the Wobblies? The following statement by the mayor of Seattle suggests that the establishment feared not just the strike itself but what it symbolized:

> The so-called sympathetic Seattle strike was an attempted revolution. That there was no violence does not alter the fact. . . . The intent, openly and covertly announced, was for the overthrow of the industrial system; here first, then everywhere. . . . True, there were no flashing guns, no bombs, no killings. Revolution, I repeat, doesn't need violence. The general strike, as practiced in Seattle, is of itself the weapon of revolution, all the more dangerous because quiet. To succeed, it must suspend everything; stop the entire life stream of a community. That is to say, it puts the government out of operation. And that is all there is to revolt—no matter how achieved. (Zinn 2003, 379–80)

Out in the Pacific, labor relations were quite different. Hawaii's economy, which depended on agriculture, particularly sugar, created a planter class, which dominated the politics and the economy of the island. The high-intensity labor required could not be met by the local population, and therefore, since the mid-nineteenth century, labor had been imported onto the islands. The first workers came from the China in 1852 and the last mass importation of labor occurred in 1932 when 100,000 Filipinos arrived. The planters' power on the island left little room for labor negotiation, leaving the immigrant labor force powerless to address their deplorable wages and living conditions.

As a result of the planter practice of playing one immigrant group off against another, when labor did organize they did so according to nationality. In 1909, for example, 5,000 Japanese plantation workers went on strike because they were being paid 25 percent less than the Portuguese who were working the same number of hours per month. In retaliation, planters hired strikebreakers at twice the rate they were paying the Japanese and evicted them from the plantation. The strike was eventually broken and the Japanese went back to work at their original wage. In 1920 the Filipino Federation of Labor, under its fiery leader Pablo Manlapit, went on strike. Although the Japanese launched a new strike at the same time, they refused to coordinate their actions and they both failed. In 1924, another more violent strike also failed, but in 1935, Hawaiian workers benefited from the territorial status of the islands when they became protected by the National Labor Relations Act that passed as part of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. A strike in 1937 by Filipino workers ended with the strikers receiving a 15 percent pay increase. By this time two-thirds of the workers were Filipino, so the benefits were widespread. In 1938, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) organized on the island and launched an organizing campaign that developed into a violent struggle. At one point in Hilo, the second-largest city in Hawaii, gunfire broke out between police and strikers, leaving 50 strikers wounded. After this event, known as the Hilo massacre, workers returned to work and

Snapshot

What Scares Them Is When Nothing Happens

The following poem by someone named Anise was printed during the Seattle General Strike of 1919 in the *Seattle Union Record,* a daily newspaper put out by labor people.

What scares them most is That NOTHING HAPPENS!
They are ready
For DISTURBANCES.
They have machine guns
And soldiers,
But this SMILING SILENCE
Is uncanny.
The business men Don't understand
That sort of weapon . . ., It is your SMILE
That is UPSETTING Their reliance
On Artillery, brother!
It is the garbage wagons
That go along the street Marked
"EXEMPT by STRIKE COMMITTEE."
It is the milk stations
That are getting better daily,
And the three hundred WAR Veterans of Labor
Handling the crowds WITHOUT GUNS,
For these things speak
Of a NEW POWER
And a NEW WORLD
That they do not feel
At HOME in.

From: Zinn 2003, 378.

the strike ended in a stalemate. But the strike established the credibility and permanence of the ILWU on the island, and when World War II ended they successfully organized the plantation workers, winning rights, wage increases, and protections long denied (Barnes 2007, 58–61).

TRADE AND MARKETS

The free-wheeling environment of the Pacific West, as well as the great diversity of the ethnic groups who had recently arrived at the turn of the century, gave many minority groups opportunities in trade and commerce they might not have enjoyed in other parts of the United States. One example is Amadeo Peter Giannini, who as a boy witnessed his father, a San Jose rancher, being shot to death by a disgruntled employee over a disputed sum of less than two dollars. Small sums could mean everything to some people, as young Giannini had learned in the most tragic way possible. Entering the family produce business in 1882 at the age of 12, Giannini was a financial success by the time he reached 30, and in 1904 he opened the Bank of Italy in San Francisco.

In May 1908, Giannini heard Princeton president Woodrow Wilson give a speech in which he complained that American banks restricted their services to the affluent. Taking Wilson's words to heart Giannini established the first Bank of Italy branch outside San Francisco, in San Jose. Another branch, in San Mateo, followed in 1912. By 1922, the Bank of Italy had a total of 62 branches "extending from Chico to San Diego." Giannini operated his banks on the theory that he could build large concentrations of capital from the small deposits of ordinary Californians. Shares in the Bank of Italy were distributed to as many investors as possible, with no one being allowed to acquire a dominant interest. Giannini also believed in making loans, provided that the recipient be a man or woman of proven character (not necessarily great assets) and be willing, in the case of a business, to accept the bank's advice as to its development.

Through Giannini's actions, the Bank of Italy helped reverse the prevailing notion that a bank loan was a privilege. Giannini's philosophy was adhered to as well by another Italian American banker, Joseph E. Sartori, who had founded the Security Savings Bank of Los Angeles in 1888. Thus, the Bank of America, as the Bank of Italy became known in 1930, was on hand for the first three decades of the twentieth century to finance the construction of homes, hotels, office buildings, and regulated public utilities in the private sector, and—especially in the case of the Bank of America—to back publicly issued bonds for construction projects such as the Golden Gate Bridge. Giannini's background in produce made the Bank of Italy/America especially adept in financing the rise of California agriculture. The bank also had significant influence on the rise of Hollywood in the same period. During the Depression, the bank's loan policy enabled innumerable farmers to keep their properties and an even larger number of Californians to refinance their homes. Because of the Bank of Italy/America, the Security Trust, and the other banks of the state (among them Wells Fargo, the Bank of California, the Anglo-California Bank, and the Crocker Bank), California remained economically independent and escaped becoming a colony of the eastern financial interests or the property of offshore investors through most of the twentieth century (Starr 2005, 187–89).

William Nickerson provides another example of a successful minority entrepreneur in the free-wheeling West. When he arrived in Los Angeles in 1920 it was just beginning to explode as an attractive place for migrants, and the importance of its African American community was growing apace. Although blacks were among the first settlers of the area and received a certain amount of recognition for that, by the turn of the century the black community was still very small and its leadership structure was weak and fragmented. Blacks in 1870 made up just 1.6 percent of the city's population, with just 93 souls. The next 30 years brought the first significant migration of African Americans to Los Angeles, so that by 1900 there were 2,131 living there, constituting 2.1 percent of the total. Although blacks were still a negligible portion of the total population, the number living there by 1900 was sufficient to create an important social and economic structure, and for a small black commercial elite to emerge.

This fact was recognized just after the turn of the century, when Booker T. Washington visited the city. Among those African American business and social leaders to greet Washington were B. W. Brown, a graduate chemist who ran a hardware store and manufactured grocery specialties; a Mr. Strickland, who was a successful butcher; M. R. Dunston, who had established a large and successful van and storage business; a Mr. Jamison, who was known as the "scrap iron king"; G. W. Holden, the "hog king"; and, perhaps most important, J. L. Edmonds, editor of *The Liberator*, the first African American newspaper in the city. Blacks had also established a rich institutional structure in Los Angeles, with five African Methodist churches and one each black Presbyterian, Christian, and Episcopal churches. Angelino blacks had also set up some 29 lodges of the major fraternal orders in the city, such as the Odd Fellows, Masons, Knights of Pythias, United Brothers of Friendship, and the True Reformers, and it may have been this fact that attracted Nickerson to the city to push his fraternal insurance program. The population of Los Angeles exploded between 1900 and 1920, growing fivefold from 102,479 to 576,673. The number of African Americans there increased from just over 2,000 to 15,579, but their percentage of the total population grew only from 2.0 percent to 2.7 percent. During the next decade, the general population of Los Angeles exploded again, to 1,238,584 by 1930, and the black population increased to nearly 39,000, 3.1 percent of the total. Thus, Nickerson was pursuing his business interests in one of the most rapidly growing cities in America. The black community there had, by the early twentieth century, begun to be concentrated in a large colony on Central Avenue, with the business section at Twenty-Second Street and Central.

J. Max Bond, in his study of blacks in the city, described the Central Avenue area at that time as follows:

> Here many newcomers from Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama—have settled; most of the business and professional men of the race have their offices in and are residents of this large community; here are found the business concerns of Negroes living in

> other communities; and here resides still a large number of the first families of Los Angeles. In the Central Avenue community, poverty and prosperity exist side by side. On every hand conservative old families are surrounded by people of a lower level of culture. (Ingham and Feldman 1994, 61)

The lure of Los Angeles for African Americans was perhaps no different than it was for other Americans. As Frank Fenton wrote in *A Place in the Sun* (1942), "This was a lovely makeshift city. Even the trees and plants did not belong here. They came, like the people, from far places, some familiar, some exotic, all wanderers of one sort or another seeking peace or fortune or the last frontier, or a thousand dreams of escape."

Nickerson secured a license to sell insurance in California and, at the same time, also got a real estate license. He rented an office for five dollars a month at 1804 South Central Avenue, in the heart of the black business district. A great need, however, was to get someone, in Nickerson's words, who was a "'live wire' to assist . . . in getting the American Mutual properly established in the state of California." This was Norman O. Houston, of whom Nickerson said, "At first I didn't think so much of this young man, but he was very insistent, so much so that I concluded to give him a decent hearing. I reasoned I needed someone with experience who could help me and was known here." Houston became the first employee of American Mutual in California, and he would be one of the founders of Golden State Insurance.

Nickerson and Houston set out to drum up business in Los Angeles. They concluded that the various African American churches would be a good starting point. Houston was made superintendent of agents, and three young men were hired as the first agents. One of the agents hired by Nickerson and Houston during these early months was George Beavers. Nickerson later recalled his first impressions of Beavers: "He was a short, stocky young fellow and wore glasses. He was quiet and unassuming. One thing I soon found out about him was as represented, he was not only a 'beaver' but of the bull dog type as well—he was a hard worker and a fighter as well." These three men would dominate the African American insurance business in California for decades to come (Ingham and Feldman, http://aae.greenwood.com/doc.aspx?fileID=IBL&chapterID=IBL-2239&path=/encyclopedias/greenwood//>).

The dreams of expanding commerce and trade in the San Francisco Bay area grew with the completion of two great bridges, which gave rise to the idea of an exposition to be built on the protruding shoals and mudflats adjacent to Yerba Buena Island in San Francisco Bay, with an airport for land-based and sea-based aircrafts. Work began in February 1936 and it took 18 months to create Treasure Island atop the shoals, and another two years to build the ambitious Golden Gate International Exposition, which celebrated emerging economic connections to Latin America and the Asia-Pacific Basin. The City Beautiful stage featured exhibition halls, courts, open spaces, and promenades, dominated by the "Court of Pacifica," from which rose an 80-foot statue of that name, intended to be placed on a promontory overlooking the bay as a westward-oriented Statue of Liberty. Unfortunately, Pearl Harbor necessitated a change in plans. The navy commandeered Treasure Island when the United

States declared war on Japan, and in 1942, with no other alternative possible at the time, the statue was dynamited (Starr 2005, 189).

CASTE AND CLASS EXPERIENCE

Ever since the early 1900s, a sector of California had been at war with the state's Japanese immigrants. This California Japanese War, as Carey McWilliams described it, was part of a larger "Yellow Peril" movement that brought with it a virulent "White California" crusade led by former San Francisco mayor James Duval Phelan, who was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1914. Upper-class Californians such as Phelan and *San Francisco Chronicle* publisher Michael H. de Young scapegoated the Japanese to please the masses. Politicians such as Phelan, in turn, took a hard line against the Japanese to please de Young and the *Chronicle*. In early 1905, the *Chronicle* led a campaign to segregate Japanese children in the public schools of San Francisco through a series of virulently racist editorials. When the school board and Mayor Eugene Schmitz put this segregation into effect in October 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt, who had recently won the Nobel Prize for negotiating peace between the Russians and the Japanese, was furious. How dare San Francisco, Roosevelt fumed, so grossly insult the proud people of Japan, the Yankees of the Pacific, long-standing American friends? Summoning Schmitz and the president of the school board to the White House, Roosevelt brokered the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan, put into effect in 1908, in which the Japanese government promised not to issue any further passports to laborers seeking to emigrate to the United States in exchange for the withdrawal of the offensive San Francisco ordinance. Roosevelt was further embarrassed in 1908 when, just as the Great White Fleet was sailing into Yokohama Harbor, the California legislature began to discuss the statewide segregation of Japanese children in public schools and a ban on Japanese ownership of land. Roosevelt took his case directly to Governor James Gillett, protesting California's contravention of national policy. The next year, 1909, saw the publication of *The Valor of Ignorance* by the Los Angeles–based soldier of fortune Homer Lea, who outlined in great detail a future Japanese invasion and occupation of the Pacific Coast.

As the White California movement gained strength, in 1913 the legislature passed the Alien Land Act, which prohibited Japanese land ownership in the state. Despite the fact that President Woodrow Wilson sent Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan to Sacramento to lobby against the bill, it became law with the support of Governor Hiram Johnson. In April 1919, as Japan sat with the other victorious allies at Versailles, California once again embarrassed the Department of State by an expansion of the Alien Land Act of 1913, which precipitated a rediscussion of segregation, and a series of viciously anti-Japanese speeches given in the U.S. Senate by James Phelan. The fact that Governor Johnson and Senator Phelan, both Progressives and otherwise involved in the reform and upgrading of California, were so determinedly anti-Japanese underscored the disquieting fact that there was an undercurrent of racism in Progressivism, which in California revealed itself in a sustained and strong anti-Japanese sentiment.

While not universal in California, these feelings nevertheless tainted a portion of the population, including elements of the Progressive upper middle class, through the 1930s. Racism thrived despite the fact that in other ways Californians demonstrated a great admiration for Japanese craftsmanship, especially in their architecture and landscape design. For example, in 1894, California obtained the Japanese Pavilion from the Columbian Exposition in Chicago and had it permanently installed in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, where it became an instantly popular teahouse and public garden. The San Francisco department store Gump's did a thriving trade in Japanese furniture and art, and Bay Area architects adapted northern California redwood to the Japanese wood-building tradition. In southern California a generation of Japanese gardeners helped shape the horticultural aesthetics of that region. And thanks to the efforts of David Starr Jordan, the founding president of Stanford and an ardent admirer and advocate of Japanese culture, Stanford ranked second only to Harvard as the university of choice for Meiji-era students—eager to sharpen their professional and technical skills in order to help accelerate the westernization of their country. In October 1905, Jordan joined San Mateo attorney Henry Pike Bowie to form the Japan Society of Northern California. Fluent in Japanese, married to a highly placed Japanese woman attached to the Imperial Court, and a skilled painter in the Japanese style, Bowie devoted his considerable energies to promulgating the strength and beauty of Japanese culture. Even more boldly, he erected a memorial gate on his San Mateo estate to honor the valor of Japanese soldiers and sailors during the Russo-Japanese War.

The White California movement, however, had no interest in embracing Japanese culture. It represented the common, even vulgar, side of the California identity, however highly placed its leadership. It was, moreover, a racism based on envy. Japanese immigrants to California did well. They worked effectively as agricultural laborers, skillfully brokering their contracts through appointed leaders. With their savings, they rented land and started profitable farms.

In the early 1920s, Japanese women were allowed to enter the United States as "picture brides," so called because their marriages were brokered in home villages sight unseen, according to Japanese custom. The marriages and family formation resulting from the arrival of these women created a baby boom of American-born *nisei,* who were citizens and grew up fully American in the 1920s and 1930s. The window for such immigration was brief, however, and the Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited the Japanese from immigrating to the United States. Perceived as an insult in Japan, the act provoked demonstrations of protest and further poisoned the relationship between the two nations.

Even before Pearl Harbor, *Newsweek* ran an article, on October 14, 1940, warning of the threat posed by Japanese living around military installations in Hawaii and California. On the day of Pearl Harbor itself, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), assisted by sheriff's deputies, began rounding up suspected Japanese aliens in Los Angeles County. By December 9, 1941, some five hundred *issei* (Japanese noncitizens) were in federal custody on Terminal Island in Los Angeles Harbor (Starr 2005, 224–27).

Although the migration of African Americans to the urban North has held the attention of urban historians and public policy planners, for many blacks the American

West epitomized both social freedom and economic opportunity. Even when racial restrictions appeared, many black westerners persisted in the belief that the move to the West was, according to one historian, "a journey toward hope." Black westward migration took place in an environment of special challenges. Unlike south-to-north movement, migration to the West entailed greater travel distances through difficult countryside. Moreover, there was the possibility of settling among culturally different people—Mexican Americans in the Southwest, Chinese immigrants on the West Coast, and Native Americans throughout the rest of the region. Yet African American settlers willingly faced unknown dangers of the West rather than the perceptible social, economic, and political oppression of the South or East.

As black populations in western cities grew, identifiable African American communities began to emerge in the region. Beginning in the 1850s, San Francisco held the largest black population in the West until it was surpassed by Los Angeles in 1910. Blacks migrated to western cities between 1900 and 1940 to work as longshoremen, barbers, railroad porters, hotel cooks, waiters, maids, ship stewards, and cannery workers. A few professionals such as physicians, attorneys, ministers, and schoolteachers rounded out the occupational spectrum. Black communities in cities such as Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle supported numerous churches, social clubs, fraternal orders, and businesses, as well as chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League. Several black-owned newspapers, such as the *Northwest Enterprise* (Seattle), The *Montana Plaindealer* (Helena), and the *California Eagle* (Los Angeles), reported the social and political activities that occurred in these growing black communities.

Throughout the twentieth century Los Angeles had been the center of California's African American population. Black migrants to Los Angeles were attracted by its image and tangible benefits. Southern California had been touted since the late nineteenth century as a land of sunshine and opportunity for blacks from the southern states especially. This area also seemed the Promised Land of freedom from overt discrimination and oppression. As the terminus of major transcontinental railroads, Los Angeles attracted many Pullman porters, whose quarters formed a nucleus for its black community by 1900, and who provided information on where to go and what to do for blacks they met waiting at the railroads. The growing economy provided a variety of urban jobs, and the expanding racial community offered employment for its businesses and professionals. By 1920, Los Angeles was home to over 15,000 African Americans; by 1940 that number had grown to 63,774, over half of their population in California. Unlike larger northern centers of the Great Migration, movement to Los Angeles continued during the Great Depression.

African Americans initially were scattered among the general population, but by 1920 a distinct ghetto had formed along the north blocks of Central Avenue. Racially restrictive covenants became widespread after court decisions in the 1910s upheld their legality, confining most blacks to a few blocks east and west of this street. While small communities were formed in a few adjacent cities, most notably Pasadena, relatively few blacks lived outside the city before World War II. This community developed a vibrant society, anchored in churches that served as cultural as well as religious centers. Women formed several service organizations, along with a branch of the National Association of Colored Women. The Los Angeles Forum was founded in 1903 as a center for discussing civic affairs, and an NAACP branch was set up in 1913. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association established a vigorous presence during the 1920s, though divided into two factions, and a National Urban League branch was formed that same decade. The community had several newspapers, of which the most prominent were the *California Eagle* and the *Los Angeles Sentinel.* Discrimination in jobs and public accommodations was common, but its impact was somewhat lessened by the fact that other minorities, especially Mexicans, Japanese, and Chinese, were similarly treated and sometimes given lower status. Although African Americans constituted only a small minority of any political district, they elected an assemblyman from Los Angeles regularly after 1918 (Reich 2006, 496–97).

During the first decades of the twentieth century, Mexican Americans represented the largest minority population in the city of Los Angeles. From 1920 to 1930 their population tripled from 33,644 to 97,116, surpassing San Antonio, Texas, as the leading Mexican American community in the United States. Despite the overwhelmingly American character of this population, they suffered terrible discrimination. Observing Mexican American life in California in the late 1930s, a sociologist commented as follows:

> When a vice-principal of a high school admits that he does not urge Mexican boys to seek varied employment as other boys do because he knows that they cannot do anything more than work in the groves, there is discrimination. When a city council refuses to let Mexican-American boys and girls swim in the public plunge and when it places at the entrance of the bathhouse a red sign reading FOR WHITE RACE ONLY and when it admits through its city clerk that this is for the purpose of keeping out "Mexican" children, it is both ignorance and discrimination. (Daniels and Olin 1972, 222–23)

In the early 1930s, in a federal program that can only be described as ethnic cleansing, the government forcibly repatriated Mexican Americans along with their American-born children. Thousands of Mexicans were assembled in local train stations with their luggage and hastily wrapped belongings prior to being stuffed into crowded trains for shipment back to Mexico.

Since the turn of the century schools for "Mexicans" and schools for "Americans" had been the custom in many a southern California city. It mattered not that the "Mexicans" were born in the United States and that great numbers of them were sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. It was the custom that they were segregated at least until they could use English well enough to keep up with English-speaking children. Neither did it matter that many of them had a command of English nor that there was no legal basis for their segregation. Under a law, enacted in 1885 and amended in 1893, it was possible to segregate Indians and "Mongolians" in California's public schools. To many an administrator this included "Mexicans." This pattern was followed principally because the majority groups in the local communities wanted it done that way.

When the United States acquired California in 1848, the Indian population stood at 100,000. But the heavy influx of whites, friction with miners, ruthless massacres of Indians, and the loss of habitat and wildlife decimated the Indian population, and by the turn of the century there were probably no more than 15,000 Indians left in the state, living on eight reservations. In 1911, as recorded by Theodora Kroeber, the last "wild Indian" in the entire United States, a Yana man named Ishi from the slopes of Mount Lassen in California, gave himself up to the civilized world that had been pressing in around him. Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century the Indians of California remained extremely poor and overlooked by the state's non-Indian population (Starr 2005, 13).

Indian tribes to the north remained relatively free from white encroachment until the mid-nineteenth century. From that time, and into the twentieth century, however, the native tribes were rapidly dispossessed, placed upon reservations, and reduced in numbers. At a later period the decrease became less marked, but it continued nevertheless, partly as an actual extinction of the aboriginal population and partly as an absorption into the dominant white culture. Most of the Chinookan tribes were finally placed on Warm Springs and Grande Ronde Reservations and on Yakima Reservation in Washington; all of the Athapascan tribes on the Siletz Reservation, except the Umpqua, who went to Grande Ronde; the Kusan and Yakonan tribes on the Siletz Reservation; the Salishan peoples of Oregon on the Grande Ronde and Siletz Reserves; most of the Kalapooian peoples on the Grande Ronde, though a few on the Siletz; most of the Molala on the Grande Ronde; the Klamath on Klamath Reserve; the Modoc mostly on Klamath Reserve but a few on the Quapaw Reservation in Oklahoma; the Shahaptian tribes of Oregon on the Umatilla Reservation; and the Northern Paiutes on the Klamath Reservation (http://ca.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761558216_9/oregon.html).

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND HUNTING AND FISHING

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the East Coast, Gulf of Mexico, and Great Lakes fisheries began to get strong competition from those on the Pacific Coast. Before 1910 only 2 percent of the national harvest of fish was landed in the Pacific. The ocean had been considered too rough for the small wind-powered craft that hauled in most of the fish in the United States. Large motorized fishing craft altered the calculus of the fishing industry so that by 1915 Pacific fleets landing salmon, sardines, and tuna were beginning to change American fish-eating habits as well as livestock-feeding practices.

The Pacific Ocean was rich in fish. One observer from Santa Cruz remembered that the schools of sardines offshore were so dense that the seabirds feeding on them formed an impenetrable black cloud just above the surface of the water. Harvesting of sardines, tuna, and salmon off California's huge coast soon enabled the state's fisheries to outproduce all other states. On any body of water, but especially on Pacific swells, landing nets flooded with fish (a grueling job by any account) was just the beginning of the labor of commercial fishing. Processing plants for canning food fish or transforming sardines and fish by-products into chicken feed employed thousands of workers yearly. By 1915 Californian A. P. Halfhill had developed the process of baking tuna in steam, then canning it. He toured the United States periodically into the 1920s promoting his "chicken of the sea" to Americans, who for a time preferred canned salmon to the newer canned tuna. By 1925 Long Beach, San Diego, and Monterey dominated the California packing industry.

West Coast Azorean men abandoned the whaling industry for the abalone camps that Chinese fisherman had left, and trolled for albacore as soon as motorized fishing vessels made the practice reasonably safe. They were joined by Japanese American fishermen in the tuna hunt. By 1920, two-thirds of the licensed fishers in San Pedro were Japanese. Japanese owned 50 percent of the 400 boats in the port and landed 80 percent of the fish.

Between 1915 and 1925, typical southern California fishing boats were big enough to hold but one day's catch, three crewmen, and a 15- to 25-horsepower engine. Their catches went to the canneries in San Pedro and San Diego, where they were processed into the canned tuna and salmon Americans had begun to integrate into their diets by 1915. Many of the cannery workers lived in tuna or salmon company housing that, like company housing in most industries, was barely more than shelter. Absent from most were running water, electricity, and much space.

By the late 1920s, Halfhill had made his point to American consumers, demand rose, and large-scale tuna fishing dominated the industry. Long boats between 95 and 125 feet long, powered by large diesel engines and with enough fuel storage area on board to enable the boats to travel up to 5,000 miles or 30 days without returning to port, revolutionized both the fishing industry and the lives of the crews. Refrigerated holds held up to 150 tons of tuna, and crew members increasingly found the cycles of their lives altered, from day-to-day trips (often long days in the summer) to sojourns at sea more akin to the great whaling voyages of the previous century. Like agricultural workers, some fishermen had been migrating annually for several years before the advent of the big tuna boats. Monterey fishermen had moved north to fish sardines in the summer or farther south to hunt tuna or mackerel, thereby spending weeks and even months away from home and family.

American fish processors, like their analogs in the wheat business, initially benefited from the outbreak of World War I. The hostilities in Europe effectively closed the North Sea to fishing, thereby eliminating one of the world's great sources of sardines, herring, and other food fish. The Western Hemisphere and parts of Europe not blockaded became markets for American fish and fish products. But after the war ended the market collapsed, especially for sardines. Prices returned to 1914 levels, and canneries up and down the American coasts closed. A moderate recovery in the industry occurred after the recession in 1920 and 1921, and the Depression had less disastrous consequences for the fishermen and canners than it had for many other American workers. In part this was because the postwar crash was so severe, and in part the diversification of canners into fish-meal livestock feed enabled them to make use of much of the 75 or 80 percent of the fish that had been wasted previously, particularly in the tuna industry. Total landings declined on the West Coast in 1930–1931 but increased for tuna and sardines (by 7 percent and 25 percent, respectively). Landings for the 12 other leading fish declined by an average of 19 percent (Green 2000, 55–56).

Pacific Coast fishing spread all the way north to Alaska, where by the turn of the century almost 700,000 cases of salmon valued at just under \$2.8 million were

Snapshot

Nature Guide: A Voice for Wilderness, John Muir

"Damming and submerging it 175 feet deep would enhance its beauty by forming a crystal-clear lake." Landscape gardens, places of recreation and worship, are never made beautiful by destroying and burying them. The beautiful sham lake, forsooth, should be only an eyesore, a dismal blot on the landscape, like many others to be seen in the Sierra. For, instead of keeping it at the same level all the year, allowing Nature centuries of time to make new shores, it would, of course, be full only a month or two in the spring, when the snow is melting fast; then it would be gradually drained, exposing the slimy sides of the basin and shallower parts of the bottom, with the gathered drift and waste, death and decay of the upper basins, caught here instead of being swept on to decent natural burial along the banks of the river or in the sea.

Thus the Hetch Hetchy dam-lake would be only a rough imitation of a natural lake for a few of the spring months, an open sepulcher for the others. "Hetch Hetchy water is the purest of all to be found in the Sierra, unpolluted, and forever unpollutable." On the contrary, excepting that of the Merced below Yosemite, it is less pure than that of most of the other Sierra streams, because of the sewerage of camp grounds draining into it, especially of the Big Tuolumne Meadows camp ground, occupied by hundreds of tourists and mountaineers, with their animals, for months every summer, soon to be followed by thousands from all the world.

These temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature, and, instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the mountains, lift them to the Almighty Dollar.

Dam Hetch Hetchy! As well dam for water-tanks the people's cathedrals and churches, for no holier temple has ever been consecrated by the heart of man. (Muir, *The Yosemite,* 255–57, 260–62, as quoted in Black 2006, 35)

processed at 37 Alaskan canneries. Such intense fishing took its toll, and in 1914 Governor John F. Strong reported to the secretary of the interior on the dangerous depletion of the salmon due to the unchecked exploitation of the salmon fishers. By the 1920s, partly because of the boom associated with feeding canned salmon to thousands of troops in World War I, fishing had replaced mining as Alaska's major industry. But by then even the packers were beginning to think that there could be a problem with the supply of salmon. In 1921, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover became so concerned by the salmon decline that he took the extraordinary step of recommending to President Warren G. Harding the establishment of the Alaskan Peninsula reserve. Harding created the reserve by executive order and thereafter fishing was allowed only by permit. Eventually Congress passed the White Act in 1924, which mandated that 50 percent of salmon in any stream be allowed to pass upstream to spawn. The act was hailed as a major milestone in the effort to preserve Alaska's renewable salmon resources. Regulation of coastal and inland fisheries would not be transferred to Alaska until it became a state (Borneman 2004, 290–91).

Federal regulations were also implemented to protect the natural environment of the West. By the turn of the twentieth century, the question of whether the boundaries of national parks were sacred or not was resolved in Yellowstone National Park in California in the preservationists' favor, but it loomed larger than ever in Yosemite Park. Unlike the struggle in Yellowstone, where proponents of reconfiguring park boundaries could be branded as invaders intent on the pillaging of a sublime landscape for shortsighted corporate greed, at Yosemite the far more democratic issue was the water supply for the city of San Francisco. City engineers in the early 1880s had envisioned the possibility of damming the high-walled Hetch-Hetchy Valley, situated 150 miles to the east, as the best way to solve San Francisco's perpetual water supply problem. The problem was that Hetch-Hetchy was situated inside the boundaries of the new Yosemite National Park, which had been established in 1890 by Congress after a long campaign led by naturalist and Sierra Club founder John

Wilderness preservationist John Muir. Library of Congress.

Muir, *Century* magazine editor Robert Underwood Johnson, and other outdoor enthusiasts.

The tradition of Americans enjoying Yosemite Park stretched back further than the date it was established as a national park. Since the end of the Mariposa Indian war in 1851, Americans had been coming by foot and horseback to the area to wonder at the magnificent Yosemite Valley. On June 30, 1864, President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill granting Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Sequoias to the state of California as an inalienable public trust. This was the first time in history that a federal government had set aside scenic lands simply to protect them and to allow for their enjoyment by all people. American visitors regarded Yosemite as a national treasure; however, for city fathers and most San Franciscans, the basic needs of a human population quite obviously were to take precedence over the preservation of wilderness, no matter how spectacular. They maintained that the public good to be gained by damming the valley for the benefit of the many people of San Francisco far outweighed the good of preserving it for the pleasure of the relatively few visitors to the site.

That John Muir did not see it that way came as no surprise. He had first come to the attention of American nature lovers in the 1870s with his writings on the natural glories of Yosemite, which proved instrumental in the designation of the region as America's second national park. More surprising was Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock's refusal in 1903 to grant the right of way for the dam and reservoir to the city. Hitchcock asserted that no argument the city had made compelled him to violate the intent of Congress in reserving the area.

Led by Muir, Yosemite defenders appealed to the growing revulsion toward what many critics had long ago declared to be an excessively materialistic society. For preservationists, the proposal to flood Hetch-Hetchy Valley represented the most egregious sign of an overly commercialized, overly urbanized civilization slouching toward decadence. Muir and others condemned the proposal as an ungodly, satanic act that would destroy one of God's own "temples." Others clamored against the private interests that allegedly stood to profit from the control and sale of the water supply and the associated hydroelectric power that would be generated by the dam. Defenders of the valley also engaged the services of independent engineers, who testified that other alternative sources, outside the bounds of Yosemite, could be tapped to solve the city's water problem. Opposition came from across the country in the form of letters and telegrams from civic groups, scientists and travelers, and editorials from leading newspapers and magazines. The conservationists were initially victorious, but the proponents of the dam were persistent and politically powerful. They eventually wore down the opposition and, amidst the protests of conservationists on December 6, 1913, the Senate voted 43 to 25 in favor of the proposal, and President Woodrow Wilson signed the Raker Act that would flood Hetch-Hetchy, signaling a major defeat for the preservation movement.

The dam did not diminish Americans' enthusiasm for the park. Until 1907 they continued to come by horse-drawn wagon to wonder at the natural beauty. After that date visitors to the park began arriving on the newly built train, which increased access to the park, and its popularity as a vacation stop. Hotels sprang up and tents dotted the meadows of Yosemite. After 1913, Americans drove into the park on rugged unpaved roads and camped throughout the meadow. As enthusiasm for auto camping expanded in the 1920s, so did the number of visitors to Yosemite. Campers and nature lovers approached the one million mark by the late 1930s and surpassed that milestone for the first time in 1954 (http://www.nps.gov/yose/historyculture/index.htm).

Intellectual Life

California led the way in the intellectual life of the Pacific West. The open and free spirit of the Pacific West created an environment where experimentation could thrive. New research institutions, which would soon lead the world of science and technology, such as California Technical University, emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century. Some of the greatest discoveries of the twentieth century would be uncovered at the scientific centers of California.

Settlers from other areas would bring with them from the regions of their birth their ideas about education and plant them into the schools of the West. Western literature became a popular genre throughout the country, and many books, such as *The Grapes of Wrath* and the mystery novels of Dashiell Hammet and Raymond Chandler, became raw material for the burgeoning California film industry in the 1930s. Californians also created their own image of a healthy lifestyle, which meant a healthy diet including lots of fruits, such as grew in abundance in the Pacific West, and lots of outdoor exercise and activities in the fresh air and sun, which were also abundant in southern California. This section will explore those aspects of intellectual life in the West that distinguished it from the rest of the nation.

SCIENCE

Scientific creativity in California benefited from enterprises in geology, mining, astronomy, and aviation that proliferated in the state in the first decades of the twentieth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century electronics also emerged as yet another cause and matrix of scientific, technological, and entrepreneurial virtuosity. In the early part of the century, new inventions developed at Palo Alto, California, created an entirely new world of transcontinental phone calls, radio, television, and high-speed electronics. The person most responsible for the explosion of technological discovery at Palo Alto was Lee de Forest, who had earned his PhD in 1899 from the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University and entered the business world as a variously employed but mainly freelance inventor. In 1910, de Forest moved to Palo Alto, where he was associated with the Federal Telegraph Company. While there, in 1912, de Forest invented a vacuum tube called the Audion that converted alternating current to direct current and functioned as an amplifier. On the day it was invented, de Forest and his colleagues amplified by 120 times the sound of a housefly walking across a sheet of paper.

After selling his Audion tube to American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) for $50,000 as an amplifier for transcontinental phone calls, de Forest went on to develop the Audion further, making possible the broadcast and reception of voice and music over the airways. A rival, Edwin Armstrong, a junior at Columbia University in New York, while working on the same type of vacuum tube, achieved similar—and, many would claim, superior—results. From Armstrong's and de Forest's inventions would come radio, motion picture sound, and television. De Forest himself moved to Hollywood, where he married the silent-film star Marie Mosquini and continued to invent, to take out patents, and, to the continued distress of Edwin Armstrong, to promote himself as the Father of Radio.

California also soon led the way in developing new techniques of technology for the transmission of images. Philo T. Farnsworth, a native of Utah who moved to San Francisco at the age of 21 in 1925, conducted experiments with the electronic projection of images. Setting up a laboratory in a loft in the Cow Hollow section of San Francisco, Farnsworth—with financial support from local investors and the assistance of his wife, his brother, and some assistants—soon developed a dissector tube he called the "orthicon" that allowed him, on September 7, 1927, to transmit a simple image—a black glass with a line drawn down the center—through purely electronic means and thus demonstrate the basic technology of television. Because of the need to investigate claims made by an unsuccessful patent application submitted in 1923, the U.S. Patent Office did not award Farnsworth priority until 1934. Therefore he was never able to capitalize on this recognition. However, the pattern embodied by Farnsworth—that of a self-instructed westerner bringing an important scientific experiment to conclusion in California—fit an established paradigm.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, Stanford gave both Farnsworth and de Forest substantial backing. Stanford had developed a special niche for experts in electrical engineering, thanks in significant measure to Professor Frederick Emmons Terman, who had earned a doctorate in electrical engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1924. After returning to his home in Palo Alto to recover from an attack of tuberculosis, Terman soon began teaching at Stanford where he devoted his research energies to the vacuum tube. Fascinated by the commercial possibilities of this device, which had already stimulated a whole new range of industries, Terman became convinced that Stanford University should participate not only in theoretical research relating to electrical engineering, but in its commercial implementation as well.

In 1937, Terman provided funds, laboratory access, and faculty advice to Stanford graduate Russell Varian, who had worked for Farnsworth, and his brother Sigurd as they worked on a new kind of vacuum tube designed to amplify microwave signals into an ultra-high-frequency current. On the evening of August 19, 1937, the first klystron tube, as the Varian brothers called it, was put into operation, and subsequently described in the *Journal of Applied Physics*. Work continued on the klystron tube at Stanford through the rest of the decade. When war came, it was a key component in the success of radar.

Two other Stanford graduates, David Packard and William Hewlett, were, with Terman's guidance, designing and building an audio oscillator that would generate electrical signals within the frequency range of human hearing and would, when connected to a loudspeaker, produce a high-quality tone. Hewlett and Packard formed a company, headquartered in Palo Alto in the one-car garage of the house Packard and his wife were renting, with Hewlett moving into the backyard cottage. By the late 1930s, they had perfected the audio oscillator and the Hewlett-Packard Company had made its first big sale: four oscillators to Walt Disney Productions for the enhancement of the music for *Fantasia* (1940).

Across the San Francisco Bay in Berkeley, meanwhile, a contribution was being made to the most important scientific and technological feat of the twentieth century: releasing the power of the atom. There, University of California Berkeley physics professor Ernest Orlando Lawrence, yet another Yale graduate, had invented and developed by 1931 a cyclotron that generated high-energy beams of nuclear particles that made possible the exploration of the atomic nucleus, which is to say, the ability to peer into the very building blocks of matter. After scientists unleashed the power of the atom, Americans as well as the rest of the world began to live in an entirely new universe (Starr 2005, 259–63).

EDUCATION

During the first decades of the twentieth century, as families moved westward, they brought with them ideas of education rooted in their native regions. Added to this mix of those who had come west from the other parts of the United States were those who had come east from Asia and north from Mexico. This convergence of many varied regions of the world manifested itself in the ethnically mixed classrooms of the West.

Hiroko Kamikawa, for example, born in Fresno on July 11, 1920, remembered when she was six years old, entering first grade at Lincoln Elementary, the public school located in her neighborhood. Fresno was a town of about 15,000, and like most communities of its size, it had several elementary, middle, and high schools. Lincoln Elementary reflected the social makeup of its surrounding neighborhood. In Hiroko's case that meant she attended school with children of Japanese or Chinese heritage and a few from European immigrant families. Like most children who attended school in their own neighborhoods, Hiroko knew her classmates well and felt quite comfortable in school. She was a good student and popular among her peers. Children at schools like Hiroko's Lincoln often recognized ethnic and racial differences, but these distinctions served as curiosities rather than divisions among students. Hiroko remembered one incident that illustrated this point. One day her teacher reprimanded her and two German boys for chewing gum. As punishment, Hiroko and her classmates had to stand in front of the other children and sing songs while prominently displaying on their noses the wads of gum taken from their mouths. Since Hiroko's parents spoke no English at home, she knew more Japanese than English, so she chose to sing a Japanese folk song titled "Hato Popo." For similar reasons the two boys picked a German tune. Contrary to the teacher's intent, Hiroko recalled that all three had a good time and the other students in the class enjoyed hearing the traditional folk songs. For the most part, in the Pacific Northwest, ethnically diverse classrooms were met with benign indifference on the part of the parents and curiosity on the part of the students. Don Duncan, a journalist who was a student in Seattle in the 1930s, had similar memories; he recalled, "A boy had a much rougher time if he wore glasses than if he had a non-white skin" (Thompson and Marr 2001, 20).

In response to the large number of immigrant families sending their children to public schools, by the 1930s school systems such as the Long Beach City schools in California instituted character education classes, which included subjects such as honesty, courtesy, responsibility, industry, and punctuality. The school board believed that the teacher needed to instruct pupils in what were "considered American standards, since pupils come from all types of homes, many of which do not know what these standards are" (Lange 1931, 426–29).

Throughout the Pacific West states, neighborhood schools developed in the new communities that radiated out from the major cities around the turn of the century. A common characteristic of schools in this region was their rapid growth in the first decades of the century. Beacon Hill School in Seattle was typical of the growth experienced throughout the region. Beacon Hill opened in 1892 when an electric line was built connecting the new suburb to the center of the city. Initially it was a two-room school that housed less than a hundred students where grades 1–5 were taught. By 1904 a large new building was added that housed more than 200 students in grades 1–8. By the 1930s there were almost a thousand students in the school. The gym was so crowded that students recalled they could only do stationary exercises during physical education classes (Thompson and Marr 2001, 20).

Because of this rapid growth in the region, many children went to school in "portables"—rapidly assembled wood frame buildings that served as classrooms. Meant to be temporary, often they became the only type of classroom building that many children ever knew. In addition to traditional subjects such as arithmetic, spelling, grammar, and reading, all students took required health and physical education classes. Gender also determined curriculum, as girls took classes in sewing and cooking, while boys took classes in woodworking.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the school system of Hawaii reflected a curriculum established by an occupying power; consequently, schoolchildren in Hawaii studied subjects that were designed to acculturate them and make them useful citizens in the developing American economy. The curriculum emphasized long and heavy drills in English grammar and vocabulary as well as vocational training. The girls studied home economics in the elementary grades as well as in middle school, and the boys studied agriculture.

Paralleling these schools created by the U.S. government were the Kamehameha Schools, established in 1887 under the terms of the last will and testament of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a direct descendant of Kamehameha the Great and last of the House of Kamehameha. Bishop's will established a trust called the "Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate" for the maintenance of the school. The original purpose of the school was to train native Hawaiians in agricultural work so that they could compete successfully with the foreigners who were establishing a massive agricultural industry on the islands. Over the years, however, young Hawaiians demonstrated little interest in agriculture and the school developed into a well-endowed, prestigious college preparatory program (Barnes 2007, 41).

In Alaska in the early twentieth century, there were two school systems established: one maintained with territorial funds and the other through the Office of Indian Affairs. Schools were also medical centers, and a physician's or nurse's home, along with the teacher's residence was often part of the school building complex. Vocational training was the primary objective of the schools in Alaska, and young boys learned skills such as boat building, sled construction, gasoline engine repair, snowshoe making, tanning, taxidermy, ivory and wood carving, animal husbandry, agriculture, and bookkeeping. Girls studied homemaking, cooking, sewing, blanket making, and basket weaving (Cook 1934, 27).

LITERATURE

The film noir of the late 1940s was inspired by a new genre of writing, namely, the hard-boiled detective story. The San Francisco–based Pinkerton-detective-turned-novelist Dashiell Hammett, the Ernest Hemingway of the detective story, introduced the hard-boiled style in such classics as *Red Harvest* (1929) and *The Maltese Falcon* (1930), in which detective Sam Spade asked nothing of anyone and expected even less. As in the case of Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) becoming John Ford's brilliant movie of 1940, *The Maltese Falcon* became equally well known through the 1941 film directed by John Huston and starring Humphrey Bogart in one of the most riveting performances of his career.

Hammett moved to southern California in the early 1930s to work in Hollywood, as did F. Scott Fitzgerald, James M. Cain, Horace McCoy, and William Faulkner. In such figures, fiction and film coalesced. Edmund Wilson, in fact, described *The Grapes of Wrath* as the first major American novel to be written as a movie script. While most writers had their difficulties with the assembly-line techniques of the studios, their cinematic experiences strengthened their novels and vice versa. Fiction in California became tense, telegraphic, story-driven. It also began to explore more completely the life and times of the Golden State. The protagonist of Knight's *You Play the Black and the Red Comes Up* (1938) ends his story with an evocation of California as an emotionally empty place: "I could remember everything about California," he notes, "but I couldn't feel it. I tried to get my mind to remember something that it could feel, too, but it was no use. It was all gone. All of it. The pink stucco houses and the palm trees and the stores built like cats and dogs and frogs and ice-cream freezers and the neon lights around everything."

A scene from Darryl F. Zanuck's 1940 production of *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck, with Henry Fonda, Jane Darwell, and John Carradine. Library of Congress.

John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath,* one of the most popular books of the twentieth century, was born in the West in the 1930s. Steinbeck had reported on conditions in the field for the *San Francisco News.* While he was not formally on the left, his depiction of vigilante action against Dust Bowl migrants, most dramatically the nighttime burning of a migrant encampment ("Hoovervilles," as such encampments were called), certainly positioned his protagonists, the Joad family of Oklahoma, against a sea of troubles caused by the hostile growers of the San Joaquin Valley. Because *The Grapes of Wrath* was so successful as a documentary novel, it was taken as literal truth. Even Franklin Roosevelt referred to the Joads in one of his fireside chats as though they were actual people. On the other hand, Steinbeck outraged Oklahomans as well as Kern County growers with his depiction of the Joads and was denounced in the House of Representatives by a congressman from Oklahoma (Starr 2005, 282–83).

The West also provided material for Zane Grey's popular pulp fiction novels of cowboys, lawmen, and bandits in the Old West. One of the nation's most prolific writers, he published over 90 books. Grey used the West as a background for his easily read morality stories about men who confronted some wrong event from their past and emerged triumphant or tried to escape it and were defeated.

COMMUNICATION

Within months after radio's successful debut in Pittsburgh in 1920, Los Angeles became the first city in the West to have a commercial radio station. But the first radio station in the West originated on the campus of San Jose College in April 1909, when Charles David Herrold, an electronics instructor, constructed a broadcasting station. It used spark/gap technology but modulated the carrier frequency with the human voice, and later music. The station, "San Jose Calling" (there were no call letters), continued in an unbroken lineage eventually to become today's KCBS in San Francisco. In 1927, radio station KGFJ became the first station to broadcast 24 hours a day. An early staple of radio airtime along with sporting events, classical music, and jazz was religious services. While most radio preachers reached only a local audience, one who gained a major national following emanated from California, Aimee Semple McPherson, whose Four Square Gospel church preaching and showmanship made her seem the complete embodiment of California's novelty and eccentricity.

THE PACIFIC WEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Material Life

In the first half of the twentieth century, Pacific westerners maintained an image that materially speaking they were living "the good life." Even migrant workers who did not fare so well, some earning less than 15 cents an hour in California agricultural fields during the Depression years, had been attracted to the Pacific West by the promise of a better material life. During the early 1930s over 300,000 Americans from the Great Plains and the Southwest states flooded into California seeking a better life. Despite the hardships of many, especially in the years of the Great Depression, the general impression remained that Pacific westerners, especially Californians, lived well, ate well, and worked prosperously.

Californians developed housing and clothing styles unique to their environment, which other Americans imitated. Problems presented by the uniqueness of their environment, especially the lack of water in certain areas, were seen as challenges, which they solved though technology, and they conquered the vastness of the geography of their area first through efficient rail systems and later through superhighways. It was good to be a Pacific westerner in the first half of the twentieth century. No problem seemed unsolvable, and nothing but brightness shined into the future. This section will explore those aspects of material life in the Pacific West that made it either envied or imitated in much of the rest of the country.

FOOD

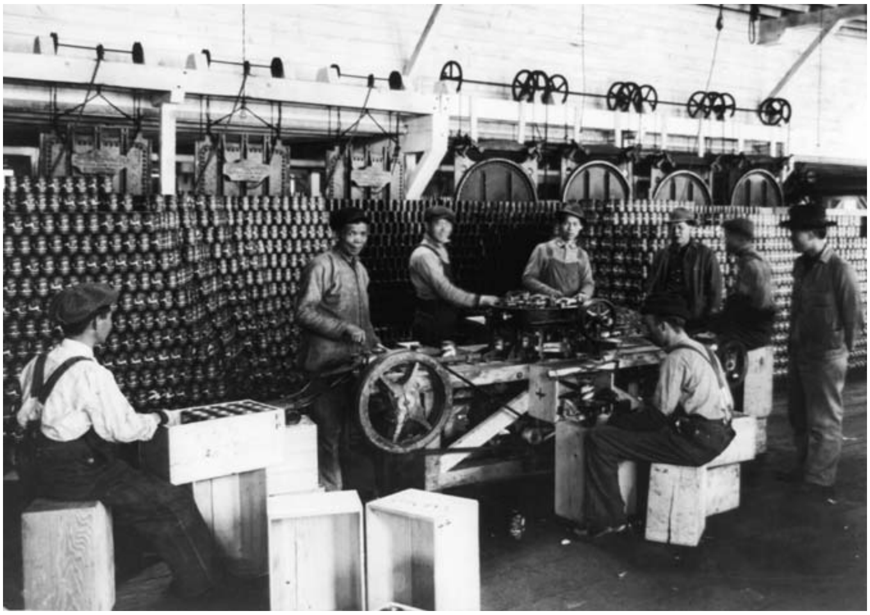
The Pacific West contributed greatly to the changing food habits across the nation in the early decades of the twentieth century. Since the end of the nineteenth century with the development of the refrigerated car, canning, and the creation of irrigation districts, California became a foodbasket of the nation, supplying Americans with wheat, and a variety of vegetables that were previously only available locally and in the harvest months. In the new century, Americans began to eat canned asparagus, beets, tomatoes, and other vegetables, most of which came from the irrigated fields of California. Emerging health concerns and the linking of good nutrition to healthy bodies stimulated the sale of citrus fruit grown in California, as well as raisin production. California also took the lead in canning vegetables to send throughout the country. At the turn of the century 11 of California's largest canners formed an association of vegetable canners that would eventually become Del Monte, the nation's largest producer of canned food. This company eventually opened canneries in Idaho, Washington, Alaska, and Hawaii.

First haul of the salmon season along the Columbia River in Oregon, 1904. Library of Congress.

The rivers of Washington produced salmon that was smoked, processed, and canned and also shipped throughout the nation. Washington fisheries also contributed herring, halibut, salmon, and cod to the American diet. The salmon industry extended all the way north to Alaska (see the section on Animal Husbandry and Hunting and Fishing). In the first half of the century Washington also became the nation's largest producers of apples. During the Great Depression apples from Washington became one of the icons of the era when apple growers, facing a bumper crop in 1930, shipped crates of apples eastward to the jobless. A man could buy a crate for $1.75 on credit and then sell them on the street for five cents apiece (Kyvig 2002, 225). After the American Reciprocity Act of 1874 removed the duty on sugar, Hawaii's sugar industry grew at exponential rates, creating a planter class that dominated the politics and economy of the island. Until World War II, when the economy began to move away from sugar production, Hawaii was one of America's principal suppliers of sugar. In the first half of the century pineapples became almost synonymous with Hawaii, and most of this fruit, which eventually ended up on American tables either fresh or canned, came from there (Barnes 2007, 39, 61).

HOUSING

Electric wiring at the turn of the century, along with indoor plumbing, added substantially to the cost of house construction. To keep house prices stable while adding these new technologies, builders cut costs by reducing the size and number of rooms in the average house. The most widespread manifestation of the new minimalist approach to house design was the bungalow, which first appeared in California at the start of the twentieth century and spread eastward rapidly to the Midwest. These single-storied houses had high ceilings and large windows and were surrounded by


Eight Chinese men working at a machine canning salmon, probably in Washington or Oregon, 1913. Library of Congress.

a veranda. The shaded windows and large openings made the house especially pleasing in warmer climates, but soon the bungalow was proclaimed to be a new standard of sensible and thrifty family living, and variations of the style appeared throughout the United States (Kyvig 2002, 61).

The last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a concerted effort on behalf of San Francisco civic leaders to support the development of an architectural style that celebrated and memorialized the coming of age of the city as capital of the Far West. The city not only had the money but also the architectural expertise to realize the goal, since a new generation of architects, many of them trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, were establishing studios in the city. And they would be there to help San Francisco rebuild from its greatest tragedy of the century.

At 5:12 A.M. on the morning of Wednesday, April 18, 1906, the Pacific and North American tectonic plates suddenly sprang over and from 9 to 21 feet passed each other along 290 miles of the San Andreas fault. Shock waves sped across the terrain at 7,000 miles per hour. The first quake to hit San Francisco (estimated to be 8.3 on the Richter scale) shook the city in two phases for 45 seconds. Within the hour, 17 aftershocks rattled the city. City Hall and numerous other unreinforced brick buildings, together with many crowded tenements south of Market Street, collapsed instantly. Facades fell from homes, revealing furniture within. Less sturdy homes crumbled completely. Innumerable fire mains broke, impeding the work of firefighters. Within three days the central and northeast quadrants of San Francisco lay in smoldering ruins (Starr 2005, 162–63).

Miraculously, many of the buildings designed by the architects trained in Paris survived the earthquake and fire of April 1906. These architects, moreover, remained to rebuild the city between 1906 and 1909, and thus the architectural standards of the pre-quake city were observed. In the reconstruction that followed, these architects fashioned an engaging tradition of domestic design for the middle, upper middle, and upper classes.

In the newly developing neighborhoods of San Francisco—St. Francis Wood, Presidio Terrace, Seacliff—Mediterranean Revival style predominated. That style also became prevalent in the upscale community of Piedmont in the Oakland hills. At the same time, architects were transforming domestic Berkeley into a wonderland of bungalows with rustic redwood facades on the outside, and gleaming polished wood within. Unfortunately, fire would destroy many of these homes in September 1923.

With his plan for the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, Daniel Burnham had launched the City Beautiful movement, which envisioned the transformation of American cities into neo-Baroque orchestrations of broad boulevards, and grand plazas complete with fountains, statues, and Classical Revival structures. Working with local architect Edward Bennett out of a studio atop Twin Peaks, which held a commanding view of the city, Burnham submitted a plan calling for the transformation of San Francisco along City Beautiful lines. Ironically, the Burnham Report was formally filed in City Hall just a day before the earthquake of 1906. When Burnham, who was in Paris, learned of the earthquake, he left immediately for San Francisco with hopes of having a clean slate on which to design his vision of the city.

> ***Snapshot***
>
> **Childhood Memories of the Great Earthquake**
>
> Dorothy Day, co-founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, spent her early childhood in the San Francisco Bay area. In her autobiography *The Long Loneliness* she recalled her experiences as a young girl during the fateful night of the San Francisco earthquake.
>
> > The earthquake started with a deep rumbling and the convulsions of the earth started afterward, so that the earth became a sea which rocked our house in a most tumultuous manner. There was a large windmill and water tank in the back of the house and I can remember the splashing of the water from the tank on top of our roof. My father took my brothers from their beds and rushed to the front door, where my mother stood with my sister, whom she had snatched from beside me. I was left in the big brass bed, which rolled back and forth on a polished floor. When the earth settled, the house was a shambles, dishes broken all over the floor, books out of their bookcases, chandeliers down, chimneys fallen, the house cracked from roof to ground. But there was no fire in Oakland. The flames and cloud bank of the smoke could be seen across the bay and all the next day the refugees poured over by ferry and boat. Idora park and the racetrack made camping grounds for them. All the neighbors joined my mother in serving the homeless. Every stitch of available clothes was given away. All the day following the disaster there were more tremblings of the earth and there was fear in the air.
>
> *(Day 1952, 21–22)*

While there was some support for implementing the Burnham Plan, in the immediate aftermath of the catastrophic earthquake, most civic leaders wanted to rebuild as quickly as possible and feared the delay that an entirely new city plan would demand. Therefore Burnham's plan was scuttled after a successful campaign led by *San Francisco Chronicle* editor Michael H. de Young to have the city rebuilt on its prior grid as quickly as possible (Starr 2005, 175–77).

CLOTHING

Fashion historian Jane Mulvagh noted that prior to the late 1920s, to comment on an outfit with "Whew! Pretty Hollywood" was an insult. When film producer Cecil B. DeMille ordered fashions from Paris for film star Gloria Swanson, he specifically requested theatrical exaggeration, not current couture styles. All that began to change, partially at the insistence of the stars themselves. At first Hollywood imported the French couturiers to work on film projects at the studios. Chanel, Molyneux, Lanvin, and Schiaparelli all made the trek westward. When Coco Chanel visited in 1929, she created elegant, sophisticated wardrobes for movies that ended up being shelved because of the abrupt drop in hemlines the following season. In addition, movie directors and executives discovered that many couturiers' designs may have looked stunning in person but seemed flat and unmemorable on film.

The solution was for studios to seek out indigenous talent to head up house wardrobe departments. The most famous of these designers were (Gilbert) Adrian, Edith Head, and Howard Greer. Their challenges were vastly different from those of Parisian fashion designers. Hollywood costumers, wrote Margit Mayer, "were not couturiers in the European sense; rather, they were art directors of femininity." They knew the importance of image and how to create illusion to achieve it. To optically lengthen Norma Shearer's short legs, MGM's Adrian raised the waistlines of her dresses. To disguise Barbara Stanwyck's long waist and low behind, Paramount's Edith Head constructed a belt that was wider in the front and fitted to be worn higher on the waist. Just as important to movie producers as the look of fashions on film was to avoid a repeat of the expensive Chanel disaster of 1929. Consequently, studio designers not only had to fuse style and glamour with the star's personality, they also had to make contemporary clothes that would not look outdated during the film's expected run of perhaps two years.

Studio wardrobe designers also had to be adept at period costuming. Although historical accuracy was not always a governing factor, the styling of the costumes had to be convincing. For hit movies, the influence of the costumes on mainstream fashion styles was sometimes significant. For instance, in designing costumes for *Gone With the Wind* in 1939, Walter Plunkett submitted antebellum material samples from the 1850s and 1860s to a northern textile mill for replication. As part of the agreement with the manufacturer, licensed *Gone With the Wind* cotton fabrics were widely distributed. In addition, designs of prom dresses of the following spring were replete with wide crinoline skirts. Similarly, a number of other historical-themed movies of the 1930s directly influenced what fashionable American women wore the following year. *The Merry Widow,* for example, inspired versions of the bustle in 1934. In that same year Mae West starred in *Belle of the Nineties* and revived an interest in the cinched hourglass waist. And American women began wearing capes and high collars again after the release of *Mary of Scotland* in 1936. Indeed, throughout the decades since the 1930s the impact of period movie costuming has been felt repeatedly in the American fashion arena.

In addition to inspiring revivals of historical costumes, the studio designers also influenced contemporary American fashions with stylistic interpretations that appealed to a broad spectrum of women. Joan Crawford's tailored suits with padded shoulders were a staple model for ready-to-wear makers throughout the late 1930s and into the 1940s. The tapered trousers worn by Katharine Hepburn and Marlene Dietrich were widely copied. Versions of Adrian's white satin gown, made for Jean Harlow in *Dinner at Eight,* were seen at many social events of 1933. And the men's undershirt business suffered a severe blow when Clark Gable took his off in *It Happened One Night* (1934). Some studio head designers such as Academy Award–winning Edith Head, Adrian, and Howard Greer even attained celebrity status and were as eagerly courted by advertisers as the stars they dressed.

One other West Coast influence that began to make its presence known in American fashion was the California style. Whereas New York clothiers largely conveyed an urban look in their collections, California makers emphasized sportswear. Designer names such as Cole, Koret, White Stag, and dozens of others began to promote their California origins in logos, on garment labels, and especially in advertising. At their peak in the mid-twentieth century, more than six hundred garment manufacturers on the West Coast produced about $200 million in apparel—almost one-third of the total ready-to-wear business in the United States at the time.

Although there were a significant number of dress, suit, and coat makers on the West Coast, the specialties of the larger firms were centered on sportswear, notably swimwear, slacks, and shorts. Fashion styles of slacks and shorts for most American women, though, were not broadly accepted initially, even in California. The styles of pants introduced for women by the Paris couturiers in the 1920s, particularly Chanel and Patou, were innovations of their resort wear collections. These casual types of trousers were worn by sophisticated socialites who gathered in St. Tropez, Monte Carlo, and Palm Beach to escape winter. Only gradually did the styles of menswear trousers, sailor's gobs, shorts, and pajamas begin to appeal to American women, and then primarily through sports clothing such as golf and tennis apparel. By the mid-1930s, though, slacks and shorts had become fairly common in the wardrobes of most women. Ready-to-wear makers routinely included models in slacks and shorts in their spring lines. However, the debate continued about when and where women could or should not wear pants. In 1936, *Vogue* offered the following specific advice:

> In Florida and California they play golf in tailored slacks like a man's flannel trousers. But conservative Easterners say they don't like them on Long Island courses. Slacks for fishing? Yes, everywhere—from deep-sea fishing off Montauk to marlin fishing at Bimini. Slacks for boating? Decidedly yes, whether you're handling your own sail or cruising on a Diesel-engine yacht. Slacks for gardening and country loafing? By all means. And now, rumours drift about that America may take up the fashion of Continental women at Cannes—that of wearing slacks at night to dance in casinos or yacht-clubs.

By the close of the decade, though, *Vogue* acknowledged that pants were "an accepted part of nearly every wardrobe today." Most especially, the editor noted, "in California [they] go in for them wholeheartedly" (Hill 2004, 53–56).

MANUFACTURING

The first large electric companies, General Electric and Westinghouse, were geared to providing products and services on a large scale, such as street lighting and streetcars, which left a large opportunity for small manufacturers to provide electrical appliances for the home. In the West the Hotpoint Company of Ontario, California, began manufacturing home products such as the electric stove, mixers, and blenders (Kyvig 2002, 62). Over the next decades, electrical products for the home from companies such as Hotpoint would revolutionize domestic life, especially for women, who were expected to keep a much cleaner and efficient home thanks to the introduction of electric irons, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and stoves.

Manufacturing north of California in Washington and Oregon for the most part involved the processing and packing of the rich resources of the area including lumber, salmon, and fruit, especially pears and apples. (For manufacturing in Alaska and Hawaii, see the sections on Food, and Animal Husbandry and Hunting and Fishing).

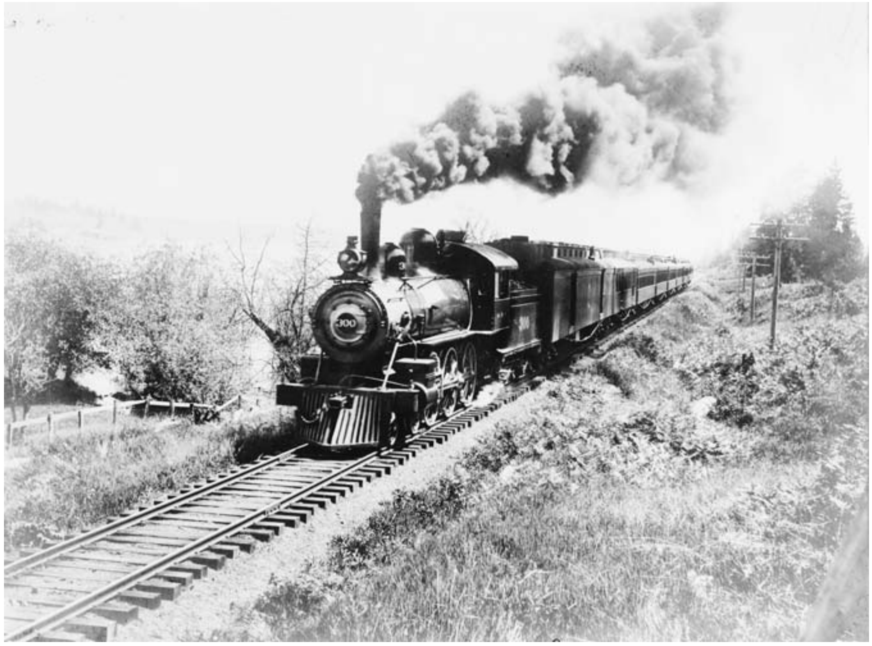
TECHNOLOGY

The technology developed in the Gold Rush for moving water across land had led to new innovations in the technology of irrigation. This same technology would also enlarge and stabilize the metropolitan infrastructure of San Francisco and Los Angeles. As the population of Los Angeles shot past the 100,000 mark in 1900, the city saw itself hurtling toward the dreaded day when it would have to increase its supply of water or decrease its supply of settlers. With limitless growth a basic tenet of their booster faith ("Big Is Good, Bigger Is Better, Biggest Is Best"), Angelenos began to cast about for new sources of water. They had enough to slake the thirst of about 250,000 residents. They were then thinking in terms of two million.

Fred Eaton, an engineer and a former mayor (1898–1900), had explored the possibility of building an aqueduct to tap the melted snow flowing from the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada into the Owens River some 250 miles north of Los Angeles. He persuaded William Mulholland, the municipal water department's superintendent and chief engineer, to look into his scheme. Eaton also had the foresight to file a claim in his own name for much of the river's surplus flow and for land that could be used for dams and reservoirs.

After rattling across the path of the proposed aqueduct in a mule-drawn buckboard, Mulholland pronounced the project feasible and put a price tag on it of something in the neighborhood of $24,500,000. In July 1905, *Los Angeles Times* editor Harrison Gray Otis sprang it on his readers with the headline "Titanic Project to Give City a River." Two months later the city's voters approved a $1,500,000 bond issue to acquire Owens Valley lands and water rights, including the Eaton options. An additional bond issue of $23 million was passed in 1907, and work began on what the press called "the Panama Canal of the West."

No American city had ever faced such an engineering challenge. The 233-mile aqueduct had to pass over foothills, through mountains (its 142 separate tunnels totaled 52 miles), and across the Mojave Desert. But before Mulholland's 5,000-man army could lay a foot of conduit, a 120-mile railroad had to be built to carry heavy machinery into the northern wilderness. Construction crews could be supplied only by building 500 miles of highway and trails, which were buried at times by blizzards and sandstorms. Finally, on November 5, 1913, some 40,000 Angelenos turned out to watch the Owens River water cascade into a San Fernando Valley reservoir. Many of those who came out had brought along tin cups to take their first drink. "There it is," said Mulholland, "take it" (Weaver 1973, 43, 46).



Train of the Southern Pacific Railway Company, c. 1900. Library of Congress.

Irrigation, however, was a reorganization of nature, and all such reorderings have their risks. In October 1904, the California Development Company cut a second canal to augment one that had been completed in 1901 by George Chafee, who upon opening the canal, christened the former desert the "Imperial Valley." This second canal began on the western bank of the Colorado River and cut across northern Mexico into the Imperial Valley. Done illegally and on the cheap, the cut was a disaster waiting to happen, which did in the spring of 1905 when the Colorado River wrenched westward, as if seeking its ancient destination. Gorged by spring rains, the Colorado River overwhelmed the second canal and ran at levels of 25 to 200 feet above the rim of the Imperial Valley. As the unbridled Colorado flooded the entire valley, it looked as if southern California would be drowned beneath a vast inland sea. Finally, the Southern Pacific Railroad (SP), the only civil engineering entity capable of dealing with a catastrophe of this proportion, stopped the flooding by pouring some 2,500 carloads of rock, gravel, and clay into the break. This provided a temporary respite that gave engineers time to design and build an eight-foot-high levee that stretched for 15 miles on both sides of the original rupture. During the construction that took almost two years, 1,500 men had been pressed into service. President Theodore Roosevelt promised Southern Pacific president E. H. Harriman that the federal government would compensate the railroad for, in effect, preventing much of southern California from being permanently submerged. But Congress declined to go along with the president, and all that SP got for its efforts was gratitude of southern Californians and ownership of the bankrupt California Development Company.

In San Francisco another talented engineer brought water and waterpower to that city. Michael O'Shaughnessy of San Francisco pushed a major water project to a successful conclusion also by tapping a river, the Tuolumne, and bringing its water to the city through a system of dams, reservoirs, and aqueducts that took years to construct. As with Los Angeles, the San Francisco project involved its own long and intricate political and financial history, from first filing of water claims to finished construction.

On July 7, 1923, San Francisco mayor James "Sunny Jim" Rolph dedicated the O'Shaughnessy Dam, named in honor of the city engineer. But not until 1934, after 90 lives were lost, 4 more dams and 5 more reservoirs were built, and miles of tunnels constructed and pipelines put in place, would San Francisco benefit from water brought in from the Tuolumne.

The man-made water systems developed in Los Angeles and San Francisco enabled a population growth that would have been unsupportable otherwise. But these advancements came at a tremendous cost to the natural environment. San Francisco lost the magnificent Hetch-Hetchy Valley near Yosemite when the Tuolumne River was dammed and the valley filled to create a reservoir, and the Los Angeles canals devastated the once-fertile Owens Valley when the Owens River was siphoned off to Los Angeles. Each project, moreover, was plagued by claims of deception, double-dealing, and conflicts of interest that became the subject of many histories, novels, and films—including the Oscar-winning *Chinatown* (1974)—in the decades to come (Starr 2005, 172).

NAVIGATION

San Francisco, with its port facilities, railway terminals, banks, and factories, seemed obviously destined to be the commercial, financial, and industrial capital of the American West, but the powerful downtown Angelenos set out to dredge a deep-water harbor and build an aqueduct. The harbor project pitted Harrison Otis, editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, against Collis P. Huntington, president of the Southern Pacific, in a battle for federal funds. The money should go into harbor improvements at San Pedro, the *Times* insisted. The Southern Pacific, eager to control the city's waterfront traffic (and the city as well, of course), fought for a port at Santa Monica. The San Pedro forces organized what they called the Free Harbor League and, with the help of Stephen M. White in the U.S. Senate, managed to derail the Southern Pacific.

Work on the San Pedro breakwater began April 26, 1899, accompanied by suitable oratory, band music, and a barbecue. It was finished in 1910. The task of dredging the inner harbor was well along by the time the Panama Canal opened four years later. San Diego and San Francisco, with their splendid natural harbors, found themselves sharing the world's maritime commerce with an inland city. In the meantime, the Los Angeles city fathers had resorted to some artful gerrymandering. First, in 1906, they had annexed a "shoestring strip," which gave the city a corridor from its southern limits to the San Pedro-Wilmington area. Under state law, however, one incorporated city could not annex another, so Angelenos got the law changed to permit "consolidation." In August 1909, San Pedro and Wilmington agreed to be consolidated, and together the two small towns became a seaport city (Weaver 1973, 42).

Although a reciprocity treaty with Hawaii in 1874 had given the United States rights to lease navigation facilities at Pearl Harbor, the navy did not undertake serious construction of a base there until after the Spanish American War in 1898. In 1908, the navy dredged the harbor and over the next two decades, American workers turned Pearl Harbor into the finest naval facility in the Pacific. In 1935, the U.S. Navy staged a mock attack on Pearl Harbor, and the exercise exposed the weakness of the defense capabilities of the naval base. The significance of this liability of course became apparent to all Americans on December 7, 1941, when the successful attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese drew the United States into World War II.

TRANSPORTATION

Henry E. Huntington left San Francisco in 1902 and moved to Los Angeles, determined to "join this whole region in one big family." A generation of Angelenos rode his red (interurban) and yellow (local) trolley cars to the office, the theater, the beach, and the mountains. Racing along at speeds of 40 and 50 miles an hour (the horsecar had moved at the rate of seven and one-half miles an hour), the Pacific Electric cars enabled southern Californians to live among orange trees and work in downtown buildings.

"Los Angeles is a busy center for short trips, chiefly made now by electric cars," *Baedeker's United States* informed travelers in 1909. The local fare was 5 cents. It cost 15 cents to make the half-hour trip to Pasadena ("a thriving business city and health resort"). The hour-long, 50-cent journey to Santa Monica took tourists through Hollywood ("a suburb of charming homes"), and could be extended to Venice ("with canals, etc., in imitation of its European namesake"). For a dollar, the big spenders could travel a hundred miles along the Pacific Electric's "Great Surf Route," which included not only Long Beach ("a frequented summer resort, with 2,250 inhabitants") and San Pedro ("the National Government is now constructing a huge breakwater here"), but also Compton ("the center of the dairy district").

In the first decade of the new century, as Pacific Electric tracks snaked across the countryside, the population of Los Angeles tripled (from 102,479 to 319,198). Long Beach shot up from 2,252 to 17,809, Santa Monica from 3,057 to 7,847, Redondo Beach from 855 to 2,935, and Burbank from 3,048 to 12,255. "City making now is different from that of previous times," the editor of the *Express* pointed out on a fall day in 1905, shortly after Angelenos had agreed to go along with the acquisition of Owens Valley water rights. "Modern transportation methods make it possible to weave into a harmonious unit a larger section than was possible until late years."

Even if Greater Los Angeles stretched out 25 miles to both the northwest and the southeast, as seemed probable, a commuter would still be able to pick a fresh boutonniere from his garden, catch an interurban electric car, and reach his downtown office within an hour. Warming to the message of his tea leaves, the editor went on to describe a future city that would serve as "the world's symbol of all that is beautiful and healthful and inspiring." "It will retain the flowers and orchards and lawns, the invigorating free air from the ocean, the bright sunshine and the elbow room, which have marked it as peculiar in the past and which now are secured for all time by the abundance of the water supply. It will not become congested like the older cities, for the transportation lines, built in advance of the demands, have made it possible to get far out in the midst of the orchards and fields for home making."

The pattern for the city's sprawling development had been established by the world's finest mass rapid transit system. No one foresaw its doom when, at two o'clock on a May morning in 1897, a pair of tinkerers rolled a four-cylinder horseless carriage out of a West Fifth Street shop and took a few friends on a trial spin through the business district. "One fear which had been felt beforehand was that the machine would scare horses, because of its unique appearance and because of the noise of the gasoline motors and the gasoline explosions," the *Times* reported. "A number of teams were passed during the trial trip, but they showed not the slightest fear of the novel spectacle. The traffic question has become a problem," the *Times* observed on December 18, 1910, and called on the city council to do something "to keep the automobiles moving." Ten years later, when Rob Wagner was predicting that undertakers would soon be setting up branch mortuaries at all crossings and wags were referring to Los Angeles as "the city of the quick and the dead," the city fathers came up with a plan to protect pedestrians by outlawing parking in the downtown area. "The problem before the City Council of making the downtown streets safe for democracy has stirred up a war that makes the Battle of Gettysburg seem like a checker game by comparison," the *Times* observed on January 3, 1920, when the ordinance was being debated.

It took effect the following April, and Angelenos awakened to the realization that, like it or not, they had become dependent on automobiles. A *Times* headline trumpeted the discovery: "Business Can't Do without Them." Hollywood came to the rescue of downtown businessmen in the shapely form of Clara Kimball Young, who led a protest parade of cars through the business district. The no-parking ordinance was lifted, except for two evening rush hours. The city had capitulated to the automobile.

"Too bad we cannot make Broadway a three-deck affair," the *Times* sighed, momentarily struck by a fantasy that turned the streets over to automobiles, put public transportation underground, and had pedestrians walking "on a viaduct level with the second floor of the shops." City planners dreamed of the central city of 1990, proposing what they called "pedways" to accomplish the same visionary objective. So, too, would state and county roadways be necessary for a population increasingly wedded to the private automobile. By the end of 1924, approximately 310,000 automobiles—more than the total number of automobiles registered in the state

Snapshot

San Francisco Cable Cars

Andrew Smith Hallidie tested the first cable car at 4 o'clock in the morning, August 2nd, 1873, on Clay Street, in San Francisco. His idea for a steam engine powered—cable driven—rail system was conceived in 1869, after witnessing horses being whipped while they struggled on the wet cobblestones to pull a horsecar up Jackson Street. Clay Street Hill Railroad began public service on September 1st, 1873, and was a tremendous success.

By the beginning of 1906, many of San Francisco's remaining cable cars were under the control of the United Railroads company (URR), although Cal Cable and the Geary Street company remained independent. URR was pressing to convert many of its cable lines to overhead electric traction, but this was being resisted by opponents who objected to what they saw as ugly overhead lines on the major thoroughfares of the city center.

But at 5:12 A.M. on April 18, 1906, those objections were swept away as the great San Francisco earthquake struck. The quake and resulting fire destroyed the power houses and car barns of both the Cal Cable and the URR's Powell Street lines, together with the 117 cable cars stored within them. The subsequent race to rebuild the city allowed the URR to replace most of its cable car lines with electric streetcar lines. At the same time the independent Geary Street line was replaced by a municipally owned electric streetcar line, the first line of the San Francisco Municipal Railway.

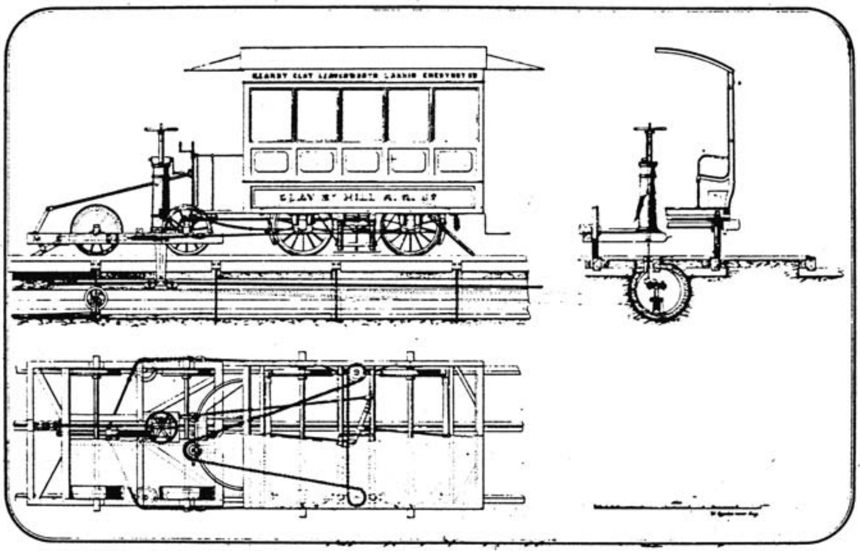
By 1912, only eight cable car lines remained, all with steep gradients impassable to electric streetcars. In the 1920s and 1930s these lines came under pressure from the much improved buses of the era, which could now climb steeper hills than the electric streetcar. By 1944, the only cable cars remaining were the two Powell Street lines, by then in municipal ownership, and the three lines owned by the still independent Cal Cable. (www.cablecarmuseum.org/heritage.html) of New York—were daily entering Los Angeles, where the corner of Adams and Figueroa, passed by 69,797 cars a day, was the busiest intersection in the United States. By 1933, streetcar usage in Los Angeles was half that of its peak year of 1924. By 1935, it had halved once again. Metropolitan Los Angeles was an integrated plain, hence amenable to automobile traffic via the great boulevards—Figueroa, Pico, Western, Olympic, Wilshire, Sunset—that were either inaugurated or expanded in the 1920s. In March 1938, construction began on the Arroyo Seco Parkway linking Pasadena and downtown Los Angeles on a continuously moving basis, with no intersections. Dedicated on December 30, 1940, just two days before the annual Tournament of Roses, the parkway anticipated the freeway system of post–World War II California (Weaver 1973, 48–52).

A cable car on Sutter Street in San Francisco in the late nineteenth century. The Granger Collection, New York.

In northern California, the Caldecott Tunnel, which was dug through the Contra Costa Range in 1937, linked the automotive traffic of the Bay Area with the spacious plain of Contra Costa. The Bay Area presented a different transportation problem. Comprised of a series of populated land masses that were separated by water, the area had 50,000 commuters who depended on ferries to bring them into and out of San Francisco daily. With the popularity and ownership of automobiles growing exponentially, pressure steadily increased for the construction of bridges to connect the water-trapped population centers. San Franciscans had been talking about the possibility of a bridge linking their city to Oakland on the East Bay shore since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1869 the completion of a railroad intensified such talk, because the city of San Francisco could be approached by rail only from San Jose via the San Francisco peninsula. Finally in 1906, the Southern Pacific spanned the southern portion of San Francisco Bay with a low-level trestle across the shoals and mudflats between Dumbarton Point and Palo Alto. A parallel span for automobiles was not added until 1927.

The Golden Gate Bridge under construction, San Francisco, 1934. Photo by Charles M. Hiller. Library of Congress.

By 1929 President Herbert Hoover, a Stanford-trained engineer, was spearheading discussions regarding a great bridge linking Oakland and San Francisco. Hoover directed the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—which had been created to bring relief to Depression-wracked businesses—to purchase $62 million in state bonds from the California Toll Bridge Authority toward the construc-



Original patent drawing for Andrew Smith Hallidie's cable car system, the world's first, introduced in San Francisco in 1873. The Granger Collection, New York.

tion of such a bridge. Later the New Deal's Public Works Authority authorized another $15.2 million in loans and grants, bringing the total budget for the bridge to $77.2 million, which made the San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge, dedicated in November 1936, one of the most expensive public works projects in American history.

While plans were being made for the Oakland bridge, the counties surrounding San Francisco Bay, joined by Del Norte County on the Oregon border (eager to bring automotive tourists into the Redwood Empire), organized the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District in order to build a bridge across the Golden Gate Strait between San Francisco and Marin County, thereby linking the Bay Area directly to the North Coast. In November 1930, voters in the district authorized the issuance of $35 million in bonds to construct a bridge across the Golden Gate. The bridge, designed by Charles Alton Ellis, combined the architectural stylizations of San Francisco architect Irving Morrow and a color scheme based on international orange. His design resulted in a bridge built between January 1933 and April 1937 that not only linked the San Francisco peninsula to the North Coast but created a masterpiece of art and engineering that ranks, so its historian John van der Zee has justifiably claimed, with the Parthenon as a harmonization of site and structure, nature and public work. Soon the Golden Gate Bridge, like the Brooklyn Bridge, asserted itself as an icon of American civilization (Starr 2005, 186–87).

The Wright brothers flew their powered heavier-than-air craft on December 17, 1903, near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. But neither North Carolina nor the Wrights' home state of Ohio was destined to capitalize upon the new invention. That role belonged to California. Over the next 10 years, the names associated with aviation in California—Glenn Curtiss, Allan and Malcolm Loughead (later changed to Lockheed), John Northrop, Glenn Martin, Donald Douglas, T. Claude Ryan—would become names that Americans associated with flight.

In 1910, the Lockheed brothers were busy with the design and production of a passenger-carrying seaplane, first flown in 1911. Glenn Curtiss and Glenn Martin were also designing and building pioneering aircraft. Graduating from MIT in 1914 with the first degree in aeronautical engineering granted by that institution, Donald Douglas joined Glenn Martin the next year at an assembly building near the present-day Los Angeles International Airport. In 1920, after a brief sojourn in Cleveland, Douglas opened his own aviation company in the back room of a barbershop on Pico Boulevard. By the fall of 1922, Douglas was manufacturing an airplane a week out of a former movie studio on Wilshire Boulevard in Santa Monica. T. Claude Ryan, meanwhile, had established Ryan Airlines of San Diego, a mail and passenger carrier. This got Ryan interested in the problem of long-distance flight. The result was the M-l, soon refined into the M-2 monoplane. Further modified as the N-X-22 Ryan NYP, Ryan's monoplane, christened the *Spirit of St. Louis*, was flown across the Atlantic in May 1927 by one of Ryan's young pilots, Charles Lindbergh.

So, too, did California pioneer passenger flight. By the mid-1920s, fully a third of the aviation traffic in the United States was operating from 50 private landing fields in greater Los Angeles, where there were some 3,000 licensed pilots (a group that included a notable number of women and minorities, especially African Americans). Four passenger lines—Western Air Express, Maddux Air Lines, Pacific Air Transport, and Standard Airlines—were offering regularly scheduled service to Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Seattle, and the Southwest. In 1929, Western announced plans for service to Kansas City, connecting to New York, in Fokker DP-32 passenger planes. Maddux Airlines, in which film director Cecil B. DeMille was an early investor, flew Ford Tri-Motors. On August 26, 1929, the gigantic (776 feet in length) German passenger dirigible *Graf Zeppelin* arrived in Los Angeles at Mines Field, site of the present-day Los Angeles International Airport, on a round-the-world cruise. An estimated 150,000 visitors flocked to the airport by automobile and streetcar to catch a glimpse of the tethered behemoth whose very arrival signaled an impending era of international flight.

The following decade, thanks in part to pioneering aeronautical research at Caltech, Donald Douglas took a two-engine passenger/freight carrier through the evolutions of DC-1 and DC-2 to the DC-3, arguably the most serviceable aircraft in the history of aviation. Announcing the DC-3 in 1935, Douglas sold 803 of these aircraft in the next two years. By 1937, DC-3s were carrying 95 percent of the civilian traffic in the United States. During World War II, more than 10,000 DC-3s (redesignated the C-47 Sky Train or the C-54 by the Americans, the Dakota by the British) ferried hundreds of thousands of troops and an uncountable amount of freight.

To the north in Seattle, Washington, William E. Boeing was also making aviation history. In 1916 Boeing began building seaplanes. A year later he incorporated his operations as the Boeing Airplane Company. Over the next decade Boeing joined with Pacific Airplane Company to launch United Airlines, and in the 1930s Boeing developed an aircraft capable of transatlantic passenger travel. Pan American used these Boeing seaplanes to begin passenger travel to England in 1939.

Political Life

In the first half of the twentieth century a strong contrast can be seen between the states of the Pacific West that were dominated by special interests and those where a strong pioneer spirit of rugged individualism put more democratic forces in play.

California and Hawaii fit into the former group and Washington, Nevada, Oregon, and Alaska into the latter. For example, when Washingtonians entered the Union in 1889, they created a constitution that divided the executive branch among nine elected offices to restrict the concentration of power in too few hands. This section will explore the governments these political forces created and how these political bodies responded to societal challenges such as crime and war.

GOVERNMENT

California, despite its self-propagated and self-authenticated image of itself as a free and easy society, had at the center of its complexity a tendency toward hard conservatism, which was evident from its earliest days of statehood with political gangs such as the San Francisco vigilance committees of 1851, 1856, and 1876.

And into the early twentieth century the state allowed a hard-nosed corporation, the Southern Pacific, to exercise significant political and economic control over its citizens. California was also an agricultural state in which farming was conducted on a quasi-industrial basis, and most big farmers who were living close to the edge supported a political system that opposed the organization of agricultural labor. California was also, outside San Francisco and Los Angeles, a suburban and small-town state, characterized by conservative political values.

On the other hand, with a militant labor union tradition that emerged in reaction to the unbridled supremacy of economic powers such as the Southern Pacific, the state also cultivated a leftist tradition, and in the early twentieth century the IWW had found a receptive environment in California, and so in the 1930s would the Communist Party (Starr 2005, 202–3).

As with the rest of the nation, complacency settled on California and the rest of the Pacific West during the prosperous decade following World War I. The entire West voted solidly Republican in those years, and in the national arena, Herbert Hoover, who had become an adopted son of California, served as U.S. secretary of commerce under President Calvin Coolidge and won the presidency in 1928. California entered the Great Depression with a pervasively moderate Republican orientation, tinged by reformist Progressivism. To the right were hard-nosed corporate oligarchs, busy perfecting a number of merchants' and manufacturers' associations, and a cadre of ultraconservative ranchers, many of them of southern ancestry. To the left were old-fashioned socialists (especially in Oakland, Berkeley, and Los Angeles), remnants of the IWW, utopian radicals of various persuasions, disciplined and dedicated Communists, and various other ideologues.

Because certain booming industries, such as the construction trades and tourism, were keenly sensitive to national trends and fell into a slump immediately, the Great Depression hit Californians hard. Adding to the economic stress were the "Okies," the refugees from the Dust Bowl, who swarmed into California and congregated in makeshift camps, where they suffered from hunger and disappointment until organized relief was forthcoming. In the mid-1930s, at the height of the Depression, more than 100,000 migrants, with no more possessions than they could carry on their backs or in their beat-up old jalopies, wandered into the Central Valley looking for work, shelter, and opportunities that, for the moment, did not exist.

California had also begun to attract retired farmers and businesspeople from throughout the Midwest. Although industrious and intelligent, in this pre–Social Security era, their resources were rather limited, so that they often had to engage in part-time employment, which put them into direct competition with native Californians in the already scarce job market. With time on their hands, these "senior citizens" became receptive to the myriad politicians preaching utopian solutions to the nation's economic woes. Perhaps, as journalist John Gunther suggested, it was the bright sunshine that caused previously conservative midwesterners to "go crazy" in California.

The first panacea that attracted support was "technocracy," a proposal advanced by Howard Scott of Columbia University. He contended that if the national economy were regimented by scientific planning to utilize all available technical improvements, then everyone would need to work only two or three hours daily and laborers could be retired with pensions at age 45. While this scheme was gathering some support, two others advanced in 1934 soon overshadowed it. One was the End Poverty in California (EPIC) crusade of Upton Sinclair, a Socialist and the author of many plays and novels. He advocated the elimination of the sales tax, the enactment of heavy income and corporation taxes, and the issuance of state "scrip" as a substitute for the money then so scarce. His proposal included the founding of state land colonies for the unemployed and the payment of pensions of 50 dollars a month to retired persons. His plan won him the Democratic nomination for governor in 1934, but he lost in the general election to businessman Frank Merriam.

The other panacea that blossomed in the year 1934 in the West was the Townsend Plan, which promised a simple solution for all economic ills. The originator, Dr. Francis E. Townsend, a retired physician, proposed that the state levy a tax of 2.5 percent on all business transactions and use the revenue for the payment of pensions of $200 a month to all persons over 60, who would spend the money and thus stimulate the economy. For several years afterward this plan continued to have a devoted band of followers, and hundreds of Townsend Clubs across the nation beat the drum for "old age survivors' pensions." Although unsuccessful, the enthusiasm demonstrated by the Townshendites certainly influenced New Dealers in the development of their own Social Security plan.

Meanwhile, many Californians became devotees of another scheme, which was dubbed "Ham and Eggs." A radio commentator, Robert Noble, proposed that all persons over 50 be paid a pension of $25 every Tuesday, and an advertising agent, Willis Allen, lent promotion, but with a change to $30 every Thursday. The labor unions and the Communist Party endorsed this proposal, and thousands turned out and even paid for admission to the spectacular mass meetings staged by the promoters. When the plan was made an issue in the election of 1938, over a million people voted for it, but soon the enthusiasm waned. When the proposal was submitted again in a special election the next year, it was soundly defeated.

Indirectly, these plans were a boon to Democratic leaders in Washington who were trying to push their own economic reforms. Obviously, a California that could be carried off by such radical panaceas would accept the relatively mild measures of the New Deal with little opposition. California, as well as the entire West, voted Democratic in the national elections through the 1930s and into the 1940s, thereby contributing a large bloc of electoral votes to Roosevelt and Truman (Starr 2005, 210–13).

In Hawaii, politics in the first decades on the twentieth century was controlled by the "Big Five" holding companies that began as shipping companies in the mid-nineteenth century, started by the sons of the missionaries who had come to the islands in the early nineteenth century. By the twentieth century these companies held controlling interest in most of the sugar plantations and processing and canning plants, as well as the shipping facilities (Barnes 2007, 38–39). This powerful group guided Hawaii to annexation to the United States in 1898 despite the wishes of a majority of native Hawaiians to return to monarchy and self-rule. During most of the territorial period, which lasted until 1959, the Big Five controlled the legislature, which was the most powerful political force on the island. They maintained power despite the fact that during the early territorial period two-thirds of the voters were native Hawaiians, most of whom advocated the home-rule policies of the promonarchists. Until the end of World War II the government was controlled from the lounge of the exclusive Pacific Club in Honolulu, where wealthy sugar planters met to plan strategies for the future over snifters of brandy and Cuban cigars (Barnes 2007, 57).

Without strong special interest groups, Alaska came under the control of the federal government to a greater degree than its sister territory Hawaii. The best example of this influence occurred during the Great Depression, when power in Washington, D.C., expanded as more and more people looked to their federal government for help to combat the economic catastrophe that had fallen on them. The Great Depression had hit Alaska hard, but times had been rough for so long in so many places that some folks did not seem to notice. In the summer of 1934, with no upturn in sight, President Franklin D. Roosevelt told Ernest Gruening, head of the newly created Division of Territories and Island Possessions, "Alaska needs more people and we ought to do something to promote agriculture. Next Spring I would like you to move a thousand or fifteen hundred people from the drought stricken states of the Midwest and give them a chance to start a new life in Alaska."

Alaska was not the only place where the New Deal tried to resettle the destitute from poverty-stricken rural areas, but thanks in part to Alaska's special mystique, the proposed project "up north" got considerable press and took center stage. In Alaska even those traditionally opposed to the federal government involvement in territorial affairs were guardedly optimistic. The area selected was the Matanuska Valley, 40 miles north of Anchorage. The area had soil that in some areas was rich and fertile and a growing season of 110 days. In 1935, the federal government restricted homesteading in the area and designated it as an area reserved for those families the government would send in to colonize it. In all some 200 families traveled north to the new colony in the spring of 1935. Despite the promise of sunny skies, the colonists were welcomed by torrential rain. Furthermore, promised homes had not been built, wells had not been dug, there were no schools, and there were perennial complaints about the high prices at the government commissary. Rather than complain, 106 of the families simply gave up and went home, but for those that remained progress eventually came. Within the year 140 houses of the 200 promised were built, and a school building was opened. By 1940, 150 of the 200 tracts were occupied, despite the fact that many of the original families had abandoned the project. In the end, the federal government had saved the colony and eased its transition into a regular settlement.

But it was not New Deal domestic policy but rather military policy that stimulated growth. In 1940 the military constructed Fort Richardson and Elmendorf Air Base nearby, which provided a job market as well as a farm market for the colonists of Matanuska Valley. Some critics called the Matanuska colony a social experiment gone awry—just another socialist New Deal scheme by that Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR). Others sang FDR's praises and called Matanuska the best thing that could have happened to them. Regardless, the fact remains that the town survived and prospered through federal government intervention (Borneman 2004, 311–16).

At the turn of the century Nevada was a subject for discussion in periodicals as the rotten borough of the nation, which should never have been admitted to the Union. There was even discussion as to whether a state, once in the Union, could constitutionally be put out of it when it became depopulated. The effect of this discussion upon native Nevadans can readily be imagined. They became fiercely assertive concerning their state sovereignty, the more so because the paucity of their population gave them a personal experience of sovereignty that was lacking in the populous states.

Nevada politics in the twentieth century until World War II had a town-meeting air about it. Had not the expanse of the state prohibited it, all of the voters could have assembled conveniently on the beautiful lawn of the state university campus at Reno and there argued out their affairs and selected their public officers. Once the Southern Pacific Political Bureau dismantled itself, Nevada politics became small townish and gossipy. Nevada Senator Key Pittman boasted that he knew almost every one of his constituents personally, and he could not have doubted that his constituents in turn knew all about him.

Nevadans were attracted to politics by the unusual opportunities for political participation. There were the same county and state central committees for the political parties that existed in other states and the same public offices, but the number of political participants was few. Nevadans, consequently, lived their political lives in a way that was not to be conceived of in the large states. This helped give them a sense of citizenship that was unexcelled in the nation.

The hero and the spokesman and, for many Nevadans, the apotheosis of this twentieth-century Nevada spirit was Senator Pat McCarran, standing forth in the name of Americanism against Communist subversion from within and invasion by aliens from without. In Nevada's roster of heroes, McCarran stands with John W. Mackay and no one else, for he personified citizenship as the concept that had been enlarged by Nevada's peculiar circumstances.

Gold and silver strikes in the early part of the century did much to emancipate Nevada politically as well as economically. Withdrawal of the Southern Pacific from Nevada politics, taking place at the time of the new discoveries, created a vacuum into which anything might have rushed. Aside from the railroad, the only economic interest in the state of any considerable importance was the livestock industry, which was largely absentee-owned. The best guess is that, except for the new bonanzas, Nevada's political destinies would have been determined by Nevada cattle corporations, united by common interests, whether they were in San Francisco or New York. This possibility was obviated by Jim Butler's discovery of gold and silver in west-central Nevada. A rich home-owned industry, Tonopah mining, came into being and provided an economic basis for home rule. During the next half century, nearly every nationally important political figure in the state was a man from Tonopah (Ostrander 1966, 133–34).

In the twentieth century the people of Oregon demonstrated in their creation of government the same innovative spirit of their pioneer predecessors. In the early decades of the century, for example, they implemented reforms that collectively became known as the "Oregon Plan." These innovations included initiative and referendum established in 1902, which allows citizens to create and remove laws through the ballot. In 1908, they were the first state to establish the right of recall, and in 1923 they were the first state to institute an income tax.

LAW, CRIME, AND PUNISHMENT

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, romanticized accounts of the exploits of criminals from the West like Jesse James, Cole Younger, Butch Cassidy, and Billy the Kid had fascinated Americans. But by the beginning of the new century the old West had become much tamer and the more colorful criminals had moved on to the new frontier of Alaska. One such character was Jefferson Randolph "Soapy" Smith of Skagway, Alaska, a turn-of-the-century gold boomtown. In 1898, already run out of other towns on the mining frontier, in the "lower forty-eight," Smith was destined to meet his end in Skagway. He received his nickname, "Soapy," from running a confidence game where 20—or even 100—dollar bills were wrapped around bars of soap. The "lucky" ones were then placed in a barrel with similarly wrapped, but valueless bars. Five dollars a shot was all it took to try to win, but of course the only winners of the big bucks were Smith's hired hands.

Like many crime bosses, he was revered by some and feared by most. While his gang of henchmen duped newcomers, fleeced returning prospectors, and even resorted to murder out on the trails, Smith stood innocently and supported everything from stray dogs to destitute stampeders, the latter frequently made so by the work of his gang. Finally Smith's gang pushed the locals too far. When a miner who had just returned from the Yukon was robbed, duped,

Snapshot

Soapy Smith: Crime Boss of Skagway, Alaska

Fact frequently blurs with fiction when recounting tales of Soapy's reign in Skagway, but one story is too good to pass up even if its sources are dubious. One of Smith's operations, it seems, was a telegraph station that purported to send messages to loved ones back home. No one seemed to notice that the telegraph lines ran a few miles out of town and then stopped. But that didn't stop Smith from receiving replies from the outside—always collect. (Borneman 2004, 190–92) or otherwise conned—the versions of the story vary—out of some $3,000 in gold dust, a vigilante committee determined to confront Smith's iron rule, and on July 8, 1898, Smith was killed on Juneau wharf in a shoot-out with the town surveyor, Frank Reid. Smith died instantly. Reid lingered for days before being given a hero's burial that the *Skagway News* said was to Skagway and Alaska what General Grant's had been to New York's and the nation (Borneman 2004, 190–92).

REFORM

Much of the energy of reform movements of the early twentieth century came from newly organized women's movements. The new woman of the twentieth century was in most cases better educated, more likely to work outside the house, and more dedicated to public issues than her mother. In 1900 in the West, one-fourth of the nonfarm workforce was composed of women, and many went into nurturing professions of social welfare, teaching, and nursing. These professions brought women directly in contact with many of the social problems facing the nation. They recognized that poor schooling, poor housing, poor dietary habits, unsupervised canning of food, lack of access to open space, and exploitation of women and children in the workforce were problems for the entire community.

Unlike reform movements of the previous century, the twentieth-century reformers saw government as a vehicle for change, not an obstruction. Therefore, they struggled to take control of government. One political tactic in the reform movement was to unite with suffragists to get the vote for women, who, it was believed, would be more likely to vote in support of social reform. Western states took the lead in this battle. By 1913 every state in the West and the Alaska territory had granted women the right to vote. By contrast, east of the Mississippi no state granted suffrage until New York did so in 1917.

Armed with women's power of the vote, western states struggled to wrest control of government from special interests. Oregon led the way in reform in 1903 by being the first state to write the process of initiative and recall into its state constitution. Once in control of state legislatures, reformers passed myriad laws that would change the lives of their fellow westerners. As a result of reform movements, Americans throughout the West benefited from better schools, cleaner drinking water, and regulated public utilities. In many areas open space coveted by developers and manufacturers was safeguarded for all. In 1913, for example, reformers in Oregon persuaded Governor Oswald West to make the entire Oregon coastline available for public access, thus boosting coastal park development. Reform movements in the West also regulated the hours that children and women could work. Even in a state such as California, with powerful agricultural interests opposed to restricting the hours that women could work, reformers were able to get such a bill passed in 1911 (Mowry 1951, 144). As a result of the work of reformers in the early decades of the century, the life of Americans in the West changed. They were more likely to be protected by insurance on the job; had cleaner drinking water, better schools, and healthier food;

and enjoyed the benefits of the natural wonders that surrounded them in protected national and state parks.

WAR

In 1914, the U.S. navy established its Pacific Fleet, supported by a growing naval presence in San Diego. During World War I, California contributed its fair share of troops, including a number of locally raised regiments whose soldiers entered the trenches bonded to each other by local association and civic pride. Professor George Ellery Hale of the Mount Wilson Observatory in Pasadena also played a key role in organizing the national scientific establishment on behalf of the war effort. In the 1920s, the oligarchy of San Diego, operating through Congressman William Kettner, deliberately recruited a major naval and Marine Corps presence to that city, transforming San Diego into a kind of Gibraltar on the Pacific, complete with a Marine Corps training depot designed in Spanish Revival by Bertram Goodhue, architect of the California Building at the Panama California International Exposition. The U.S. army, meanwhile, was expanding its presence through a series of forts and installations in the San Francisco Bay Area, including Hamilton Field Air Station in Marin County. In 1931, the naval air service established Moffett Field, an important lighter-than-air facility, at the border between Sunnyvale and Mountain View on the San Francisco peninsula, centered on an airship hangar of such monumental proportions that it created its own weather system. Meanwhile Californians, such as Chester Nimitz, Henry "Hap" Arnold, Jimmy Doolittle, and George S. Patton, had earned, or were in the process of earning, distinguished military reputations that would propel them into leadership roles in the conflict to come. The San Francisco Bay Area and metropolitan Los Angeles had each finally developed important port and ship repair facilities, both military and civilian, and secured the sources of water and hydroelectricity necessary for an expanded defense industrial capacity (Starr 2005, 227–29).

THE PACIFIC WEST
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Recreational Life

SPORTS

The outdoor life, which celebrated mountaineering, camping, fishing, sport boxing, swimming, and golf had characterized the California—and to some extent the Oregon—lifestyle since the late nineteenth century. California also has boasted an especially large proportion of athletic champions emanating from the state. Furthermore, because of generous public support of sports facilities, Californians promoted the democratization of sports such as swimming, tennis, and golf that were usually the domain of the elite. Most of the champions of the twentieth century who came from California first developed their skills in publicly subsidized circumstances: municipally supported swimming pools, golf courses, and tennis courts in particular.

The tennis courts of California, many of them municipally funded, tended to favor hard surfaces, which were more economical and could be used year-round, and encouraged a quicker and more competitive mode of play than the game played on the grass or clay surfaces of the East. Hence the early champions in this field—May Sutton (Wimbledon 1907), Maurice McLoughlin (Wimbledon 1913), Helen Wills (an eight-time Wimbledon winner in the 1920s and 1930s)—tended to come up through public courts rather than country clubs and to play a fast and edgy kind of game. The same is true for swimming champion Florence Chadwick, a policeman's daughter who set new English Channel records in August 1950. She had honed her skills as a youngster in the free public surf off San Diego. Rough-water swimming has also been a popular pursuit in California as attested by the many swimming and boating clubs fronting San Francisco Bay. One aspect of this rough-water-oriented culture, yachting, centered in the clubs and associations of San Francisco, Catalina, and San Diego, remained elite. Surfing, a rough-water sport brought to California in 1907 by Anglo-Hawaiian George Freeth, became yet another affordable, widespread pursuit. By the late twentieth century, in fact, the California surfer, male and female alike, had become an icon of the California lifestyle, celebrated in song, film, advertising, and other media. So, too, did another inexpensive shoreline pursuit, beach volleyball, gain comparable popularity during these years and become similarly representative of an endless summer on the shores of the sundown sea in a place called California, where youth ruled the popular imagination.

Golf also became a popular sport in the West in the early decades of the century, and California was home to one of the most popular links in the world, Pebble Beach. This beautiful course, which looks out over the Pacific Ocean, opened in 1919 on land located in a resort owned by the Pacific Improvement Company. Over the years Pebble Beach gained international fame among golf enthusiasts and in 2005 was named the best golf course in America by *Golf Digest*.

Although baseball was popular, California and the rest of the Pacific West remained minor league states until the arrival of the Giants and the Dodgers in California in 1958. Prior to the arrival of the "Big Leagues," the Pacific Coast League—organized in 1903 from the club-oriented California League that had emerged in the 1880s—was for more than half a century an extraordinarily popular and successful venture in terms of the number of cities represented, successful stadiums, and notable players, including two of baseball's greatest stars, Joe DiMaggio (San Francisco Seals) and Ted Williams (San Diego Padres). Another great California player, Jackie Robinson of Pasadena, became the first African American to integrate Major League Baseball via a team (the Dodgers) that subsequently came to Los Angeles.

Mountaineering, meanwhile, remained a largely elite endeavor, pursued by such upper-middle-class Sierra Club members as Walter A. Starr Jr., whose posthumously published *Starr's Guide to the John Muir Trail and the High Sierra Region* (1934) literally cost him his life to research. Skiing, an allied pursuit, was equally upper-middle-class in the pre–World War II era but, unlike mountaineering, expanded in the postwar era to a widespread resort-based culture. Rock climbing, however, an edge-sport affiliate of mountaineering, remained a sport of the few, given its great dangers (Starr 2005, 299–301).

Hawaiians traditionally had a fondness for sports. Many of these were water based, such as swimming, surfing, spear fishing, and canoeing. Many "sports" of the twentieth century were rooted in the economic life of an earlier era. For example, canoeing in heavy surf was an essential survival skill, but in the twentieth century it evolved into the official state sport of outrigger canoe racing. Hawaiian's two most important contributions to American sports have been surfing and catamaran sailing (Barnes 2007, 22).

MUSIC

In 1923, an opera company was established in San Francisco under the direction of emigre Gaetano Merola. Moved in 1932 to a magnificent new Beaux Arts opera house on Van Ness Avenue, the San Francisco Opera—along with its symphony orchestra established in 1911 and flourishing under the direction of Pierre Monteux—sustained for 50 years San Francisco's claim to be the performing arts capital of the Far West. Los Angeles, meanwhile, nurtured a burgeoning choral music community from the early 1900s, the legacy of its strong Anglo-Protestant population. In 1919 a philharmonic orchestra was established under the direction of Alfred Hertz with the financial support of mining heir William Andrews Clark, who sometimes sat in as second violin. In Daisy Dell, a canyon amphitheater in Hollywood, a tradition of religious services and choral music led to the establishment of the Hollywood Bowl in 1922, for which architect Lloyd Wright, son of Frank Lloyd Wright, designed a performance shell that soon emerged as one of the primary icons of southern California (Starr 2005, 296).

ENTERTAINMENT

Like the rest of the country, Westerners were entertained by movies, but unlike the rest of the nation, when they went to the movies they were enjoying a "home-grown" product. In the 1920s Los Angeles became the capital of the great film entertainment industry. Motion pictures did not initially establish themselves in California. The early studios were in New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey, and Chicago. But in the winter of 1907–1908 director Francis Boggs and cameraman Thomas Persons, working for Selig Films of Chicago, and needing good weather, left for Los Angeles, where they filmed the outdoor scenes for *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1908). Liking Los Angeles as a location, they established a Selig operation there, filming *In the*

Sultan's Power (1908), the first complete film to be made in Los Angeles, and then used a Classic Revival villa and gardens as background for *The Roman* (1908).

Those films were quickly followed by a production of *Carmen* (1908), which involved the building of an entire set. Not only did the Selig staff appreciate the reliably good weather of Los Angeles, they also relished the distance from the subpoena servers constantly being dispatched by the lawyers hired by Edison Laboratories to initiate suits against producers who were not always willing to pay what Edison considered their fair share of licensing and reel footage fees.

Between 1908 and 1909, a number of other filmmakers, equally reluctant to pay tribute to the so-called Edison Trust, arrived in Los Angeles. In the winter of 1910, director David Wark Griffith arrived, returning to southern California in the winters of 1911, 1912, and 1913 to film outdoor scenes. For his first all-California film, *The Thread of Destiny* (1910), a story of Old California starring Mary Pickford, Griffith moved his troupe out to Mission San Gabriel. Another all-California film, *In Old California* (1910), soon followed. Most of the movies Griffith made in these early years—including *The Converts* (1910), *The Way of the World* (1910), and *Over Silent Paths* (1910)—were set in Spanish or Mexican California and filmed in the missions of San Gabriel, San Fernando, or San Juan Capistrano. These settings gave Americans who saw these films a romanticized view of the West, and for many it became their fixed idea of the region. The mission settings depicted in these films celebrated the lost grandeur of an earlier way of life but were not representative of American life in the West as it really was in the early twentieth century.

Perhaps a more honest view of life in the West, at least in southern California, may have come from the creations of Mack Sennett, a disciple of Griffith, who came to Los Angeles in 1912. Within 30 minutes of his troupe's arrival at the train station, Sennett was busy filming the first of many Keystone comedies. A brash Irish Canadian given to liquor, cigars, and women (tradition assigns to him the invention of the casting couch), Sennett loved Los Angeles and featured it as the environment and background of countless Keystone comedies. Taking to the streets for innumerable chase scenes, Sennett caught Los Angeles in the process of becoming a major American city. Viewing these comedies across the country, Americans caught glimpses of inviting bungalows on broad avenues lined with palm, pepper, or eucalyptus trees. It was always sunny, and there was never any snow on the ground.

The New York director Cecil Blount DeMille arrived in Los Angeles in December 1913 to film a Western titled *The Squaw Man* (1914), which he was making in partnership with the San Jose–born New York vaudeville producer Jesse Lasky and Lasky's brother-in-law, Samuel Goldfish (later Goldwyn), who was in the wholesale glove business. "I'm in," said Goldfish the night the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company was organized by Lasky, DeMille, and Goldfish over dinner at the Claridge Grill in New York. (As Samuel Goldwyn, Goldfish became famous for saying "Include me out" when he didn't like a deal.)

In Los Angeles, DeMille located an L-shaped barn abutting an orange grove on the corner of the dirt roads Selma and Vine, which he rented and transformed into a makeshift studio. Released in February 1914, *The Squaw Man* earned $244,700, which represented an enormous return on investment. Not only did DeMille decide to stay

Cecil B. DeMille, 1952. Library of Congress.

in Hollywood, he became, along with Griffith, the iconic Hollywood director, dressed in quasi-military style jodhpurs and riding boots, with epaulets on his shirt, directing large-scale films in the studio or outdoors like a general on campaign. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916) set new standards for ambitious production, and in such films as *Carmen* (1915) and *The Ten Commandments* (1923), DeMille was not far behind. Each of them owed a debt (especially DeMille) to David Belasco, a San Francisco–born New York producer specializing in opulent presentations that Belasco helped transmute into the Hollywood approach, with its obsession with lavish production values, its taste for pageantry, and, above all, its belief that *story, story, story* must ever energize the film and move it forward. Perhaps it was DeMille's emphasis on the spectacular that gave Americans the impression that Hollywood was that, as the nation became captivated by these great extravaganzas.

What was amazing about Hollywood was that, decade after decade, it never fell into a slump. In the early 1900s, film was conceptualized as narrative and made a vital connection with the masses. In the 1910s, just about every genre—comedies, tragedies, biblical and historical epics, domestic dramas, westerns—was introduced in fully realized formats. In the domestic dramas of Cecil B. DeMille from this period—*The Cheat* (1915), *Old Wives for New* (1918), *Male and Female* (1919), *Don't Change Your Husband* (1919), *For Better or Worse* (1919), *Why Change Your Wife?* (1920)—a generation of recently derusticated Americans was exposed to the amenities, niceties, and dangers of urban life, including adultery and divorce. During the 1930s, Hollywood can be said to have helped stabilize the nation by offering intensities of psychological release for the stress everyone was experiencing: gangster films (*Little Caesar* [1930], *Public Enemy* [1931], *Scarface* [1932]) with which to question capitalism itself; horror films (*Dracula* [1931], *Frankenstein* [1931], *Freaks* [1932], *Doctor X* [1932]) to express the dread of sudden and catastrophic collapse; sexually

A scene with actor Lionel Atwill from *Doctor X,* 1932, directed by Michael Curtiz. © Warner Bros. Pictures. Photographer: Scotty Welbourne.

charged films (*Dishonored* [1931], *Red Dust* [1932]) that expressed a sense of rebellion against the established order; and, toward the end of the decade, great costume dramas (*Anthony Adverse* [1936], *The Prisoner of Zenda* [1937]) that showed the triumph of individual courage over hostile historical forces; westerns (*Stage Coach* [1939], *Union Pacific* [1939]) renewing hope in the American experiment; and *Gone With the Wind* (1939), in a class by itself, recasting the American experience as an epic of defiance in the face of defeat. Never, as historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., has pointed out, have so many great films been produced in such rapid succession, and never did Hollywood play such a powerful and direct role in the subliminal and public life of the nation. From its inception at the beginning of the century through World War II, Hollywood films not only entertained but educated, but they influenced American life more than any other single cultural force in the country (Starr 2005, 276–81).

The most important form of entertainment in the Hawaiian Islands was dance, which took many forms in Hawaii. Dance or hula was performed by both men and women. Some forms of hula were sacred while others were performed solely for entertainment for both the dancers and the audience. In addition to its entertainment value, hula played an important role in passing down the oral history from one generation to the next. All hula movements represented a particular action or event that together told a story in a most beautiful fashion (Barnes 2007, 21).

HOLIDAYS, CELEBRATIONS, AND FESTIVALS

Those who lived on the West Coast celebrated Christmas much as the rest of the United States with Christmas trees, lights, Santa Claus, family dinners, and presents, but the unique weather of southern California provided opportunities to add special distinctions to the universal celebration. In Newport Beach, for example, the town celebrated a Christmas Boat Parade, which started in the early 1900s when Venetian gondolier John Scarpa put lights on eight canoes and his gondola and floated them around the bay.

Since the end of the nineteenth century the people of Los Angeles have been celebrating the Tournament of Roses, which began in 1890 when members of the Pasadena Valley Hunt Club, former residents of the East and Midwest, wanted to showcase their new home's mild winter weather. "In New York, people are buried in snow," announced Professor Charles F. Holder at a Club meeting. "Here our flowers are blooming and our oranges are about to bear. Let's hold a festival to tell the world about our paradise." During the next few years, the festival expanded to include marching bands, games, and motorized floats. The games on the town lot (which was renamed Tournament Park in 1900) included ostrich races, bronco busting demonstrations, and a race between a camel and an elephant (the elephant won). Reviewing stands were built along the parade route, and eastern newspapers began to take notice of the event. In 1895, the Tournament of Roses Association was formed to take charge of the festival, which had grown too large for the Valley Hunt Club to handle. In 1902 the Tournament of Roses Association decided to enhance the day's festivities by adding a football game. Stanford University accepted the invitation to take on the powerhouse University of Michigan, but the West Coast team was flattened 49–0 and gave up in the third quarter. The lopsided score prompted the tournament to give up football in favor of a polo match. When that event drew only 2,000 people, they opted for a Roman-style chariot race. The races lasted until 1915. But by then college football was well on its way to becoming the premier sporting attraction in the country and the tournament committee brought the sport back in 1916.

Religious Life

RELIGION, SPIRITUALITY, AND RITES OF PASSAGE

In Los Angeles in 1906, on Azusa Street, a religious movement began, which some historians call the birth of the modern Pentecostalism. To read the newspapers in 1906, one might have wondered about all the excitement in an old building on Azusa Street in the industrial part of the city. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, a bizarre new religious sect had started with people "breathing strange utterances and mouthing a creed which it would seem no sane mortal could understand." Furthermore, "Devotees of the weird doctrine practice the most fanatical rites, preach the wildest theories, and work themselves into a state of mad excitement." The article continued by saying that "Colored people and a sprinkling of whites compose the congregation, and night is made hideous in the neighborhood by the howlings of the worshippers who spend hours swaying forth and back in a nerve-racking attitude of prayer and supplication." To top it all off, they claimed to have received the "gift of tongues," and what's more, "comprehend the babel."

Nonetheless, for the spiritually hungry who came from far and wide to receive their Pentecost, "the very atmosphere of heaven" had descended, according to one. A visiting Baptist pastor said, "The Holy Spirit fell upon me and filled me literally, as it seemed to lift me up, for indeed, I was in the air in an instant, shouting, 'Praise God,' and instantly I began to speak in another language. I could not have been more surprised if at the same moment someone had handed me a million dollars" (http://www.ag.org/enrichmentjournal/199904/026_azusa.cfm).

Little could the subscribers of the *Times* have guessed that in years to come, historians would say that the Azusa Street revival played a major role in the development of modern Pentecostalism—a movement that changed the religious landscape and became the most vibrant force for world evangelization in the twentieth century. Azusa Street became the most significant revival of the century in terms of global perspective.

The movement had been started by William Seymour, a black preacher from Topeka, Kansas, who had been moved by Charles Parham, who preached that the end of times was near and the signs could be seen through those who, filled with the Holy

Spirit, began to speak in tongues. The first woman to speak in tongues supposedly began speaking Chinese for hours after receiving the Holy Spirit but could not speak in her own language. Moved by the Spirit himself, Seymour came to Los Angeles. He preached that glossolalia, or "speaking in tongues," was evidence of Holy Spirit baptism; his first Los Angeles parish expelled him, but Seymour continued preaching until he and a small group experienced glossolalia. Crowds began to gather, and a mission space was found on Azusa Street, in a run-down building in downtown Los Angeles. Worship there was frequent, spontaneous, and ecstatic, drawing people from around the world to a revival that lasted about three years. The Azusa revival was multiracial. It welcomed poor people and encouraged the leadership of women. Azusa's "five-fold doctrine" was: (1) salvation; (2) sanctification or holiness; (3) tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism; (4) divine healing; and (5) the "very soon" return of Christ. The movement continues throughout the world to the present, and, although Pentecostalism has earlier roots, the Azusa Street revival launched it as a worldwide movement (http:// enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199904/026_azusa. cfm).

In the 1920s, California produced what would become the prototypes for radio evangelism throughout the country, Bob Schuler and Aimee Semple McPherson. It began with fierce and patriarchal Bob Schuler, who personified the Bible Belt and all its relish for hellfire and damnation. Of poor white stock, raised in a log cabin in the hardscrabble hills of Tennessee, Schuler first rose to prominence as a Methodist preacher in Texas. Soon his style of denunciation from the pulpit brought him trouble and he left Texas in 1920 (under the shadow of a number of libel suits) for Los Angeles, where he became pastor of the Trinity Methodist Church, an embattled downtown church with dwindling membership and growing debt. In 1922, he began publishing *Bob Schulers Magazine*, which he wrote mostly himself. In his magazine he praised the Bible and William Jennings Bryan while railing against Jews, Catholics, movies, evolution, jazz, and dancing. Within the decade he had expanded his congregation from 940 to over 42,000 and had paid off most of the church's debt.

Schuler (and his avid followers) considered himself the savior of Los Angeles, which he described as the last Anglo-Saxon city of more than a million people left in America. During the Christmas season of 1926, Elizabeth Glide, a devout Methodist follower and oil heiress, bought Schuler a radio station, KGEF. Now, with a radio audience of over 200,000, Schuler exhorted, scolded, named names, and soon became a political power in his own right. His power reached a peak in 1928 when his candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, John Porter, a church-going used auto parts salesman and former Klan member, won the contest. When Porter's incompetence and inability to run the city became obvious, Schuler's credibility plummeted.

Schuler's despised counterpart, Aimee Semple McPherson, made her Los Angeles shrine the epicenter of religiosity for the common folk of California and eventually the entire United States. She presided over the new (as of January 1923) $1.5 million Angelus Temple on the northwest edge of Echo Park in Los Angeles. There, on a Sunday morning, evangelist McPherson, a charismatic preacher given to flamboyant theatricality, preached to congregations of 4,000 and more people her "Foursquare Gospel" of evangelical healing and hope. Weekly sermons were announced from an electric marquee over the temple entrance, as in a motion picture palace. For McPherson, the message was in the medium. Entering the temple on a motorcycle in a policeman's uniform, McPherson placed sin under arrest and urged her audience not to speed to ruin. Prodding him with a pitchfork, she chased the devil from the stage. Dressed as a University of Southern California football player, she urged her congregation to carry the ball for Christ. Dressed as a nurse, she prayed over the sick. McPherson's healing ministry in fact was at the core of her success, because so many of the people had come to southern California in late middle or old age in the hope of regaining lost health. By the late 1920s, a special display area at the temple featured the canes, crutches, and braces that so many of the people, now healed, no longer found necessary. Her message went out to the nation on radio station KFSG (Kall Four Square Gospel).

In May 1926, McPherson mysteriously disappeared, in a swimming area near the small town of Venice, California. After a month of mournful searching for her remains, McPherson resurfaced with a kidnapping story that was seriously doubted. When it was discovered that her presumed lover had also been unaccounted for during the same period, her story became less credible, as did her influence as a preacher. She continued to minister to smaller congregations until her death from a drug overdose in 1944 (Starr 1991, 136, 139, 142–43).

The adobe walls and Spanish mission red tile roofs of Los Angeles churches stake their claim as the seedbed of North American Catholicism. Franciscan padres followed the Spanish conquistadores into California more than a century before Anglo-Catholics landed in the East Coast colonies of England. But after the mass immigrations from Europe of the mid-nineteenth century, the center of gravity of the American Church became solidly grounded at a point somewhere between the East Coast and the Great Lakes. The sole western outpost of American-style institutional Catholicism in the first decades of the twentieth century was San Francisco, dominated by highly successful Irish and Italian transplants from the East. Mexican Catholic southern California was regarded as mission territory well into the twentieth century. Not until the post–World War II era would mass migration to southern California transform the former mission of Los Angeles into one of the largest archdioceses in the country (Morris 1997, 257–58).

Despite the diligent work of nineteenth-century American missionaries, many native Hawaiian religious traditions lasted well into the twentieth century, and the major gods played an important role in the rich and diverse mythology of Hawaii. The Hawaiians worshipped four major gods: Kane, the creator; Lono, the god of fertile soil and a rich harvest; Ku, the god of war; and Kanaloa, the god of the sea. There are also a large number of lesser gods, the most famous of which is Pele, the goddess of volcanoes. Natives and visitors alike continue to visit her home in Halema'uma in Hawaii Volcanoes National Park. Along with these universal gods, native Hawaiian families have their own ancestral gods, called *aumakua*. They were often represented by a fish or a bird or other animal that has had significance for the family (Barnes 2007, 18).

Although in the Northwest no social stigma attached itself to the nonchurchgoer, the influence of the church in the Northwest remained evident. For example, in Oregon, well into the twentieth century stores were closed on Sundays, and in Washington no liquor was sold by the bottle or the drink from midnight on Saturday until 6:00 A.M. Monday. Although attacked by the Washington convention and tourist industry, the strict regulations prevailed against all opposition until the late twentieth century.

WORLDVIEW

The Pacific Coast West encompassed the last frontier of America and likewise the last of the pioneers. The last two states to enter the Union are included in this region. Frontiers attract those who are open to change and new ideas. It creates an environment that encourages experimentation. In this environment new industries of the twentieth century, such as the cinema and aviation, prospered. As in all areas deemed frontiers by the newly arriving majority, the old and established often becomes displaced. Mexicans in southern California with cultural roots centuries deep saw themselves displaced, as did the Native Americans of Alaska, Oregon, and Washington.

Experimentation in the Pacific West was a virtue that manifested itself in forms as varied as innovative government in Oregon and Pentecostal religion in California. Wherever one lived in the Pacific West one could find a spirit of openness to change and acceptance of individual differences, to a degree not as common in the other regions of the country.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Books

Barnes, Phil. *A Concise History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Hilo, HI: Petroglyph Press, 2007.

Black, Brian. *Nature and the Environment in Twentieth-Century American Life*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Borneman, Walter. *Alaska: Saga of a Bold Land*. New York: Perennial, 2004.

Carpenter, Frank G. *Alaska: Our Northern Wonderland*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1972.

Daniels, Roger, and Spencer Olin. *Racism in California: A Reader in the History of Oppression*. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1972.

Fenton, Frank. *A Place in the Sun*. New York: Random House, 1942.

Green, Harvey. *The Uncertainty of Everyday Life, 1915–1945*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Hill, Daniel Delis. *As Seen in Vogue*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2004.

Ingham, John N., and Lynne B. Feldman. *African-American Business Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Jones, Kirkland C. *Renaissance Man from Louisiana: A Biography of Arna Wendell Bontemps*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Kyvig, David E. *Daily Life in the United States 1920–1940: How Americans Lived through the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.
Lindenmeyer, Kristine. *The Greatest Generation Grows Up*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005.
London, Jack. *John Barleycorn*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
MacDonald, Betty. *The Egg and I*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1945.
Morris, Charles. *American Catholic: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church*. New York: Random House, 1997.
Mowry, George. *The California Progressives*. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1951.
Ostrander, Gilman. *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough 1859–1964*. New York: Knopf, 1966.
Reich, Steven, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Great Black Migration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.
Starr, Kevin. *California: A History*. New York: Modern Library, 2005.
_____. *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California*. New York: Oxford Press, 1997.
_____. *Inventing the Dream: California in the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford, 1986.
_____. *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s*. New York: Oxford Press, 1991.
Thompson, Nile, and Carolyn Marr. *Building for Learning: Seattle Public Schools 1862–2000*. Seattle, WA: Seattle Public Schools, 2001.
Weaver, John. *El Pueblo Grande: A Non Fiction Book about Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1973.
Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States 1492–Present*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2003.

Articles

Cook, Katherine. "Education among Native and Minority Groups in Alaska, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and Hawaii." *Journal of Negro Education* 3, no. 1 (January 1934): 20–41.
Hayner, Norman. "Regional Family Patterns: The Western Family." *American Journal of Sociology* 53, no. 6 (May 1948): 432–34.
Lange, Emil. "Character Education in Long Beach Schools." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 4, no.7 (March 1931): 426–29.

Web Sites

Enrichment Journal. http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199904/026_azusa.cfm.
Ingham, John N., and Feldman, Lynne B. "Nickerson, William, Jr." African-American Business Leaders: Biographical Dictionary. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. The African American Experience. Greenwood Group March 24, 2008. http://aae.greenwood.com/doc.aspx?fileID=IBL&chapterID=IBL-2239&path=/encyclopedias/greenwood//.
McGee, Gary. "William J Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival." *Journal for Pentecostal Ministry*. http://www.ag.org/enrichmentjournal/199904/026_azusa.cfm.
"OREGON." http://ca.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761558216_9/oregon.html.
San Francisco Cablecar Museum. http://www.cablecarmuseum.org/heritage.html.
Yosemite National Park, California. http://www.nps.gov/yose/historyculture/index.htm.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

1. PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S COROLLARY TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE (DECEMBER 6, 1904)

Although Theodore Roosevelt liked to invoke the African proverb, "Walk softly and carry a big stick," he hardly walked softly in the Caribbean and Latin America. Roosevelt epitomized the moralistic tone of Progressive diplomacy, which saw the American system of democracy as superior and inevitable for the rest of the world. Roosevelt understood that the final collapse of Spain in the Caribbean after 1898 had left a power vacuum, which he was eager to see the Unites States fill. The first step in this direction took place with the Platt Amendment of 1902, which gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba if the independence or the internal order of the country was threatened. Using that power, the United States sent troops to Cuba in 1906 and 1923, and in 1933 orchestrated the departure of President Gerardo Machado.

In his annual message to Congress in December 1904, Roosevelt, fearing that corrupt governments in South America and rising debt in the region would give Europeans reason to reintervene in the hemisphere, added a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which had warned Europe against further military intervention in Latin America. Roosevelt's corollary established the right of the United States to intervene directly in any Latin American country that failed to keep its financial and political households in order. Under this self-proclaimed power, the United States, in the first four decades of the twentieth century, sent American soldiers into Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, and Mexico.

In treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that this great Nation should assume in the world at large, it is absolutely necessary to consider the Army and the Navy, and the Congress, through which the thought of the Nation finds its expression, should keep ever vividly in mind the fundamental fact that it is impossible to treat our foreign policy, whether this policy takes shape in the effort to secure justice for others or justice for ourselves, save as conditioned upon the attitude we are willing to take toward our Army, and especially toward our Navy. It is not merely unwise, it is contemptible, for a nation, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes, or to take positions which are ridiculous if unsupported by potential force, and then to refuse to provide this force. If there is no intention of providing and keeping the force necessary to back up a strong attitude, then it is far better not to assume such an attitude.

The steady aim of this Nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peoples who were slothful or timid or shortsighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safe-guarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others. Generally peace tells for righteousness; but if there is conflict between the two, then our fealty is due first to the cause of righteousness. Unrighteous wars are common, and unrighteous peace is rare; but both should be shunned. The right of freedom and the responsibility for the exercise of that right can not be divorced. One of our great poets has well and finely said that freedom is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards. Neither does it tarry long in the hands of those too slothful, too dishonest, or too unintelligent to exercise it. The eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty must be exercised, sometimes to guard against outside foes; although of course far more often to guard against our own selfish or thoughtless shortcomings.

If these self-evident truths are kept before us, and only if they are so kept before us, we shall have a clear idea of what our foreign policy in its larger aspects should be. It is our duty to remember that a nation has no more right to do injustice to another nation, strong or weak, than an individual has to do injustice to another individual; that the same moral law applies in one case as in the other. But we must also remember that it is as much the duty of the Nation to guard its own rights and its own interests as it is the duty of the individual so to do. Within the Nation the individual has now delegated this right to the State, that is, to the representative of all the individuals, and it is a maxim of the law that for every wrong there is a remedy. But in international law we have not advanced by any means as far as we have advanced in municipal law. There is as yet no judicial way of enforcing a right in international law. When one nation wrongs another or wrongs many others, there is no tribunal before which the wrongdoer can be brought. Either it is necessary supinely to acquiesce in the wrong, and thus put a premium upon brutality and aggression, or else it is necessary for the aggrieved nation valiantly to stand up for its rights. Until some method is devised by which there shall be a degree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most civilized powers, for those with most sense of international obligations and with keenest and most generous appreciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm. If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudescence of barbarism in one form or another. Under any circumstances a sufficient armament would have to be kept up to serve the purposes of international police; and until international cohesion and the sense of international duties and rights are far more advanced than at present, a nation desirous both of securing respect for itself and of doing good to others must have a force adequate for the work which it feels is allotted to it as its part of the general world duty. Therefore it follows that a self-respecting, just, and far-seeing nation should on the one hand endeavor by every means to aid in the development of the various movements which tend to provide substitutes for war, which tend to render nations in their actions toward one another, and indeed toward their own peoples, more responsive to the general sentiment of humane and civilized mankind; and on the other hand that it should keep prepared, while scrupulously avoiding wrongdoing itself, to repel any wrong, and in exceptional cases to take action which in a more advanced stage of international relations would come under the head of the exercise of the international police. A great free people owes it to itself and to all mankind not to sink into helplessness before the powers of evil.

We are in every way endeavoring to help on, with cordial good will, every movement which will tend to bring us into more friendly relations with the rest of mankind. In pursuance of this policy I shall shortly lay before the Senate treaties of arbitration with all powers which are willing to enter into these treaties with us. It is not possible at this period of the worlds development to agree to arbitrate all matters, but there are many matters of possible difference between us and other nations which can be thus arbitrated. Furthermore, at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, an eminent body composed of practical statesmen from all countries, I have asked the Powers to join with this Government in a second Hague conference, at which it is hoped that the work already so happily begun at The Hague may be carried some steps further toward completion. This carries out the desire expressed by the first Hague conference itself.

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which with the aid of the Platt Amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end. Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. It is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or anywhere else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence can not be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.

In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama, and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the Far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large. There are, however, cases in which, while our own interests are not greatly involved, strong appeal is made to our sympathies. Ordinarily it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here at home than to concern ourselves with trying to better the condition of things in other nations. We have plenty of sins of our own to war against, and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to civic corruption, to brutal lawlessness and violent race prejudices here at home than by passing resolutions and wrongdoing elsewhere. Nevertheless there are occasional crimes committed on so vast a scale and of such peculiar horror as to make us doubt whether it is not our manifest duty to endeavor at least to show our disapproval of the deed and our sympathy with those who have suffered by it. The cases must be extreme in which such a course is justifiable. There must be no effort made to remove the mote from our brothers eye if we refuse to remove the beam from our own. But in extreme cases action may be justifiable and proper. What form the action shall take must depend upon the circumstances of the case; that is, upon the degree of the atrocity and upon our power to remedy it. The cases in which we could interfere by force of arms as we interfered to put a stop to intolerable conditions in Cuba are necessarily very few. Yet it is not to be expected that a people like ours, which in spite of certain very obvious shortcomings, nevertheless as a whole shows by its consistent practice its belief in the principles of civil and religious liberty and of orderly freedom, a people among whom even the worst crime, like the crime of lynching, is never more than sporadic, so that individuals and not classes are molested in their fundamental rights—it is inevitable that such a nation should desire eagerly to give expression to its horror on an occasion like that of the massacre of the Jews in Kishenef, or when it witnesses such systematic and long-extended cruelty and oppression as the cruelty and oppression of which the Armenians have been the victims, and which have won for them the indignant pity of the civilized world.

Source: http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=56; excerpted from President Theodore Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, December 6, 1904.

2. PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S MUCKRAKER SPEECH—"THE MAN WITH THE MUCK RAKE" (APRIL 15, 1906)

With his muckraker speech, President Theodore Roosevelt brought new meaning and use to a seventeenth-century phrase. Although he attacked over-enthusiastic journalists eager to rake up the muck of American society, he at the same time promised to bring the power of the American government against the "men of wealth who . . . are trying to prevent the regulation and control of their business in the interest of the public by the proper government authorities," and to put government on the side of "The wage worker, [and] the tiller of the soil, [on whom we all] depend [for] the welfare of the entire country."

Over a century ago Washington laid the corner stone of the Capitol in what was then little more than a tract of wooded wilderness here beside the Potomac. We now find it necessary to provide by great additional buildings for the business of the government.

This growth in the need for the housing of the government is but a proof and example of the way in which the nation has grown and the sphere of action of the national government has grown. We now administer the affairs of a nation in which the extraordinary growth of population has been outstripped by the growth of wealth in complex interests. The material problems that face us today are not such as they were in Washington's time, but the underlying facts of human nature are the same now as they were then. Under altered external form we war with the same tendencies toward evil that were evident in Washington's time, and are helped by the same tendencies for good. It is about some of these that I wish to say a word today.

In Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck Rake, the man who could look no way but downward, with the muck rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor.

In "Pilgrim's Progress" the Man with the Muck Rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing.

Now, it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes, save of his feats with the muck rake, speedily becomes, not a help but one of the most potent forces for evil.

There are in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man, whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, business, or social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform or in a book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful.

The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth.

An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does no good, but very great harm. The soul of every scoundrel is gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or even when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed.

Now, it is easy to twist out of shape what I have just said, easy to affect to misunderstand it, and if it is slurred over in repetition not difficult really to misunderstand it. Some persons are sincerely incapable of understanding that to denounce mud slinging does not mean the endorsement of whitewashing; and both the interested individuals who need whitewashing and those others who practice mud slinging like to encourage such confusion of ideas.

One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault upon men in business or men in public life is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary. If Aristides is praised overmuch as just, people get tired of hearing it; and overcensure of the unjust finally and from similar reasons results in their favor.

Any excess is almost sure to invite a reaction; and, unfortunately, the reactions instead of taking the form of punishment of those guilty of the excess, is apt to take the form either of punishment of the unoffending or of giving immunity, and even strength, to offenders. The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity. Gross and reckless assaults on character, whether on the stump or in newspaper, magazine, or book, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment, and at the same time act as a profound deterrent to able men of normal sensitiveness and tend to prevent them from entering the public service at any price.

As an instance in point, I may mention that one serious difficulty encountered in getting the right type of men to dig the Panama canal is the certainty that they will be exposed, both without, and, I am sorry to say, sometimes within, Congress, to utterly reckless assaults on their character and capacity.

At the risk of repetition let me say again that my plea is not for immunity to, but for the most unsparing exposure of, the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal; but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself.

It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution. The men with the muck rakes are often indispensable to the well being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the celestial crown above them, to the crown of worthy endeavor. There are beautiful things above and round about them; and if they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but muck, their power of usefulness is gone.

If the whole picture is painted black there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows. Such painting finally induces a kind of moral color blindness; and people affected by it come to the conclusion that no man is really black, and no man really white, but they are all gray.

In other words, they neither believe in the truth of the attack, nor in the honesty of the man who is attacked; they grow as suspicious of the accusation as of the offense; it becomes well nigh hopeless to stir them either to wrath against wrongdoing or to enthusiasm for what is right; and such a mental attitude in the public gives hope to every knave, and is the despair of honest men. To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general condemnation means the searing of the public conscience. There results a general attitude either of cynical belief in and indifference to public corruption or else of a distrustful inability to discriminate between the good and the bad. Either attitude is fraught with untold damage to the country as a whole.

The fool who has not sense to discriminate between what is good and what is bad is well nigh as dangerous as the man who does discriminate and yet chooses the bad. There is nothing more distressing to every good patriot, to every good American, than the hard, scoffing spirit which treats the allegation of dishonesty in a public man as a cause for laughter. Such laughter is worse than the crackling of thorns under a pot, for it denotes not merely the vacant mind, but the heart in which high emotions have been choked before they could grow to fruition. There is any amount of good in the world, and there never was a time when loftier and more disinterested work for the betterment of mankind was being done than now. The forces that tend for evil are great and terrible, but the forces of truth and love and courage and honesty and generosity and sympathy are also stronger than ever before. It is a foolish and timid, no less than a wicked thing, to blink the fact that the forces of evil are strong, but it is even worse to fail to take into account the strength of the forces that tell for good.

Hysterical sensationalism is the poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness. The men who with stern sobriety and truth assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press, or in magazines, or in books, are the leaders and allies of all engaged in the work for social and political betterment. But if they give good reason for distrust of what they say, if they chill the ardor of those who demand truth as a primary virtue, they thereby betray the good cause and play into the hands of the very men against whom they are nominally at war.

In his Ecclesiastical Polity that fine old Elizabethan divine, Bishop Hooker, wrote:

He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be shall never want attentive and favorable hearers, because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regimen is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. This truth should be kept constantly in mind by every free people desiring to preserve the sanity and poise indispensable to the permanent success of self-government. Yet, on the other hand, it is vital not to permit this spirit of sanity and self-command to degenerate into mere mental stagnation. Bad though a state of hysterical excitement is, and evil though the results are which come from the violent oscillations such excitement invariably produces, yet a sodden acquiescence in evil is even worse.

At this moment we are passing through a period of great unrest—social, political, and industrial unrest. It is of the utmost importance for our future that this should prove to be not the unrest of mere rebelliousness against life, of mere dissatisfaction with the inevitable inequality of conditions, but the unrest of a resolute and eager ambition to secure the betterment of the individual and the nation.

So far as this movement of agitation throughout the country takes the form of a fierce discontent with evil, of a determination to punish the authors of evil, whether in industry or politics, the feeling is to be heartily welcomed as a sign of healthy life.

If, on the other hand, it turns into a mere crusade of appetite against appetite, of a contest between the brutal greed of the "have nots" and the brutal greed of the "haves," then it has no significance for good, but only for evil. If it seeks to establish a line of cleavage, not along the line which divides good men from bad, but along that other line, running at right angles thereto, which divides those who are well off from those who are less well off, then it will be fraught with immeasurable harm to the body politic.

We can no more and no less afford to condone evil in the man of capital than evil in the man of no capital. The wealthy man who exults because there is a failure of justice in the effort to bring some trust magnate to account for his misdeeds is as bad as, and no worse than, the so-called labor leader who clamorously strives to excite a foul class feeling on behalf of some other labor leader who is implicated in murder. One attitude is as bad as the other, and no worse; in each case the accused is entitled to exact justice; and in neither case is there need of action by others which can be construed into an expression of sympathy for crime.

It is a prime necessity that if the present unrest is to result in permanent good the emotion shall be translated into action, and that the action shall be marked by honesty, sanity, and self-restraint. There is mighty little good in a mere spasm of reform. The reform that counts is that which comes through steady, continuous growth; violent emotionalism leads to exhaustion.

It is important to this people to grapple with the problems connected with the amassing of enormous fortunes, and the use of those fortunes, both corporate and individual, in business. We should discriminate in the sharpest way between fortunes well won and fortunes ill won; between those gained as an incident to performing great services to the community as a whole and those gained in evil fashion by keeping just within the limits of mere law honesty. Of course, no amount of charity in spending such fortunes in any way compensates for misconduct in making them.

As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes, beyond a certain amount, either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual—a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to any one individual; the tax of course, to be imposed by the national and not the state government. Such taxation should, of course, be aimed merely at the inheritance or transmission in their entirety of those fortunes swollen beyond all healthy limits. Again, the national government must in some form exercise supervision over corporations engaged in interstate business—and all large corporations engaged in interstate business—whether by license or otherwise, so as to permit us to deal with the far reaching evils of overcapitalization.

This year we are making a beginning in the direction of serious effort to settle some of these economic problems by the railway rate legislation. Such legislation, if so framed, as I am sure it will be, as to secure definite and tangible results, will amount to something of itself; and it will amount to a great deal more in so far as it is taken as a first step in the direction of a policy of superintendence and control over corporate wealth engaged in interstate commerce; this superintendence and control not to be exercised in a spirit of malevolence toward the men who have created the wealth, but with the firm purpose both to do justice to them and to see that they in their turn do justice to the public at large.

The first requisite in the public servants who are to deal in this shape with corporations, whether as legislators or as executives, is honesty. This honesty can be no respecter of persons. There can be no such thing as unilateral honesty. The danger is not really from corrupt corporations; it springs from the corruption itself, whether exercised for or against corporations.

The eighth commandment reads, "Thou shalt not steal." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the rich man." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the poor man." It reads simply and plainly, "Thou shalt not steal."

No good whatever will come from that warped and mock morality which denounces the misdeeds of men of wealth and forgets the misdeeds practiced at their expense; which denounces bribery, but blinds itself to blackmail; which foams with rage if a corporation secures favors by improper methods, and merely leers with hideous mirth if the corporation is itself wronged.

The only public servant who can be trusted honestly to protect the rights of the public against the misdeeds of a corporation is that public man who will just as surely protect the corporation itself from wrongful aggression.

If a public man is willing to yield to popular clamor and do wrong to the men of wealth or to rich corporations, it may be set down as certain that if the opportunity comes he will secretly and furtively do wrong to the public in the interest of a corporation.

But in addition to honesty, we need sanity. No honesty will make a public man useful if that man is timid or foolish, if he is a hot-headed zealot or an impracticable visionary. As we strive for reform we find that it is not at all merely the case of a long uphill pull. On the contrary, there is almost as much of breeching work as of collar work. To depend only on traces means that there will soon be a runaway and an upset.

The men of wealth who today are trying to prevent the regulation and control of their business in the interest of the public by the proper government authorities will not succeed, in my judgment, in checking the progress of the movement. But if they did succeed they would find that they had sown the wind and would surely reap the whirlwind, for they would ultimately provoke the violent excesses which accompany a reform coming by convulsion instead of by steady and natural growth.

On the other hand, the wild preachers of unrest and discontent, the wild agitators against the entire existing order, the men who act crookedly, whether because of sinister design or from mere puzzle headedness, the men who preach destruction without proposing any substitute for what they intend to destroy, or who propose a substitute which would be far worse than the existing evils—all these men are the most dangerous opponents of real reform. If they get their way they will lead the people into a deeper pit than any into which they could fall under the present system. If they fail to get their way they will still do incalculable harm by provoking the kind of reaction which in its revolt against the senseless evil of their teaching would enthrone more securely than ever the evils which their misguided followers believe they are attacking.

More important than aught else is the development of the broadest sympathy of man for man. The welfare of the wage worker, the welfare of the tiller of the soil, upon these depend the welfare of the entire country; their good is not to be sought in pulling down others; but their good must be the prime object of all our statesmanship.

Materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men, so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made. Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about clean living and right thinking. We appreciate that the things of the body are important; but we appreciate also that the things of the soul are immeasurably more important.

The foundation stone of national life is, and ever must be, the high individual character of the average citizen.

Source: http://www.usconstitution.com/documents.htm.

3. THE *NEW YORK SUN* DESCRIBES THE 1906 SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE (APRIL 19, 1906)

The San Francisco earthquake of April 18, 1906, was followed by a fire lasting four days and destroying 497 city blocks covering five square miles. The earthquake resulted in the demolition of 28,188 buildings, causing approximately a billion dollars in damage and costing 500 lives. Just three years later, 20,000 new fireproof buildings had been erected.

The greatest earthquake disaster in the history of the United States visited San Francisco early yesterday morning. A great part of the business and tenement district was shaken down, and this was followed by a fire which is still burning and which has covered most of the affected area. . . .

. . . Happening at 5 o'clock in the morning, the earthquake caused practically no loss of life among the business houses, but the tenement houses, especially the cheap lodging houses, suffered severely in this respect. Directly afterward a fire started in seven or eight places, helped out by broken gas mains. The water system failed, and all through the morning the fire was fought with dynamite. . . .

. . . Almost all the greater buildings of San Francisco are lost. These include the City Hall, the new Post Office, the "Call" Building, twenty stories high; the Parrott Building, housing the largest department store in the West; the "Chronicle" and "Examiner" buildings, Stanford University at Palo Alto, the Grand Opera House and St. Ignatius's Church.

Oakland, Cal., April 18.—The great shock which did the damage happened at 5:15 o'clock this morning, just about daybreak. Beginning with a slight tremor, it increased in violence every moment. Before it was over, the smaller and older buildings in the business districts had fallen like houses of cards, the great steel buildings were mainly skinned of walls, and the tenement district, south of Market, was in ruins. . . .

Hardly were the people of the hill district out of their houses when the dawn of the east was lit up in a dozen places by fires which had started in the business district below. The first of these came with a sheet of flame which burst out somewhere in the warehouse district near the waterfront. Men from all over the upper part of town streamed down the hills to help. No cars could run, for the cable car slots and the very tracks were bent and tossed with the upheavals of the ground.

The fire department responded. . . . The firemen, making for the nearest points, got their hose out. There was one rush of water; then the flow stopped. The great water main, which carries the chief water supply of San Francisco, ran through the ruined district. It had been broken and the useless water was spurting up through the ruins in scores of places.

The firemen stood helpless, while fire after fire started in the ruined houses. Most of these seem to have been caused by the ignition of gas from the gas mains, which were also broken. The fires would rush up with astonishing suddenness, and then smoulder in the slowly burning redwood, of which three-quarters of San Francisco is built. When day came the smoke hung over all the business part of the city. Farther out fires were going in the Hayes Valley, a middle class residence district, and in the old Mission part of the city. Dynamite was the only thing. . . .

. . . Chief of Police Dinan got out the whole police force, and General Funston, acting on his own initiative, ordered out all the available troops in the Presidio military reservation. After a short conference the town was placed under martial law, a guard was thrown about the fire, and all the dynamite in the city was commandeered.

The day broke beautifully clear. The wind, which usually blows steadily from the west at this time of year, took a sudden veer and came steadily from the east, sending the fire, which lay in the wholesale district along the waterfront, toward the heart of the city, where stood the modern steel structure buildings, mainly stripped of their cement shells. . . .

Meantime there had been a second and lighter shock at 8 o'clock which had shaken down some walls already tottering and taken the heart out of many of the people who had hoped that the one shock would end it. . . .

There was an overpowering smell of gas everywhere from the broken mains. Now and again these would catch fire, making a great spurt of fire, which would catch in the debris. The first concern of the firemen was to stop these leakages. They piled on them bags of sand, dirt clods, even bales of cloth torn from the wreckage of burning stores. In the middle of the morning, however, there came a report from the south louder and duller than the reports of the dynamite explosions. There followed a burst of flame against the dull smoke. The gas works had blown up and the tanks were burning. After that the gas leaks stopped. . . .

It seemed to be two or three minutes after the great shock was over before people found their voices. There followed the screaming of women, beside themselves with terror, and the cries of men. With one impulse people made for the parks, as far as possible from the falling walls. These speedily became packed with people in their nightclothes, who screamed and moaned at the little shocks which followed every few minutes. The dawn was just breaking. The gas and electric mains were gone and the street lamps were all out. But before the dawn was white there came a light from the east—the burning warehouse district. . . .

On Portsmouth Square the panic was beyond description. This, the old Plaza about which the early city was built, is bordered now by Chinatown, by the Italian district, and by the "Barbary Coast," a lower tenderloin. A spur of the quake ran up the hill upon which Chinatown is situated and shook down part of the crazy little buildings on the southern edge. . . . The rush to Portsmouth Square went on almost unchecked by the police, who were more in demand elsewhere.

The denizens came out of their underground burrows like rats and tumbled into the square, beating such gongs and playing such noise instruments as they had snatched up. . . . They were met on the other side by the refugees of the Italian quarter. The panic became a madness. At least two Chinamen were taken to the morgue dead of knife wounds, given for no other reason, it seems, than the madness of panic. There are 10,000 Chinese in the quarter and there are thousands of Italians, Spaniards and Mexicans on the other side. It seemed as though every one of these, with the riffraff of "Barbary Coast," made for that one block of open land. The two uncontrolled streams met in the center of the square and piled up on the edges. There they fought all the morning, until the Regulars restored order with their bayonets. . . .

Source: The New York Sun, April 19, 1906.

4. PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT (JUNE 30, 1906)

Thanks to exposés such as Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, Americans in the early decades of the twentieth century discovered that not everything that was packaged for consumption was healthy. In fact, it could be dangerous. In one section of Sinclair's book, people learned of tubercular cows being butchered for sale, rat dung mixed into meat, body parts included in ground meat, and whole human bodies that had fallen into boiling vats being sold as lard. The public demanded action from Congress, and what they got was the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, which continues to regulate what Americans eat and drink.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any person to manufacture within any territory or the District of Columbia any article of food or drug which is adulterated or misbranded, within the meaning of this Act; and any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and for each offense shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not to exceed five hundred dollars or shall be sentenced to one year's imprisonment, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court, and for each subsequent offense and conviction thereof shall be fined not less than one thousand dollars or sentenced to one year's imprisonment, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

Section 2. That the introduction into any State or Territory or the District of Columbia from any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia, or from any foreign country, or shipment to any foreign country of any article of food or drugs which is adulterated or misbranded, within the meaning of this Act, is hereby prohibited; and any person who shall ship or deliver for shipment from any State or Territory or the District of Columbia to any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia, or to a foreign country, or who shall receive in any State or Territory or the District of Columbia from any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia, or foreign country, and having so received, shall deliver, in original unbroken packages, for pay or otherwise, or offer to deliver to any other person, any such article so adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of this Act, or any person who shall sell or offer for sale in the District of Columbia or the Territories of the United States any such adulterated or misbranded foods or drugs, or export or offer to export the same to any foreign country, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and for such offense be fined not exceeding two hundred dollars for the first offense, and upon conviction for each subsequent offense not exceeding three hundred dollars or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court: Provided, That no article shall be deemed misbranded or adulterated within the provisions of this Act when intended for except to any foreign country and prepared or packed according to the specifications or directions of the foreign purchaser when no substance is used in the preparation or packing thereof in conflict with the laws of the foreign country to which said article is intended to be shipped; but if said article shall be in fact sold or offered for sale for domestic use or consumption, then this proviso shall not exempt said article from the operation of any of the other provisions of this Act.

Section 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall make uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this Act, including the collection and examination of specimens of foods and drugs manufactured or offered for sale in the District of Columbia, or in any Territory of the United States, or which shall be offered for sale in unbroken packages in any State other than that in which they shall have been respectively manufactured or produced, or which shall be received from any foreign country, or intended for shipment to any foreign country, or which may be submitted for examination by the chief health, food, or drug officer of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or at any domestic or foreign port through which such product is offered for interstate commerce, or for export or import between the United States and any foreign port or country.

Section 4. That the examinations of specimens of foods and drugs shall be made in the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture, or under the direction and supervision of such Bureau, for the purpose of determining from such examinations whether such articles are adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of this Act; and if it shall appear from any such examination that any of such specimens is adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of this Act, the Secretary of Agriculture shall cause notice thereof to be given to the party from whom such sample was obtained. Any party so notified shall be given an opportunity to be heard, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed as aforesaid, and if it appears that any of the provisions of this Act have been violated by such party, then the Secretary of Agriculture shall at once certify the facts to the proper United States district attorney, with a copy of the results of the analysis or the examination of such article duly authenticated by the analyst or officer making such examination, under the oath of such officer. After judgment of the court, notice shall be given by publication in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules and regulations aforesaid.

Section 5. That is shall be the duty of each district attorney to whom the Secretary of Agriculture shall report any violation of this Act, or to whom any health or food or drug officer or agent of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall present satisfactory evidence of any such violation, to cause appropriate proceedings to be commenced and prosecuted in the proper courts of the United States, without delay, for the enforcement of the penalties as in such case herein provided.

Section 6. That the term "drug," as used in this Act, shall include all medicines and preparations recognized in the United States Pharmacopoeia or National Formulary for internal or external use, and any substance or mixture of substances intended to be used for the cure, mitigation, or prevention of disease of either man or other animals. The term "food," as used herein, shall include all articles used for food, drink, confectionery, or condiment by man or other animals, whether simple, mixed, or compound.

Section 7. That for the purposes of this Act an article shall be deemed to be adulterated:

In case of drugs:

First. If, when a drug is sold under or by a name recognized in the United States Pharmacopoeia or National Formulary, it differs from the standard of strength, quality, or purity, as determined by the test laid down in the United States Pharmacopoeia or National Formulary official at the time of investigation: Provided, That no drug defined in the United States Pharmacopoeia or National Formulary shall be deemed to be adulterated under this provision if the standard of strength, quality, or purity be plainly stated upon the bottle, box, or other container thereof although the standard may differ from that determined by the test laid down in the United States Pharmacopoeia or National Formulary.

Second. If its strength or purity fall below the professed standard or quality under which it is sold.

In the case of confectionery:

If it contain terra alba, barytes, talc, chrome yellow, or other mineral substance or poisonous color or flavor, or other ingredient deleterious or detrimental to health, or any vinous, malt or spirituous liquor or compound or narcotic drug.

In the case of food:

First. If any substance has been mixed and packed with it so as to reduce or lower or injuriously affect its quality or strength.

Second. If any substance has been substituted wholly or in part for the article.

Third. If any valuable constituent of the article has been wholly or in part abstracted.

Fourth. If it be mixed, colored, powdered, coated, or stained in a manner whereby damage or inferiority is concealed.

Fifth. If it contain any added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredient which may render such article injurious to health: Provided, That when in the preparation of food products for shipment they are preserved by any external application applied in such manner that the preservative is necessarily removed mechanically, or by maceration in water, or otherwise, and directions for the removal of said preservative shall be printed on the covering or the package, the provisions of this Act shall be construed as applying only when said products are ready for consumption.

Sixth. If it consists in whole or in part of a filthy, decomposed, or putrid animal or vegetable substance, or any portion of an animal unfit for food, whether manufactured or not, or if it is the product of a diseased animal, or one that has died otherwise than by slaughter.

Section 8. That the term, "misbranded," as used herein, shall apply to all drugs, or articles of food, or articles which enter into the composition of food, the package or label of which shall bear any statement, design, or device regarding such article, or the ingredients or substances contained therein which shall be false or misleading in any particular, and to any food or drug product which is falsely branded as to the State, Territory, or country in which it is manufactured or produced.

That for the purposes of this Act an article shall also be deemed to be misbranded:

In case of drugs:

First. If it be an imitation of or offered for sale under the name of another article.

Second. If the contents of the package as originally put up shall have been removed, in whole or in part, and other contents shall have been placed in such package, or if the package fail to bear a statement on the label of the quantity or proportion of any alcohol, morphine, opium, cocaine, heroin, alpha or beta eucaine, chloroform, cannabis indica, chloral hydrate, or acetanilide, or any derivative or preparation of any such substances contained therein.

In the case of food:

First. If it be an imitation of or offered for sale under the distinctive name of another article.

Second. If it be labeled or branded so as to deceive or mislead the purchaser, or purport to be a foreign product when not so, or if the contents of the package as originally put up shall have been removed in whole or in part and other contents shall have been placed in such package, or if it fail to bear a statement on the label of the quantity or proportion of any morphine, opium, cocaine, heroin, alpha or beta eucaine, chloroform, cannabis indica, chloral hydrate, or acetanilide, or any derivative or preparation of any such substances contained therein.

Third. If in package form, and the contents are stated in terms of weight or measure, they are not plainly and correctly stated on the outside of the package.

Fourth. If the package containing it or its label shall bear any statement, design, or device regarding the ingredients or the substances contained therein, which statement, design, or device shall be false or misleading in any particular: Provided, That an article of food which does not contain any added poisonous or deleterious ingredients shall not be deemed to be adulterated or misbranded in the following cases:

First. In the case of mixtures or compounds which may be now or from time to time hereafter known as articles of food, under their own distinctive names, and not an imitation of or offered for sale under the distinctive name of another article, if the name be accompanied on the same label or brand with a statement of the place where said article has been manufactured or produced.

Second. In the case of articles labeled, branded, or tagged so as to plainly indicate that they are compounds, imitations, or blends, and the word "compound," "imitation," or "blend," as the case may be, is plainly stated on the package in which it is offered for sale: Provided, That the term blend as used herein shall be construed to mean a mixture of like substances, not excluding harmless coloring or flavoring ingredients used for the purpose of coloring and flavoring only: And provided further, That nothing in this Act shall be construed as requiring or compelling proprietors or manufacturers of proprietary foods which contain no unwholesome added ingredient to disclose their trade formulas, except in so far as the provisions of this Act may require to secure freedom from adulteration or misbranding.

Section 9. That no dealer shall be prosecuted under the provisions of this Act when he can establish a guaranty signed by the wholesaler, jobber, manufacturer, or other party residing in the United States, from whom he purchases such articles, to the effect that the same is not adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of this Act, designating it. Said guaranty, to afford protection, shall contain the name and address of the party or parties making the sale of such articles to such dealer, and in such case said party or parties shall be amenable to the prosecutions, fines, and other penalties which would attach, in due course, to the dealer under the provisions of this Act.

Section 10. That any article of food, drug, or liquor that is adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of this Act, and is being transported from one State, Territory, District, or insular possession to another for sale, or, having been transported, remains unloaded, unsold, or in original unbroken packages, or if it be sold or offered for sale in the District of Columbia or the Territories, or insular possessions of the United States, or if it be imported from a foreign country for sale, or if it is intended for export to a foreign country, shall be liable to be proceeded against in any district court of the United States within the district where the same is found, and seized for confiscation by a process of libel for condemnation. And if such article is condemned as being adulterated or misbranded, or of a poisonous or deleterious character, within the meaning of this Act, the same shall be disposed of by destruction or sale, as the said court may direct, and the proceeds thereof, if sold, less the legal costs and charges, shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States, but such goods shall not be sold in any jurisdiction contrary to the provisions of this Act or the laws of that jurisdiction: Provided, however, That upon the payment of the costs of such libel proceedings and the execution and delivery of a good and sufficient bond to the effect that such articles shall not be sold or otherwise disposed of contrary to the provisions of this Act, or the laws of any State, Territory, District, or insular possession, the court may by order direct that such articles be delivered to the owner thereof. The proceedings of such libel cases shall conform, as near as may be, to the proceedings in admiralty, except that either party may demand trial by jury of any issue of fact joined in any such case, and all such proceedings shall be at the suit of and in the name of the United States.

Section 11. The Secretary of the Treasury shall deliver to the Secretary of Agriculture, upon his request from time to time, samples of foods and drugs which are being imported into the United States or offered for import, giving notice thereof to the owner or consignee, who may appear before the Secretary of Agriculture, and have the right to introduce testimony, and if it appear from the examination of such samples that any article of food or drug offered to be imported into the United States is adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of this Act, or is otherwise dangerous to the health of the people of the United States, or is of a kind forbidden entry into, or forbidden to be sold or restricted in sale in the country in which it is made or from which it is exported, or is otherwise falsely labeled in any respect, the said article shall be refused admission, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall refuse delivery to the consignee and shall cause the destruction of any goods refused delivery which shall not be exported by the consignee within three months from the date of notice of such refusal under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe: Provided, That the Secretary of the Treasury may deliver to the consignee such goods pending examination and decision in the matter on execution of a penal bond for the amount of the full invoice value of such goods, together with the duty thereon, and on refusal to return such goods for any cause to the custody of the Secretary of the Treasury, when demanded, for the purpose of excluding them from the country, or for any other purpose, said consignee shall forfeit the full amount of the bond: And provided further, That all charges for storage, cartage, and labor on goods which are refused admission or delivery shall be paid by the owner or consignee, and in default of such payment shall constitute a lien against any future importation made by such owner or consignee.

Section 12. That the term "Territory" as used in this Act shall include the insular possessions of the United States. The word "person" as used in this Act shall be construed to import both the plural and the singular, as the case demands, and shall include corporations, companies, societies and associations. When construing and enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any officer, agent, or other person acting for or employed by any corporation, company, society, or association, within the scope of his employment or office, shall in every case be also deemed to be the act, omission, or failure of such corporation, company, society, or association as well as that of the person.

Section 13. That this Act shall be in force and effect from and after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and seven.

Approved, June 30, 1906.

Source: http://faculty.washington.edu/qtaylor/documents_us/pure_fda.htm.

5. SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION—"THE INCOME TAX AMENDMENT" (RATIFIED FEBRUARY 3, 1913)

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea of an income tax had lingered on the fringes of American politics. During the Civil War, Congress had enacted a flat tax of 3 percent on all income over $800, but the tax was repealed soon after the end of the war. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, however, as manufacturers were reaping windfall profits and farmers and workers felt unfairly beleaguered by high tariffs, which remained the country's principal source of income, populist groups began calling again for a graduated income tax. Eventually an income tax was attached to the tariff of 1894, but it was struck down by a 5–4 Supreme Court decision.

At the turn of the century, Progressives picked up the banner and began to call for a graduated income tax. Hoping to end the discussion once and for all, conservative congressmen in 1909 called for a constitutional amendment on the issue. They believed that such a measure would never pass through the required number of states, and the issue could be put to rest forever. But, much to their surprise, one state after another approved the constitutional amendment and, in February 1913, with the certification of Secretary of State Philander C. Knox, the 16th Amendment to the Constitution went into effect, and income tax became a fact of everyday American life.

Sixty-first Congress of the United States of America, At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fifteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and nine.

Joint Resolution

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislature of three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"**ARTICLE XVI.** The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

[Endorsements]

Source: http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=57.

6. PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON'S FIRST INAUGURATION ADDRESS (MARCH 4, 1913)

On March 4, 1913, Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated as the nation's 28th president. He was the first Democrat elected to the office since 1892. In his inaugural speech, Wilson noted this change in the political landscape and promised the American people a government that would be put to the service of humanity.

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic.

The offices of President and Vice-President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view.

Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister.

Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men.

It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope.

We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient.

We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through.

The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories, and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes.

The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it.

There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves.

We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hand of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labour, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine.

We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence.

This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control, or singly cope with.

Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labour which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right.

It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil.

The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do.

Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

Source: http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/wilson1913inauguration.htm.

7. PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON'S DECLARATION OF NEUTRALITY (AUGUST 19, 1914)

As Europe went to war in 1914, Woodrow Wilson feared that the immigrant population in the United States would create factions that reflected the divisions in Europe. He believed the best policy for America was strict neutrality, and, in the following speech delivered to the Senate on August 19, 1914, just weeks after the start of World War I, Wilson urged Americans to be neutral in thought as well as deed. Although Wilson insisted on neutrality, events were already in motion that would eventually draw America into the conflict.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions upon the street.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

Such divisions amongst us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact, as well as in name, during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought, as well as action, must put a curb upon our sentiments, as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

Source: Woodrow Wilson, *Message to Congress,* 63rd Cong., 2d Sess., Senate Doc. No. 566 (Washington, 1914), pp. 3–4.

8. GERMAN WARNING OF SUBMARINE ATTACKS ON BRITISH SHIPS (MAY 2, 1915)

On May 1, 1915, the day before the British luxury ocean liner *Lusitania* was set to sail from New York to Liverpool, the German Embassy took out an ad in the travel section of the *New York Times,* which reminded readers of the state of war that existed between Great Britain and Germany and warned readers that all British ships, including passenger ships, were subject to attack. The following day, the *New York Times* reported the departure of the *Lusitania* without incident and with her passenger list undiminished by the German threat. The *New York Times* also reported that when Captain W. T. Turner of the *Lusitania* was advised of the warning, he laughed and told the *Times* reporter, "I wonder what the Germans will do next." The *Lusitania* was torpedoed by a German submarine on May 7 and sank quickly, causing the deaths of almost 1,200 people.

Notice

Travellers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY
Washington D.C.
April 22, 1915

Source: New York Times, May 2, 1915.

9. ZIMMERMAN NOTE (JANUARY 16, 1917)

In January 1917, although their country seemed to be drifting toward war, most Americans remained opposed to intervention, believing that the war was too far away to threaten them. That attitude changed radically when English intelligence decoded a German message to the Mexican government promising not only aid and assistance, but the return of territory lost to the United States in the war of 1846–1848 if they would ally themselves with Germany in an attack on the United States. The Zimmerman Note, as it came to be known, changed the opinion of the American people and opened the door to American entry into the war, which assured an eventual Allied victory over Germany. Never before had a decoded message had such an impact on world events.

Decoded message text of the Zimmerman Telegram

From 2nd from London

We intend to begin on the first of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States of America neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal or alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you. You will inform the President of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States of America is certain and add the suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves. Please call the President's attention to the fact that the ruthless employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace.

Signed, Zimmerman

Source: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Zimmerman_

10. PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON'S WAR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS (APRIL 2, 1917)

On February 3, 1917, President Wilson addressed Congress to announce that diplomatic relations with Germany were severed. In a Special Session of Congress held on April 2, 1917, President Wilson delivered this "War Message." Four days later, Congress overwhelmingly passed the War Resolution that brought the United States into the Great War.

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3d of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the 1st day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe-conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last, I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavour to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation. . . .

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honour.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy, who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

Source: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_War_Message_to_Congress.

11. CIVIL LIBERTIES DURING WORLD WAR I—THE ESPIONAGE ACT (JUNE 15, 1917)

Not every American embraced the declaration of war against Germany enthusiastically. To ensure public support, President Woodrow Wilson created a Committee on Public Information (CPI) under publicist George M. Creel to rally support for the war. Creel commissioned an army of "Four Minute Men" who entered movie theaters, churches, sporting events, wherever the public gathered, to give short speeches designed to raise enthusiasm for the war and to sell war bonds. In addition, Wilson urged the passing of a sedition act that made it a crime to speak out against the war, or even against the government. Under this Espionage Act, over 1,500 citizens were arrested for offenses such as criticizing the Red Cross, or speaking out against wartime taxes. One film producer was even arrested and convicted for producing a film about the American Revolution that cast an ally, Great Britain, in an unfavorable light. The Espionage Act was subsequently repealed in 1921.

Espionage Act

United States, *Statutes at Large,* Washington, D.C., 1918, Vol. XL, pp 553 ff.

A portion of the amendment to Section 3 of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917. The act was subsequently repealed in 1921.

SECTION 3. Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States, or to promote the success of its enemies, or shall willfully make or convey false reports, or false statements, . . . or incite insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct . . . the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, or . . . shall willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States . . . or shall willfully display the flag of any foreign enemy, or shall willfully . . . urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production . . . or advocate, teach, defend, or suggest the doing of any of the acts or things in this section enumerated and whoever shall by word or act support or favor the cause of any country with which the United States is at war or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both.

Source: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_U.S._Sedition_Act.

12. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION—ONE OBJECTOR'S STORY

Not everyone marched to the rhythm of the war drums. Local draft boards granted conscientious objector status to 57,000 men. About 21,000 of these accepted induction into noncombat duty, but the rest refused induction and many went to prison, while others suffered other indignities. Below is the story of one of these objectors.

Reminiscences of a Rebel Conscientious Objector

My informant was a conscientious objector during the period of the War and declined to give me his name. "It's hard enough to hunt a job, as it is," he explained, "without making it still more difficult by naming myself as one who opposed the war. Nearly everyone now agrees with what we C.O.'s said at the time; nearly every sane person now admits that the war was everything we predicted it would be; nearly everybody laments the loss of life and ruination the war left in its wake, they all now know that it was one hell of a big blunder, but they all still denounce and ridicule us for not going crazy too when they did. We still are an unhonored lot. Unlike those who marched uncritically and abjectly into the slaughter, our stand, as C.O.'s, was such that we as yet cannot also strut, brag and swagger as heroes. Of course, as things turned out, a long depression, with the 'heroes' favored on jobs and civil service, we may have been foolish not to have gone crazy along with all the rest. But we, despite what they say, were certainly no cowards. The joy-ride over to France, with the cheers of the business elements and the flattering attention from the ladies, even though after a training spell we were thrown into the trenches, was more alluring than the abuse and misunderstanding, the starvation and rotting away in solitary cells, that many of us knew awaited us as objectors. Don't kid yourself, nor let anyone else kid you, about the C.O.'s being afraid of fighting; it took a damned sight more guts to resist the national hysteria than to fall in line with it. And at that, there were times when we had no more assurance of emerging alive from the jails and penitentiaries than were the more glorified and subservient guys in the trenches. After all, our refusing to be fed as fodder to the bloody war, was a financial saving to Uncle Sam. When, with his pants down, and dizzy with the clamorous demands upon him in the heart of the depression, we, at least, didn't bother him for a bonus!"

"In Chicago, during the excitement attending the daily expectation of the United States entering the war, I was arrested on suspicion of being instrumental in opposing the preparations. The jailor, pausing before my cell, rather politely asked 'What are you in for?' I answered that I really didn't know, but that it was probably because they feared I would prevent the war. 'You mean to say that you're agin it?' he queried. 'I'm not particularly hankering for it,' I replied. 'Why in the hell ain't you' he asked, 'don't you know that the Kaiser, or Germany anyhow, has been tryin' to get a hold of this country for over 400 years?"

"Another time, two city and one government detectives raided my room. Having made a thorough search of my belongings, and apparently ready to leave, satisfied that nothing then warranted my arrest, one of the bulls spied the title of the book I was reading. It was Dostoievsky's *Crime and Punishment*. 'UH huh! Crime and punishment, huh? Makin' a real study of it, huh? Readin' up all about it, huh? Come on!' I was turned loose the following day. Possibly someone more learned, informed them that the book was not a treatise on how to commit crime and escape punishment."

"A friend of mine, a Scotchman by the name of Mackay, was standing before a store window, trying to decide what shirt to buy. A buxom woman approached him and said: 'Young man, you look physically fit. Why aren't you in the trenches?' 'Madame' he returned, 'did you ever see me walk? 'No!' somewhat pityingly, thinking perhaps he was already a cripple, 'No I haven't seen you walk.' 'Then just watch me madame,' said Mac, as he walked swiftly away from her."

"Some of the fellows, on visiting us in the can, tried to bring us in some literature. Some of it was Wobbly papers and similar matter, but most was as innocent of subversive ideas as the Literary Digest. The jailor, however, confiscated the entire bundle. Looking it over, and seeing Emma Goldman's "Mother Earth" most radical of them all he said, "Here, you can take in this farm book."

Source: Library of Congress, American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1940 http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?wpa:1:./temp/~ammem_2MTL::

13. PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS (JANUARY 8, 1918)

In addition to providing a vast arsenal of war supplies and food, the American entry into the war also provided the Allies with Wilson's idealism, which gave them a propaganda edge. Wilson's dream of a postwar world was not embraced by the Allies, who rejected his ideas at the Versailles peace talks in 1919. But, in 1918, Wilson's idealism gave the Allies an added advantage over the Central Powers, whose people could see no further reason for fighting if Wilson's Fourteen Points were to be the basis of a just peace. German liberals, encouraged by the Fourteen Points, contacted Wilson by telegram in October 1918, and a month later Kaiser Wilhelm II was overthrown and a truce was declared.

Delivered in Joint Session, January 8, 1918

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents have been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power.

It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own people's thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significances. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war?

The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the Liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain.

There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but hopeless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end. For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

Source: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points.

14. WOMEN'S RIGHT TO VOTE—THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION (RATIFIED AUGUST 18, 1920)

In 1920, after more than a half century of struggle and in the wake of World War I, women in the United States received the right to vote with the passage of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Sixty-sixth Congress of the United States of America; At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the nineteenth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislature of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE————.

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[endorsements]

Source: http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=63.

15. PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT (JANUARY 26, 1922)

The Prohibition Era, which lasted from 1920 to 1933, produced its share of stories and characters. None were more colorful than Izzy Einstein and his partner Moe Smith. These well-publicized federal agents devised numerous schemes to trap bootleggers and reported their exploits to reporters eager for a story. The *New York Times* story reprinted here is typical of the exploits of the famed federal agents who simply became known as "Izzy and Moe."

Izzy and Moe

Rum Stills Found Near Graveyard
Izzy Einstein Posing As a Farmer Seizes Two Plants in Barns Upstate
Federal Judge Howe promises Jail Sentences for Violators of Volstead Act

Even upstate farmers located on the edge of graveyards and removed by many miles from a railroad station are not safe from detection by Izzy Einstein, the widely known "hootch hound," and his fellow agent Moe Smith. Returning to headquarters in West 27th Street yesterday morning from a hurried trip, Einstein reported to John S. Parsons, head of the field agents of the state, the seizure of two stills found in barns, destruction of 1,000 gallons of mash, confiscation of a quantity of alcohol in milk and oil cans, and the arrest of three persons, one a woman.

To reach one place the agents had to go by sleigh for thirty miles from the nearest railroad station Einstein said. The agents first stopped at Monticello where they were joined by agents Fanell and Stafford. They drove out some distance from the town and came upon the farmhouse of Harris Gordon. Einstein posing as a prosperous farmer seeking another farm engaged Gordon's attention while Smith and the other two agents took a stroll around the premises, winding up at the barn only a short distance from the graveyard. They found, according to the report to Chief Parsons, a still having a capacity of thirty gallons and a quantity of alcohol put up in milk and oil cans, and destroyed five hundred gallons of mash. The alcohol was shipped to New York.

Einstein said that he understood that the use of milk cans for the transportation of moonshine from upstate towns to New York City and from one point in the city to another had become quite general.

Source: New York Times, January 26, 1922.

16. IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1924 (MAY 26, 1924)

The Immigration Act of 1924 created a permanent quota system (that of 1921 was only temporary), reducing the 1921 annual quota from 358,000 to 164,000.

In addition, the act reduced the immigration limit from 3 percent to 2 percent of each foreign-born group living in the United States in 1890. Using 1890 rather than 1910 or 1920 excluded the new wave of foreign-born from southern and eastern Europe from quotas truly proportionate to their new numbers in the population. Finally, the act provided for a future reduction of the quota to 154,000.

The quota system did not apply to countries in the Western Hemisphere. The United States did not want to alienate its neighbors, and it needed workers, especially those from Mexico. During World Wars I and II, the United States recruited thousands of temporary workers from Mexico to harvest crops in its labor-short farmland.

From 1924 to 1947, only 2,718,006 immigrants came to the United States, a total equal to the number entering during any two-year period before World War I. In the 1930s, for the first time in U.S. history, those leaving the United States outnumbered those entering.

Immigration Bill of 1924

An act to limit the migration of aliens into the United States. . . . " (approved May 26, 1924). The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from December 1923 to March 1925. Vol. XLII, Part 1, pp. 153–169 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925.)

SIXTY EIGHTH CONGRESS. SESS.I. Ch. 185, 190. 1924.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Immigration Act of 1924."

Sec. 2. (a) A consular officer upon the application of any immigrant (as defined in section 3) may (under the conditions hereinafter prescribed and subject to the limitations prescribed in this Act or regulations made thereunder as to the number of immigration visas which may be issued by such officer) issue to such immigrant an immigration visa which shall consist of one copy of the application provided for in section 7, visaed by such consular officer. Such visa shall specify (1) the nationality of the immigrant; (2) whether he is a quota immigrant (as defined in section 5) or a non-quota immigrant (as defined in section 4); (3) the date on which the validity of the immigration visa shall expire; and such additional information necessary to the proper enforcement of the immigration laws and the naturalization laws as may be by regulations prescribed.

b. The immigrant shall furnish two copies of his photograph to the consular officer. One copy shall be permanently attached by the consular officer to the immigration visa and the other copy shall be disposed of as may be by regulations prescribed.
c. The validity of an immigration visa shall expire at the end of such period, specified in the immigration visa, not exceeding four months, as shall be by regulations prescribed. In the case of an immigrant arriving in the United States by water, or arriving by water in foreign contiguous territory on a continuous voyage to the United States, if the vessel, before the expiration of the validity of his immigration visa, departed from the last port outside the United States and outside foreign contiguous territory at which the immigrant embarked, and if the immigrant proceeds on

a continuous voyage to the United States, then, regardless of the time of his arrival in the United States, the validity of his immigration visa shall not be considered to have expired.

(d) If an immigrant is required by any law, or regulations or orders made pursuant to law, to secure the visa of his passport by a consular officer before being permitted to enter the United States, such immigrant shall not be required to secure any other visa of his passport than the immigration visa issued under this Act, but a record of the number and date of his immigration visa shall be noted on his passport without charge therefor. This subdivision shall not apply to an immigrant who is relieved, under subdivision (b) of section 13, from obtaining an immigration visa.

(e) The manifest or list of passengers required by the immigration laws shall contain a place for entering thereon the date, place of issuance, and number of the immigration visa of each immigrant. The immigrant shall surrender his immigration visa to the immigration officer at the port of inspection, who shall at the time of inspection indorse on the immigration visa the date, the port of entry, and the name of the vessel, if any, on which the immigrant arrived. The immigration visa shall be transmitted forthwith by the immigration officer in charge at the port of inspection to the Department of Labor under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor.

(f) No immigration visa shall be issued to an immigrant if it appears to the consular officer, from statements in the application, or in the papers submitted therewith, that the immigrant is inadmissible to the United States under the immigration laws, nor shall such immigration visa be issued if the application fails to comply with the provisions of this Act, nor shall such immigration visa be issued if the consular officer knows or has reason to believe that the immigrant is inadmissible to the United States under the immigration laws.

(g) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to entitle an immigrant, to whom an immigration visa has been issued, to enter the United States, if, upon arrival in the United States, he is found to be inadmissible to the United States under the immigration laws. The substance of this subdivision shall be printed conspicuously upon every immigration visa.

(h) A fee of $9 shall be charged for the issuance of each immigration visa, which shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

DEFINITION OF IMMIGRANT

SEC. 3. When used in this Act the term "immigrant" means an alien departing from any place outside the United States destined for the United States, except (1) a government official, his family, attendants, servants, and employees, (2) an alien visiting the United States temporarily as a tourist or temporarily for business or pleasure, (3) an alien in continuous transit through the United States, (4) an alien lawfully admitted to the United States who later goes in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory, (5) a bona fide alien seaman serving as such on a vessel arriving at a port of the United States and seeking to enter temporarily the United States solely in the pursuit of his calling as a seaman, and (6) an alien entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on trade under and in pursuance of the provisions of a present existing treaty of commerce and navigation.

NON-QUOTA IMMIGRANTS

SEC. 4. When used in this Act the term "non-quota immigrant" means—

(a) An immigrant who is the unmarried child under 18 years of age, or the wife, of a citizen of the United States who resides therein at the time of the filing of a petition under section 9;

(b) An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States, who is returning from a temporary visit abroad;

(c) An immigrant who was born in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone, or an independent country of Central or South America, and his wife, and his unmarried children under 18 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him;

(d) An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of, carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university; and his wife, and his unmarried children under 18 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him; or

(e) An immigrant who is a bona fide student at least 15 years of age and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly designated by him and approved by, the Secretary of labor, which shall have agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each immigrant student, and if any such institution of learning fails to make such reports promptly the approval shall be withdrawn.

EXCLUSION FROM UNITED STATES

SEC. 13. (a) No immigrant shall be admitted to the United States unless he (1) has an unexpired immigration visa or was born subsequent to the issuance of the immigration visa of the accompanying parent, (2) is of the nationality specified in the visa in the immigration visa, (3) is a non-quota immigrant if specified in the visa in the immigration visa as such, and (4) is otherwise admissible under the immigration laws.

(b) In such classes of cases and under such conditions as may be by regulations prescribed immigrants who have been legally admitted to the United States and who depart therefrom temporarily may be admitted to the United States without being required to obtain an immigration visa.

(c) No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien (1) is admissible as a non-quota immigrant under the provisions of subdivision (b), (d), or (e) of section 4, or (2) is the wife, or the unmarried child under 18 years of age, of an immigrant admissible under such subdivision (d), and is accompanying or following to join him, or (3) is not an immigrant as defined in section 3.

(d) The Secretary of Labor may admit to the United States any otherwise admissible immigrant not admissible under clause (2) or (3) of subdivision (a) of this section, if satisfied that such inadmissibility was not known to, and could not have been ascertained by the exercise of reasonable diligence by, such immigrant prior to the departure of the vessel from the last port outside the United States and outside foreign contiguous territory or, in the case of an immigrant coming from foreign contiguous territory, prior to the application of the immigrant for admission.

(e) No quota immigrant shall be admitted under subdivision (d) if the entire number of immigration visas which may be issued to quota immigrants of the same nationality for the fiscal year already has been issued. If such entire number of immigration visas has not been issued, then the Secretary of State, upon the admission of a quota immigrant under subdivision (d), shall reduce by one the number of immigration visas which may be issued to quota immigrants of the same nationality during the fiscal year in which such immigrant is admitted; but if the Secretary of State finds that it will not be practicable to make such reduction before the end of such fiscal year, then such immigrant shall not be admitted.

(f) Nothing in this section shall authorize the remission or refunding of a fine, liability to which has accrued under section 16.

DEPORTATION

SEC. 14. Any alien who at any time after entering the United States is found to have been at the time of entry not entitled under this Act to enter the United States, or to have remained therein for a longer time than permitted under this Act or regulations made thereunder, shall be taken into custody and deported in the same manner as provided for in sections 19 and 20 of the Immigration Act of 1917: Provided, That the Secretary of Labor may, under such conditions and restrictions as to support and care as he may deem necessary, permit permanently to remain in the United States, any alien child who, when under sixteen years of age was heretofore temporarily admitted to the United States and who is now within the United States and either of whose parents is a citizen of the United States.

MAINTENANCE OF EXEMPT STATUS

SEC. 15. The admission to the United States of an alien excepted from the class of immigrants by clause (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6) of section 3, or declared to be a non-quota immigrant by subdivision (e) of section 4, shall be for such time as may be by regulations prescribed, and under such conditions as may be by regulations prescribed (including, when deemed necessary for the classes mentioned in clauses (2), (3), (4), or (6) of section 3, the giving of bond with sufficient surety, in such sum and containing such conditions as may be by regulations prescribed) to insure that, at the expiration of such time or upon failure to maintain the status under which he was admitted, he will depart from the United States.

SEC 28. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "United States," when used in a geographical sense, means the States, the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, the District of Columbia, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands; and the term "continental United States " means the States and the District of Columbia;

(b) The term "alien" includes any individual not a native-born or naturalized citizen of the United States, but this definition shall not be held to include Indians of the United States not taxed, nor citizens of the islands under the jurisdiction of the United States; (c) The term "ineligible to citizenship," when used in reference to any individual, includes an individual who is debarred from becoming a citizen of the United States under section 2169 of the Revised Statutes, or under section 14 of the Act entitled "An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese," approved May 6, 1882, or under section 1996, 1997, or 1998 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, or under section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, as amended, or under law amendatory of, supplementary to, or in substitution for, any of such sections;

(d) The term "immigration visa" means an immigration visa issued by a consular officer under the provisions of this Act;

(e) The term "consular officer" means any consular or diplomatic officer of the United States designated, under regulations prescribed under this Act, for the purpose of issuing immigration visas under this Act. In case of the Canal Zone and the insular possessions of the United States the term "consular officer" (except as used in section 24) means an officer designated by the President, or by his authority, for the purpose of issuing immigration visas under this Act; (f) The term "Immigration Act of 1917" means the Act of February 5, 1917, entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States";

(g) The term "immigration laws" includes such Act, this Act, and all laws, conventions, and treaties of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens;

(h) The term "person" includes individuals, partnerships, corporations, and associations;

(i) The term "Commissioner General" means the Commissioner General of Immigration;

(j)The term "application for admission" has reference to the application for admission to the United States and not to the application for the issuance of the immigration visa;

(k) The term "permit" means a permit issued under section 10;

(l) The term "unmarried," when used in reference to any as of any time, means an individual who at such time is not married, whether or not previously married;

(m) The terms "child," "father," and "mother," do not include child or parent by adoption unless the adoption took place before January 1, 1924;

(n) The terms "wife" and "husband" do not include a wife or husband by reason of a proxy or picture marriage.

Source: http://www.usconstitution.com/immigrationactof1924.htm.

17. FLORIDA HURRICANE OF 1926 (SEPTEMBER 19, 1926)

On September 17, 1926, a hurricane crashed into the rapidly growing and romanticized city of Miami. The hurricane killed 113 persons, injured another 854, and effectively ended the Florida land boom of the early 1920s. Printed here is the first account of the storm as it was reported under large two-column headlines on the front page of the *New York Times*.

75 Reported Dead in Miami;
Hurricane Sweeps Coast;
2000 Buildings in Ruins

$100,000,000 Damage in City
Meager Facts of Disaster
Reach Mobile by Wireless Message

Docks Gone;
Boats Sunk
100 Mile Gale Drove Sea into the Streets,
Covering Them to Depth of Six Feet

Palm Beach Is Also Hit
Only Scant Details from the Devastated Area
Storm Is Called Worst in History
Mobile Ala., Sept. 18 (A.P.)

Seventy-Five known dead, property loss of $100,000,000 in the city, and every boat in the harbor sunk, was the toll of the hurricane that struck Miami, according to fragmentary messages picked up by the Tropical Radio Telegraph Company station here today. The station is working the American steamship Siboney, which has established communication with a makeshift transmitting plant in Hialeah. Every vestige of the city dock system was swept away, and 2,000 buildings were ruined said the message, which added that troops, food, and medical supplies are needed urgently.

Source: New York Times, September 19, 1926.

18. POVERTY IN THE PROSPEROUS 1920s—CASE STUDIES OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS I

Case studies of unemployment, like the one reproduced below, were compiled in the mid-1920s by the Unemployment Committee of the National Federation of Settlements. The committee conducted a national survey of unemployed workers from various backgrounds. These case studies provide a window into life among the forgotten poor in what is often remembered as the "prosperous twenties."

CASE 1 Union Settlement CARDANI* New York City, N.Y.
* The names in all the cases are fictitious in order not to reveal the identity of the persons included in the study.

Ital. *(M. 37; W. 28)*
Chn: *11, 10, 8*
Laborer *(bricklayer's helper)*
Unemployment Reported Due to:
seasonal slackness; oversupply of labor

The Cardani family of mother and father, 11-year-old daughter and two sons, aged 10 and 8 have lived in neighborhoods close to the settlement for ten years. Mrs. Cardani has been a star member of the nutrition class for mothers, a proficient pupil in English, and a real asset to the settlement because of her cooperativeness,—always ready to break the ice at a party by singing an Italian song, or to coach her children and help with their costumes when they have taken part in plays. All three children have entered with enthusiasm into any and every activity offered by the settlement for junior groups, and the excellence of their work has been noteworthy. Mr. Cardani has been shy to the point of aloofness; on the rare occasions when he has come to the settlement,—perhaps to a community gathering, or to see Bianca dance,—it has been impossible to engage him in conversation. For the last eight months, the family has been coming less and less frequently to the settlement, and this is the explanation given by Mrs. Cardani:

"Ever since last May I work so hard and so long at the factory that I cannot go to clubs and classes any more. My Bianca does some of the work home that I used to do, so she can't go either, with her lessons getting harder and everything."

Here Mrs. Cardani put aside her iron, wiped off a chair for her caller, and she sank into another, with a look of relief; 10-year-old Enrico took up the iron and slowly and painstakingly completed two boys' blouses and a pair of ruffled sash-curtains.

"I've always helped out some, sewing coats at home, or half-time in the factory. But this year my husband has been off since May. Only five days' work since May, right in the good season too, when we count on buying clothes and saving a little. So now I work all day long. I'm glad to do it. He has always brought home every dollar he's earned, and so good to the children, and just crazy when they're sick or when they don't seem to do well.

"Why couldn't he get a job last summer? Well, you see, he don't speak so good English and there aren't enough jobs to go round anyway, so he don't have much chance. Every morning he goes to see the bosses. They say, 'No, too many men come; not enough work; you got to wait.' Everywhere too many men, jobs for just a few.

"I could earn much more money if I went down town to work. But I don't want to let the children run wild, with nothing hot for lunch or anything. This boss, he knows we women don't want to leave our families and go way down there, so he says, 'Take what I pay or get out.'"

"But surely, Mrs. Cardani, you cannot earn enough to pay the rent, and buy coal and food, too?"

"No, I can't. For these four rooms we pay $20 a month. I make $12 a week. That's all we have. But you know what we do. If we pay the rent and there isn't enough left, you know what we do. If we're going to live honest, you know what we do."

Here Bianca, an interested listener, deciding that her mother was not making herself clear, explained, "We eat little—that's what we do."

"Yes," went on Mrs. Cardani, now that the truth was out, "that's the only place we can cut down. I buy a quart of loose milk every morning. The children have this with breakfast,—I usually cook cereal, too. Then what milk is left they can have at a noon, maybe mixed with cocoa and water, for something warm. Then at night we have something that fills our stomachs up. I can get four pounds of greens for fifteen cents, and that does fine for a meal. I haven't been buying eggs or meat this winter. From the time my babies were weaned they always had one egg a day. Now Bianca is getting so thin and white, my husband says we'll have to manage that egg again somehow. . . . No, I don't mind eating light—it just makes me kinda cold sometimes. But it's the children!

"I got some trouble too that pulls me down. The doctor said I should rest or have operation. But I haven't any time or any money. I stay up till one, two, three o'clock every night trying to keep the house clean and the children's clothes fit to wear to school. Maybe next summer if he gets a job, I'll get a chance to rest up."

Just then Mr. Cardani came in and when told what the talk was about, added in broken English, "I came to this country eighteen year ago. I live always with Italian people. All the men I know they do day labor same as me. I'm bricklayer's helper—$8 a day. We never make full week though—one day too cold, next day it rain, maybe the sand don't come, maybe the cement.

"What do I do when I got no job? Mornings I go out and look for job. Then I come home and sit. Nine months I sit around now. I can't read—just like a blind man! You see my father die when I was 5, and leave my mother with four little children. He was sick, my father, a long time. No money left. No free school in those days—my brother and my sisters and I, we never went to school.

"Why don't I go to English class? I go two year to the school in the next block. The teacher make the writing on the blackboard, so and so and so [scrolls]; I copy, so and so and so. But I don't know the letters. The other men, yes, they read Italian newspaper. But I don't know one letter. I don't tell the teacher—she have enough trouble. It's too late now."

At the door Mrs. Cardani remarked that it was getting colder out. "When it comes very cold," she said, "we have to spend the money for coal and then I just don't know what to do for food." There had been no fire in the stove that evening with the thermometer at 40° outdoors. The flat was cold and the floor draughty. The parents were wearing coats or sweaters turned up at the neck, and the children had only cotton stockings and thin shoes.

Source: Library of Congress: Case studies of unemployment, compiled by the Unemployment Committee of the National Federation of Settlements, with an intro. by Helen Hall and a foreword by Paul U. Kellogg. Edited by Marion Elderton.

National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. Unemployment Committee http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin.

19. POVERTY IN THE PROSPEROUS 1920s—CASE STUDIES OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS II

This report by the Unemployment Committee National Federation of Settlements tells the story of a single father trying to keep his family together in New Orleans.

Case 16 Family Service Society MONTEREY New Orleans
Lat. Amer. *(M. 52)*; Amer. *(W. died 1927)*
Chn: 18, 13, 9, 7
Painter and Carpenter, Later Boiler-Scaler
Eldest son also boiler-scaler
Unemployment Reported Due to:
depression and mechanization

Mr. Monterey is 52 years old and was born in Central America of Spanish parentage. Mrs. Monterey was born in one of the country districts of Louisiana. She died in the summer of 1927. There are three boys, aged 18, 9 and 7, and one girl, 13.

The family first came to our attention in August, 1927. At that time both Mr. Monterey and his son were working irregularly for a boiler concern.

The father had worked for several years as a boiler-scaler and prior to that had been a painter, carpenter's helper and sailor. Rudolpho, the eldest son, had completed the grammar grades and studied the trade of boiler-scaler under his father.

Before unemployment, the family lived in comfortable surroundings and although they were not able to afford luxuries, Mr. and Mrs. Monterey and the children were not deprived of any of the necessities. Because the parents did not approve of street play for the children and the seeking of amusements away from home, they endeavored to make the home as pleasant as possible and encouraged the children to invite their little friends to visit them. They often gave little parties at which the friends were present.

The father and Rudolpho became unemployed at the time of the general business depression. The firm for which they were working laid off over half of the workmen. This concern still gives day's work to the Montereys whenever possible, since the foreman considers them excellent workmen.

The installation of machinery in Mr. Monterey's line of work has also been a cause of his unemployment. He has been without steady work for almost two years. The day's work which he and his son secure now and then in one of the ship-building yards pays from $3.30 to $3.80 a day, but it is extremely irregular. The father and son applied from place to place for employment, always taking their working clothes with them in the event that they might secure work.

During the period when they were both regularly employed the family income was between $40 and $50 a week. They earn now as little as $3 or $4 a week and many weeks not even this much.

In telling his story, Mr. Monterey said: "In the past eight months I was only able to get two days' work a month. Then I got a job filling at the West End, at the rate of 40 cents an hour. I used to work twelve and thirteen hours a day. I worked forty days steady work and made $196, which was barely enough to cover my debts. From that date in August until the present date, I have not had a steady job."

This period of unemployment has had serious effects upon the family's financial arrangements. The family became burdened with rent and a grocery bill. In an effort to meet these debts, Mr. Monterey pawned articles of clothing, sold almost all of their furniture and moved from place to place in search of cheaper rent.

The family is now living in a somewhat undesirable neighborhood near the river. Mr. Monterey does not feel that the present location is a good one, but it is only $7 a month and within walking distance of several of the big ship yards and he hopes that his children, who have not presented problems in the past, will not be influenced by the many undesirable forces in their present environment.

The family has been forced to drop all insurance policies. About a month ago, the 13-year-old girl had to stop school, although she is making an effort to study at home as much as possible.

Mr. Monterey was given a small amount of relief at one period during his unemployment. He requested this money as a loan because he does not like to ask for charity.

The family has not been able to keep up their usual standards of health. The children's diets are not sufficiently varied to insure proper growth. Two of the children are undernourished and quite delicate. They also do not have adequate clothing. The children have had no winter coats or sweaters and in cold weather have gone to school without such clothing. The little girl, America, is obliged to wash several times a week in order to keep the family in clean clothing and underwear since their supply is so limited.

The rooms contain practically nothing but the necessary beds. A short time ago when neither father nor son had work for weeks, the two little boys went to the market where they picked up scraps of meat and cast-off vegetables for the family's food.

Mr. Monterey has faced the family's predicament with a great deal of courage. He has made valiant efforts to meet some of his debts and tries diligently to secure work. He seems to be reaching the breaking point, however, and has begun to feel that his situation is almost hopeless and eventually he will be forced to break up his home and place the children in an asylum. Such thoughts greatly upset him and he states that he is almost afraid to think of the future.

America, who has been forced to stop school, does not seem bitter or antagonistic. She is studying at home, so that she will be able to keep up with her class, as far as possible. It was one of her great ambitions, as well as that of her father, that she might at least complete the grade school.

Unemployment has practically curtailed the family's opportunities for securing relaxation and recreation. There is no money for books or shows. The victrola, which was one of the children's chief forms of recreation, has been sold. All of the children, especially the daughter, are fond of music. The little girl had hoped to be able to take violin lessons from one of her father's friends, and the lessons were to be free. America has, however, since abandoned the hope of this because she now knows that her father cannot afford to buy her the instrument.

Source: Library of Congress: Case studies of unemployment, compiled by the Unemployment Committee of the National Federation of Settlements, with an intro. by Helen Hall and a foreword by Paul U. Kellogg. Edited by Marion Elderton.

National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. Unemployment Committee http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin.

20. BOULDER DAM PROJECT—TRANSCRIPT OF THE BOULDER CANYON PROJECT ACT (DECEMBER 21, 1928)

President Herbert Hoover called the building of Boulder Dam "the greatest engineering work of its character ever attempted by the hand of man." About 16,000 men and women worked on the project with approximately 3,500 people employed at any one time. It was dangerous work, and the official death toll was 96. Five thousand men and their families settled in the Nevada desert, most in Boulder City, an efficiently run, well-ordered company town built by the federal government. Others lived in dozens of tent cities and honky-tonk towns that sprang up on the road from the dam to the small town of Las Vegas. To a country struggling to come out of the Depression, the project was dramatic evidence of what American brains and manpower could accomplish, and it became a symbol of hope for the dispossessed. The dam was completed in 1935.

AN ACT To provide for the construction of works for the protection and development of the Colorado River Basin, for the approval of the Colorado River compact, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of controlling the floods, improving navigation and regulating the flow of the Colorado River, providing for storage and for the delivery of the stored waters thereof for reclamation of public lands and other beneficial uses exclusively within the United States, and for the generation of electrical energy as a means of making the project herein authorized a self-supporting and financially solvent undertaking, the Secretary of the Interior, subject to the terms of the Colorado River compact hereinafter mentioned, is hereby authorized to construct, operate, and maintain a dam and incidental works in the main stream of the Colorado River at Black Canyon or Boulder Canyon adequate to create a storage reservoir of a capacity of not less than twenty million acre-feet of water and a main canal and appurtenant structures located entirely within the United States connecting the Laguna Dam, or other suitable diversion dam, which the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to construct if deemed necessary or advisable by him upon engineering or economic considerations, with the Imperial and Coachella Valleys in California, the expenditures for said main canal and appurtenant structures to be reimbursable, as provided in the reclamation law, and shall not be paid out of revenues derived from the sale or disposal of water power or electric energy at the dam authorized to be constructed at said Black Canyon or Boulder Canyon, or for water for potable purposes outside of the Imperial and Coachella Valleys: Provided, however, That no charge shall be made for water or for the use, storage, or delivery of water for irrigation or water for potable purposes in the Imperial or Coachella Valleys; also to construct and equip, operate, and maintain at or near said dam, or cause to be constructed, a complete plant and incidental structures suitable for the fullest economic development of electrical energy from the water discharged from said reservoir; and to acquire by proceedings in eminent domain, or otherwise all lands, rights-of-way, and other property necessary for said purposes.

SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby established a special fund, to be known as the "Colorado River Dam fund" (hereinafter referred to as the "fund"), and to be available, as hereafter provided, only for carrying out the provisions of this Act. All revenues received in carrying out the provisions of this Act shall be paid into and expenditures shall be made out of the fund, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

(b) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to advance to the fund, from time to time and within the appropriations therefor, such amounts as the Secretary of the Interior deems necessary for carrying out the provisions of this Act, except that the aggregate amount of such advances shall not exceed the sum of $165,000,000. Of this amount the sum of $25,000,000 shall be allocated to flood control and shall be repaid to the United States out of 621/2 per centum of revenues, if any, in excess of the amount necessary to meet periodical payments during the period of amortization, as provided in section 4 of this Act. If said sum of $25,000,000 is not repaid in full during the period of amortization, then 621/2 per centum of all net revenues shall be applied to payment of the remainder. Interest at the rate of 4 per centum per annum accruing during the year upon the amounts so advanced and remaining unpaid shall be paid annually out of the fund, except as herein otherwise provided.

(c) Moneys in the fund advanced under subdivision (b) shall be available only for expenditures for construction and the payment of interest, during construction, upon the amounts so advanced. No expenditures out of the fund shall be made for operation and maintenance except from appropriations therefor.

(d) The Secretary of the Treasury shall charge the fund as of June 30 in each year with such amount as may be necessary for the payment of interest on advances made under subdivision (b) at the rate of 4 per centum per annum accrued during the year upon the amounts so advanced and remaining unpaid, except that if the fund is insufficient to meet the payment of interest the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, defer any part of such payment, and the amount so deferred shall bear interest at the rate of 4 per centum per annum until paid.

(e) The Secretary of the Interior shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury, at the close of each fiscal year, the amount of money in the fund in excess of the amount necessary for construction, operation, and maintenance, and payment of interest. Upon receipt of each such certificate the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to charge the fund with the amount so certified as repayment of the advances made under subdivision (b), which amount shall be covered into the Treasury to the credit of miscellaneous receipts.

SEC. 3. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums of money as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, not exceeding in the aggregate $165,000,000.

SEC. 4. (a) This Act shall not take effect and no authority shall be exercised hereunder and no work shall be begun and no moneys expended on or in connection with the works or structures provided for in this Act, and no water rights shall be claimed or initiated hereunder, and no steps shall be taken by the United States or by others to initiate or perfect any claims to the use of water pertinent to such works or structures unless and until (1) the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming shall have ratified the Colorado River compact, mentioned in section 13 hereof, and the President by public proclamation shall have so declared, or (2) if said States fail to ratify the said compact within six months from the date of the passage of this Act then, until six of said States, including the State of California, shall ratify said compact and shall consent to waive the provisions of the first paragraph of Article XI of said compact, which makes the same binding and obligatory only when approved by each of the seven States signatory thereto, and shall have approved said compact without conditions, save that of such six-State approval, and the President by public proclamation shall have so declared, and, further, until the State of California, by act of its legislature, shall agree irrevocably and unconditionally with the United States and for the benefit of the States of Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, as an express covenant and in consideration of the passage of this Act, that the aggregate annual consumptive use (diversions less returns to the river) of water of and from the Colorado River for use in the State of California, including all uses under contracts made under the provisions of this Act and all water necessary for the supply of any rights which may now exist, shall not exceed four million four hundred thousand acre-feet of the waters apportioned to the lower basin States by paragraph (a) of Article III of the Colorado River compact, plus not more than one-half of any excess or surplus waters unapportioned by said compact, such uses always to be subject to the terms of said compact. The States of Arizona, California, and Nevada are authorized to enter into an agreement which shall provide (1) that of the 7,500,000 acre-feet annually apportioned to the lower basin by paragraph (a) of Article III of the Colorado River compact, there shall be apportioned to the State of Nevada 300,000 acre-feet and to the State of Arizona 2,800,000 acre-feet for exclusive beneficial consumptive use in perpetuity, and (2) that the State of Arizona may annually use one-half of the excess or surplus waters unapportioned by the Colorado River compact, and (3) that the State of Arizona shall have the exclusive beneficial consumptive use of the Gila River and its tributaries within the boundaries of said State, and (4) that the waters of the Gila River and its tributaries, except return flow after the same enters the Colorado River, shall never be subject to any diminution whatever by any allowance of water which may be made by treaty or otherwise to the United States of Mexico but if, as provided in paragraph (c) of Article III of the Colorado River compact, it shall become necessary to supply water to the United States of Mexico from waters over and above the quantities which are surplus as defined by said compact, then the State of California shall and will mutually agree with the State of Arizona to supply, out of the main stream of the Colorado River, one-half of any deficiency which must be supplied to Mexico by the lower basin, and (5) that the State of California shall and will further mutually agree with the States of Arizona and Nevada that none of said three States shall withhold water and none shall require the delivery of water, which cannot reasonably be applied to domestic and agricultural uses, and (6) that all of the provisions of said tri-State agreement shall be subject in all particulars to the provisions of the Colorado River compact, and (7) said agreement to take effect upon the ratification of the Colorado River compact by Arizona, California, and Nevada. (b) Before any money is appropriated for the construction of said dam or power plant, or any construction work done or contracted for, the Secretary of the Interior shall make provision for revenues by contract, in accordance with the provisions of this Act, adequate in his judgment to insure payment of all expenses of operation and maintenance of said works incurred by the United States and the repayment, within fifty years from the date of the completion of said works, of all amounts advanced to the fund under subdivision (b) of section 2 for such works, together with interest thereon made reimbursable under this Act.

Before any money is appropriated for the construction of said main canal and appurtenant structures to connect the Laguna Dam with the Imperial and Coachella Valleys in California, or any construction work is done upon said canal or contracted for, the Secretary of the Interior shall make provision for revenues, by contract or otherwise, adequate in his judgment to insure payment of all expenses of construction, operation, and maintenance of said main canal and appurtenant structures in the manner provided in the reclamation law.

If during the period of amortization the Secretary of the Interior shall receive revenues in excess of the amount necessary to meet the periodical payments to the United States as provided in the contract, or contracts, executed under this Act, then, immediately after the settlement of such periodical payments, he shall pay to the State of Arizona 183/4 per centum of such excess revenues and to the State of Nevada 183/4 per centum of such excess revenues.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, under such general regulations as he may prescribe, to contract for the storage of water in said reservoir and for the delivery thereof at such points on the river and on said canal as may be agreed upon, for irrigation and domestic uses, and generation of electrical energy and delivery at the switchboard to States, municipal corporations, political subdivisions, and private corporations of electrical energy generated at said dam, upon charges that will provide revenue which, in addition to other revenue accruing under the reclamation law and under this Act, will in his judgment cover all expenses of operation and maintenance incurred by the United States on account of works constructed under this Act and the payments to the United States under subdivision (b) of section 4. Contracts respecting water for irrigation and domestic uses shall be for permanent service and shall conform to paragraph (a) of section 4 of this Act. No person shall have or be entitled to have the use for any purpose of the water stored as aforesaid except by contract made as herein stated. After the repayments to the United States of all money advanced with interest, charges shall be on such basis and the revenues derived therefrom shall be kept in a separate fund to be expended within the Colorado River Basin as may hereafter be prescribed by the Congress. General and uniform regulations shall be prescribed by the said Secretary for the awarding of contracts for the sale and delivery of electrical energy, and for renewals under subdivision (b) of this section, and in making such contracts the following shall govern:

(a) No contract for electrical energy or for generation of electrical energy shall be of longer duration than fifty years from the date at which such energy is ready for delivery. Contracts made pursuant to subdivision (a) of this section shall be made with a view to obtaining reasonable returns and shall contain provisions whereby at the end of fifteen years from the date of their execution and every ten years thereafter, there shall be readjustment of the contract, upon the demand of either party thereto, either upward or downward as to price, as the Secretary of the Interior may find to be justified by competitive conditions at distributing points or competitive centers and with provisions under which disputes or disagreements as to interpretation or performance of such contract shall be determined either by arbitration or court proceedings, the Secretary of the Interior being authorized to act for the United States in such readjustments or proceedings.

(b) The holder of any contract for electrical energy not in default thereunder shall be entitled to a renewal thereof upon such terms and conditions as may be authorized or required under the then existing laws and regulations, unless the property of such holder dependent for its usefulness on a continuation of the contract be purchased or acquired and such holder be compensated for damages to its property, used and useful in the transmission and distribution of such electrical energy and not taken, resulting from the termination of the supply.

(c) Contracts for the use of water and necessary privileges for the generation and distribution of hydroelectric energy or for the sale and delivery of electrical energy shall be made with responsible applicants therefor who will pay the price fixed by the said Secretary with a view to meeting the revenue requirements herein provided for. In case of conflicting applications, if any, such conflicts shall be resolved by the said Secretary, after hearing, with due regard to the public interest, and in conformity with the policy expressed in the Federal Water Power Act as to conflicting applications for permits and licenses, except that preference to applicants for the use of water and appurtenant works and privileges necessary for the generation and distribution of hydroelectric energy, or for delivery at the switchboard of a hydroelectric plant, shall be given, first, to a State for the generation or purchase of electric energy for use in the State, and the States of Arizona, California, and Nevada shall be given equal opportunity as such applicants.

The rights covered by such preference shall be contracted for by such State within six months after notice by the Secretary of the Interior and to be paid for on the same terms and conditions as may be provided in other similar contracts made by said Secretary: Provided, however, That no application of a State or a political subdivision for an allocation of water for power purposes or of electrical energy shall be denied or another application in conflict therewith be granted on the ground that the bond issue of such State or political subdivision, necessary to enable the applicant to utilize such water and appurtenant works and privileges necessary for the generation and distribution of hydroelectric energy or the electrical energy applied for, has not been authorized or marketed, until after a reasonable time, to be determined by the said Secretary, has been given to such applicant to have such bond issue authorized and marketed.

(d) Any agency receiving a contract for electrical energy equivalent to one hundred thousand firm horsepower, or more, may, when deemed feasible by the said Secretary, from engineering and economic considerations and under general regulations prescribed by him, be required to permit any other agency having contracts hereunder for less than the equivalent of twenty-five thousand firm horsepower, upon application to the Secretary of the Interior made within sixty days from the execution of the contract of the agency the use of whose transmission line is applied for, to participate in the benefits and use of any main transmission line constructed or to be constructed by the former for carrying such energy (not exceeding, however, one-fourth the capacity of such line), upon payment by such other agencies of a reasonable share of the cost of construction, operation, and maintenance thereof. The use is hereby authorized of such public and reserved lands of the United States as may be necessary or convenient for the construction, operation, and maintenance of main transmission lines to transmit said electrical energy.

SEC. 6. That the dam and reservoir provided for by section 1 hereof shall be used: First, for river regulation, improvement of navigation, and flood control; second, for irrigation and domestic uses and satisfaction of present perfected rights in pursuance of Article VIII of said Colorado River compact; and third, for power. The title to said dam, reservoir, plant, and incidental works shall forever remain in the United States, and the United States shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, control, manage, and operate the same, except as herein otherwise provided: Provided, however, That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, enter into contracts of lease of a unit or units of any Government-built plant, with right to generate electrical energy, or, alternatively, to enter into contracts of lease for the use of water for the generation of electrical energy as herein provided, in either of which events the provisions of section 5 of this Act relating to revenue, term, renewals, determination of conflicting applications, and joint use of transmission lines under contracts for the sale of electrical energy, shall apply.

The Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe and enforce rules and regulations conforming with the requirements of the Federal Water Power Act, so far as applicable respecting maintenance of works in condition of repair adequate for their efficient operation, maintenance of a system of accounting, control of rates and service in the absence of State regulation or interstate agreement valuation for rate-making purposes, transfers of contracts, contracts extending beyond the lease period, expropriation of excessive profits, recapture and/or emergency use by the United States of property of lessees, and penalties for enforcing regulations made under this Act of penalizing failure to comply with such regulations or with the provisions of this

Act. He shall also conform with other provisions of the Federal Water Power Act and of the rules and regulations of the Federal Power Commission, which have been devised or which may be hereafter devised, for the protection of the investor and consumer. The Federal Power Commission is hereby directed not to issue or approve any permits or licenses under said Federal Water Power Act upon or affecting the Colorado River or any of its tributaries, except the Gila River, in the States of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, and California until this Act shall become effective as provided in section 4 herein.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, when repayments to the United States of all money advanced, with interest, reimbursable hereunder, shall have been made, transfer the title to said canal and appurtenant structures, except the Laguna Dam and the main canal and appurtenant structures down to and including Syphon Drop, to the districts or other agencies of the United States having a beneficial interest therein in proportion to their respective capital investments under such form of organization as may be acceptable to him. The said districts or other agencies shall have the privilege at any time of utilizing by contract or otherwise such power possibilities as may exist upon said canal, in proportion to their respective contributions or obligations toward the capital cost of said canal and appurtenant structures from and including the diversion works to the point where each respective power plant may be located. The net proceeds from any power development on said canal shall be paid into the fund and credited to said districts or other agencies on their said contracts, in proportion to their rights to develop power, until the districts or other agencies using said canal shall have paid thereby and under any contract or otherwise an amount of money equivalent to the operation and maintenance expense and cost of construction thereof.

SEC. 8. (a) The United States, its permittees, licensees, and contractees, and all users and appropriators of water stored, diverted, carried, and/or distributed by the reservoir, canals, and other works herein authorized, shall observe and be subject to and controlled by said Colorado River compact in the construction, management, and operation of said reservoir, canals, and other works and the storage, diversion, delivery, and use of water for the generation of power, irrigation, and other purposes, anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding, and all permits, licenses, and contracts shall so provide.

(b) Also the United States, in constructing, managing, and operating the dam, reservoir, canals, and other works herein authorized, including the appropriation, delivery, and use of water for the generation of power, irrigation, or other uses, and all users of water thus delivered and all users and appropriators of waters stored by said reservoir and/or carried by said canal, including all permittees and licensees of the United States or any of its agencies, shall observe and be subject to and controlled, anything to the contrary herein notwithstanding, by the terms of such compact, if any, between the States of Arizona, California, and Nevada, or any two thereof, for the equitable division of the benefits, including power, arising from the use of water accruing to said States, subsidiary to and consistent with said Colorado River compact, which may be negotiated and approved by said States and to which Congress shall give its consent and approval on or before January 1, 1929; and the terms of any such compact concluded between said States and approved and consented to by Congress after said date: Provided, That in the latter case such compact shall be subject to all contracts, if any, made by the Secretary of the Interior under section 5 hereof prior to the date of such approval and consent by Congress.

SEC. 9. All lands of the United States found by the Secretary of the Interior to be practicable of irrigation and reclamation by the irrigation works authorized herein shall be withdrawn from public entry. Thereafter, at the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, such lands shall be opened for entry, in tracts varying in size but not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres, as may be determined by the Secretary of the Interior, in accordance with the provisions of the reclamation law, and any such entryman shall pay an equitable share in accordance with the benefits received, as determined by the said Secretary, of the construction cost of said canal and appurtenant structures; said payments to be made in such installments and at such times as may be specified by the Secretary of the Interior, in accordance with the provisions of the said reclamation law, and shall constitute revenue from said project and be covered into the fund herein provided for: Provided, That all persons who served in the United States Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard during the War with Germany, the War with Spain, or in the suppression of the insurrection in the Philippines, and who have been honorably separated or discharged therefrom or placed in the Regular Army or Naval Reserve, shall have the exclusive preference right for a period of three months to enter said lands, subject, however, to the provisions of subsection (c) of section 4 of the Act of December 5, 1924 (43 Stat. 672, 702; 43 U.S.C., sec. 433); and also, so far as practicable, preference shall be given to said persons in all construction work authorized by this chapter: Provided further, That the above exclusive preference rights shall apply to veteran settlers on lands watered from the Gila canal in Arizona the same as to veteran settlers on lands watered from the All-American canal in California: Provided further, That in the event such entry shall be relinquished at any time prior to actual residence upon the land by the entryman for not less than one year, lands so relinquished shall not be subject to entry for a period of sixty days after the filing and notation of the relinquishment in the local land office, and after the expiration of said sixty-day period such lands shall be open to entry, subject to the preference in the section provided.

SEC. 10. That nothing in this Act shall be construed as modifying in any manner the existing contract, dated October 23, 1918, between the United States and the Imperial Irrigation District, providing for a connection with Laguna Dam; but the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to enter into contract or contracts with the said district or other districts, persons, or agencies for the construction, in accordance with this Act, of said canal and appurtenant structures, and also for the operation and maintenance thereof, with the consent of the other users.

SEC. 11. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to make such studies, surveys, investigations, and do such engineering as may be necessary to determine the lands in the State of Arizona that should be embraced within the boundaries of a reclamation project, heretofore commonly known and hereafter to be known as the Parker-Gila Valley reclamation project, and to recommend the most practicable and feasible method of irrigating lands within said project, or units thereof, and the cost of the same; and the appropriation of such sums of money as may be necessary for the aforesaid purposes from time to time is hereby authorized. The Secretary shall report to Congress as soon as practicable, and not later than December 10, 1931, his findings, conclusions, and recommendations regarding such project.

SEC. 12. "Political subdivision" or "political subdivisions" as used in this Act shall be understood to include any State, irrigation or other district, municipality, or other governmental organization.

"Reclamation law" as used in this Act shall be understood to mean that certain Act of the Congress of the United States approved June 17, 1902, entitled "An Act appropriating the receipts from the sale and disposal of public land in certain States and Territories to the construction of irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands," and the Acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto.

"Maintenance" as used herein shall be deemed to include in each instance provision for keeping the works in good operating condition.

"The Federal Water Power Act," as used in this Act, shall be understood to mean that certain Act of Congress of the United States approved June 10, 1920, entitled "An Act to create a Federal Power Commission; to provide for the improvement of navigation; the development of water power; the use of the public lands in relation thereto; and to repeal section 18 of the River and Harbor Appropriation Act, approved August 8, 1917, and for other purposes," and the Acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto.

"Domestic" whenever employed in this Act shall include water uses defined as "domestic" in said Colorado River compact.

SEC. 13. (a) The Colorado River compact signed at Santa Fe, New Mexico, November 24, 1922, pursuant to Act of Congress approved August 19, 1921, entitled "An Act to permit a compact or agreement between the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming respecting the disposition and apportionment of the waters of the Colorado River, and for other purposes," is hereby approved by the Congress of the United States, and the provisions of the first paragraph of article II of the said Colorado River compact, making said compact binding and obligatory when it shall have been approved by the legislature of each of the signatory States, are hereby waived, and this approval shall become effective when the State of California and at least five of the other States mentioned, shall have approved or may hereafter approve said compact as aforesaid and shall consent to such waiver, as herein provided.

(b) The rights of the United States in or to waters of the Colorado River and its tributaries howsoever claimed or acquired, as well as the rights of those claiming under the United States, shall be subject to and controlled by said Colorado River compact.

(c) Also all patents, grants, contracts, concessions, leases, permits, licenses, rights-of-way, or other privileges from the United States or under its authority, necessary or convenient for the use of waters of the Colorado River or its tributaries, or for the generation or transmission of electrical energy generated by means of the waters of said river or its tributaries, whether under this Act, the Federal Water Power Act, or otherwise, shall be upon the express condition and with the express covenant that the rights of the recipients or holders thereof to waters of the river or its tributaries, for the use of which the same are necessary, convenient, or incidental, and the use of the same shall likewise be subject to and controlled by said Colorado River compact.

(d) The conditions and covenants referred to herein shall be deemed to run with the land and the right, interest, or privilege therein and water right, and shall attach as a matter of law, whether set out or referred to in the instrument evidencing any such patent, grant, contract, concession, lease, permit, license, right-of-way, or other privilege from the United States or under its authority, or not, and shall be deemed to be for the benefit of and be available to the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, and the users of water therein or thereunder, by way of suit, defense, or otherwise, in any litigation respecting the waters of the Colorado River or its tributaries.

SEC. 14. This Act shall be deemed a supplement to the reclamation law, which said reclamation law shall govern the construction, operation, and management of the works herein authorized, except as otherwise herein provided.

SEC. 15. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to make investigation and public reports of the feasibility of projects for irrigation, generation of electric power, and other purposes in the States of Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming for the purpose of making such information available to said States and to the Congress, and of formulating a comprehensive scheme of control and the improvement and utilization of the water of the Colorado River and its tributaries. The sum of $250,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated from said Colorado River Dam fund, created by section 2 of this Act, for such purposes.

SEC. 16. In furtherance of any comprehensive plan formulated hereafter for the control, improvement, and utilization of the resources of the Colorado River system and to the end that the project authorized by this Act may constitute and be administered as a unit in such control, improvement, and utilization, any commission or commissioner duly authorized under the laws of any ratifying State in that behalf shall have the right to act in an advisory capacity to and in cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior in the exercise of any authority under the provisions of sections 4, 5, and 14 of this Act, and shall have at all times access to records of all Federal agencies empowered to act under said sections, and shall be entitled to have copies of said records on request.

SEC. 17. Claims of the United States arising out of any contract authorized by this Act shall have priority over all others, secured or unsecured.

SEC. 18. Nothing herein shall be construed as interfering with such rights as the States now have either to the waters within their borders or to adopt such policies and enact such laws as they may deem necessary with respect to the appropriation, control, and use of waters within their borders, except as modified by the Colorado River compact or other interstate agreement.

SEC. 19. That the consent of Congress is hereby given to the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming to negotiate and enter into compacts or agreements, supplemental to and in conformity with the Colorado River compact and consistent with this Act for a comprehensive plan for the development of the Colorado River and providing for the storage, diversion, and use of the waters of said river. Any such compact or agreement may provide for the construction of dams, headworks, and other diversion works or structures for flood control, reclamation, improvement of navigation, division of water, or other purposes and/or the construction of power houses or other structures for the purpose of the development of water power and the financing of the same; and for such purposes may authorize the creation of interstate commissions and/or the creation of corporations, authorities, or other instrumentalities.

(a) Such consent is given upon condition that a representative of the United States, to be appointed by the President, shall participate in the negotiations and shall make report to Congress of the proceedings and of any compact or agreement entered into.

(b) No such compact or agreement shall be binding or obligatory upon any of such States unless and until it has been approved by the legislature of each of such States and by the Congress of the United States.

SEC. 20. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as a denial or recognition of any rights, if any, in Mexico to the use of the waters of the Colorado River system.

SEC. 21. That the short title of this Act shall be "Boulder Canyon Project Act."

Approved, December 21, 1928.

Source: Bureau of reclamation Web site, http://www.usbr.gov/lc/hooverdam/History/articles/chrono.html-US Bureau of Reclamation.

21. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS (MARCH 4, 1933)

On March 4, 1933, an anxious nation awaited the words of their new president. In a time of uncertainty, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (known as FDR) exuded enthusiasm and gave people hope that help was on the way. After years of government paralysis, Roosevelt's policy of "try something try anything" to get the country going may or may not have been successful in the long run, but it did give the people confidence that the government was going to help lift them out of their personal economic morass.

First inaugural address, Saturday, March 4, 1933

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief **that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself**—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunken to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in all parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

Source: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, http://www.feri.org/common/news/details.cfm?QID=2067&clientid=11005.

22. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S FIRST FIRESIDE CHAT (MARCH 12, 1933)

When President Franklin Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933, the country was in the worst financial crisis of its history—banks were closing, Americans were losing their homes and farms, unemployment was over 25 percent, and there seemed to be no relief in sight. One of Roosevelt's first acts in office was to declare a bank holiday to stop the run on the banks. Following this order, he went on the radio to explain his actions to the American people. This was the first of what would become known as his "fireside chats." Roosevelt, more than any of his predecessors, understood the power of the radio. And he knew how best to use that power to garner the support of the American people. Whereas other leaders in less democratic countries put radio loudspeakers on corners interrupting planned broadcasts with long speeches, Roosevelt personalized the radio, using it to come into American homes. Still unsophisticated audiences gave in to the emotion and feeling that the president was sitting in their living room talking to them personally. Roosevelt used this technique famously and frequently during his administration to explain his actions and policies to the public in plain language and simple metaphor.

On the Bank Crisis

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Sunday, March 12, 1933.

I want to talk for a few minutes with the people of the United States about banking—with the comparatively few who understand the mechanics of banking but more particularly with the overwhelming majority who use banks for the making of deposits and the drawing of checks. I want to tell you what has been done in the last few days, why it was done, and what the next steps are going to be. I recognize that the many proclamations from State Capitols and from Washington, the legislation, the Treasury regulations, etc., couched for the most part in banking and legal terms should be explained for the benefit of the average citizen. I owe this in particular because of the fortitude and good temper with which everybody has accepted the inconvenience and hardships of the banking holiday. I know that when you understand what we in Washington have been about I shall continue to have your cooperation as fully as I have had your sympathy and help during the past week.

First of all let me state the simple fact that when you deposit money in a bank the bank does not put the money into a safe deposit vault. It invests your money in many different forms of credit-bonds, commercial paper, mortgages and many other kinds of loans. In other words, the bank puts your money to work to keep the wheels of industry and of agriculture turning around. A comparatively small part of the money you put into the bank is kept in currency—an amount which in normal times is wholly sufficient to cover the cash needs of the average citizen. In other words the total amount of all the currency in the country is only a comparatively small proportion of the total deposits in all the banks of the country.

What, then, happened during the last few days of February and the first few days of March? Because of undermined confidence on the part of the public, there was a general rush by a large portion of our population to turn bank deposits into currency or gold.—A rush so great that the soundest banks could not get enough currency to meet the demand. The reason for this was that on the spur of the moment it was, of course, impossible to sell perfectly sound assets of a bank and convert them into cash except at panic prices far below their real value.

By the afternoon of March 3 scarcely a bank in the country was open to do business. Proclamations temporarily closing them in whole or in part had been issued by the Governors in almost all the states.

It was then that I issued the proclamation providing for the nation-wide bank holiday, and this was the first step in the Government's reconstruction of our financial and economic fabric.

The second step was the legislation promptly and patriotically passed by the Congress confirming my proclamation and broadening my powers so that it became possible in view of the requirement of time to entend (sic) the holiday and lift the ban of that holiday gradually. This law also gave authority to develop a program of rehabilitation of our banking facilities. I want to tell our citizens in every part of the Nation that the national Congress—Republicans and Democrats alike—showed by this action a devotion to public welfare and a realization of the emergency and the necessity for speed that it is difficult to match in our history.

The third stage has been the series of regulations permitting the banks to continue their functions to take care of the distribution of food and household necessities and the payment of payrolls.

This bank holiday while resulting in many cases in great inconvenience is affording us the opportunity to supply the currency necessary to meet the situation. No sound bank is a dollar worse off than it was when it closed its doors last Monday. Neither is any bank which may turn out not to be in a position for immediate opening.

The new law allows the twelve Federal Reserve banks to issue additional currency on good assets and thus the banks which reopen will be able to meet every legitimate call. The new currency is being sent out by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in large volume to every part of the country. It is sound currency because it is backed by actual, good assets.

Another question that you will ask is this: why are all the banks not to be reopened at the same time? The answer is simple, and I know that you will understand it. Your government does not intend that the history of the past few years shall be repeated. We do not want and will not have another epidemic of bank failures.

As a result we start tomorrow, Monday, with the opening of banks in the twelve Federal Reserve bank cities—those banks which on first examination by the Treasury have already been found to be all right. This will be followed on Tuesday by the resumption of all their functions by banks already found to be sound in cities where there are recognized clearing houses. That means about 250 cities of the United States.

On Wednesday and succeeding days banks in smaller places all through the country will resume business, subject, of course, to the Government's physical ability to complete its survey. It is necessary that the reopening of banks be extended over a period in order to permit the banks to make applications for necessary loans, to obtain currency needed to meet their requirements and to enable the Government to make common sense checkups.

Please let me make it clear to you that if your bank does not open the first day you are by no means justified in believing that it will not open. A bank that opens on one of the subsequent days is in exactly the same status as the bank that opens tomorrow.

I know that many people are worrying about State banks that are not members of the Federal Reserve System. These banks can and will receive assistance from members banks and from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and of course they are under the immediate control of the state authorities. These state banks are following the same course as the national banks except that they get their licenses to resume business from the state authorities, and these authorities have been asked by the Secretary of the Treasury to permit their good banks to open up on the same schedule as the national banks. I am confident that the state banking departments will be as careful as the National Government in the policy relating to the opening of banks and will follow the same broad policy.

It is possible that when the banks resume a very few people who have not recovered from their fear may again begin withdrawals. Let me make it clear that the banks will take care of all needs—and it is my belief that hoarding during the past week has become an exceedingly unfashionable pastime. It needs no prophet to tell you that when the people find that they can get their money—that they can get it when they want it for all legitimate purposes—the phantom of fear will soon be laid aside. People will again be glad to have their money where it will be safely taken care of and where they can use it conveniently at any time. I can assure you that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress.

The success of our whole great national program depends, of course, upon the cooperation of the public—on its intelligent support and use of a reliable system.

Remember that the essential accomplishment of the new legislation is that it makes it possible for banks more readily to convert their assets into cash than was the case before. More liberal provision has been made for banks to borrow on these assets at the Reserve Banks and more liberal provision has also been made for issuing currency on the security of those good assets. This currency is not fiat currency. It is issued only on adequate security—and every good bank has an abundance of such security.

One more point before I close. There will be, of course, some banks unable to reopen without being reorganized. The new law allows the Government to assist in making these reorganizations quickly and effectively and even allows the Government to subscribe to at least a part of new capital which may be required.

I hope you can see from this elemental recital of what your government is doing that there is nothing complex, or radical in the process.

We had a bad banking situation. Some of our bankers had shown themselves either incompetent or dishonest in their handling of the people's funds. They had used the money entrusted to them in speculations and unwise loans. This was of course not true in the vast majority of our banks but it was true in enough of them to shock the people for a time into a sense of insecurity and to put them into a frame of mind where they did not differentiate, but seemed to assume that the acts of a comparative few had tainted them all. It was the Government's job to straighten out this situation and do it as quickly as possible—and the job is being performed.

I do not promise you that every bank will be reopened or that individual losses will not be suffered, but there will be no losses that possibly could be avoided; and there would have been more and greater losses had we continued to drift. I can even promise you salvation for some at least of the sorely pressed banks. We shall be engaged not merely in reopening sound banks but in the creation of sound banks through reorganization.

It has been wonderful to me to catch the note of confidence from all over the country. I can never be sufficiently grateful to the people for the loyal support they have given me in their acceptance of the judgment that has dictated our course, even though all of our processes may not have seemed clear to them.

After all there is an element in the readjustment of our financial system more important than currency, more important than gold, and that is the confidence of the people. Confidence and courage are the essentials of success in carrying out our plan. You people must have faith; you must not be stampeded by rumors or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system; it is up to you to support and make it work.

It is your problem no less than it is mine. Together we cannot fail.

Source: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, http://www.feri.org/common/news/details.cfm?QID=2067&clientid=11005.

23. ANOTHER FIRESIDE CHAT—GOALS OF THE FIRST NEW DEAL (MAY 7, 1933)

Two months after his first fireside chat, President Franklin Roosevelt entered the living rooms of Americans once again to explain to them what was happening in the frenetic first hundred days of his administration. There had never been anything like it before, and Roosevelt believed he had to explain to the American people what their government was doing for them. In the process of reassuring the American people in this fireside chat, Roosevelt outlined the goals of the First New Deal.

May 7, 1933

On a Sunday night a week after my Inauguration I used the radio to tell you about the banking crisis and the measures we were taking to meet it. I think that in that way I made clear to the country various facts that might otherwise have been misunderstood and in general provided a means of understanding which did much to restore confidence.

Tonight, eight weeks later, I come for the second time to give you my report—in the same spirit and by the same means to tell you about what we have been doing and what we are planning to do.

Two months ago we were facing serious problems. The country was dying by inches. It was dying because trade and commerce had declined to dangerously low levels; prices for basic commodities were such as to destroy the value of the assets of national institutions such as banks, savings banks, insurance companies, and others. These institutions, because of their great needs, were foreclosing mortgages, calling loans, refusing credit. Thus there was actually in process of destruction the property of millions of people who had borrowed money on that property in terms of dollars which had had an entirely different value from the level of March, 1933. That situation in that crisis did not call for any complicated consideration of economic panaceas or fancy plans. We were faced by a condition and not a theory.

There were just two alternatives: The first was to allow the foreclosures to continue, credit to be withheld and money to go into hiding, and thus forcing liquidation and bankruptcy of banks, railroads and insurance companies and a re-capitalizing of all business and all property on a lower level. This alternative meant a continuation of what is loosely called "deflation," the net result of which would have been extraordinary hardship on all property owners and, incidentally, extraordinary hardships on all persons working for wages through an increase in unemployment and a further reduction of the wage scale.

It is easy to see that the result of this course would have not only economic effects of a very serious nature but social results that might bring incalculable harm. Even before I was inaugurated I came to the conclusion that such a policy was too much to ask the American people to bear. It involved not only a further loss of homes, farms, savings and wages but also a loss of spiritual values—the loss of that sense of security for the present and the future so necessary to the peace and contentment of the individual and of his family. When you destroy these things you will find it difficult to establish confidence of any sort in the future. It was clear that mere appeals from Washington for confidence and the mere lending of more money to shaky institutions could not stop this downward course. A prompt program applied as quickly as possible seemed to me not only justified but imperative to our national security. The Congress, and when I say Congress I mean the members of both political parties, fully understood this and gave me generous and intelligent support. The members of Congress realized that the methods of normal times had to be replaced in the emergency by measures which were suited to the serious and pressing requirements of the moment. There was no actual surrender of power, Congress still retained its constitutional authority and no one has the slightest desire to change the balance of these powers. The function of Congress is to decide what has to be done and to select the appropriate agency to carry out its will. This policy it has strictly adhered to. The only thing that has been happening has been to designate the President as the agency to carry out certain of the purposes of the Congress. This was constitutional and in keeping with the past American tradition.

The legislation which has been passed or in the process of enactment can properly be considered as part of a well-grounded plan.

First, we are giving opportunity of employment to one-quarter of a million of the unemployed, especially the young men who have dependents, to go into the forestry and flood prevention work. This is a big task because it means feeding, clothing and caring for nearly twice as many men as we have in the regular army itself. In creating this civilian conservation corps we are killing two birds with one stone. We are clearly enhancing the value of our natural resources and second, we are relieving an appreciable amount of actual distress. This great group of men have entered upon their work on a purely voluntary basis, no military training is involved and we are conserving not only our natural resources but our human resources. One of the great values to this work is the fact that it is direct and requires the intervention of very little machinery.

Second, I have requested the Congress and have secured action upon a proposal to put the great properties owned by our Government at Muscle Shoals to work after long years of wasteful inaction, and with this a broad plan for the improvement of a vast area in the Tennessee Valley. It will add to the comfort and happiness of hundreds of thousands of people and the incident benefits will reach the entire nation.

Next, the Congress is about to pass legislation that will greatly ease the mortgage distress among the farmers and the home owners of the nation, by providing for the easing of the burden of debt now bearing so heavily upon millions of our people.

Our next step in seeking immediate relief is a grant of half a billion dollars to help the states, counties and municipalities in their duty to care for those who need direct and immediate relief.

In addition to all this, the Congress also passed legislation authorizing the sale of beer in such states as desired. This has already resulted in considerable reemployment and, incidentally, has provided much needed tax revenue.

Now as to the future:

We are planning to ask the Congress for legislation to enable the Government to undertake public works, thus stimulating directly and indirectly the employment of many others in well-considered projects.

Further legislation has been taken up which goes much more fundamentally into our economic problems. The Farm Relief Bill seeks by the use of several methods, alone or together, to bring about an increased return to farmers for their major farm products, seeking at the same time to prevent in the days to come disastrous overproduction which so often in the past has kept farm commodity prices far below a reasonable return. This measure provides wide powers for emergencies. The extent of its use will depend entirely upon what the future has in store.

Well-considered and conservative measures will likewise be proposed which will attempt to give to the industrial workers of the country a more fair wage return, prevent cut-throat competition and unduly long hours for labor, and at the same time to encourage each industry to prevent over production t One of our bills falls into the same class, the Railroad Bill. It seeks to provide and make certain definite planning by the railroads themselves, with the assistance of the Government, to eliminate the duplication and waste that now results in railroad receiverships and in continuing operating deficits.

I feel very certain that the people of this country understand and approve the broad purposes behind these new governmental policies relating to agriculture and industry and transportation. We found ourselves faced with more agricultural products than we could possibly consume ourselves and surpluses which other nations did not have the cash to buy from us except at prices ruinously low. We found our factories able to turn out more goods than we could possibly consume, and at the same time we have been faced with a falling export demand. We have found ourselves with more facilities to transport goods and crops than there were goods and crops to be transported. All of this has been caused in large part by a complete failure to understand the danger signals that have been flying ever since the close of the World War. The people of this country have been erroneously encouraged to believe that they could keep on increasing the output of farm and factory indefinitely and that some magician would find ways and means for that increased output to be consumed with reasonable profit to the producer.

But today we have reason to believe that things are a little better than they were two months ago. Industry has picked up, railroads are carrying more freight, farm prices are better, but I am not going to indulge in issuing proclamations of overenthusiastic assurance. We cannot ballyhoo ourselves back to prosperity. I am going to be honest at all times with the people of the country. I do not want the people of this country to take the foolish course of letting this improvement come back on another speculative wave. I do not want the people to believe that because of unjustified optimism we can resume the ruinous practice of increasing our crop output and our factory output in the hope that a kind providence will find buyers at high prices. Such a course may bring us immediate and false prosperity but it will be the kind of prosperity that will lead us into another tailspin.

It is wholly wrong to call the measure that we have taken Government control of farming, control of industry, and control of transportation. It is rather a partnership between Government and farming and industry and transportation, not partnership in profits, for the profits would still go to the citizens, but rather a partnership in planning and partnership to see that the plans are carried out.

Let me illustrate with an example. Take the cotton goods industry. It is probably true that ninety per cent of the cotton manufacturers would agree to eliminate starvation wages, would agree to stop long hours of employment, would agree to stop child labor, would agree to prevent an overproduction that would result in unsalable surpluses. But, what good is such an agreement if the other ten per cent of cotton manufacturers pay starvation wages, require long hours, employ children in their mills and turn out burdensome surpluses? The unfair ten per cent could produce goods so cheaply that the fair ninety per cent would be compelled to meet the unfair conditions. Here is where government comes in. Government ought to have the right and will have the right, after surveying and planning for an industry to prevent, with the assistance of the overwhelming majority of that industry, unfair practice and to enforce this agreement by the authority of government. The so-called anti-trust laws were intended to prevent the creation of monopolies and to forbid unreasonable profits to those monopolies. That purpose of the anti-trust laws must be continued, but these laws were never intended to encourage the kind of unfair competition that results in long hours, starvation wages and overproduction.

And my friends, the same principle that is illustrated by that example applies to farm products and to transportation and every other field of organized private industry.

We are working toward a definite goal, which is to prevent the return of conditions which came very close to destroying what we call modern civilization. The actual accomplishment of our purpose cannot be attained in a day. Our policies are wholly within purposes for which our American Constitutional Government was established 150 years ago.

I know that the people of this country will understand this and will also understand the spirit in which we are undertaking this policy. I do not deny that we may make mistakes of procedure as we carry out the policy. I have no expectation of making a hit every time I come to bat. What I seek is the highest possible batting average, not only for myself but for the team. Theodore Roosevelt once said to me: “If I can be right 75 per cent of the time I shall come up to the fullest measure of my hopes.”

Much has been said of late about Federal finances and inflation, the gold standard, etc. Let me make the facts very simple and my policy very clear. In the first place, government credit and government currency are really one and the same thing. Behind government bonds there is only a promise to pay. Behind government currency we have, in addition to the promise to pay, a reserve of gold and a small reserve of silver. In this connection it is worth while remembering that in the past the government has agreed to redeem nearly thirty billions of its debts and its currency in gold, and private corporations in this country have agreed to redeem another sixty or seventy billions of securities and mortgages in gold. The government and private corporations were making these agreements when they knew full well that all of the gold in the United States amounted to only between three and four billion and that all of the gold in all of the world amounted to only about eleven billion.

If the holders of these promises to pay started in to demand gold the first comers would get gold for a few days and they would amount to about one twenty-fifth of the holders of the securities and the currency. The other twenty-four people out of twenty-five, who did not happen to be at the top of the line, would be told politely that there was no more gold left. We have decided to treat all twenty-five in the same way in the interest of justice and the exercise of the constitutional powers of this government. We have placed every one on the same basis in order that the general good may be preserved.

Nevertheless, gold, and to a partial extent silver, are perfectly good bases for currency and that is why I decided not to let any of the gold now in the country go out of it.

A series of conditions arose three weeks ago which very readily might have meant, first, a drain on our gold by foreign countries, and secondly, as a result of that, a flight of American capital, in the form of gold, out of our country. It is not exaggerating the possibility to tell you that such an occurrence might well have taken from us the major part of our gold reserve and resulted in such a further weakening of our government and private credit as to bring on actual panic conditions and the complete stoppage of the wheels of industry.

The Administration has the definite objective of raising commodity prices to such an extent that those who have borrowed money will, on the average, be able to repay that money in the same kind of dollar which they borrowed. We do not seek to let them get such a cheap dollar that they will be able to pay back a great deal less than they borrowed. In other words, we seek to correct a wrong and not to create another wrong in the opposite direction. That is why powers are being given to the Administration to provide, if necessary, for an enlargement of credit, in order to correct the existing wrong. These powers will be used when, as, and if it may be necessary to accomplish the purpose.

Hand in hand with the domestic situation which, of course, is our first concern, is the world situation, and I want to emphasize to you that the domestic situation is inevitably and deeply tied in with the conditions in all of the other nations of the world. In other words, we can get, in all probability, a fair measure of prosperity return in the United States, but it will not be permanent unless we get a return to prosperity all over the world.

In the conferences which we have held and are holding with the leaders of other nations, we are seeking four great objectives. First, a general reduction of armaments and through this the removal of the fear of invasion and armed attack, and, at the same time, a reduction in armament costs, in order to help in the balancing of government budgets and the reduction of taxation. Secondly, a cutting down of the trade barriers, in order to re-start the flow of exchange of crops and goods between nations. Third, the setting up of a stabilization of currencies, in order that trade can make contracts ahead. Fourth, the reestablishment of friendly relations and greater confidence between all nations.

Our foreign visitors these past three weeks have responded to these purposes in a very helpful way. All of the Nations have suffered alike in this great depression. They have all reached the conclusion that each can best be helped by the common action of all. It is in this spirit that our visitors have met with us and discussed our common problems. The international conference that lies before us must succeed. The future of the world demands it and we have each of us pledged ourselves to the best Joint efforts to that end.

To you, the people of this country, all of us, the Members of the Congress and the members of this Administration owe a profound debt of gratitude. Throughout the depression you have been patient. You have granted us wide powers, you have encouraged us with a wide-spread approval of our purposes. Every ounce of strength and every resource at our command we have devoted to the end of justifying your confidence. We are encouraged to believe that a wise and sensible beginning has been made. In the present spirit of mutual confidence and mutual encouragement we go forward.

And in conclusion, my friends, may I express to the National Broadcasting Company and to the Columbia Broadcasting System my thanks for the facilities which they have made available to me tonight.

Source: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, http://www.feri.org/common/news/details.cfm?QID=2068&clientid=11005.

24. REPEAL OF PROHIBITION—THE TWENTY-FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION (RATIFIED DECEMBER 5, 1933)

The "noble experiment" of Prohibition came to an end in 1933 with the ratification of the 21st Amendment, which repealed the 18th Amendment—the only time in the history of the U.S. Constitution that an amendment had been repealed.

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

Source: http://www.usconstitution.com/21stamendment.htm.

25. ENDING THE ALL-WHITE PRIMARY—*GROVEY V. TOWNSEND* (APRIL 1, 1935)

Ever since the end of Reconstruction, southern whites had been systematically disenfranchising blacks through devices such as intimidation, poll taxes, and literacy tests. As late as 1935, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld one of those barriers by declaring the all-white primary constitutional.

GROVEY v. TOWNSEND, 295 U.S. 45 No. 563.

Argued March 11, 1935.
Decided April 1, 1935.
[295 U.S. 45, 46] Mr. J. Alston Atkins, of Houston, Tex., for petitioner.
Mr. Justice ROBERTS delivered the opinion of the Court.

The petitioner, by complaint filed in the justice court of Harris county, Tex., alleged that although he is a citizen of the United States and of the state and county, and a member of and believer in the tenets of the Democratic Party, the respondent, the county clerk, a state officer, having as such only public functions to perform, refused him a ballot for a Democratic Party primary election, because he is of the negro race. He demanded ten dollars damages. The pleading quotes articles of the Revised Civil Statutes of Texas which require the nomination of candidates at primary elections by any organized political party whose nominees received 100,000 votes or more at the preceding general election, and recites that agreeably to these enactments a Democratic primary election was held on July 28, 1934, at which petitioner had the right to vote. Referring to statutes [295 U.S. 45, 47] which regulate absentee voting at primary elections, the complaint states the petitioner expected to be absent from the county on the date of the primary election, and demanded of the respondent an absentee ballot, which was refused him in virtue of a resolution of the state Democratic Convention of Texas, adopted May 24, 1932, which is:

'Be it resolved, that all white citizens of the State of Texas who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of the state shall be eligible to membership in the Democratic party and as such entitled to participate in its deliberations.'

The complaint charges that the respondent acted without legal excuse and his wrongful and unlawful acts constituted a violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution.

A demurrer, assigning as reasons that the complaint was insufficient in law and stated no cause of action, was sustained; and a motion for a new trial, reasserting violation of the federal rights mentioned in the complaint, was overruled. We granted certiorari, 1 because of the importance of the federal question presented, which has not been determined by this court. 2 Our jurisdiction is clear, as the justice court is the highest state court in which a decision may be had, 3 and the validity of the

Constitution and statutes of the state was drawn in question on the ground of their being repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. 4 [295 U.S. 45, 48] The charge is that respondent, a state officer, in refusing to furnish petitioner a ballot, obeyed the law of Texas, and the consequent denial of petitioner's right to vote in the primary election because of his race and color was state action forbidden by the Federal Constitution; and it is claimed that former decisions require us so to hold. The cited cases are, however, not in point. In Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536, 47 S. Ct. 446, a statute which enacted that 'in no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas,' was pronounced offensive to the Fourteenth Amendment. In Nixon v. Condon, 286 U.S. 73, 52 S.Ct. 484, 485, 88 A.L.R. 458, a statute was drawn in question which provided that 'every political party in this State through its State Executive Committee shall have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and shall in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such political party.' We held this was a delegation of state power to the state executive committee and made its determination conclusive irrespective of any expression of the party's will by its convention, and therefore the committee's action barring negroes from the party primaries was state action prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment. Here the qualifications of citizens to participate in party counsels and to vote at party primaries have been declared by the representatives of the party in convention assembled, and this action upon its face is not state action. The question whether under the Constitution and laws of Texas such a declaration as to party membership amounts to state action was expressly reserved in Nixon v. Condon, supra, pages 84, 85, of 286 U.S., 52 S.Ct. 484. Petitioner insists that for various reasons the resolution of the state convention limiting membership in the Democratic Party in Texas to white voters does not relieve the exclusion of negroes from participation in Democratic primary elections of its true nature as the act of the state. [295 U.S. 45, 49] First. An argument pressed upon us in Nixon v. Condon, supra, which we found it unnecessary to consider, is again presented. It is that the primary election was held under statutory compulsion; is wholly statutory in origin and incidents; those charged with its management have been deprived by statute and judicial decision of all power to establish qualifications for participation therein inconsistent with those laid down by the laws of the state, save only that the managers of such elections have been given the power to deny negroes the vote. It is further urged that while the election is designated that of the Democratic Party, the statutes not only require this method of selecting party nominees, but define the powers and duties of the party's representatives and of those who are to conduct the election so completely, and make them so thoroughly officers of the state, that any action taken by them in connection with the qualifications of members of the party is in fact state action and not party action.

In support of this view petitioner refers to title 50 of the Revised Civil Statutes of Texas of 1925, 5 which by article 3101 requires that any party whose members cast more than 100,000 ballots at the previous election shall nominate candidates through primaries, and fixes the date at which they are to be held; by article 2939 requires primary election officials to be qualified voters; by article 2955 declares the same qualifications for voting in such an election as in the general elections; by article 2956, as amended (Vernon's Ann. Civ. St. art. 2956), permits absentee voting as in a general election; by article 2978 requires that only an official ballot shall be used, as in a general election; by articles 2980, 2981 specifies the form of ballot and how it shall be marked, as other sections do for general elections; by article 2984 fixes the number of ballots to be provided, as another article does [295 U.S. 45, 50] for general elections; by articles 2986, 2987, and 2990 permits the use of voting booths, guard rails, and ballot boxes which by other statutes are provided for general elections; by articles 2998 and 3104 requires the officials of primary elections to take the same oath as officials at the general elections; by article 3002 defines the powers of judges at primary elections; by articles 3003–3025 provides elaborately for the purity of the ballot box; by article 3028 commands that the sealed ballot boxes be delivered to the county clerk after the election, as is provided by another article for the general election; and by article 3041 confers jurisdiction of election contests upon district courts, as is done by another article with respect to general elections. A perusal of these provisions so it is said will convince that the state has prescribed and regulated party primaries as fully as general elections, and has made those who manage the primaries state officers subject to state direction and control.

While it is true that Texas has by its laws elaborately provided for the expression of party preference as to nominees, has required that preference to be expressed in a certain form of voting, and has attempted in minute detail to protect the suffrage of the members of the organization against fraud, it is equally true that the primary is a party primary; the expenses of it are not borne by the state, but by members of the party seeking nomination (article 3108, as amended by Acts 1931, c. 105, 2 (Vernon's Ann. Civ. St. art. 3108)) and article 3116, as amended by Acts 1927, c. 54, 1 (Vernon's Ann. Civ. St. art. 3116); the ballots are furnished not by the state, but by the agencies of the party (Rev. St. arts. 3109, 3119); the votes are counted and the returns made by instrumentalities created by the party (articles 3123–3125, 3127, as amended (Vernon's Ann Civ. St. arts. 3123–3125, 3127)); and the state recognizes the state convention as the organ of the party for the declaration of principles and the formulation of policies (articles 3136, 3139, as amended (Vernon's Ann. Civ. St. arts. 3136, 3139)).

We are told that in Love v. Wilcox, 119 Tex. 256, 28 S.W.(2d) 515, 522, the Supreme Court of Texas held the state was within its province in prohibiting a party from [295 U.S. 45, 51] establishing past party affiliations or membership in nonpolitical organizations as qualifications or tests for participation in primary elections, and in consequence issued its writ of mandamus against the members of the state executive committee of the Democratic Party on the ground that they were public functionaries fulfilling duties imposed on them by law. But in that case it was said, page 272 of 119 Tex., 28 S.W.(2d) 515, 522:

'We are not called upon to determine whether a political party has power, beyond statutory control, to prescribe what persons shall participate as voters or candidates in its conventions or primaries. We have no such state of facts before us.'

After referring to article 3107, as amended by Acts 1927, 1st Called Sess. c. 67, 1 (Vernon's Ann. Civ. St. art. 3107), which limits the power of the state executive committee of a party to determine who shall be qualified to vote at primary elections, the court said:

'The committee's discretionary power is further restricted by the statute directing that a single, uniform pledge be required of the primary participants. The effect of the statutes is to decline to give recognition to the lodgment of power in a State Executive Committee, to be exercised at its discretion.'

Although it did not pass upon the constitutionality of section 3107, as we did in Nixon v. Condon, supra, the Court thus recognized the fact upon which our decision turned, that the effort was to vest in the state executive committee the power to bind the party by its decision as to who might be admitted to membership.

In Bell v. Hill, 74 S.W.(2d) 113, the same court, in a mandamus proceeding instituted after the adoption by the state convention of the resolution of May 24, 1932, restricting eligibility for membership in the Democratic Party to white persons, held the resolution valid and effective. After a full consideration of the nature of political parties in the United States, the court concluded that [295 U.S. 45, 52] such parties in the state of Texas arise from the exercise of the free will and liberty of the citizens composing them; that they are voluntary associations for political action, and are not the creatures of the state; and further decided that sections 2 and 27 of article 1 of the state Constitution guaranteed to citizens the liberty of forming political associations, and the only limitation upon this right to be found in that instrument is the clause which requires the maintenance of a republican form of government. The statutes regulating the nomination of candidates by primaries were related by the court to the police power, but were held not to extend to the denial of the right of citizens to form a political party and to determine who might associate with them as members thereof. The court declared that a proper view of the election laws of Texas, and their history, required the conclusion that the Democratic Party in that state is a voluntary political association and, by its representatives assembled in convention, has the power to determine who shall be eligible for membership and, as such, eligible to participate in the party's primaries.

We cannot, as petitioner urges, give weight to earlier expressions of the state courts said to be inconsistent with this declaration of the law. The Supreme Court of the state has decided, in a case definitely involving the point, that the Legislature of Texas has not essayed to interfere, and indeed may not interfere, with the constitutional liberty of citizens to organize a party and to determine the qualifications of its members. If in the past the Legislature has attempted to infringe that right and such infringement has not been gainsaid by the courts, the fact constitutes no reason for our disregarding the considered decision of the state's highest court. The legislative assembly of the state, so far as we are advised, has never attempted to prescribe or to limit the membership of a [295 U.S. 45, 53] political party, and it is now settled that it has no power so to do. The state, as its highest tribunal holds, though it has guaranteed the liberty to organize political parties, may legislate for their governance when formed, and for the method whereby they may nominate candidates, but must do so with full recognition of the right of the party to exist, to define its membership, and to adopt such policies as to it shall seem wise. In the light of the principles so announced, we are unable to characterize the managers of the primary election as state officers in such sense that any action taken by them in obedience to the mandate of the state convention respecting eligibility to participate in the organization's deliberations is state action.

Second. We are told that sections 2 and 27 of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Texas as construed in Bell v. Hill, supra, violate the Federal Constitution, for the reason that so construed they fail to forbid a classification based upon race and color, whereas in Love v. Wilcox, supra, they were not held to forbid classifications based upon party affiliations and membership or nonmembership in organizations other than political parties, which classifications were by article 3107 of Revised Civil Statutes, 1925, as amended, prohibited. But, as above said, in Love v. Wilcox the court did not construe or apply any constitutional provision and expressly reserved the question as to the power of a party in convention assembled to specify the qualifications for membership therein.

Third. An alternative contention of petitioner is that the state Democratic Convention which adopted the resolution here involved was a mere creature of the state and could not lawfully do what the Federal Constitution prohibits to its creator. The argument is based upon the fact that article 3167 of the Revised Civil Statutes of Texas, 1925, requires a political party desiring to elect [295 U.S. 45, 54] delegates to a national convention to hold a state convention on the fourth Tuesday of May, 1928, and every four years thereafter; and provides for the election of delegates to that convention at primary conventions, the procedure of which is regulated by law. In Bell v. Hill, supra, the Supreme Court of Texas held that article 3167 does not prohibit declarations of policy by a state Democratic Convention called for the purpose of electing delegates to a national convention. While it may be, as petitioner contends, that we are not bound by the state court's decision on the point, it is entitled to the highest respect, and petitioner points to nothing which in any wise impugns its accuracy. If, as seems to be conceded, the Democratic Party in Texas held conventions many years before the adoption of article 3167, nothing is shown to indicate that the regulation of the method of choosing delegates or fixing the times of their meetings was intended to take away the plenary power of conventions in respect of matters as to which they would normally announce the party's will. Compare Nixon v. Condon, supra, page 84 of 286 U.S., 52 S.Ct. 484. We are not prepared to hold that in Texas the state convention of a party has become a mere instrumentality or agency for expressing the voice or will of the state.

Fourth. The complaint states that candidates for the offices of Senator and Representative in Congress were to be nominated at the primary election of July 9, 1934, and that in Texas nomination by the Democratic Party is equivalent to election. These facts (the truth of which the demurrer assumes) the petitioner insists, without more, make out a forbidden discrimination. A similar situation may exist in other states where one or another party includes a great majority of the qualified electors. The argument is that as a negro may not be denied a [295 U.S. 45, 55] ballot at a general election on account of his race or color, if exclusion from the primary renders his vote at the general election insignificant and useless, the result is to deny him the suffrage altogether. So to say is to confuse the privilege of membership in a party with the right to vote for one who is to hold a public office. With the former the state need have no concern, with the latter it is bound to concern itself, for the general election is a function of the state government and discrimination by the state as respects participation by negroes on account of their race or color is prohibited by the Federal Constitution.

Fifth. The complaint charges that the Democratic Party has never declared a purpose to exclude negroes. The premise upon which this conclusion rests is that the party is not a state body but a national organization, whose representative is the national Democratic Convention. No such convention, so it is said, has resolved to exclude negroes from membership. We have no occasion to determine the correctness of the position, since even if true it does not tend to prove that the petitioner was discriminated against or denied any right to vote by the state of Texas. Indeed the contention contradicts any such conclusion, for it assumes merely that a state convention, the representative and agent of a state association, has usurped the rightful authority of a national convention which represents a larger and superior country-wide association.

We find no ground for holding that the respondent has in obedience to the mandate of the law of Texas discriminated against the petitioner or denied him any right guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Judgment affirmed.

Source: http://www.usconstitution.com/groveyvtownsend.htm.

26. INSURING THE FUTURE—THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT (AUGUST 14, 1935)

In 1935, one of the centerpieces of Roosevelt's New Deal, the Social Security Act, passed Congress. The act guaranteed payments to workers who lost their employment through no fault of their own and set up a trust fund for old-age benefits. Below is Section 6 of the bill, which outlines the pension benefits plan.

The Social Security Act (Act of August 14, 1935) [H. R. 7260]

An act to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes.

DEFINITION

SEC. 6. When used in this title the term old age assistance means money payments to aged individuals.

TITLE II-FEDERAL OLD-AGE BENEFITS OLD-AGE RESERVE ACCOUNT

Section 201. (a) There is hereby created an account in the Treasury of the United States to be known as the Old-Age Reserve Account hereinafter in this title called the Account. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Account for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, an amount sufficient as an annual premium to provide for the payments required under this title, such amount to be determined on a reserve basis in accordance with accepted actuarial principles, and based upon such tables of mortality as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time adopt, and upon an interest rate of 3 per centum per annum compounded annually. The Secretary of the Treasury shall submit annually to the Bureau of the Budget an estimate of the appropriations to be made to the Account.

(b) It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to invest such portion of the amounts credited to the Account as is not, in his judgment, required to meet current withdrawals. Such investment may be made only in interest-bearing obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States. For such purpose such obligations may be acquired (1) on original issue at par, or (2) by purchase of outstanding obligations at the market price. The purposes for which obligations of the United States may be issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, are hereby extended to authorize the issuance at par of special obligations exclusively to the Account. Such special obligations shall bear interest at the rate of 3 per centum per annum. Obligations other than such special obligations may be acquired for the Account only on such terms as to provide an investment yield of not less than 3 per centum per annum.

(c) Any obligations acquired by the Account (except special obligations issued exclusively to the Account) may be sold at the market price, and such special obligations may be redeemed at par plus accrued interest.

(d) The interest on, and the proceeds from the sale or redemption of, any obligations held in the Account shall be credited to and form a part of the Account.

(e) All amounts credited to the Account shall be available for making payments required under this title.

(f) The Secretary of the Treasury shall include in his annual report the actuarial status of the Account.

OLD-AGE BENEFIT PAYMENTS

SEC. 202. (a) Every qualified individual (as defined in section 210) shall be entitled to receive, with respect to the period beginning on the date he attains the age of sixty-five, or on January 1, 1942, whichever is the later, and ending on the date of his death, an old-age benefit (payable as nearly as practicable in equal monthly installments) as follows: (1) If the total wages (as defined in section 210) determined by the Board to have been paid to him, with respect to employment (as defined in section 210) after December 31, 1936, and before he attained the age of sixty- five, were not more than $3,000, the old-age benefit shall be at a monthly rate of one-half of 1 per centum of such total wages; (2) If such total wages were more than $3,000, the old-age benefit shall be at a monthly rate equal to the sum of the following: (A) One-half of 1 per centum of $3,000; plus (B) One-twelfth of 1 per centum of the amount by which such total wages exceeded $3,000 and did not exceed $45,000;

plus (C) One-twenty-fourth of 1 per centum of the amount by which such total wages exceeded $45,000.

(b) In no case shall the monthly rate computed under subsection (a) exceed $85.

(c) If the Board finds at any time that more or less than the correct amount has theretofore been paid to any individual under this section, then, under regulations made by the Board, proper adjustments shall be made in connection with subsequent payments under this section to the same individual.

(d) Whenever the Board finds that any qualified individual has received wages with respect to regular employment after he attained the age of sixty-five, the old-age benefit payable to such individual shall be reduced, for each calendar month in any part of which such regular employment occurred, by an amount equal to one month's benefit. Such reduction shall be made, under regulations prescribed by the Board, by deductions from one or more payments of old-age benefit to such individual.

PAYMENTS UPON DEATH

SEC. 203. (a) If any individual dies before attaining the age of sixty-five, there shall be paid to his estate an amount equal to 3 per centum of the total wages determined by the Board to have been paid to him, with respect to employment after December 31, 1936.

(b) If the Board finds that the correct amount of the old-age benefit payable to a qualified individual during his life under section 202 was less than 3 per centum of the total wages by which such old-age benefit was measurable, then there shall be paid to his estate a sum equal to the amount, if any, by which such 3 per centum exceeds the amount (whether more or less than the correct amount) paid to him during his life as old-age benefit. (c) If the Board finds that the total amount paid to a qualified individual under an old-age benefit during his life was less than the correct amount to which he was entitled under section 202, and that the correct amount of such old-age benefit was 3 per centum or more of the total wages by which such old-age benefit was measurable, then there shall be paid to his estate a sum equal to the amount, if any, by which the correct amount of the old-age benefit exceeds the amount which was so paid to him during his life.

Source: http://www.ssa.gov/history/35actinx.html.

27. YOUNG AND OUT OF WORK DURING THE DEPRESSION—THE WPA WRITER'S PROJECT I

In 1935, New Deal legislation created the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to put Americans back to work. Among the many WPA projects was the Federal Writers' Project. Unemployed writers went to work for the federal government on various writing assignments, including writing local history, travel books, and biographies. One of the richest parts of the collection offers stories of the lives of ordinary people. These stories tell of their struggles, their joys, and their survival during a very difficult time.

These life histories were compiled and transcribed by the staff of the Folklore Project of the Federal Writers' Project for the U.S. Works Progress (later Work Projects) Administration (WPA) from 1936–1940. The Library of Congress collection includes 2,900 documents representing the work of over 300 writers from 24 states. Typically 2,000–15,000 words in length, the documents consist of drafts and revisions, varying in form from narrative, to dialogue, to report, to case history. The histories describe the informant's family education, income, occupation, political views, religion and mores, medical needs, diet, and miscellaneous observations. Collectively these interviews provide a rich picture of American life from 1936–1940. Reproduced below, Rodney's story captures some of the frustration of being young and unemployed.

DATE: SEP 21 1940

JUST HANGING AROUND

Rodney was a tall lanky youth of twenty-two, who walked with an eager loping stride and wore, in all weather, a brown felt hat pulled low over his spectacles. He looked immature and callow, but possessed to a high degree all the hardboiled [cynicism?] and [flippant?] bitterness of the youth of the Great Depression. He customarily associated with men older than himself, and it had left a mark on him.

"I've got to get out of this town. There's nothing here for me. I've been out of high school four years and what have I done[??] Nothing but write for some of these lousy newspapers. A newspaperman can't make a living in this state. Of course they're underpaid in other places, but it's worse around here. You wouldn't believe how little some of these guys get. Guys that have been working for these papers for years. They work like hell too, and they get chicken-feed. Maybe eighteen bucks a week. In five or ten years perhaps they work up to a little better than twenty. Isn't that swell pay? I've got to get out of here, I know that.

"The problem is how to get enough money to get out and look for a job. I owe plenty around town already. I don't know anybody who's very anxious to stake me. So I'm stranded, like so many other young fellows. We want to get out and work, find [ourselves?], do some living. But when you're busted flat it's not so easy to do. It's pretty tough, believe me. In the old days a young fellow could borrow money to get started with, but try and do it today. You've got to have security to get anything from the banks. And the finance companies soak you so much you can't afford to clip them. All you do is hang around and drink too much, and wise-crack and laugh at everything because you feel licked and empty inside.

"I hate to see winter coming again. When the leaves begin to fall I want to go, too. The winters here are pretty bad. I don't go in much for skiing or skating or any winter sports. I like basketball, but there's not much of that here for fellows after they're out of school. So there's nothing to do but hang around the poolroom, bowling alleys and beer gardens; go to a show or a basketball game; read, if you can get hold of a decent book; talk and bum cigarettes and go out with a girl once in awhile. I don't care about dancing—unless I'm drinking. I've got a girl, just a kid, still in high school. She bawls me out for drinking. But what else is there to do in a town like this? Especially in the winter. In the summer you can go swimming; I like to swim. And there are ball games to go to.

"I've covered the Northern League games for three summers now. It's good baseball and you get to know a lot of real baseball characters: Jeff [Tesreau?], Jack Barry, Doc Gautreau, Vim Clancy, [Will?] Barrett, Ray Fisher; men like that who've been up there in the Big Show and lived baseball all their lives. I get a kick out of that stuff.

"Now that my job is finished I don't know what to do. I could pick up a little money covering basketball games this winter, but not enough to get by on. I couldn't make a living at it. I've never really made a living, I guess. If I could get hold of some money I'd go to Connecticut or Ohio. I have relatives there, and I could stick around and look for work. But I can't very well go without a dime. I don't know. It makes a guy wonder.

"I do know one thing though. Somehow, some way, I've got to get away from here and get started in something. This is almost enough to make a guy join the army."

Source: Library of Congress, WPA Writers Project, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin.

28. THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS IN THE DEPRESSION—THE WPA WRITERS' PROJECT II

The story reproduced below was recorded by a WPA writer and provides interesting insight into middle-class values and hopes in the Depression years of the 1930s. A fact revealed in this story that was a common theme in the Depression was that often women had to go to work (or in this case become entrepreneurial) when their husbands found themselves unemployed.

SOUTH CAROLINA WRITERS' PROJECT
LIFE HISTORY
TITLE: THE HARDY FAMILY.
Date of First Writing March 7th, 1939
Name of Person Interviewed Mrs. Roe Remington (White)
Fictitious Name Mrs. Hardy
Street Address Windermere
Place Charleston, S. C.
Occupation Housewife
Name of Writer Muriel A. Mann
Name of Reviser State Office. *{Begin handwritten}[???]{End handwritten}*

Project #-1655
Muriel A. Mann
Charleston, S. C.
March 21, 1939 LIFE HISTORY. THE HARDY FAMILY.

Facing the highway, just outside an old southern city, stands an attractive modern ivy-colored brick house of English design, with an expanse of well cared for lawn in front and a lily pond and flower garden in the rear. An electrically lighted sign which reads "The Windermere Guests," stands prominently at the entrance to the driveway, advertising to passing motorists that they may find accommodations within. It is the home of Dr. and Mrs. Hardy, who, more by chance than any other reason, find themselves with a thriving tourist business.

Mrs. Hardy, a good-looking woman with a shock of dark bobbed hair, shot with gray, and snapping brown eyes, was seated in the comfortable living room telling how she happened to convert her home into a tourist's inn.

"About two years ago," she said, "the house began to feel lonely and altogether too large for two people. Our three boys, Jack, Dick, and Paul were in the north seeking their own careers, and Phyllis, our only daughter had just gotten married. We were hard pressed financially, and for the first time in my life I seemed to have time on my hands. I was seeking some new interest, something which would pay.

"One day, the thought occurred to me that a number of homes along the highway were displaying tourist signs, and perhaps I too, could rent my three bedrooms occasionally and pick up a few extra dollars. So I talked it over with my husband, and as the idea met with his approval, I prepared to carry out the plan.

"From the beginning the venture was a success, and scarcely a night passed that the three bedrooms were not occupied, and, although my rates were reasonable, my bank account grew steadily, and I was thoroughly enjoying my contacts with the traveling public. It was a pleasant surprise to me.

"Only one unpleasant incident occurred. That was when one of my neighbors resented the competition so much that she employed a little colored boy to stand out in front of our house and direct all inquirers to her home. But, when the matter was brought to the attention of the county sheriff, the boy was ordered away and we were declared to be within our rights. We have not been bothered with her since.

"It was about a year after I began to rent my rooms that I happened to hear that someone was thinking of buying the vacant lot next door for the purpose of building a tourist camp. This was not a particularly agreeable thought to us, so we decided to buy it ourselves and build another house—a house which could be used to accommodate tourists now and later turned into a home for one of the children should any of them want to return here to live. Anyway it seemed like a good investment, and if I could keep three bedrooms steadily occupied, why not more!"

Mrs. Hardy got up and let in Trixy, the family pet, a little brown terrier who had been standing patiently outside the screen door for some time. Then resuming her seat, went on with her story:

"We didn't lose any time in calling in an architect and before long the plans were drawn up, the contract signed and the building under way.

"It was completed a short time ago, giving me seven more rooms to rent. Last night every room was taken and there were twenty-two people in the ten rooms. But that is almost a nightly occurrence, and I am making so much money that before long it will be possible for my husband to give up his teaching and research work at the Medical College and retire."

The new house, which stands to the side and slightly to the rear of the brick house, is Colonial in style and painted gray with deep blue shutters. The lawn has been extended across the front, and at the foot of the iron-railed steps by which you enter, a semi-circle of spring flowers will soon be a riot of color in shades of yellow and blue.

Mrs. Hardy invited me to inspect the interior, and accompanied by Trixy, we strolled across the lawn.

"I paid cash for every piece of furniture here, and expect to have the house paid for within three years at the rate I am going," she informed me. "I have tried to think always of the comfort of my guests and have bought the best springs and mattresses obtainable because I know from experience how much a comfortable night means after a day on the road."

A servant was polishing the oak floors and putting everything in order. The rooms are attractively furnished, and well designed to please the comfort loving guest.

There is a roomy two-car garage provided for each house and ample parking space, nicely graveled, which will accommodate a number of extra cars.

Strains of a Bach Prelude were coming from the little apartment over the brick house garage which is now occupied by Phyllis and her husband, who have recently returned home to live. Phyllis is an accomplished musician.

No detail seems to have been overlooked. There is even a laundry room where all the linens are washed and ironed, and there is enough work to keep a laundress employed constantly as well as a man and two maids.

Seated again in the living room, Mrs. Hardy resumed her story.

"A short time ago a woman died here. She was on her way to Florida accompanied by a companion, and had just stopped for the night. I chatted with her for a few minutes before she retired, and she seemed to be in good health and the very best of spirits. Early in the morning I heard a commotion downstairs, but thought nothing of it until my husband came in and told me that she had died in her sleep.

"Happening in our home, there was no undue excitement, as the doctor is naturally familiar with the procedure in such matters. The coroner was called and the body removed early. There was nothing more that anyone could do. But you have to be prepared for anything which occurs in this business.

"Occasionally an old college classmate of our stops by, giving us an opportunity to renew old friendships and memories, and we both like the tourist business so much that it looks now like a permanent thing.

"But times have not always been so easy or so prosperous for us," Mrs. Hardy went on. "Indeed there have been periods when the struggle for existence was far from an easy one. The doctor and I met when we were attending the University of Iowa from which we graduated, he in Chemistry and I in the arts' course. He obtained a position teaching chemistry at the University of North Dakota and I went to Boston to study at the Curry School of Expression. The course took three years, and after graduating I taught for three years at Smith College before we got married.

"We were married at my home in Minneapolis and moved to Fargo to live, and for twenty years it was a struggle to raise four children on a teacher's salary, even though I kept up my teaching and was a pioneer in the school of expression in that state.

"Our children were fairly well grown when my husband decided to go after his Ph.D. degree. He began by studying during the summer holidays towards that end. But it was very hard on him and the progress was slow in comparison, so I insisted that he resign his teaching position and devote an entire year to the work demanded for his degree, which he did, and during that time I supported the entire family with my teaching.

"It was a difficult year for the Hardy family, and it meant making many sacrifices, but we persevered, and in the end the reward was well worth the work and time it had taken, for my husband was offered a position here at the Medical College as head of the Department of Food Research, the field in which he had specialized, which meant making a new start in a new field. Not long ago he was awarded an honorary degree by one of the important colleges of the south for his discoveries in the field of research, and I feel justly proud of him.

"Ten years have passed since coming south, ten years of ups and downs, of toil and heartaches as well as success, for it was shortly after we moved here and had bought this home, that the great depression hit the country, and for eight months not a professor at the college received a cent of pay.

"So once again I took up teaching and was able to make enough to help us over this bad time. We joined the Rotary Club and other groups and made contacts in this way. It was very discouraging at times, but we kept right on, and everything had gradually worked out as it usually does.

"Jack attended the local college the first two years we lived here and then he decided that he wanted to study chemistry in the north and graduate from a northern university. But the outlook was not very bright for we were unable to help him.

"He was undaunted, however, and packed his things, including his drums, and hitch-hiked to Ohio. When he was unable to get a job in an orchestra he washed dishes in a restaurant or waited on tables. The only trouble about being a waiter was that he had so much difficulty in remembering the orders, that sometimes the results were disastrous."

There was a gleam of pride in Mrs. Hardy's eyes as she told of her son's achievement.

"When Jack graduated he was offered an assistantship which he accepted, and after four years of teaching he won the Baker Fellowship Award of $1000.00 over competitors from every university in the country which enabled him to give up teaching and devote his time entirely to research. Now he is earning a fine salary working for the Mellon Institute, has married the girl of his choice, and is living in Dayton, Ohio.

"About five summers ago we decided that we all needed a rest, and a summer in the mountains away from the heat, would be beneficial, especially for my husband. So we rented a cottage in the mountains for the summer. Dick was in college now and Phyllis was preparing to go, too.

"It was really a rest and complete change, even though it took an awful lot of cooking to keep up with the appetites. But it paid in the end, I'm sure. Anyway, when Jack joined us, hitch-hiking down from Ohio, he brought with him a classmate and chum, Jim Ross, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Due to the depression and being unable to find work in his field, he had decided to return to the university to get a teacher's diploma, rather than wait for something to turn up. None of the boys had any money to spare, but in spite of this we had a jolly time fishing, swimming in the mountain streams, hiking and loafing, and it was soon apparent to everybody that Jim and Phyllis were very much in love.

"When our vacation was over Phyllis went off to College for three years, and Jim found a position teaching architecture in Ohio. After Phyllis graduated she and Jim married and went to live in Ohio. Phyllis kept up her music and taught, and at the end of the first year they had saved enough to take a two month trip to Europe. They had a glorious time, returning happy but broke, of course, and went to live in Alabama, Jim having accepted a position teaching there to get away from the cold northern winters. They were living there when my husband happened to hear that there was a vacancy in a local firm of architects, so he sent for Jim, and that is why they are living here now. It looks like it will be permanent, too, and Jim is happy to be working in his own field instead of teaching. They are going to have a baby next summer and are so happy about it.

"Our other boys, Dick and Paul, have done well too. Dick graduated with honors from the college here and won a scholarship to the University of New York. He is a biologist and has a good position in New York. Last summer he married Phyllis' college roommate, who is also a very fine musician, and she is continuing her studies at the Juilliard School of Music.

"Paul, our youngest, is at the Bryant College of Business in Providence, Rhode Island, and will finish in August. He is earning his own tuition by helping in the office and correcting English papers. For a time it was difficult for Paul to find himself. He was not happy at the college here, and after two years he decided to get a job. For eight months he worked at a wood preserving plant, and they liked him so well that he can have his job back any time he wants it. But a relative expects to find a place for him in New York when he graduates, so he will probably remain there."

Mrs. Hardy paused reflectively, and after a moment added: "Looking back over the busy years behind us, it is easy to understand why the house seemed lonely and why the demands upon our pocketbook have been so heavy, but little did we believe that we would end up in the tourist business and like it."

Source: Library of Congress, WPA Writers Project, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin.

29. RECOVERY IN WASHINGTON, D.C.—THE WPA WRITER'S PROJECT III

In this WPA interview, the writer documents a familiar story of failed banks and lost savings.

January 5, 1940
Mr. W. W. Tarpley (White)
5001 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington, D.C.
Finance Officer in U.S. Treasury
(Bank Conservator)
By Bradley

"Yes, I really went through the depression. My story may not be so interesting to anyone else, but I'll be glad for you to write it."

The consultant is Mr. Raymond Tarver and he is being interviewed at his home, in a fashionable section in Washington, D.C. In appearance he is tall and rather slender. Though only in his early forties his hair is showing a decided grey and his face has lines in it that are the result of much care and responsibility. He is not a handsome man but has an expression on his face and a personality that immediately inspires one with confidence. His genuineness and his affable disposition have won for him many friends. His home is modern, with every comfort and convenience. The furnishings are of the best and most luxurious with an absence of any display of wealth.

"I guess, in a way," he resumed, "the depression was a blessing in disguise for me. It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good, you know. Of course I felt like I was ruined at the time, but if the crash had not come, I might have still been down in that little South Georgia town working for a small salary.

"There were thousands who went down during the panic—lost fortunes, homes, business, and in fact everything. Some have survived, and many never will. A great many were too old to begin building up again. In the kind of work I'm in I have been in position to know some of the devastating effects of it, and it certainly gets on your sympathy.

"I guess you would say I am recovering from it. When I say that though, I'm not boasting, but I'm deeply grateful for the good fortunes that have came my way. Then, too, I feel under everlasting obligations to some of my friends who have helped me to get where I am.

"I had not accumulated a great deal at the time of the panic, but I did have some savings and a good job. That was the trouble, my savings and my job went at the same time. Now that was real trouble. Nobody but my wife and I knew just what we did go through.

"Not long after, my mother died. This was the first death in the family. It seemed so sad to think that of a family as large as ours, my sister, father, and I were the only ones left at home. The other children had all moved away to other states.

"I married the next year. For awhile we tried to live at home with my sister and father. Well, that didn't work so well. It seldom does, you know; no house was built big enough for two bosses.

"We moved out and began keeping house in two rooms and a bath. We didn't buy much furniture, just enough to get by with. We really began at the bottom. We were content to live that way until I saved enough to buy us a permanent home. We didn't stint ourselves by any means, but we didn't spend money extravagantly. Our first and only child, Gloria, was born while we were living in these two rooms. We needed more room, though, so we moved into a larger house and rented out half of it. We bought us a second-hand T-model Ford coupe. I don't suppose any couple ever started out life any happier then we. I was making a fine salary, had a growing savings account, and a host of friends, and no serious troubles to worry about. My wife is just the smartest thriftiest person you have ever seen. To her I owe a lot of my successes. She is fine with her needle and crocheting, and you never saw her idle. She made all her spending money that way. Even now since we have been in Washington she keeps it up. And her fruit cake! People here rave about it. She cooks an enormous amount of it every Christmas and sells it for a big profit. She can't fill all the orders she gets. She is very resourceful and right now, if I were to die and not leave her a thing, she would manage some way. One of my hobbies was gardening and it proved to be a profitable one too. This place we rented had a fine garden spot, the finest in Dublin, so every one said. I worked in it early every morning and in the afternoon after banking hours. I sold lots of vegetables, and realized a lot on them—especially the early variety that brought a good price.

"One morning we three were at the breakfast table when the phone rang. It was one of the fellows who worked at the bank.

"'Tarver, he said, 'have you heard the news?'

"'What news? No, I haven't heard any news,' said I. What's it all about?'

"'Well,' he said, 'hurry on down and see.'

"If you will excuse the expression, when he said that, the seat of my britches almost dropped out. I felt like it meant trouble of some kind. I had had a terrible feeling of uneasiness over the bank for some time. Banks had been closing all over the country. There had been a run on our bank some time previous to that, but we tided that over, and since then it had seemed stronger than ever.

"I hurried down and, sure enough, in front of the bank, there stood a crowd of employees, as blank expressions on their faces as I've ever seen. They were too dumbfounded to be excited even.

"The bank was closed and a notice to that effect on the door. We stood there just looking at each other until finally one said, 'Well, boys, guess we had better go on the inside and see if we can find out what it's all about. I guess there goes our jobs.'

"Not only my job was in the balance but my savings were gone, at least for the present.

"No one knows, unless they have experienced it, what it means to work in a place under such conditions. Of course, there were promises that the bank would soon open up and resume business and begin paying off. That gave the depositor something to hope for at least. The sad part was, this was the strongest bank in this town. In fact there had already been several failures, so this was almost the only bank open for business. It was a national bank too, so everybody thought their money was safe. We worked on awhile. To be frank, I didn't worry so much about my losses. I was so concerned about the other fellows. People were losing their homes and some their savings of a lifetime. The saddest part of it was to see widows who probably had been left a little insurance and had put it all in the bank. People have a feeling that all connected with a bank, from the directors, president, on down to the lowest employee, are responsible for a bank failure and that makes you feel bad.

"What do you think caused the depression?" he asked. "Well, almost everyone will tell you something different. Usually they will speak from a personal standpoint. Ask a farmer down in that section and they will say, 'the boll weevill.' The merchant will tell you, inflation in prices during the war and the slump following. The Florida boom eventually brought disaster in that state. I'll tell you more about that later. I haven't told you yet how the depression affected me personally. We worked on at the bank trying to get things in shape, with no hopes deep down in our hearts of ever opening up again. Of course, we couldn't tell people on the outside that. We tried to appear hopeful. One by one they began laying off employees and I knew, sooner or later, my time would come. I didn't worry very much right then because I was young and, with my experience and standing in the town, I just knew I would not have any trouble getting work. I soon found out, though, I was mistaken in that.

"Well, my turn came to be laid off. On my desk one morning I found a letter to that effect. Of course it read, 'With appreciation for my valuable service, deep regret, best wishes, etc.' But that didn't help my feelings much. My job was gone and my savings too. Except for the time I served during the war, that was the first day I was without a job since I was just a boy. I went on home to break the news to Louise. She was not surprised, for we had both been expecting it."

Source: Library of Congress, WPA Writers Project, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin.

30. WOMEN IN THE DEPRESSION—THE WPA WRITER'S PROJECT IV

In this document, a Federal Writers Project writer tells her own story.

IN LIEU OF SOMETHING BETTER
Written by: Miss Minnie Stonestreet
Washington, Georgia

Edited by: Mrs. Leila H. Harris
Supervising Editor
Georgia Writer's Project
Area 7
Augusta, Georgia
January 9, 1940

About this time, came Washington's first bank failure. And of course it had to be the Exchange Bank, the one where our money was deposited.

After about ten years Mother got $12.00 from the over $300.00 she had there.

During all this time I was working at the Carrington Insurance Agency at a very nice salary. However, in 1928 things were very bad financially and my employer got behind with my salary. Times were so hard there was not another opening so I stayed on and kept up as best I could, ever hoping better times would come. "Prosperity was around the corner" in those days, so said everybody.

In 1929, the friend who owned the house we lived in had a splendid opportunity to sell it. He gave us the refusal but it was a larger house than we needed and much more expensive than we could afford after our big losses. We had always wanted a little home, so we bought the small lot next to where we lived and started a home on the unit plan—building only a small portion of what we hope to have some day.

Before starting on our house I had a talk with Mr. Carrington and he assured me that he would have money in hand to pay all he owed me and that my salary would go right on. He then told me glowing stories of his prospects, and I foolishly believed it all. We went ahead and built our house and then everything went to pieces. The bills were due and we paid out as far as we could. There was no money to go any farther, Mr. Carrington had failed in his contract and I could not collect anything. Creditors were urging payment and the plumbing man was most especially insistent and ugly. One material man was hard up himself, and through his attorney made things very difficult. He, however, owned an immense plantation down near ours, so as he thought well of my little place, he suggested taking a second mortgage on it. I gladly did this feeling very safe for then neither of them could foreclose without paying the other. With a note signed by both Mother and myself, we satisfied the other material man.

In the office things went from bad to worse. Mr. Carrington had failed completely. He suggested that I take over his recording fire business as part payment on what he owed me and that/ he would pay me $10.00 per week to stay on to do his life insurance office work.

This I agreed to do—having no other place to go.

His fire insurance business was scattered over several counties and most of it was very undesirable—but I was like a sinking person, I grabbed at anything. I thought I could weed out the bad risks and gradually build up a good business. This I started out to do, but I did not reckon on the town's keen fire insurance competition.

Before I could make any headway there were fires one after another bringing terrific losses to the companies I represented. Then to cap the climax, Mr. Carrington forged my name to some policies, collected the premiums and spent them. He collected some others and used the money, leaving me liable to the Company. I had to take legal steps to stop him, but is was too late to save me from financial embarrassment such as I had never thought possible.

About this time I was a physical and financial wreck I could neither eat nor sleep from worry and dread. I had an indebtedness of something like $1,700.00 or more with nothing to meet it and living expenses going on at home for my mother and me. Besides the $500.00 that Mr. Carrington had collected in premiums and used, and for which I was responsible to the fire insurance companies, he owed me over $700.00 in back salary. I appealed to his brother in Atlanta, a very prominent merchant there. He promised to aid me in every way saying that he would see that his brother paid me and that if he didn't that he would see that I did not lose a penny if I would just let him manage it. Since he was a big churchman, an official in the Presbyterian denomination and a great Billy Sunday Evangelistic Club member and worker, I believed him.

In fact the first time I ever saw him was some years before when he came here with some members of the Atlanta Billy Sunday Club to hold services in this little country town. He spoke in the morning at our Methodist Church and in the evening at the Baptist. I was not working for his brother at the time but I heard him and thought what a Christian gentleman he was. Little did I think that some day I would have a perfectly good opportunity to find out for myself. What a lot of difference there is between saying and doing.

Well one day a friend who had a dental office next to the Carrington set-up came in and offered me room in his office. I accepted, borrowed a desk, an old broken down typewriter and brought a chair from home. I had nothing to move across the hall but some insurance blanks and forms.

But that move proved to be the most fortunate one I ever made, and now that I look back on it, I feel sure that it was a kind Providence who directed it.

In 1933 I applied for work in the office of our Government County Administrator here. I was called in every few days for several hours work which helped immensely. Later as the work expanded I was given more work until a family connection of the Administrator was taken in, then I was transferred to the re-employment office for part time work. This I had for some time, owing the money to meet our obligations and only taking a little out for living expenses. Then came notice that this office would be closed so I registered for work the last thing I did before leaving. I registered for general office work, typist and historical research.

Right away I applied to the Administrator for work. She did not give me anything nor even encourage me, although my application showed how very much I was in need of work. In the meantime there was a shakeup in the administration here and a young man was sent to replace the county administrator. I went to see him and laid my case before him. My mother had never fully recovered from her lung illness and was unable to do anything so the entire financial burden was on me.

After waiting as patiently as prevailing conditions allowed for a reasonable length of time, I borrowed the money and went to Atlanta to put my case before someone in the State Office. Miss Shepperson was not in the city so I was interviewed by

Miss Jane Van de Vrede. When I finished my story, I asked: "Is there a place in the program for me?"

She replied kindly and emphatically, "There certainly is you will be put to work at once."

She wrote the local office to that effect and very soon I was indexing the oldest records in the Clerk's office. That project expired about the time Federal Writer's was started and greatly to my surprise and delight I was given a job on that project, which I have retained until the present time and I am still liking it more and more.

In 1935 my former employer passed away without paying me. His brother, when time came to make good his promises failed on some slight pretext. Which goes to show as the old Negro preacher said: "You sho' can't believe every thing folks promises you."

Being so deeply involved, I could not pay but in a very long time, if ever, and a dear friend stepped in and took charge of our affairs in 1935. He sold all of our land at $3.00 per acre, paid up as far as it would go and helped us get the tangled strands of our financial affairs in better order. We had been unable to pay State and County taxes for 5 years—they amounted to nearly $400.00.

All of this happened over a very short period of time but I feel like I lived a lifetime. My mother is frail and I could never let her know how bad our condition really was. She would ask me to bring groceries home when needed and many a time I would not have the money so would conveniently "forget" them. I remember once she told me among other things to bring some coffee that day. I hadn't the price so I "forgot" it thinking surely the next day I would got the money. I didn't get it, nor the next and so on for several days. We had to drink tea, it was in the winter time, and neither of us liked it. Finally Mother said: "I'll declare, your memory is getting as bad as mine and if you don't think of that coffee today, I'm going up town and get it myself." I laughed with her over the "joke" she thought it was, but my heart sank fearing she would find the real reason why I had kept "forgetting" the needed groceries.

Sometimes I was so panicky I almost collapsed when I heard the sheriff's voice in the building, I was so afraid some of my creditors were foreclosing and would put us out—every week I feared looking over the legal advertisements lest our land was listed among the tax sales.

My good friend, who took me in his office, and his wife have meant everything to me—he was always so jolly and helped me not to give up.

He gave me a desk and helped me buy a re-built typewriter. In exchange I helped him all I could. He was an elderly man partially retired, so that there was not much office work to do. He died last October but even in passing away he thought of me and provided an office for me for as long as I needed it.

Sometimes when I think of the hard time and terrific strain I have had, and still am having for that matter, I am reminded of the lines from an old hymn:

"Through many dangers, toils and snares,
I have already come."

But I do not like to think back too much, for I am so thankful that I did not go down completely; that there were kind friends who stood by me, and that I live in a land under the administration of such a great humanitarian as our noble President, who feels for those who were caught in the terrible depression and lost almost all they had. Who in his wonderful kindness of heart has made it possible for us to have the high and rightful privilege of working out our financial difficulties and winning back our rightful places in the world, and still keep our self respect and our faith in God and man. And I can say with all the earnestness of my soul:

Thank God for America!

Thank God for Franklin D. Roosevelt, the president with a heart!

Source: Library of Congress, WPA Writers Project, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin.

31. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S "QUARANTINE THE ENEMY" SPEECH (OCTOBER 5, 1937)

As war clouds began to hover over Europe once again, President Franklin Roosevelt realized that Americans would almost certainly be drawn into the conflict. The Spanish Civil War and the looming larger war in Europe presented Roosevelt with three conflicting dilemmas. He had to convince aggressive European nations that the United States would not stand by passively if they attempted to overrun Europe, but at the same time he had to assure his own heavily isolationist constituents that they would not be embroiled again in Europe. He also had to gently bring the American public to the realization that the world was growing smaller every day, and that the isolationism they had collectively embraced was not a practical policy. He resolved these dilemmas with his famous "Quarantine the Enemy" speech, which was given a full two years before the outbreak of war in Europe.

I am glad to come once again to Chicago and especially to have the opportunity of taking part in the dedication of this important project of civic betterment.

On my trip across the continent and back I have been shown many evidences of the result of common sense cooperation between municipalities and the Federal government, and I have been greeted by tens of thousands of Americans who have told me in every look and word that their material and spiritual well-being has made great strides forward in the past few years.

And yet, as I have seen with my own eyes, the prosperous farms, the thriving factories and the busy railroads—as I have seen the happiness and security and peace which covers our wide land, almost inevitably I have been compelled to contrast our peace with very different scenes being enacted in other parts of the world.

It is because the people of the United States under modern conditions must, for the sake of their own future, give thought to the rest of the world, that I, as the responsible executive head of the nation, have chosen this great inland city and this gala occasion to speak to you on a subject of definite national importance.

The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbors.

Some 15 years ago the hopes of mankind for a continuing era of international peace were raised to great heights when more than 60 nations solemnly pledged themselves not to resort to arms in furtherance of their national aims and policies. The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago.

It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties. It has now reached the stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks, the traditions which have marked the progress of civilization toward a condition of law and order and justice are being wiped away.

Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind, civilians, including vast numbers of women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. In times of so-called peace, ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice. Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

Innocent peoples, innocent nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane considerations.

To paraphrase a recent author, "perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book, every picture, every harmony, every treasure garnered through two millenniums, the small, the delicate, the defenseless—all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed.".

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that America may expect mercy, that this Western hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of civilization.

No, if those days come, "there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage until every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

If those days are not to come to pass—if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity without fear—then the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure.

The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of human instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal right of their neighbors to be free and live in peace, must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice, and confidence may prevail throughout the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty. There must be recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

A bishop wrote me the other day: "It seems to me that something greatly needs to be said in behalf of ordinary humanity against the present practice of carrying the horrors of war to helpless civilians, especially women and children. It may be that such a protest might be regarded by many, who claim to be realists, as futile, but may it not be that the heart of mankind is so filled with horror at the present needless suffering that that force could be mobilized in sufficient volume to lessen such cruelty in the days ahead. Even though it may take 20 years, which God forbid, for civilization to make effective its corporate protest against this barbarism, surely strong voices may hasten the day."

There is a solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future security of every nation, large or small. It is, therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.

The overwhelming majority of the peoples and nations of the world today want to live in peace. They seek the removal of barriers against trade. They want to exert themselves in industry, in agriculture and in business, that they may increase their wealth through the production of wealth-producing goods rather than striving to produce military planes and bombs and machine guns and cannon for the destruction of human lives and useful property.

In those nations of the world which seem to be piling armament on armament for purposes of aggression, and those other nations which fear acts of aggression against them and their security, a very high proportion of their national income is being spent directly for armaments. It runs from 30 to as high as 50 per cent. The proportion that we in the United States spend is far less—11 or 12 per cent.

How happy we are that the circumstances of the moment permit us to put our money into bridges and boulevards, dams and reforestation, the conservation of our soil, and many other kinds of useful works rather than into huge standing armies and vast supplies of implements of war.

Nevertheless, my friends, I am compelled, as you are compelled, to look ahead. The peace, the freedom, and the security of 90 per cent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10 per cent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the 90 per cent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

The situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties; they are questions of war and of peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity. It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security and world humanity.

It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

AND MARK THIS WELL: When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace and to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war. It ought to be inconceivable that in this modern era, and in the face of experience, any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating, in contravention of solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and are too weak to protect themselves adequately. Yet the peace of the world and the welfare and security of every nation are today being threatened by that very thing.

No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or its good standing by conciliating its differences, and by exercising great patience with, and consideration for, the rights of other nations.

War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

If civilization is to survive, the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Shattered trust between nations must be revived.

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a course. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

Source: http://www.usconstitution.com/franklinroosevelt'squarantinespeech.htm.

32. FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S FIRESIDE CHAT—"THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY" (DECEMBER 29, 1940)

In December 1940, with the Nazis in control of Western Europe and preparing to attack the Soviet Union, England and the Soviet Union stood virtually alone and separated against the German juggernaut. Roosevelt realized that the United States represented the last hope of those who opposed fascism. In this fireside chat, he tells his still isolationist countrymen that Americans may remain out of the war but morally they could not remain neutral. The country had an obligation to materially help those still fighting against the fascist plan for world domination. The United States had to become, Roosevelt declared, "the arsenal of democracy."

My friends: This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his Spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings. I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism. We face this new crisis—this new threat to the security of our nation—with the same courage and realism. Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For on September 27, 1940—this year—by an agreement signed in Berlin. Three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States of America interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations—a program aimed at world control—they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of

Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world. It was only three weeks ago that their leader stated this: “There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other.” And then in defiant reply to his opponents he said this: “Others are correct when they say: ‘With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves.’ . . . I can beat any other power in the world.” So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but the Axis proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy—their philosophy of government—and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment the forces of the States that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom are being held away from our shores. The Germans and the Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. In Asia the Japanese are being engaged by the Chinese nation in another great defense.

In the Pacific Ocean is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no “unwritten agreement.”

And yet there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. And the fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does any one seriously believe that we need to fear attack anywhere in the Americas while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? And does any one seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbors there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the Continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in all the Americas would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. And to survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that even if Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of those oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than it is from Washington to Denver, Colorado, five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the north end of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other. Why, even today we have planes that could fly from the British Isles to New England and back again without refueling. And remember that the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. One telegram, however, expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know in their hearts that evil exists. That telegram begged me not to tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts." Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead—danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of danger, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

Some nations of Europe were bound by solemn nonintervention pacts with Germany. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never fear invasion. Nonintervention pact or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, overrun, thrown into modern slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice at all.

As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day, "the notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places." The fate of these nations tells us what it means to live at the point of a Nazi gun.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they are occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order." Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she then hesitate to say to any South American country: "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States"?

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. And any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German attack on any one of the other republics of this hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves the future of two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing pet exception in an unfree world? Or the islands of the Azores, which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? You and I think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. And yet the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. That is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this American hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all of the round world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and in neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension, to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice versa. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our own natural abhorrence of war.

These trouble-breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people, to divide them into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States. These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. But Americans never can and never will do that.

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that all of this bloodshed in the world could be saved, that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a "negotiated peace." Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in all history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers. With all their vaunted efficiency, with all their parade of pious purpose in this war, there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that the shootings and the chains and the concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is only a revival of the oldest and worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed "new order" is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and to enslave the human race.

The British people and their allies today are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit that there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask where to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and for our security.

Emphatically we must get these weapons to them, get them to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not the defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. And they are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American expeditionary force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can therefore, nail, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and away from our people.

Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. And it is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia and other nations near Germany to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day in the week.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency, and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations which are resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic, practical military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the Administration have a single-minded purpose—he defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency—and with all possible speed. And this great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend every one in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the government to protect the economic well-being of its citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the government is determined to protect the rights of the workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

The worker possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or the manager or the owner. For the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, and the planes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lockouts. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well-coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, planes, ships and many other things have to be built in the factories and the arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the land.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the government and industry and labor. And I am very thankful.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout all the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and its talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, of farm implements, of Linotypes and cash registers and automobiles, and sewing machines and lawn mowers and locomotives, are now making fuses and bomb packing crates and telescope mounts and shells and pistols and tanks.

But all of our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes—more of everything. And this can be accomplished only if we discard the notion of "business as usual." This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements of the nation for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

And after the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peacetime needs will require all of the new productive capacity, if not still more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense. We need them.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine, every arsenal, every factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men—the skill—the wealth—and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials that are essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield, and will gladly yield, to our primary and compelling purpose.

So I appeal to the owners of plants—to the managers—to the workers—to our own government employees—to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. With this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task that lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our overall military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek Army and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and the best of information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope—hope for peace, yes, and hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States, I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

Source: http://www.usconstitution.com/franklinrooseveltarsenalofdemocracy.htm.

33. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S FOUR FREEDOMS SPEECH (JANUARY 6, 1941)

In his annual message to Congress in 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the growing fears of Americans regarding the expanding World War II.

Mr. Speaker, members of the 77th Congress:

I address you, the members of this new Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the union. I use the word "unprecedented" because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. And, fortunately, only one of these—the four-year war between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, 130,000,000 Americans in forty-eight States have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often has been disturbed by events in other continents. We have even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific, for the maintenance of American rights and for the Principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case has a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition—clear, definite opposition—to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, in the early days during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution. While the Napoleonic struggle did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

And in like fashion, from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this hemisphere. And the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength; it is still a friendly strength. Even when the World War broke out in 1914 it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time went on, as we remember, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of pacification which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. And the assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the union," I find it unhappily necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe and Asia, Africa and Australia will be dominated by conquerors. And let us remember that the total of those populations in those four continents, the total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—yes, many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and, incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion—or even good business. Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed. We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the ism of appeasement. We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests. I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nation win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and by their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive they, not we, will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

And that is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger. That is why this annual message to the Congress is unique in our history. That is why every member of the executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility—great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency. Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all of our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this :

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere.

By this support we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principle of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on the line before the American electorate. And today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production. Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time. In some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays. And in some cases—and, I am sorry to say, very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results. To give you two illustrations: We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes. We are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships, but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule. To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. The greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, new shipways must first be constructed before the actual material begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence. New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations. Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need manpower, but they do need billions of dollars' worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they must surrender merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars. I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. And nearly all of their material would, if the time ever came, be useful in our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who, by their determined and heroic resistance, are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad we shall be repaid, repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, repaid in similar materials, or at our option in other goods of many kinds which they can produce and which we need. Let us say to the democracies : "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

And when the dictators—if the dictators—are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part.

They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war. Their only interest is in a new one-way international law which lacks mutuality in its observance and therefore becomes an instrument of oppression. The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend on how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The nation's hands must not be tied when the nation's life is in danger.

Yes, and we must prepare, all of us prepare, to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense, in defense preparations at any time, must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble-makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses and those behind them who build our defenses must have the stamina and the courage which come from unashakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all the things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fiber of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect. Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world. For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy.

The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are: Equality of opportunity for youth and for others. Jobs for those who can work. Security for those who need it. The ending of special privilege for the few. The preservation of civil liberties for all. The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, the basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement. As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice, and I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call. A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I will recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying for today. No person should try, or be allowed to get rich out of the program, and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles the voters, putting patriotism ahead pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear. Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change, in a perpetual, peaceful revolution, a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions without the concentration camp or the quicklime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands, heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women, and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights and keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

Source: http://www.usconstitution.com/franklinrooseveltfourfreedomsspeech.htm.

34. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S "DAY OF INFAMY" SPEECH (DECEMBER 8, 1941)

> On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the U.S. Naval Station at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The following day a shocked and bewildered country looked to the president for help in understanding what had occurred. Americans listened anxiously to President Franklin Roosevelt on the radio as he addressed the Congress. In his speech to Congress that day, the president put into words the grief that all Americans felt, as he memorialized December 7, 1941, as "a date which will live in infamy."

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong. Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam. Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands. Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us. No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounded determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

Source: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, http://www.feri.org/common/news/details.cfm?QID=2067&clientid=11005.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DECADE, 1900–1940

As the following Census figures show, the population of the United States grew by almost 56 million persons between 1900 and 1940, with particular spurts in growth during the first decade of the twentieth century, thanks to immigration, and during the 1920s, due to economic prosperity.

1900	76,212,168
1910	92,228,496
1920	106,021,537
1930	123,202,624
1940	132,164,569

Source: United States Bureau of Census

APPENDIX 2: PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1900–1945

Listed below are the presidents of the United States who held office between 1900 and 1945, with their party affiliations and their terms of service.

William McKinley[1]	Republican	1897–1901
Theodore Roosevelt	Republican	1901–1909
William Howard Taft	Republican	1909–1913
Woodrow Wilson	Democrat	1913–1921
Warren G. Harding[2]	Republican	1921–1923
Calvin Coolidge	Republican	1923–1929

Herbert Hoover	Republican	1929–1933
Franklin D. Roosevelt[3]	Democrat	1933–1945

[1] Assassinated in office in September 1901
[2] Died in office on August 2, 1923
[3] Died in office on April 12, 1945
Source: www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents

APPENDIX 3: VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1900–1940s

Listed below are the vice presidents of the United States who held office between 1900 and 1945, with the president under whom they served, their party affiliation, and their terms of service.

Theodore Roosevelt[1]	McKinley	Republican	1901
Office Vacant	T. Roosevelt		1901–1905
Charles W. Fairbanks	T. Roosevelt	Republican	1905–1909
James S. Sherman[2]	Taft	Republican	1909–1912
Office Vacant	Taft		1912–1913
Thomas R. Marshall	Wilson	Democrat	1913–1921
Calvin Coolidge[3]	Harding	Republican	1921–1923
Office Vacant	Coolidge		1923–1925
Charles G. Dawes	Coolidge	Republican	1925–1929
Charles Curtis	Hoover	Republican	1929–1933
John Nance Garner	F. D. Roosevelt	Democrat	1933–1941
Henry A. Wallace	F. D. Roosevelt	Democrat	1941–1945
Harry S Truman[4]	F. D. Roosevelt	Democrat	1945
Office Vacant	Truman		1945–1949

[1] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of William McKinley on September 14, 1901
[2] Died in office on October 30, 1912
[3] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of Warren G. Harding on August 2, 1923
[4] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945
Source: http://americanhistory.about.com/library/charts/blchartpresidents.htm

APPENDIX 4: SECRETARIES OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1900–1940s

Listed below are the secretaries of state of the United States who held office between 1900 and 1945, with the president who appointed them, their party affiliations, and their terms of service.

John Hay	McKinley/T. Roosevelt	Republican	1898–1905
Elihu Root	T. Roosevelt	Republican	1905–1909
Robert Bacon	T. Roosevelt	Republican	1909
Philander C. Knox	Taft	Republican	1909–1913
William Jennings Bryan	Wilson	Democrat	1913–1915
Robert Lansing	Wilson	Democrat	1915–1920
Bainbridge Colby	Wilson	Democrat	1920–1921
Charles Evans Hughes	Harding/Coolidge	Republican	1921–1925
Frank B. Kellogg	Coolidge	Republican	1925–1929
Henry L. Stimson	Hoover	Republican	1929–1933
Cordell Hull	F. D. Roosevelt	Democrat	1933–1944
Edward R. Stettinis Jr.	F. D. Roosevelt/Truman	Democrat	1944–1945

Source: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/po/1682.htm; Mihalkanin, Edward S. *American Statesmen: Secretaries of State from John Jay to Colin Powell.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

APPENDIX 5: CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT, 1900–1940s

Listed below are the chief justices of the U.S. Supreme Court who served between 1900 and 1945, with the president who appointed them and their terms of service.

Melvin Weston Fuller	Cleveland	1888–1910
Edward Douglass White	Taft	1910–1921
William Howard Taft[1]	Harding	1910–1930
Charles Evans Hughes	Hoover	1930–1941
Harlan Fiske Stone	F. D. Roosevelt	1941–1946

[1] Taft, a Republican who served as 27th president of the United States from 1909 to 1913, succeeded White, the man he himself had appointed chief justice in 1910.
Source: Hall, Kermit L., ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Addams, Jane. *Twenty Years at Hull-House*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990.
Akin, Edward N. *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991.
Alexander, June Granatir. *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1870–1920*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
Alinsky, Saul. *Reveille for Radicals*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.
Allen, Frederick Lewis. *Only Yesterday*. New York: Perennial Library, 1959.
Auchincloss, Louis. *Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001.
Badger, Anthony. *New Deal: The Depression Years*. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1989.
Bakken, Gordon Morris, and Brenda Farrington, eds. *Encyclopedia of Women in the American West*. London: Sage Publications, 2003.
Barnes, Phil. *A Concise History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Hilo, HI: Petroglyph Press, 2007.
Batchelor, Bob. *The 1900s*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
Becker, Susan D. *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment: American Feminism between the Wars*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.
Berg, A. Scott. *Lindbergh*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1998.
Black, Brian. *Nature and the Environment in 20th-Century American Life*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.
Blanke, David. *The 1910s*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
Blum, John Morton. *The Progressive Presidents: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Lyndon B. Johnson*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982.
———. *The Republican Roosevelt*. New York: Atheneum, 1962.
———. *Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956.
Bode, Carl. *Maryland: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977.
Bodnar, John. *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985.
Borneman, Walter. *Alaska: Saga of a Bold Land*. New York: Perennial, 2004.
Brands, H. W. *Woodrow Wilson*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2003.

Burt, Elizabeth V. *The Progressive Era: Primary Documents on Events from 1890 to 1914*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Carpenter, Frank G. *Alaska: Our Northern Wonderland*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company, 1972.

Carter, Paul. *The Twenties in America*. 2nd ed. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1975.

Chapelle, Suzanne. *Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 2000.

Clark, Norman H. *Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976.

Clymer, Jeffery A. *America's Culture of Terrorism: Violence, Capitalism, and the Written Word*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Collier, Peter. *The Roosevelts: An American Saga*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Couch, W. T., ed. *Culture in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934.

Crouch, Tom. *The Bishop's Boys: A Life of Wilbur and Orville Wright*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990.

Cumo, Christopher. *Science and Technology in 20th-Century American Life*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Daniels, Roger, and Spencer Olin. *Racism in California: A Reader in the History of Oppression*. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1972.

Davidson, John West, William E. Gienapp, Christine Leigh Hyrman, Mark H. Lytle, and Michael B. Stoff. *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 2005.

Dean, John W. *Warren G. Harding*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004.

Degler, Carl N. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Drowne, Kathleen, and Patrick Huber. *The 1920s*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Fass, Paula S. *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Fenton, Frank. *A Place in the Sun*. New York: Random House, 1942.

Fisher, James T. *Catholics in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Fleming, Thomas. *New Jersey: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1985.

Freidel, Frank. *FDR: Launching the New Deal*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Great Crash 1929*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988.

Giordano, Ralph G. *Fun and Games in Twentieth-Century America: A Historical Guide to Leisure*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Gossop, Michael. *Living with Drugs*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.

Green, Harvey. *The Uncertainty of Everyday Life 1915–1945*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Greenberg, David. *Calvin Coolidge*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Grossman, James, Ann Duskin Keating, and Janice Reiff, eds. *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Guthrie, Woody. *Bound for Glory*. New York: Penguin Books, 1983.

Hagood, Margaret Jarman. *Mothers of the South: A Portraiture of the White Tenant Farmer Woman*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Handlin, Oscar. *Al Smith and His America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958.

Harrell, David Edwin, Edwin S. Gaustad, John B. Boles, Sally Foreman Griffith, and Randall Miller. *Unto a Good Land: A History of the American People*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005.

Heckscher, August. *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991.

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler. *Daily Life of Civilians in Wartime Modern America: From the Indian Wars to the Vietnam War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Heyman, Neil M. *Daily Life during World War I*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Hicks, John D. *Republican Ascendancy, 1921–1933*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Hill, Daniel Delis. *As Seen in Vogue: A Century of Fashion in Advertising*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2004.

Himmelberg, Robert F. *The Great Depression and the New Deal*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Hine, Robert V., and John Mack Faragher. *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Hoffecker, Carol E. *Delaware: A Bicentennial History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977.

Holli, Melvin. *Reform in Detroit: Hazen Pingree and Urban Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Hughes, Thomas P. *American Genius: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870–1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Ingham, John N., and Lynne B. Feldman. *African-American Business Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Jenkins, Roy. *Franklin D. Roosevelt*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2003.

Jenkins, Sally. *The Real All Americans: The Team That Changed a Game, a People, a Nation*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 2007.

Jones, Kirkland C. *Renaissance Man from Louisiana: A Biography of Arna Wendell Bontemps*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Josephy, Alvin M. *The Indian Heritage of America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969.

Kazin, Michael. *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.

Keene, Jennifer. *American Soldiers Lives: World War I*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Koenig, Louis W. Bryan. *A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1975.

Kyvig, David E. *Daily Life in the United States 1920–1940: How American Lived through the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.

Lacey, Robert. *Ford*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986.

LaFarge, Oliver. *A Pictorial History of the American Indian*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1956.

Leuchtenburg, William E. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal 1932–1940*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

———. *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932*. New York: Rand McNally, 1958.

Lewis, David L. *District of Columbia*. New York: Norton Publishing Company, 1976.

Lindenmeyer, Kristine. *The Greatest Generation Grows Up*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005.

Link, Arthur S. *Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at His Major Foreign Policies*. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1963.

———. *Wilson: The New Freedom*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967.

———. *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

———. *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace*. Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1979.

———, and Richard L. McCormick. *Progressivism*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1983.

Lloyd, Norman. *The Golden Encyclopaedia of Music*. New York: Golden Press, 1968.

London, Jack. *John Barleycorn*. New York: Century, 1913.

Lynd, Robert S., and Helen Merrell Lynd. *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1929.

MacDonald, Betty. *The Egg and I*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1945.

Marsden, George. *Fundamentalism and American Culture*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Mayer, Harold, and Richard Wade. *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Mencken, H. L. *On Politics: A Carnival of Buncombe*. New York: Vintage Books, 1960.

Miller, Nathan. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1992.

Miller, Randall, and George Pozetta, eds. *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South*. Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1989.

Millman, Chad. *The Detonators: The Secret Plot to Destroy America and an Epic Hunt for Justice*. New York: Little Brown and Company, 2006.

Milner, Clyde, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss. *The Oxford History of the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Mitchell, Broadus. *Depression Decade: From New Era through New Deal 1929–1941*. New York: Harper Torch Books, 1947.

Morgan, Ted. *FDR: A Biography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986.

Morris, Charles. *American Catholic: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Morris, Edmund. *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: The Modern Library, 2001.

———. *Theodore Rex*. New York: Random House, 2001.

Mowry, George. *The California Progressives*. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1951.

———. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1960.

Murray, Robert K. *The Politics of Normalcy: Governmental Theory and Practice in the Harding-Coolidge Era*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973.

Nugent, Walter. *Into the West: The Story of Its People*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Ogren, Kathy J. *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Olson, James S. *Historical Dictionary of the Great Depression, 1929–1940*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Opdyke, Sandra. *No One Was Turned Away: The Role of Public Hospitals in New York City Since 1900*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Ostrander, Gilman. *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough 1859–1964*. New York: Knopf, 1966.

Parrish, Michael. *Anxious Decades: America in Prosperity and Depression 1920–1941*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1994.

Percy, Will. *Lanterns on the Levy: Recollections of a Planter's Son*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.

Perrigo, Lynn. *The American Southwest: Its Peoples and Cultures*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

Peters, Thelma. *Biscayne Country, 1870–1926*. Miami, FL: Banyan Books, 1981.

Pringle, Henry F. *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*. 2 vols. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1964.

———. *Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1956.

Reich, Steven A. *Encyclopedia of the Great Black Migration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Riess, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Riordan, William L. *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall,* ed. Terrence Mc Donald. New York: Bedford Books/St. Martins Press, 1994.

Roberts, Randy. *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979.

Rucker, Walter, and James Nathaniel Upton, eds. *Encyclopedia of American Race Riots*. 2 vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Russell, Francis. *The Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding and His Times*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Shanabruch, Charles. *Chicago's Catholics: The Evolution of an American Identity.* Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981.

Sinclair, Upton. *The Jungle*. New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1906.

Sklar, Robert. *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Smith, Gene. *The Shattered Dream: Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984.

———. *When the Cheering Stopped: The Last Years of Woodrow Wilson*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1964.

Soule, George. *Prosperity Decade: From War to Depression*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968.

Spear, Allan. *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Starr, Kevin. *California: A History*. New York: Modern Library, 2005.

———. *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

———. *Inventing the Dream: California in the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

———. *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Steffens, Lincoln. *Shame of the Cities*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1957.

Stevens, Sylvester. *Pennsylvania: Birthplace of a Nation*. New York: Random House, 1964.

Strickland, Laurie, and Elizabeth Dunn. *Old Time Southern Cooking*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 2002.

Sullivan, Mark. *Our Times: The United States 1900–1925*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

Terkel, Studs. *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression*. New York: Avon, 1971.

Thelen, David P. *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent Spirit*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976.

Thompson, Nile, and Carolyn Marr. *Building for Learning: Seattle Public Schools 1862–2000*. Seattle, WA: Seattle Public Schools, 2001.

Tischauser, Leslie V. *Race Relations in the United States, 1920–1940*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008.

Tygiel, Jules. *Past Time: Baseball As History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Urban, Wayne, and Jennings Wagoner. *American Education: A History*. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, 2003.

VanTassel, David, and John J. Grabowski, eds. *Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1986.

Ward, Geoffrey C. *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt*. New York: Harper and Row, 1989.

Watson, John B. *Behaviorism*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1930.

Weaver, John. *El Pueblo Grande: A Non Fiction Book about Los Angeles*. Los Angeles, CA: Ward Ritchie Press, 1973.

Weigley, Russel F., ed. *Philadelphia: A Three-Hundred Year History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982.

Wells, Robert V. *Facing the King of Terrors: Death and Society in an American Community 1750–1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

White, Richard. *A New History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Williams, T. Harry. *Huey Long*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.

Wilson, Charles Reagan, and William Ferris, eds. *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Wilson, Joan Hoff. *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975.

Wiltz, John E. *From Isolation to War, 1931–1941*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South 1877–1913*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974.

Works Progress Administration, ed. *Arizona, A State Guide*. New York: Hastings House, 1940.

Young, William H., and Nancy K. Young. *The Great Depression in America: A Cultural Encyclopedia*. 2 vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Young, William H., with Nancy K. Young. *The 1930s*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Youngs, J. William T. *Eleanor Roosevelt: A Personal and Public Life*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States: 1492–Present*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2003.

ARTICLES

Bailey, Kenneth. "Southern White Protestants at the Turn of the Century." *American Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (April 1963): 618–35.

Bateman, Fred. "Improvement in American Dairy Farming, 1850–1910: A Quantitative Analysis." *Journal of Economic History* 28, no. 2 (June 1968): 255–73.

Blackwelder, Julia Kirk. "Race, Ethnicity, and Women's Lives in the Urban South." In *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South*, ed. Randall Miller and George Pozetta. Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1989.

Bodnar, John, Michael Weber, and Roger Simon. "Migration, Kinship, and Urban Adjustment: Blacks and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1700–1730." *Journal of American History* 66, no. 3 (December 1979): 548–65.

Burma, John H. "Present Status of the Spanish-Americans in New Mexico." *Social Forces* 28, no. 2 (December 1949): 138.

Clinton, Catherine. "Stars and Bars Feminism." *Reviews in American History* 21, no. 4 (December 1993): 612–16.

Cook, Katherine. "Education among Native and Minority Groups in Alaska, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and Hawaii." *Journal of Negro Education* 3, no. 1 (January 1934): 20–41.

Daniel, Peter. Review of *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment,* by James Jones. *Journal of Southern History* 48, no. 2 (May 1981): 303–4.

Dozier, Edward. "The Pueblos of Southwestern United States." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 90 (1960): 146–60.

Graham, Robert Charles. Review of *Taking the University to the People: Seventy-Five Years of Cooperative Extension,* by Wayne D. Rasmussen. *Journal of Economic History* 50, no. 1 (March 1990): 200–21.

Hackney, Sheldon. "Southern Violence." *American Historical Review* 74, no. 3 (February 1969): 906–25.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd, Robert Konstadt, and James Leloudi. "Cotton Mill People: Work, Community, and Protest in the Textile South." *American Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (April 1986): 245–86.

Hayner, Norman. "Regional Family Patterns: The Western Family." *American Journal of Sociology* 53, no. 6 (May 1948): 432–34.

Howe, Irving. "The Southern Myth and William Faulkner." *American Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1951): 357–62.

Kingsdale, Jon M. "The 'Poor Man's Club': Social Functions of the Urban Working Class Saloon." *American Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (October 1973): 472–89.

Lange, Emil. "Character Education in Long Beach Schools." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 4, no. 7 (March 1931): 426–29.

Lears, Jackson. "The Way We Live, the American Way of Debt." *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, June 11, 2006, 13.

Link, William A. "Privies, Progressivism, and Public Schools: Health Reform and Education in the Rural South, 1909–1920." *Journal of Southern History* 54 (November 1988): 623–42.

Loftue, John J. "The Activity Program in New York Elementary Schools." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 17, no. 2 (October 1943): 71–72.

Marsh, Margaret. "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1915." *American Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (June 1988): 165–86.

Mohl, Raymond. Review of *Reform in Detroit: Hazen Pingree and Urban Politics* by Melvin G. Holli. *American Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 286–87.

Murphy, Mary. "Bootlegging Mothers and Drinking Daughters: Gender and Prohibition in Butte, Montana." *American Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (June 1994): 174–94.

Nash, Roderick. "The American Cult of the Primitive." *American Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (Autumn 1966): 517–37.

Norrell, Robert. "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham Alabama." *Journal of American History* 73, no. 3 (December 1986): 669–94.

Orsi, Robert. "The Religious Boundaries of an In Between People: Street Fest and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920–1990." *American Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (September 1992): 313–47.

Patrick, Vincent. "Crime Story." *New York Times Review of Books*, September 9, 2007, 31.

Robinson, Reginald. "Leisure Time Activities of the Children of New York's Lower West Side." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 9, no. 8 (April 1936): 484–93.

Sicotte, Richard. "Economic Crisis and Political Response: The Political Economy of the Shipping Act of 1916." *Journal of Economic History* 59, no. 4 (December 1999): 103–10.

Smith, Nancy Midgette. "In Search of Professional Identity: Southern Scientists, 1883–1940." *Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 4 (November 2006): 597–622.

Stowe, Steven. Review of *The House of Percy: Honor, Melancholy, and Imagination in a Southern Family* by Bertram Wyatt-Brown. *Reviews in American History* 24 (March 1996): 138–43.

Strayer, George D., et al., eds. "General Report on School Buildings and Grounds of Delaware." *Bulletin of the Service Citizens of Delaware* 1, no. 3 (1919).

WEB SITES

Almind, Gert J. "Jukeboxes." http://www.jukeboxworks.com/historyTerm.html.

American Experience. http://pbs.org.

American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1940. http://www.americanmemory.gov.

Association of Religious Data Archives (ARDA). http://www.thearda.com.

Crime Library. http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters_outlaws/outlaws/floyd/3.html.

"Dallas Fort Worth Radio History." http://www.knus99.com/amlist.html.

Diehl, Lorraine B., and Marianne Hardart. "The Automat: The History, Recipes, and Allure of Horn and Hardart's Masterpiece." http://www.theautomat.net/.

Duke University Libraries—Airlines History site. http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/adaccess/airline-history.html.

Enrichment Journal. http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199904/026_azusa.cfm.

Geostat Center: Historical Census Browser. http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php.

German Immigration. http://rs6.loc.gov/learn/features/immig/german8.html.

History of Chicago. http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/.

History of Crosley Field, 1912–1970. http://www.crosley-field.com/.

History of Merion Golf Club. http://sc.essortment.com/meriongolfclub_rlxs.htm.

History of the Blues. http://www.history-of-rock.com/blues.htm.

Journal Star Archives. http://www.journalstar.com/articles/2005/05/22/Sunday_am/doc428b981453c7e539709681.bat.

Legends of America. http//:www.legendsofamerica.com.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection. http://www.americanmemory.org.

McGee, Gary. "William J Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival." *Journal for Pentecostal Ministry*. http://www.ag.org/enrichmentjournal/199904/026_azusa.cfm.

Middle States Association. http://www.msache.org.

Native American Peoples of Oregon. http://www.oregonmaiden.com/Native-Americans-of-Oregon.html.

San Francisco Cablecar Museum. http://www.cablecarmuseum.org/heritage.html.

Sears Archives. http://www.searsarchives.com/.
Steber, Bill. "Juke Joints." http://www.steberphoto.com/articles-1.htm.
United Airlines History. http://www.united.com/page/middlepage/0,6823,2286,00.html.
W.E.B. Du Bois Learning Center. http:www.duboislc.org/man.html.
Wickman, Patricia. "Seminoles." http://www.seminoletribe.com/tribune/40anniversary/history.shtml.
Yosemite National Park, California. http://www.nps.gov/yose/historyculture/index.htm.

CUMULATIVE INDEX

Boldface numbers refer to volume numbers. A key appears on all verso pages.

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861 3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900 4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

EDITORS

General Editor

Randall M. Miller
St. Joseph's University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Volume Editor

Francis J. Sicius
St. Thomas University
Miami Gardens, Florida

This page intentionally left blank

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

Recent Titles in
The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

The Civil War
Paul A. Cimbala

Civilians in Wartime Europe, 1618–1900
Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey, editors

The Vietnam War
James E. Westheider

World War II
G. Kurt Piehler

Immigrant America, 1870–1920
June Granatir Alexander

Along the Mississippi
George S. Pabis

Immigrant America, 1820–1870
James M. Bergquist

Pre-Columbian Native America
Clarissa W. Confer

Post-Cold War
Stephen A. Bourque

The New Testament
James W. Ermatinger

The Hellenistic Age: From Alexander to Cleopatra
James Allan Evans

Imperial Russia
Greta Bucher

4

WARTIME, POSTWAR, AND CONTEMPORARY AMERICA, 1940–PRESENT

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America

Jolyon P. Girard
VOLUME EDITOR
Randall M. Miller
GENERAL EDITOR

The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series

GREENWOOD PRESS
Westport, Connecticut • London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Greenwood encyclopedia of daily life in America / Randall M. Miller, general editor.
p. cm.—(The Greenwood Press daily life through history series, ISSN 1080–4749)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
ISBN 978–0–313–33703–1 (v. 1)
ISBN 978–0–313–33704–8 (v. 2)
ISBN 978–0–313–33705–5 (v. 3)
ISBN 978–0–313–33706–2 (v. 4)
1. United States—Civilization—Encyclopedias. 2. United States—Social life and customs—Encyclopedias. 3. United States—Social conditions—Encyclopedias. I. Miller, Randall M.
E169.1.G7553 2009
973.03—dc22 2007042828

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2007042828
ISBN: 978–0–313–33699–7 (set)
978–0–313–33703–1 (vol. 1)
978–0–313–33704–8 (vol. 2)
978–0–313–33705–5 (vol. 3)
978–0–313–33706–2 (vol. 4)
ISSN: 1080–4749

First published in 2009

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881
An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
www.greenwood.com

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48–1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

For my wife, Marilyn, a special contributor who has played the substantial role in my daily life.

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

This page intentionally left blank

TOUR GUIDE: A PREFACE FOR USERS

During the time of the American Revolution, the writer Hector St. Jean de Crevecouer asked the fundamental question that has dogged Americans thereafter: "What then is this new man, this American." Countless students of American history have searched every aspect of political, economic, social, and cultural history to discover "this American." In doing so, they have often focused on the great ideas that inspired a "free people" and defined public interest since the inception of the United States; the great events that marked American history; and the great changes wrought by democratic, industrial, communications, and other revolutions shaping American life, work, and identities. And they have been right to do so. But more recently other students of history have insisted that finding the real American requires looking at the details of everyday life. Therein, they argue, Americans practiced what mattered most to them and gave meaning to larger concepts of freedom and to the great events swirling about them. The ways Americans at home and at work ordered their daily life have become the subject of numerous community studies and biographies of the so-called common man or woman that were created by combing through all manner of personal accounts in diaries, letters, memoirs, business papers, birth and death records, census data, material culture, popular song, verse, artistic expression, and, indeed, virtually any source about or by common folk.

But making sense of so much individual study and providing a clear path through the history of Americans in their daily life has waited on a work that brings together the many and diverse ways Americans ordered their individual worlds at home and at work. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* promises such a synthesis; it also promises to find "this American" in what Americans ate, who they courted and married, how they raised their children, what they did at work, where they traveled, how they played, and virtually every aspect of social life that Americans made for themselves. As such, it brings to life "this American" on his or her own terms. It also suggests that by discovering the ordinary it becomes possible to understand that extraordinary phenomenon of the American.

Features and Uses

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America is a reference work and guide that provides up-to-date, authoritative, and readable entries on the many experiences and varieties of daily life of Americans from the dawn of the republic through the first years of the twenty-first century. In spanning the roughly 250 years from the mid-eighteenth century to the new millennium, the four volumes of *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America* employ both a chronological and a topical, or thematic, approach. Doing so invites many uses for the volumes as reference guides; as touchstones for inquiries to a host of questions about the social, cultural, economic, and political history of Americans and the nation; and, taken together, as a broad view of daily life in the United States.

Users can read the articles separately or as a running narrative, depending on interest and need. The organization of the work collectively according to time period and within each volume according to time period, geography, daily activity, and group allows readers to explore a topic in depth, in comparative perspective, and over time. Also, because each section of each volume opens with a synthetic overview for purposes of historical context, the material in each section becomes more readily linked to larger patterns of American social, cultural, economic, and political developments. By structuring the volumes in this manner, it becomes possible to integrate and apply the encyclopedia within modern and flexible pedagogical frameworks in the classroom, in the library, and in home-schooling settings.

Cross-referencing within the articles and the cumulative subject index to the encyclopedia found at the back of each volume together expand the reach of individual topics across time and in different places. Thus, for example, the discussion of marital patterns and habits in the antebellum period of the nineteenth century, which includes mentions of courtship patterns, marriage rites, family formation, parenting, and even divorce, easily bridges to treatments of the same topics in other periods. Likewise, a reader wanting to compare foodways as they developed over time might move easily from representations of the early American "down-home" cooking of a largely agricultural society, through the increased portability and packaging of foods demanded by an urbanizing society during the nineteenth century, to the recent preference for such paradoxes in food choices as fresh foods, exotic foods, and fast food in the post-industrial United States.

Readers might go backward as well as forward, or even sideways, in following their interests, looking for the roots and then growth and development of habits and practices that defined and ordered the daily lives of Americans. In doing so, they might discover that each successive modern society has had its own search for the simpler life by trying to recover and reproduce parts of a supposedly more settled and serene past. They also will discover not only the changes wrought by ever more modern means of production, transportation, communication, and social and economic organization but also some striking continuities. Old ways often continue in new days. Americans have been a people on the go from the beginning of the nation and have become more so over time. As such, staying in touch with

family and friends has ever been central to Americans' sense of place and purpose in organizing their lives. Whether carrying a daguerreotype image while heading west or to war in the nineteenth century, shooting photos with a Kodak camera from the late nineteenth century well into the twentieth century, or taking pictures with a video camera, a digital camera, or even with a cell-phone in the twenty-first century, Americans sought ways to keep visual images of the people, animals, possessions, and places that mattered to them. Letter writing also has become no less important a means of communication when the words move electronically via e-mail than when they were scratched out with a quill pen on paper. The encyclopedia provides a ready way to measure and map such social and cultural patterns and developments.

In its organization and with its reference supports, the encyclopedia encourages such topical excursions across time. Thus, the encyclopedia promises ways to an integrated analysis of daily life and of the core values, interests, and identities of Americans at any one time and over time.

Sidebars (found in volumes 3 and 4, and called Snapshots), chronologies, illustrations, and excerpts from documents further enrich each volume with specific examples of daily life from primary sources. They add not only "color" but also significant content by capturing the sense of a particular people or place in song, verse, speech, letters, and image and by giving voice to the people themselves. Readers thus engage Americans in their daily life directly.

The life and use of the encyclopedia extends beyond the physical volumes themselves. Because the encyclopedia derives much of its material from the vast resources of the Greenwood Publishing Group archive of works in ongoing series, such as the *Greenwood Press Daily Life Through History* Series and the *Daily Life in the United States* Series, to name the two most prominent, and on the many encyclopedias, reference works, and scholarly monographs making up its list, and on the many document-based works in its collection, the encyclopedia includes up-to-date and reliably vetted material. It also plugs into the *Greenwood Daily Life Online* database, which ensures a continuous expansion, enhancement, and refinement of content and easy searching capabilities. In that sense, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America*, like the American people, literally exists in a constant state of renewal to live beyond its original creation.

Organization and Coverage

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America has a wide sweep in terms of time, topics, and themes related to the ordering of the daily lives of Americans. It also includes the many and diverse Americans, understanding that no one experience or people spoke or speaks for the variety of daily lives in the United States or explains even the unity of common experiences many different Americans have had and sought. That said, the encyclopedia is not a simple fact-by-fact description of every group or daily activity conducted in the United States. The encyclopedia

is consciously selective in topics and coverage, with an eye always to relating the most significant and representative examples of the daily lives of different Americans.

The coverage of particular people and topics varies due to the availability of sources by and about them. Thus, for example, such peoples as the Iroquois, Cherokee, and Lakota Sioux get more explicit notice than, say, the Shoshone, simply because they left a fuller record of their lives and were observed and written about, or painted or photographed, in their daily lives more fully than were some other Native peoples. Then, too, the daily life of immigrant peoples receives extensive coverage throughout the volumes, but the extent and depth of coverage varies due to the size of the group and, more important, due to the available source material about any particular group. Thus, for example, when combined, the several major governmental and foundation studies of eastern and southern European immigrant groups in industrial America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rich tradition of publishing ethnic newspapers, the relating of personal lives in memoirs and oral histories, and a conscious effort to recover an immigrant past by the children and grandchildren of the first generation all explain the wider focus on such groups as representative types for their day. We simply know much about such people at work and at home. Such coverage of some people more fully than others does not mean any one experience counts more than others. It is, rather, mainly a matter of the critical mass of information at hand.

The encyclopedia includes all age groups in its coverage, but, again, the documentary record is richer for people coming of age through their adult lives into retirement than it is for the very young or the very old. Then, too, more is known about the daily lives of the upper classes than the lower classes, the privileged than the underprivileged, and the free than the unfree. The encyclopedia boasts significant inclusion of the many diverse American people, irrespective of wealth, circumstance, race or ethnicity, religion, or any other marker, and, indeed, it makes special effort to embrace the fullest range and diversity of experiences of daily life from birth to death.

The four volumes, each of which was edited by a prominent specialist or specialists in the field, are arranged by time periods as follows.

- Volume 1: The War of Independence and Antebellum Expansion and Reform, 1763–1861; edited by Theodore J. Zeman
- Volume 2: *The Civil War, Reconstruction, and Industrialization of America, 1861–1900*; edited by James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo
- Volume 3: *The Emergence of Modern America, World War I, and the Great Depression, 1900–1940*; edited by Francis J. Sicius
- Volume 4: *Wartime, Postwar, and Contemporary America, 1940–Present;* edited by Jolyon P. Girard

Each volume follows a similar format in that it organizes the material into seven principal topics, which are then generally divided into the following subtopics.

Those subtopics are sometimes arranged in a different order within the volumes due to emphasis, but they remain continuous throughout the encyclopedia.

1. *Domestic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Men, Women, Children, Pets, Marriage, and so on.
2. *Economic Life:* Covering such subtopics as Work, Trade, Class and Caste, Urban and Rural Experience, and so on.
3. *Intellectual Life:* Covering such subtopics as Science, Education, Literature, Communication, Health and Medicine, and so on.
4. *Material Life:* Covering such subtopics as Food, Drink, Housing, Clothing, Transportation, Technology, and so on.
5. *Political Life:* Covering such subtopics as Government, Law, Reform, War, and so on.
6. *Recreational Life:* Covering such subtopics as Sports, Music, Games, Entertainment, Holidays and Celebrations, and so on.
7. *Religious Life:* Covering such subtopics as Religion, Spirituality, Ritual, Rites of Passage, and so on.

Users are guided through this enormous amount of material not just by running heads on every page but also by *concept compasses* that appear in the margins at the start of main topical sections. These compasses are adapted from *concept mapping*, a technique borrowed from online research methods and used in The *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*. The concept compasses will help orient readers in the particular volume they are using and allow them to draw connections among related topics across time periods. Following is an example of a concept compass:

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

The individual volumes also have several variations in their internal arrangements and coverage of topics that speak to the particular chronological period under review. Volume 1, for example, does not begin at a fixed date, as do the other volumes, and it covers a longer time period than any of the other volumes. Its primary

focus is on the period from the American Revolution through the Civil War, but it also looks back in time in its descriptions of many elements of daily life that continued from the preindustrial colonial period through the first rumblings of the so-called market revolution of the early nineteenth century. It does so to provide not only an understanding of the continuities in many aspects of life—from the ways people raised crops and livestock, manufactured and sold goods, organized family life, worshipped, and practiced the rituals of birth, marriage, and death, to name several—but also to mark the changes wrought by the age of revolutions that came with new understandings of political, economic, social, cultural, and even parental authority following the American Revolution. In the subsequent volumes, there is some overlap in terms of beginnings and endings for the chronological periods because social history does not have neat markers as does American political history with its election cycles. Each of the final three volumes covers roughly a half-century of time, reflecting the growing complexity of life in the modern era.

The encyclopedia covers the whole of the United States. The geography of the United States has expanded mightily over time, but the importance of geographical identity within the United States has varied at different times and more recently has declined. The first three volumes recognize the salience of regional variations in defining daily life and break the material, in varying degrees, into regions within the United States (e.g., Northeast, South, Midwest, Pacific West). But the fourth volume, covering the last half of the twentieth century—by which time a national market, telecommunications, and popular culture had done much to break down regional identities and create a national culture—discounts the importance of region in many areas of daily life. To be sure, as Volume 4 reveals, regional identities still persisted, even pridefully so, in "the South" and "the West" especially, but throughout the United States the rhythms of life moved in strikingly similar ways in a nation increasingly knit together by interstate highways, television, and, more recently, by the Internet and by a mass consumption economy and culture. Class, race, and occupation, more than regional cultures, now count more in defining daily life and social ties. Religion, too, matters much in ordering individual lives and distinguishing groups from one another in the United States, easily the most "churched" nation in the industrial world. In some cases, particular subtopics disappear from successive volumes because Americans at different times gave up particular ways of working and living or because the representative ways of working and living changed, from those of an agricultural world to those of an industrial and urban one and then to a postindustrial suburban one, for example.

Throughout the encyclopedia the most basic ways people arranged their daily life make up the principal content of the volumes. But the coverage of any topic is not constant. Take time, for example. It is useful to note that historically over time, *time* literally has been speeding up for Americans. Americans who lived by Nature's times of season and sunrise and sunset occupied a different world than people who have made time a commodity to be metered out in nanoseconds for purposes of productivity and even pleasure. The multiplicity of clocks and watches made possible by the industrial revolution, the imposition of factory time in the workplace, the dividing of the nation into time zones demanded by the railroads, the breakdown of time ordered by the moving assembly line, the collapse of time realized by

telecommunications and then the radio, and the more current compression of time by microchips in all manner of computers, cell phones, and gadgetry that seemingly now run daily life and work—all this change in understanding and managing time transformed not only the pace but also the direction of life. Each volume marks the changing of time, the ways people used their time, and the times. Thereby, the attention to matters of time becomes a topic of growing importance with each successive volume of the encyclopedia.

Finally, in terms of coverage and content, the encyclopedia combines a *macro* with the micro view of daily life. External factors such as wars, natural disasters (e.g., fires, floods, hurricanes and tornados, ice storms, and droughts), epidemic diseases, environmental transformation, economic and political change, and population movements profoundly affected how, where, and why people lived as they did and, indeed, even which people lived at all. The Revolutionary War and the Civil War, for example, uprooted countless people from their homes as armies tramped about, armies that also liberated enslaved people who then used the upheavals to run to freedom or to fight for it. Daily life for refugees, for the "freedpeople," for the losers of political power and economic advantage was altered to its core by war. Dealing with the loss of loved ones in the Civil War changed the ways many Americans approached the meaning and management of death—in embalming, in funerary practices, in memorializing the dead, in shifting family responsibilities in the wake of a parent's death. The total mobilization of World War II touched every American household, and the G.I. Bill that came with it opened up opportunities for education, home ownership, and medical benefits that helped make possible a middle-class life for many Americans. So, too, massive floods, such as the 1927 flooding of the Mississippi River basin, swept away people, possessions, and patterns of living across a wide swath. Government actions also influenced, even determined, people's daily life. The many New Deal programs that insured bank accounts; underwrote home mortgage loans; brought electricity to rural America; built dams for hydroelectric power and economic development; constructed roads, bridges, airports, and public buildings; encouraged the arts, music, and literature, and so much more left a physical, social, and cultural imprint that still matters in Americans' daily living. Thus, relating the *macrohistory* of larger historical events and developments to the ways such factors informed and influenced the *microhistory* of individual daily life is essential to understanding the dynamics and consequence of changes and continuities in the daily life of Americans. The panoramic perspective plots the landscape of social history, while the microscopic examination observes its many forms. All that said, the primary focus of this encyclopedia remains on what students of social and cultural history term "the infinite details" of Americans' social and material arrangements in their daily life. The title tells the tale.

The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life in America, in the end, still makes no claim to comprehensiveness in trying to bring in all Americans and all manner of life. No reference work dare do so. Recognizing such a limitation rather than retreating from it, this encyclopedia serves not only as an introduction to the varied and complex American peoples in their daily lives but also as an invitation to bring other peoples into view, which responsibility, one hopes, the students and teachers using this encyclopedia will assume.

A Note on the Conception and Creation of the Encyclopedia

The encyclopedia is the product of many hands. It is both a collective work and, in its separate volumes, also very much an individual one. The encyclopedia was developed collectively by editors at Greenwood Press, who originally sought to provide a companion encyclopedia to the very successful six-volume *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Daily Life*, which covered the world from prehistory to the end of the twentieth century. The editors at Greenwood also sought to capitalize on the many reference works and individual volumes Greenwood Press has published on various aspects of daily life in the United States. At Greenwood, Michael Herman conceived of the idea for such an encyclopedia and drafted the broad design for it. John Wagner then stepped in and in many essential ways translated idea into product. He helped recruit volume editors, managed relations with the editors by means of correspondence and providing sample materials and other forms of guidance, read the individual volumes for content and fit regarding the collective set, and managed the details of moving manuscripts to production.

Each author/editor assumed the primary, almost complete, responsibility for his or her individual volume. Early in the planning process, several author/editors gathered by correspondence and even in person to discuss the scope of the work, to mark off the time boundaries of the individual volumes, to agree on essential topics, and more. The general editor coordinated such discussions; guided the works in progress; read the individual volumes for content, coverage, and fit with the other volumes and overall purpose and design of the encyclopedia; and in other ways moved production along. It is important to note that each author/editor has assumed principal responsibility for the content of his or her volume, from selecting, arranging, and editing the articles, to getting permission to use materials, to providing the context for the articles, to fact-checking and proofreading the volume, to ensuring the highest quality in content and presentation. The general editor thus disclaims any responsibility for the specific content of or in any volume. The individual author/editor's name on the title page of each volume places the responsibility where it deservedly should rest, with the true creators. It also is important to note that in creating each volume, the author/editor did much more than compile, collate, and arrange materials derived from other sources. Each author/editor wrote the introductions to the respective volumes, the introductions to the subsections of each volume, the transitions within each article excerpting materials from other sources, the headnotes in each volume, and some of the text in each volume. Because of the uneven, or even nonexistent, source material on daily life for the two volumes treating the twentieth century, both Frank Sicius and Jolyon Girard wrote much original material. This was so much so in Girard's case that he became more author than editor of Volume 4.

In sum, then, the creation of this encyclopedia mirrors the American experience. It was, and is, an example of the nation's guiding principle of continuous creation as a people—e pluribus unum. It also is a recognition that people make history. We hope that by discovering the American people in their day-to-day lives and the life they have sought to create and live, readers will find that elusive "new man, this American" and themselves.

—Randall M. Miller

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As both an editor and author for the final volume in the *Daily Life in the United States* series, I would like to acknowledge the help of a number of people. Randall Miller and John Wagner provided valuable advice, assistance, and support throughout the project as series and project development editors, respectively.

The works of Eugenia Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959,* and Myron A. Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990,* provided the template for much of the organization and factual material for chapters 2 and 3.

Professor Darryl Mace, Cabrini College, contributed an important section on Intellectual Life, and Dr. Courtney Smith, a former undergraduate student of mine, wrote excellent reviews of sports in America for the volume. My senior class seminar students—Stephen Beierschmidt, Matthew Burge, Michael Bergamo, Dustin Carpenter, Gregory Cavacini, Jamie Curenden, Genevieve Cupaiuolo, Andrea Domacinovic, Brittany DeCicco, Marcy Fonseca, Charles Jaxel, Ryan Kelliher, Megan Keye, John Kolesnik, Christine MaGargee, Cari MaGoffin, Kevin Mairs, Megan McCourry, Deborah Maloney, Melina Moore, Matthew Paris, Angie Peso, Kevin Quinn, Tyler Sandford, Kristine Schmid, and Miriam Thompson—helped organize, edit, and review the entire volume.

Cabrini College provided a summer grant that enabled me to concentrate the necessary time on researching and writing the volume.

My son Geoffrey, an author in his own right and a devotee of popular culture in the United States, offered analysis and criticism throughout the project.

Finally, my wife Marilyn offered support, advice, and analysis. Since she provides the foundation of my daily life, and has for more than 40 years, this work is dedicated to her.

This page intentionally left blank

1

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

On December 7, 1941, Japanese military forces attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. The following day, President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked the Senate for a declaration of war, calling the December 7 attack a "date that will live in infamy." The American people entered World War II during the final month of 1941 after a decade-long national debate concerning the limits of U.S. involvement in the expanding world conflict.

During the 1930s, the American people had struggled with the domestic problems created by the Great Depression of 1929. Public views concerning U.S. involvement in world affairs remained broadly "isolationist" or "noninterventionist" as international tension and conflict developed during the decade. While President Roosevelt had encouraged the public to commit to aiding the enemies of Germany, Italy, and Japan (the Axis Powers), most Americans conceded only limited support for that position. As late as November 1941, public opinion polls backed the president's policy of "All Aid Short of War" (Cole 1968, 441). Those polls, however, failed to encourage direct American military involvement. The Pearl Harbor attack shattered that public position, and it changed the daily lives of Americans forever.

From the beginning of World War II to the first decade of the twenty-first century, the United States of America has witnessed remarkable and substantial changes in the daily **lives** of the men, women, and children who lived in the nation. In many aspects of life, both statistical and subtle, the United States has become a different society, and Americans have become different people. Many, if not most, of those alterations remain positive. Some are disturbing. This volume on daily life in America between 1940 and 2005 will examine the broad variety of factors, conditions, and issues that have influenced American life from the beginning of World War II to the present. This volume describes the lives of Americans at home, at work, and at play during more than a half-century of profound social, cultural, and economic transformation. Any effort as comprehensive as this volume and the set of which it is a part presents a daunting task, for a variety of reasons. Both the editor and the reader need to consider those reasons and understand them before engaging in the study.

CHRONOLOGY

Examining historical events in blocks of time (years, decades, centuries, etc.) remains an effective and traditional method for looking at human behavior. The years 1941 to 1945 defined the "war years" in America, even though American entry into World War II did not occur until the end of 1941. The period from 1945 to 1959 comprises the postwar decade for many historians, and that time period serves as a convenient way to examine how Americans responded to issues and pursued their daily lives following the war. Eugenia Kaledin subtitled her book *The United States, 1940–1959, Shifting Worlds,* to consider the era; so much changed, so quickly. Certainly, most Americans confronted a different daily life in 1945 than they did in 1959. Consider, as one example, the issue of African American civil rights. Black Americans in 1941 lived in a broadly different United States than they encountered by 1959. At the same time, however, some would argue that little had changed in the lives of African Americans, depending on who, where, and when. The famous *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954 finally attacked segregated education, but discrimination and violence continued to challenge the evolving postwar civil rights movement.

Between 1960 and 1990, the same evolution of daily life occurred in a chronology difficult to define. Professor Myron Marty's book, *The United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord,* explored four key themes in his study of the generation and saw social and political discord as a central point. Yet, as much as Americans confronted clashes of conscience and policy, people in their daily lives often agreed on substantial issues that affected their communities and the nation. Clearly, daily attitudes about clothes, music, entertainment, and lifestyles altered dramatically between 1960 and 1990. People's lives do not alter so clearly from one year to the next, or even one decade to the next as chronological organization might indicate. Similar to a tidal change, the ebb and flow of American daily life often moved less clearly. This volume will, however, divide its timeframe as follows:

- 1940–1959—From World War II through the decade of the 1950s
- 1960–1990—Three decades of transition and diversity
- 1991–2005—The contemporary American scene

TOPICAL STUDIES

Looking at historical events and concerns topically poses a similar limitation. To discuss "daily life" in America from a topical perspective always provokes the rhetorical question, "whose daily life?" Sixteen million Americans entered the armed services during World War II, and there were similarities in their lives as part of that service. The service personnel who saw actual combat, however, had a vastly different daily life than those who had other assignments. Millions of African Americans looking for work migrated from the South into northern factories and businesses in the 1940s and 1950s. Were their daily lives similar to those of the black families that remained in the sharecropping system of the Cotton Belt states? Some 200,000 Mexicans came to the United States under the *bracero* legislation, to work in the agricultural regions of the American West. What impact did that move have on them and their families?

Protesters in the 1960s publicly voiced similar criticisms about American society in a torrent of discord that divided the country. Millions of Americans, however, took little or no interest in those protests and sought to live daily lives more reminiscent, in their view, of an earlier, less contentious era.

The volumes in this series are divided into both chronological and topical sections. They are designed to provide a sense of organization and clarity to the material covered in each volume. The reader, however, should always remember to examine with caution broad conclusions that either time or topic suggest in general terms. To organize the volume in topical format, the editors have examined the following subject areas:

- Domestic Life—Family life in America. The daily life of men, women, and children in a domestic environment.
- Economic Life—The commercial development of the nation and its impact on daily life.
- Intellectual Life—The role of ideas, thought, and conceptual views of American life from serious analysis to popular culture.
- Material Life—The influence of goods, products, and services on American daily life.
- Political Life—The ways political currents and issues have influenced the operation of society and the way that Americans have responded to their government and political issues.
- Recreational Life—A broad examination of how Americans spend their leisure time.
- Religious Life—The role of religion and spiritual themes in the daily lives of Americans.

REGIONALISM

In the preceding volumes of the series, the editors have given significant time to studying the daily life of Americans in regional terms. Distinct cultural and social conditions often developed and evolved in defined regional environments. Certainly, southern rural life in the nineteenth century differed broadly from American daily life in the emerging factories of the Northeast or the far West. That has not been the case, as much, in modern American life. To a significant degree, twentieth-century technology, demographics, commerce, and other factors have "homogenized" American daily life. Americans watch the same prime-time television shows, go to the same movies, eat at McDonald's, and shop at Wal-Mart. Regionalism, however, does play a continuing role in American life. Architecture in Arizona is different than in Massachusetts, as is a burrito served in San Antonio, Texas, compared to a lobster roll in Bar Harbor, Maine. At the same time, people in different parts of the country live in different demographic environments. Air conditioning and home heating systems notwithstanding, the rhythms of life move differently in the arid Southwest than in the humid Gulf Region or the wintry blasts of the Great Lakes. This volume will examine the explosion of suburban living in the United States following World War II. Still, millions of Americans live in urban centers and in the towns and small cities of rural America. Where people live is not just a matter of geographic location, it remains, as well, an issue of type—rural, urban, or suburban. The daily lives of Americans still reflect those aspects of regionalism even while the nation in the twenty-first century has become consistently more unified in culture and thought.

ANECDOTES AND STATISTICS

The use of statistical information and the addition of anecdotal examples tend to dominate the forms of presentation in studies of daily life. We need to know numbers, percentages, and the specific details that define how people lived. To talk about the evolution of a "car culture" following World War II, and to consider the impact that had on every aspect of American life makes little sense unless we know how many cars Americans bought yearly following the war and how many miles the average family drives each year. At the same time, the individual reflections of American men and women concerning their experiences protesting the war in Vietnam or worrying about a loved one fighting in Vietnam become an equally important aspect of understanding daily life in the country. Both methods of study seem equally fruitful. Whether one examines U.S. Census Bureau reports or Studs Terkel's oral histories, both demand a reader's attention. The issue to confront, however, hinges on how much weight to give to either or both statistics or anecdotes. Statistical data may be accurate in its detail, but it often omits the human element of historical conclusion. Statistics on car sales may tell a reader how many cars were sold in a given year, but may not indicate what people used the automobiles to do, or why the postwar "car culture" became such an emotional aspect of American life. Similarly, anecdotal quotes, conversations, or remarks give one a personal sense of daily life, but they can never explain broader views. In a sense, statistics show the reader "the forest, not the tree," and anecdotes show "the tree, not the forest." By using both, this volume promises a reasonable glimpse of both the forest and the trees of American's daily lives.

HISTORICAL OBSERVATION

Ultimately, location, economic condition, race, gender, culture, age, and other factors all play a significant role in how Americans saw and lived their daily lives. Those who study history must remain especially careful as they consider and present those variables. Different people do not naturally or necessarily agree on what is the "truth." Perspective and experience count much in determining how and what one sees of others and oneself. And people at certain times in history think about different things with different degrees of focus and intensity. An example of that relativity emerges in studies of the U.S. decision to use the atomic bomb to end World War II. At the time, in 1945, few Americans, including leaders of both political parties as well as the general public, disapproved of the decision to use the new, destructive weapon against Japan. In fact, most Americans applauded the action of President Truman in August 1945. Today, Americans view the issue from a perspective influenced by time and revision of thinking. In an August 2005 opinion poll "celebrating" the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II, 50 percent of the American public thought the use of the weapon inappropriate (*New York Times* 2005). Those who study history must carefully judge both points of view, and the historian who presents the material must also examine the issue with the same care.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bailey, Thomas A. *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1980.

Cole, Wayne S. *An Interpretive History of American Foreign Relations*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1968.

New York Times (August 11, 2005). http://www.nytimes.com/gst.

Historical Overview

THE ROAD TO WAR, 1936–1940

Shortly after his election to a second term in 1936, Franklin Roosevelt gave a speech in Chicago condemning Germany, Italy, and Japan for their aggressive foreign policy and identifying them as threats to world peace and security. He called for a "quarantine" to check their dangerous behavior. The president sought to gain popular support for his view, but his "Quarantine Address" had little influence or impact with the American people. They had elected him to deal with the Depression, and most Americans showed little interest in the developing world crisis. Within four years, however, Roosevelt's insistence and the dramatic changes in world affairs had altered public views. By 1940, when Roosevelt ran for an unprecedented third

President and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, riding in Hyde Park, 1940. Library of Congress.

term as president, World War II had begun in Europe and Asia, and the United States had become a "Great Arsenal of Democracy," to quote the title of one of Roosevelt's fireside chats, aiding the enemies of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The war ended the Depression. Millions of Americans had gone back to work, and, in the process, they revitalized the nation's industry and their own lives. Still, a dramatic debate raged in the nation regarding the limits of U.S. involvement in World War II. The America First Committee and other "peace organizations" drew powerful public support arguing against direct U.S. involvement in the conflict. Senators, such as Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, and popular national heroes, like Charles Lindbergh, warned of the dangers of conflict. Those isolationists or noninterventionists believed that Roosevelt would draw the nation into a war that would harm U.S. interests and produce the same flaws they believed had marked American involvement in World War I.

At the same time, other pressure groups like the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies supported the president's policies and hoped to see the United States become more involved in the growing conflict. Nonetheless, Roosevelt won a third term by pledging to keep America out of the war through the use of aid programs and packages to those nations fighting against the Axis Powers. His leadership, and the worsening situation in Europe and Asia, had led most Americans to support "All Aid Short of War," but as late as November 1941, public opinion polls suggested that the people would go no further.

"I want you for the U.S. Army" recruitment poster, 1941. Library of Congress.

WORLD WAR II, 1941–1945

The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, ended the great debate in the United States. During the second week of December, the nation went to war. Both the federal government and the American people harnessed the full energy and resources of the nation to combat the Axis Powers of Germany, Japan, and Italy. From General Motors to Hollywood, from Washington, D.C., to Honolulu, Americans went to fight

Actress Marilyn Monroe poses for photographs after a performance during the Korean War, 1954. Chaiba.

"The Good War," to quote the title of Studs Terkel's 1984 book. Men, women, and children would experience major changes in their lives between 1941 and 1945 as a result of World War II. Many of those changes are discussed in the initial chapter of this volume.

A nation of 132 million people, with the most potent industrial capacity in history, geared for war in the winter of 1941–1942. During that conflict, 16 million Americans served in the armed forces (Millett and Maslowski 1994, 653). The factories worked overtime as the government budgeted billions of dollars to develop the supplies and weapons necessary to fight the war. Unemployment dropped to less than 1 percent. In noteworthy statistics dealing with ethnic minorities, more than 200,000 Mexicans immigrated legally to the United States to harvest crops. African American employment in industry rose from 2.9 to 3.8 million workers. The female labor force rose by more than 50 percent and reached almost 20 million by 1945. Major demographic movement occurred within the United States as job opportunities developed and as servicemen and women moved from training bases to embarkation locations. The broad history of that effort and its influence on American daily life will form the first major section of this volume.

One can find astounding numbers in the money spent, the industrial and agricultural production developed, the rising wages, and the broad military operations across the face of the globe. The war, however, also involved the daily terror that combat produces. Half a million Americans were killed in World War II, thousands more wounded. Families at home agonized over those losses and feared the dreaded arrival of a letter from the government confirming the death or wounding of a loved one. Soldiers coming home brought their own memories of death and destruction as they reentered civilian society. The opening scene in the recent movie *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) vividly portrays that aspect of the conflict that many history textbooks neglect: Department of War typists sitting at rows of desks preparing letters to next of kin. A mother collapses in agony on her front porch as an officer arrives to tell her that her son has died. Doris Kearns Goodwin's *No Ordinary Time* (1999) also serves as an important study of American daily life during the war; in the movie, a visual moment of loss, in the book, a comprehensive study of the war years.

The "grand alliance" (using Winston Churchill's terminology) that the United States formed with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and other nations defeated their Axis enemies in Europe by May 1945 and won in the Pacific with the surrender of Japan in August 1945. Americans breathed collective sighs of relief and joy having fought, in their view, the "Good War" against totalitarian regimes that threatened their security and the future of the world. Revisionist studies of history have questioned some of the flaws of that euphoria and have rightfully examined labor strikes, racial discrimination, black-market abuse of rationing, and other issues that indicate less-than-perfect public commitment and solidarity. Most Americans, however, celebrated in August 1945 and concluded that the war had been won as a result of collective effort and sacrifice.

POSTWAR AMERICA, 1945–1959

World War II had changed America's daily life. The Great Depression (1929–1941) provided a serious and severe blow to the nation's confidence in the free market system that had dominated the lives of Americans since the founding of the United States. The collapse of the economy, the millions of unemployed people, and the dramatic decline in American economic production had prompted the "New Deal," a broad series of government legislation that Franklin Roosevelt's government hoped would bring the country out of the Depression. Although a variety of federal programs worked to alleviate the symptoms the Great Depression created, millions of Americans remained unemployed into the late 1930s. The beginning of the war, and the upsurge of jobs and production demanded by a wartime economy and government spending to build the military arsenal that the United States would create in World War II ended unemployment and actually created a demand for labor. Sixteen million Americans would serve in the military during the war, and millions more would enter the factories to supply those forces. Agricultural production also grew significantly during World War II.

Ford exhibit preview in New York City, 1948. Library of Congress.

The federal government began to withhold taxes from employee paychecks during the war in order to develop a ready flow of cash, but those taxes did not prevent people from building a reservoir of postwar savings. Government rationing required many Americans to save money. The sale of War Bonds provided additional income that people could include in their savings. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), a New Deal program, ensured that the banks would safeguard those savings. As a result, capital funds increased significantly during the war, and men and women would have more money to spend when it became feasible to do so. At the same time, the Depression and the war had re-created a demand market for goods and services that the Depression had limited or prevented in the 1930s. Effectively, by 1945, Americans had money to spend and things they hoped to purchase.

Additionally, the war itself had destroyed much of western Europe's economy and left American industry with few competitors. Some economists remained concerned that an end to World War II would push the country back into a depression. When wartime government contracts ceased, and when millions of servicemen and women returned to civilian life, they concluded, America would face a postwar economic decline. That failed to occur. Other economists pushed the view that a renewed consumer-driven economy with available capital and the industrial ability to shift from wartime to peacetime products would create a period of prosperity for the country. That did happen. In fact, American men and women found an open job market aggressively seeking employees and willing to provide not only wages but benefits (retirement and health), paid vacations, and other incentives to join the workforce. That postwar economic boom period meant many Americans could look forward to buying new homes, new cars, and new consumer conveniences that would have astonished them or their parents prior to 1941.

The benefits accorded a broad portion of the American public did not go to everyone. Although African Americans had found better pay and job opportunities in the factories and other professions during the war, they did not share proportionately in the progress that followed. They, and other Americans, continued to fight for civil rights, better jobs, fair housing, and equal educational opportunities. Other minority groups in the culture experienced similar oppression and exploitation and would also engage in efforts to redress their concerns. The impact of World War II, and the postwar era, would generate a renewed interest in and commitment to civil rights for those Americans. A people who had waged war against Nazism came to see the terrible "logic" of racism and discrimination in their own society. By the 1960s, a rights revolution swept the nation. The evolution of minority and women's struggles for self-realization and opportunity would become a hallmark of daily life in America between 1940 and 1990. It is an ongoing issue that continues to define America's commitment and character.

The postwar half-century saw an explosion of economic and social materialism. The consumer culture in America became an even more embedded aspect of daily life. Interpretations of that development have differed broadly among historians and observers of the society. Some economists believed that Americans had saved too much money during the 1920s, and they believed that it had caused the depression of 1929. In a "supply and demand" economy, unless one spent more money on goods and services, supply would exceed demand, production would decline, unemployment would rise, and a new postwar depression might ensue. It became imperative, therefore, to encourage enhanced, continual spending on goods and services in order to drive the new economy. Advocates of the new "consumerism" believed that Americans also wanted to throw off the prohibitions of spending that the Depression and the war had created. In simple terms, Americans had money and wanted to buy new things, and both they and the general economy would benefit from the indulgence of consumerism.

Critics have argued that the consumer culture has come to place too much emphasis on things as a measure of our society and culture. The mania to accumulate goods and services, they believe, weakened social cohesion and afflicted the daily lives of Americans with unhealthy eating, socializing, and hedonistic habits. Our culture, they have argued, became obsessed with possessions and self-indulgence found in what we own, not who we are. As an example, critics see the explosion of suburban home ownership and the growth in automobile purchases as threats to the community that existed in urban neighborhoods and public transportation. Americans rushed to buy single homes and park new cars in their driveways, but they then isolated themselves from day-to-day contact with their neighbors.

Whether positive, negative, or aspects of both, however, the mass consumption of goods, products, and services has been a dominant socioeconomic and cultural condition in American life since the end of World War II, and it remains inconceivable to examine the era without a clear look at the impact of that shift in behavior.

Intellectual Life

Many cultural historians identify the postwar era as an initial period (1945–1959) of conformity and social convention. To suggest, however, that people only lived in suburbs, watched television, and ate TV dinners is simplistic. A broad and significant variety of intellectual life took place during the era, and Americans were involved in that process. Americans not only watched Ed Sullivan's popular Sunday television variety show or listened to Elvis Presley records, they also supported symphony orchestras and read challenging new novels. Ernest Hemingway wrote his novella *The Old Man and the Sea* in 1951 and won the Nobel Prize for literature three years later. Jack Kerouac published *On the Road* in 1957, an iconic work for the "Beat Generation." Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum in New York City, completed in 1959, not only indicated an interest in architecture beyond "little pink houses" (a term from a song by John Mellencamp) in the suburbs, it was also built to house an outstanding art collection.

Material Life

The influence of mass consumption in the postwar free market economy raised materialism to a new significance in American daily life. One can certainly argue that people everywhere, and at all times, have sought material security in their lives—food, homes, and so on. That was certainly the case throughout American history, but, between 1941 and 1959, the interest in and commitment to mass consumption in America reached heights never seen in the past. The mass production of automobiles, durable goods (refrigerators, washing machines, etc.), housing and other items fueled the new consumer economy. Ten million homes were constructed during the 1950s. Americans had millions of new Bell Telephone System phones installed in their homes. By 1949, consumers purchased more than 250,000 television sets a month, compared to fewer than 17,000 three years earlier. Eight million cars rolled off the assembly lines in Detroit in 1950, 75 percent of the world's total production. Clearly, American consumers saw the accumulation of material goods as an essential aspect of their postwar daily lives (Tuttle and Perry 1970, 725–74).

Political Life

The two-party political system remained a viable aspect of American life during the period despite some signs of third-party activity in response to civil rights, fiscal policy, and the Cold War. The Democratic Party controlled the White House from 1940 to 1952 with Franklin Roosevelt leading a wartime government and Harry Truman (1949–1952) working to expand some of the ideas of the New Deal with his postwar Fair Deal programs and his development of a Cold War foreign policy to confront the Soviet Union. The Republican Party, however, regained control of the Congress following World War II, and Dwight Eisenhower, a moderate conservative war hero, won the presidency for the Republicans in 1952. The uncertainty and crisis of the Korean War (1950–1953) had shaken the complacency of the 1950s. So, too, had the internal problem caused by the influence of Senator Joseph McCarthy and others during the infamous "Red Scare" of the time. Those serious disturbances and the continued Cold War, including the threat of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union, however, seemed an acceptable aspect of America's new role as a world leader in defense of freedom. Perhaps the conservative nature of Eisenhower's administration, and that of the Congress, fit the mood of a people more interested in their own personal and professional lives than in the proactive, policy-driven governments that had operated during the Great Depression and World War II.

Recreational Life

With more money and more free time, most Americans experienced a renewed postwar interest in both spectator recreation and their own direct experiences. Movie attendance soared. Sports, at both the collegiate and professional levels, expanded in importance. Television slowly replaced radio as the in-home resource for relaxation and entertainment. Organized youth sports like Little League baseball served as social outlets for suburban families. Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts added to youth opportunities. That trend would continue throughout the remainder of the century.

Religious Life

From Alexis de Tocqueville's nineteenth-century observations in *Democracy in America* to contemporary social analysis, Americans have shown an abiding interest in religious affiliation and the relationship between organized religions and spiritual and moral behavior. Predominantly Christian in religious membership and cultural values, Americans seemed to become more interested in or involved with organized churches during and following the war. Postwar religious revivalism boomed

Natalie Wood displays new drive-in movie speakers. Library of Congress.

and traditional church membership increased significantly. The anecdotal inclusion of "under God" in the nation's Pledge of Allegiance and the inscription of "In God We Trust" on America's currency punctuated that focus. Forms of religious intolerance, such as anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and a general distain for atheists and others outside of "mainstream" religious currents existed, but, again, significant numbers of Americans considered formal commitment to particular religious institutions a key aspect of their daily lives. And a nascent ecumenism appeared in the 1950s that promised a less turbulent and more accepting attitude in American society.

DECADES OF DISCORD, 1960–1990

American daily life did not alter abruptly with the election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960 and his inaugural promise of a "New Frontier." Yet, during the next 30 years, broad and significant changes in the national landscape did cause people in the country to look at themselves and their world in fundamentally different ways, often in a confrontational manner. Population changes alone had a significant impact on American life. The "Baby Boom" of the postwar era had produced millions of children who were entering adolescence or adulthood during the period. Those young people had not directly experienced either the economic and social privations of the Great Depression or the total commitment of the nation to a world war. The demographic shift to suburban life, the development of interstate highways, an immigrant influx, new technology such as telecommunications and computers, health benefits, an ever-expanding service economy and decline in the manufacturing sector, and the increasing complexity of America's international relations all brought changes in the daily lives of Americans.

A host of new critics arose to question "traditional" values, beliefs, and practices that many Americans had taken for granted during and following World War II. In every issue from foreign policy to the environment, from race relations to feminism, and from sexual behavior to popular culture, American attitudes shifted in the "decades of discord" that Myron Marty examined in his study of the era.

Domestic Life

While most Americans remained in single-family, traditional marriages, incidences of divorce, the decline in extended families, and a variety of other "aberrations" in domestic life occurred between 1960 and 1990. Statistics quantify the significance, but it remains important to analyze how and why those changes occurred. The significance and impact of children also changed during the period as their specific needs and interests enabled young people, from birth to adolescence, to demand a new focus and interest within the society. The evolution of a "teen culture," with all of its impact, from recreation to education, became a matter of absorbed attention. At the same time, life expectancy rose during the period. An expanded number of "senior citizens" with more retirement income than Social Security payments could provide, and longer life to enjoy the benefits of retirement, also created a new domestic force in the nation.

Economic Life

The American economy continued to grow during the 30-year period between 1960 and 1990, and the standard of living for most Americans appeared to improve. Occasional economic recessions, some serious, created concern, but the economy continued to expand. Growing energy needs made Americans increasingly dependent on foreign reserves. The rise of global competition challenged the postwar American economic dominance. Yet, the 30-year period between 1960 and 1990 witnessed a positive growth for the broad middle class. Still, Michael Harrington's *Other America* (1962) identified a population of families that the general prosperity of the postwar era had failed to reach. President Lyndon Johnson (1963–1969) recognized that condition and in proposing his "Great Society" programs declared a "War on Poverty" that would bring the full forces of the federal government to eradicate poverty and discrimination.

The issue of the extent and direction of public responsibility for addressing poverty and inequality in a free market economy remains a fundamental social argument to the present day. Can the richest, most powerful nation on earth tolerate any percentage of its population not having legitimate access to health, education, and economic opportunity? Or are there acceptable limitations on what the government can do in a free society to alleviate all social and economic ills? Between 1960 and 1990, that debate would provoke 30 years of discord. Ironically, the Vietnam War and changing domestic priorities in the 1960s through the 1970s undercut the Great Society programs and changed the direction of American economic life.

Intellectual Life

American colleges and universities, often bastions of conservative stability in the 1950s, experienced years of upheaval and intellectual debate, sometimes violent in approach. Higher education also saw a massive expansion in enrollments, an increase in resources, and more influence in an information-driven economy. A generation of professors and students challenged their elders regarding the direction and focus of American life. A range of artists, writers, musicians, and observers joined in the assault on traditional values and beliefs. As Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) attacked the use of insecticides because of their effect on the environment, and Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965) condemned General Motors for producing unsafe automobiles, a generation of social critics arose to question the safety of many products and technologies once thought to be boons to progress. Indeed, the paradox of modern life in America often focused on the benefits or flaws of advanced technology and science. How helpful or harmful were chemicals, for instance? The nation could study a new bibliography of criticism and provocative concern as books and articles questioned how the country operated and how Americans lived their daily lives.

Ohio National Guardsmen commence firing into student demonstrators at Kent State University, 1970. Library of Congress.

Hugh Hefner began to publish *Playboy* magazine in 1953. That monthly publication sought to popularize a sexual revolution previously studied seriously in works that Albert Kinsey had published in 1948 and 1953. In 1966, William Masters and Virginia Johnson published *Human Sexual Response*, providing scholarly substance to Hefner's commercial use of female nudity and male prurience that allowed him to become a wealthy entrepreneur. At every level of intellectual activity, Americans both questioned and defended the consequences of a national life that had surfaced following World War II.

Historians revised history to make it more inclusive of many voices and more contentious as they explored the roots of social problems. Novelists experimented with new narrative forms (Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*, 1961) or abandoned narrative altogether. Playwrights and artists challenged the canons of their crafts, sometimes eliminating color and dialogue. The period seemed a time of experimentation in lifestyles and ideas—and for many, of reassessment of old values in the face of bewildering intellectual and social ferment.

Material Life

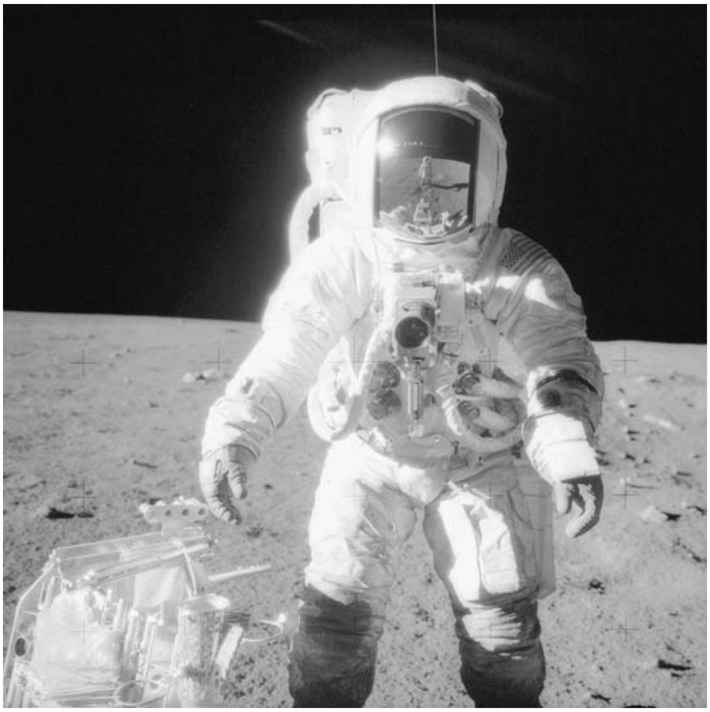
Americans continued to pursue the consumer-driven materialism that surged anew following the war. Two cars became a family "necessity" in the middle-class commuting culture. Additional television sets went into "rec rooms" or bedrooms to accompany the novel color televisions in family living rooms. Technology rushed ahead with innovations made available to Americans products never considered previously outside of science fiction stories and movies. As an example, the space program produced Velcro as a necessity for zero-gravity use. Americans, in daily life, found other uses for the new product.

Political Life

President John Kennedy's election (1960) promised a "New Frontier" for Americans and the world. As a youthful, charismatic leader, Kennedy seemed to personify the hopes and aspirations of a postwar generation. His assassination on November 22, 1963, stunned the nation. His successor, Lyndon Johnson (1963–1969), developed the largest, most comprehensive federal program in history in his Great Society–War on Poverty initiative. The quintessential American political liberal, Johnson believed that racism, poverty, injustice, and all of the issues that had plagued the society, even as it prospered, could be attacked and eliminated. Certainly, the many programs that he and Congress developed helped. Yet, the Vietnam War, racial and civil unrest, and the assassinations of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. and Senator Robert Kennedy convinced many Americans that President Johnson's domestic programs had failed to do their job.

Richard M. Nixon's election (1968) and his subsequent political history indicated a brief shift in political thinking in America, but the decade of protest and upheaval that confronted his administration continued unabated. The Watergate scandal that ended with Nixon's resignation (August 1974) further altered American attitudes about their government and the men and women who worked in Washington. The nation's bicentennial celebration in 1976 took place with a residue of cynicism and concern. While Presidents Gerald Ford (1974–1978) and Jimmy Carter (1979–1982) sought to find some transition in America's political attitudes, few real changes occurred until Ronald Reagan's presidential victory in 1980. The former movie actor and California governor brought a revived conservative philosophy to the White House that evoked a sympathetic and supportive response from many Americans. Weary with the cynicism and anti-American attitudes of far left critics of the country, Reagan's conservative base responded favorably to his upbeat, positive, pro-American positions. That political shift from traditional support for New Deal and Great Society federal liberalism to a broader conservative ideology remains one of the most significant changes in American politics since the end of World War II. It would drive the American political landscape to the present day.


Nashville police officer, wielding a nightstick, holds an African American youth at bay during a civil rights march in Tennessee, 1964. Library of Congress.



Apollo 12 astronaut Alan Bean pauses during extravehicular activity on the moon, 1969. Chaiba.

Recreational Life

Since 1960, Americans have developed so many different ways to spend their recreation and leisure time and money that it seems silly to generalize. More time, more money, more options, more commercialism, and more access have all influenced the extensive opportunities for Americans to enjoy themselves. Examples are legion, from backyard barbecues to the National Football League's Super Bowls: television's profound and growing influence; sports betting and the growth of casinos; magazines and periodicals devoted to specific interests and recreational options; music, available in so many different varieties and new technologies, from stereo to tape decks to CDs; spectator sports that draw millions into stadiums and arenas and make multimillionaires out of athletes; recreational jogging, tennis, golf, bowling, and use of treadmills in a search of healthy exercise, weight loss, or personal enjoyment; society's expenditure of millions of dollars on pets. The new celebrities of American life are entertainers, whether athletes, musicians, or actors. Why and how that happened has roots in the nation's past, but the acceleration of that focus in American daily life occurred most rapidly between 1960 and 1990.

Religious Life

If Americans indicated a clear commitment to organized religious institutions following World War II, and opinion polls and scholarly observation seem to support that conclusion, the generation that lived between 1960 and 1990 offered broadly different commitments to church attendance and new forms of spirituality. A large percentage of the population continued to attend weekly church services, but polls and surveys alone do not always tell a clear story. Did Americans view their religious commitments differently? American Roman Catholics, for instance, began publicly to question key church traditions and policies, including church rules on birth control, homosexuality, and an all-male, unmarried priesthood. Issues of change or orthodoxy came under scrutiny and debate in Protestant and Jewish faiths as well. Vigorous evangelism, including increasing reliance on television and radio ministries and the draw of "felt" religious experiences, increased the numbers of people drawn to Pentecostal and fundamentalist churches. The "born again" Christian movement emerged as a key social and political force in the era. The alternate lifestyles that evolved from the youth movement of the 1960s created new options for spiritual growth outside of traditional religious belief. "New Age" concepts challenged weekly church attendance. Yet, in positive terms, mainline institutional churches and religions appeared to accept a new form of ecumenical acceptance of other faiths and religions, a clear effort to understand each other's differences.

If the period 1960–1990 exemplified "Decades of Discord," as Myron Marty has suggested, that conclusion does not necessarily mean that all discord was negative. Any new era of thought and behavior can always appear disruptive, and certainly these 30 years saw obvious elements of that confusion. Yet, the discord that had many Americans reexamining their past also yielded broad, contributive, and positive accomplishments that the encyclopedia will seek to examine.

THE MODERN ERA, 1991–2005

In 1992, Francis Fukuyama wrote *The End of History and the Last Man*. He seemed to suggest that the conclusion of the Cold War struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union had changed the evolution of history, both in America and throughout the world. The old international struggles between political and economic ideologies had ended, and free-market democracies, with America in the lead as a world "hyper-power," would face a new era. The book saw a positive, progressive conclusion to that theme. Yet, new issues emerged to demand the attention and concern of Americans as they led their daily lives, both international and domestic; terrorism and AIDS, globalization and genocide in Africa, energy demands, environmental concerns such as global warming, and a host of other problems required attention and affected American daily lives.

Nature itself seemed to reassert its claim to rule with a rash of violent weather, especially hurricanes, tornadoes, floods, and forest fires. If Americans had always faced those natural disasters, they appeared more disturbing in the modern era. The sense of powerlessness in the face of nature clashed with the contemporary view that science and technology gave Americans more control of their world. Who but a few specialists could have predicted the traumatic and destructive impact of Hurricane Katrina as it devastated the Gulf Coast and New Orleans in August 2005? At the same time, however, positive and beneficial changes also defined the daily lives of Americans in the 15 years between 1990 and 2005. New technologies accelerated communication, allowing worldwide communication within microseconds. A reasonably prosperous economy brought more Americans into the middle class even as the "super rich" increased their share of the nation's wealth. Access to vastly expanded consumer goods and services made more Americans part of a national culture, developing better lives and opportunities for Americans. Immigration became a renewed aspect of life in America, particularly including arrivals from Asia and Latin America. The new immigrants brought intelligence and energy in a variety of areas from medical expertise to harvesting crops. At the same time, concerns regarding "illegal" or undocumented aliens provoked a debate in American society. Charles Dickens has always made sense when he wrote in *A Tale of Two Cities*, "It was the best of times. It was the worst of times." Americans in the past 15 years have seen both.

Domestic Life

Americans are still responding and reacting to the significant alterations of domestic lifestyles that began in the previous 30 years. The traditional roles of men and women have altered. The raising of children has seen a new focus on their safety and education, as "helicopter parents" hover protectively to safeguard children's interests. At the same time, single-parent and even no-parent households have increased, and parental authority has been challenged by entertainment idols and other competitors for children's attention and allegiance. The increasingly programmed life of middle-class suburban youth contrasts with the less adult-ordered worlds of other classes. Drug use, alcohol, obesity, and sexual experimentation continue to threaten the social and physical health of families. Yet, the "traditional family" remains an important social factor in contemporary American life, and much of the fabric of the domestic life shows little basic difference from the 1950s.

Economic Life

The economic life of Americans, both in terms of micro- and macroeconomics, continues to offer new opportunities and challenges. The nation remains the most powerful economy in the world while facing new competition from rising commercial states like China and India. Much of what Americans buy, from their cotton clothes to raw steel, is imported. The nation remains vitally dependent on foreign oil, an economic concern that has existed since the 1970s. The trade deficit continues to soar. Both the government's debt and Americans' personal debt have risen significantly. Americans spend more money than they collect in taxes or personal savings. Yet, those purchases allow for more material goods and products at a cheaper price. Disparity continues to exist between rich and poor, and critics claim that the middle class has begun to suffer a serious decline in its traditional status as an economic force in the society. Yet, unemployment numbers remain well below double digits, as do inflation and interest rates, the triad evaluators of economic health. As always, economic views and predictions remain complicated. With the stock markets fluctuating between "bull" and "bear" activity, and the Federal Reserve providing cautious, but optimistic, reviews of the economy, American economic life moved into the new millennium with uncertainty.

Intellectual Life

A concept defined as *postmodernism* has offered a new focus for intellectual thought in American life. Perhaps, postmodernists argue, the traditional acceptance of progress, reason, and science as the controlling factors in people's lives has been either overdone or are wrong. Is all progress necessarily beneficial? Are reason and empirical analysis the best methods to examine "truth"? Do science and its method of inquiry provide the best way to advance? Albert Borgman has written about a "postmodern divide" that influences American intellectual thought in the contemporary era, in both serious and popular debate. While traditional methods of inquiry and intellectual endeavor continue to provide ideas and conclusions, those approaches often clash, now, with postmodern contradictions and criticisms. The divide appears both interesting and worth an examination in this encyclopedia.

Material Life

Americans have prided themselves on having the highest standard of living in the world. Certainly, the society has access to more goods and services, and it has indulged in a broad consumerism since the end of World War II in the acquisition of those commodities. Whether that "success" fulfills the "American dream" remains open to question. Millions of Americans benefit from the options available, but millions of others lack real access to them. Both the end result of material acquisition and its availability to the largest possible number of people in the society remain a key issue in the contemporary world of American daily life.

A young woman looks at her laptop computer and drinks her coffee. Tobkatrina| Dreamstime.com

Political Life

A number of political observers and pundits have maintained that a divisive struggle has evolved in the society. A definable, contentious battle between Democrats and Republicans has seen a blue state–red state political nastiness that affects the way Americans see the nation and its goals and objectives. From foreign policy to domestic programs, Americans appear to disagree emotionally as to the direction the nation should follow. The "culture wars" that began in the 1960s have settled into the broad political debate of the new century. At the same time, however, other students of American political life believe that a mainstream America tends to see things in reasonably similar terms. Americans have more in common, they believe, than the concerns that divide them, at least as far as that divisiveness appears on the nightly television news shows. The political debate that seems to rage in Washington, on radio and television, and among the many new "blog" sites that have entered the arena of public discourse may represent a legitimate political divide. Those involved in the debate, however, may also

The World Trade Center, 1999. Wildbirdimages|Dreamstime.com

A young woman is able to lounge in bed while doing her homework thanks to her cell phone. Duey|Dreamstime.com

overlook a mainstream balance among many Americans who reject the political extremes of both groups.

Recreational Life

Television (with numerous cable channels) and movies, spectator sports, specialty magazines, popular literature, varieties of music, and many other means of personal or communal enjoyment compete for patronage and attention in an ever more crowded and fragmented culture.

Paradoxically, the homogeneity of consumer culture as in the remake of old films and television shows has come at the same time as the variety of forms, styles, and presentations of "culture" proliferate. Music blends from Asia, Latin America, and Africa, with Arabic forms, offer one example of that proliferation. Cell phones, iPods, satellite radios, and other hand-held technologies have continued to democratize entertainment choices as well as access to information. Those tools, however, widen the breach between those with access to the technology and those without. Not all Americans can—or even want to—"hum the same tune." Still, two factors continue to drive the recreational life of Americans in the modern age. First, access to the opportunities remains based in commercial, free-market options. Most recreational sources offer their service for a price, whether tickets at the theater, advertisements on television, or sales in music stores. And the options remain egalitarian. They are available to anyone willing to pay regardless of class, race, or gender. In some regards, American recreational opportunities may provide the finest example of democratic opportunity and access.

Religious Life

Americans remain the most "church-going" people in the industrial world, and the United States boasts the greatest variety of religious groups and practices in the world. Religion continues to occupy the attention and interest of Americans as they go about their daily lives. An increase in Christian fundamentalism has directly influenced both political and social thought in the nation. As Protestant evangelicalism has swelled in its appeal, support for mainstream regular worship has fallen off. Some see the influence of the "Christian Right" as dangerous; others argue it is a positive development. Child abuse scandals in the Roman Catholic Church have brought particular focus to that religious institution, but millions of members of that faith continue to pursue its spiritual and ethical authority with pride and comfort. Ecumenical demands to become more tolerant of other faiths have certainly altered former religious views in the society. Americans seem more aware and accepting of the diversity of religious beliefs that are practiced in the country—or, at least, Americans say they are more tolerant. In any event, the long-standing influence of religious thought in America remains a key aspect of the nation's interest in and focus on spiritual and ethical options within institutional faiths and religious beliefs.

CONCLUSIONS

Because this volume of *The Encyclopedia of Daily Life in the United States* examines, in detail, the issues discussed in this chapter, it remains important to recall the central purpose of the work. The volume explores broad themes in the American experience, organized in both chronological and topical style. Each section seeks to provide a basic theme, statistical information, anecdotal examples, and a reasonable interpretation of the information. Visual examples such as pictures, photographs, graphs, and other additions will seek to provide additional insight and interest for the reader. A bibliography of both printed and online sources aims to provide readers with other sources of information and analysis to consider and to study. As noted above, no encyclopedia on American daily life can hope to examine every issue, every concern, and every aspect of a people so diverse and complex as the people who have lived in the United States between 1941 and 2005. The volume will, however, attempt to include as much as possible to allow a broader, more careful look at how Americans lived their daily lives in the last half of the twentieth century and the first five years of the twenty-first century.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Adler, Selig. *The Uncertain Giant, 1921–1941: American Foreign Policy between the Wars*. New York: MacMillan, 1965.

Cole, Wayne S. *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Ehrman, John. *The Eighties: America in the Age of Reagan*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.

Goldman, Eric. *The Crucial Decade and After—America, 1945–1960*. New York: Random House, 1960.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, the Homefront in World War II*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999.

Halberstam, David. *The Fifties*. New York: Random House, 1993.

Kaledin, Eugenia. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Kennedy, David M. *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.

Millett, Allen, and Peter Maslowski. *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.

O'Neill, William L. *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's*. New York: Quadrangle-New York Times Books, 1974.

Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Schulman, Bruce J. *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture*. New York: The Free Press, 2001.

Terkel, Studs. *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

Tuttle, Frank W., and Joseph M. Perry. *An Economic History of the United States*. Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Company, 1970.

2

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–1959

Timeline

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–1959
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

1940 Congress passes the Smith Act, making it a crime to support the violent overthrow of the government.

The first multilane superhighway opens—the Pennsylvania Turnpike.

In Pasadena, California, the first McDonald's opens.

January 30: U.S. government issues the first Social Security checks.

February 12: The first episode of the hit radio show *Superman* airs.

July 27: The first *Bugs Bunny* cartoon is shown—*A Wild Hare*.

November 5: President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) defeats Wendell Willkie in the presidential election to win a third consecutive term in office.

November 13: Mickey Mouse debuts, as the sorcerer's apprentice, in his first feature film, *Fantasia*.

1941 Congress passes the Land-Lease Act giving the president power to sell, lend, and lease war material to other nations.

Painter Edward Hopper finishes the painting *Nighthawks*.

May 1: Cheerios is first produced as CheeriOats by General Mills.

May 6: Bob Hope performs in his first USO Show at California's March Field.

August 1: The first Jeep is produced.

October 24: The Fair Labor Act goes into effect, producing the 40-hour work-week.

November 26: Thanksgiving is officially declared the fourth Thursday of every November.

December 7: Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, bringing the United States into World War II.

1942 Bing Crosby releases the song "White Christmas."

The first HMO (Health Maintenance Organization) is founded in Oakland, California.

The Manhattan Project is developed to aid the United States in its efforts to design and build an atomic bomb.

February 9: Daylight saving time is established.

November 26: The movie *Casablanca* premieres in theaters. It is critically acclaimed as one of the best films of all time.

1943 During World War II, the All American Girls' Baseball League is formed to fill empty ballparks with entertainment.

To prevent inflation, President Franklin D. Roosevelt freezes prices, salaries, and wages.

After 15 years the *Amos 'n' Andy* radio show is canceled.

January 15: The largest office building in the world, the Pentagon, is built and located in Arlington, Virginia.

February 27: In Bearcreek, Montana, the Smith mine explodes, killing 74 men.

March 31: Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* debuts on Broadway.

June 20: Due to an influx of African American workers, a race riot explodes in Detroit.

December 4: The Great Depression ends with wartime production and mobilization, and the Works Progress Administration closes because employment has risen.

1944 Congress passes GI Bill of Rights, providing benefits for armed-service veterans.

The United Negro College Fund develops to aid African American students planning to attend college.

January 5: The *Daily Mail* becomes the first transoceanic newspaper.

August 9: Smokey the Bear is used for the first time in posters by the United States Forest Service and the Wartime Advertising Council.

October 8: *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* radio show debuts.

November 7: President Franklin D. Roosevelt wins a fourth term as president over Republican challenger Thomas E. Dewey.

December 26: The Tennessee Williams play, *The Glass Menagerie,* is first performed.

1945 Thirteen television channels are created by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for commercial broadcasting; the agency receives 130 applications.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, becomes the first town to fluoridate its water.

April 12: President Franklin D. Roosevelt dies in Warm Springs, Georgia; Vice President Harry S Truman assumes the presidency.

July 28: The Empire State Building is accidentally struck by a B-52 bomber; 13 people are killed.

August 6: The atomic bomb "Little Boy" is dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, at 8:16 A.M.

August 9: The atomic bomb "Fat Man" is dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, at 11:02 A.M.

October 29: The first ballpoint pen goes on sale for $12.50 at Gimbel's Department Store.

December 4: The United State Senate votes 65 to 7 for the United States to join the United Nations.

1946 The New York City Ballet is founded by George Balanchine and Lincoln Kirstein.

The University of Pennsylvania becomes home to the first automatic electronic digital computer (ENIAC).

April 1: Hilo, Hawaii, is hit by a 14-meter-high *tsunami.*

July 7: The Roman Catholic Church canonizes Mother Francis Xavier Cabrini as the first American saint.

November 12: The first drive-up bank teller windows are opened at the Exchange National Bank in Chicago, Illinois.

December 11: United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is founded.

1947 The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is formed.

Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* debuts on Broadway with Marlon Brando as Stanley Kowalski and Jessica Tandy as Blanche DuBois.

Meet the Press airs for the first time on NBC.

Percy Spencer invents the microwave oven.

June 23: Congress overrides President Truman's veto and passes the Taft-Hartley Act restricting the power of labor unions.

September 18: The U.S. Air Force is formed, combining components of the U.S. Army Air Forces and the U.S. Navy's air arm.

1948 George A. Gamow introduces the "Big Bang" theory to explain the creation of the universe.

Fresh Kills, the world's largest landfill, opens in Staten Island, New York.

January 5: The first color newsreel is shown by Warner Brothers at the Rose Bowl.

March 8: The U.S. Supreme Court rules that religious instruction in public schools violates the Constitution.

March 17: The biker gang Hell's Angels organizes in California.

April 2: Congress passes the Marshall Plan to aid European postwar recovery.

July 26: President Harry Truman signs Executive Order 9981, ending racial segregation in the U.S. armed forces.

November 2: President Truman wins a full term of office against Republican challenger Thomas E. Dewey.

1949 Color TV is introduced to mainstream American society.

The first telethon is aired for cancer research and is hosted by Milton Berle.

The song "Rudolph, the Red-Nosed Reindeer" is released to the public.

January 17: The first Volkswagen is sold in the United States.

January 25: The Emmy Awards for television debut.

March 2: The first nonstop flight around the world is achieved by Captain James Gallagher in a B-50 Superfortress called *Lucky Lady II.*

April 4: The North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) is signed in Washington, D.C.

June 8: George Orwell's book *1984* is released.

1950 *Peanuts* comic strip by Charles Schulz is first released.

Otis Elevators in Dallas, Texas, is the first to install a self-service elevator.

September 3: Publication of the *Beetle Bailey* comic strip by Mort Walker begins.

October 2: Saturday morning children's television programming begins.

November 1: President Truman is the target of an assassination attempt by Puerto Rican nationalists.

November 22: Former child star Shirley Temple retires from show business.

1951 The first coast-to-coast live television broadcast occurs with President Harry Truman giving a speech.

J. D. Salinger releases *The Catcher in the Rye*.

March 12: The comic strip *Dennis the Menace* first appears.

April 5: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are sentenced to death for treason (they are executed June 19, 1953).

July 14: The George Washington Carver Memorial in Joplin, Missouri, becomes the first U.S. national monument to honor an African American.

September 4: The term "Rock 'n' Roll" is used by radio disc jockey Alan Freed to promote rhythm and blues music to white audiences.

October 3: The so-called "Shot Heard 'Round the World," one of the greatest moments in Major League baseball history, occurs when Bobby Thomson of the New York Giants hits a game-winning home run in the bottom of the ninth inning off Brooklyn Dodgers pitcher Ralph Branca to win the National League pennant after the Giants had been down by 14 games.

October 15: *I Love Lucy* debuts on CBS.

1952 *The Jackie Gleason Show,* which includes "The Honeymooners," debuts on CBS.

56 million watch Richard Nixon's "Checker's speech" on TV.

3,300 die of polio in the United States; 57,000 children are paralyzed.

January 14: The *Today Show* hosted by Dave Garroway premiers on NBC.

May 3: U.S. Lieutenant Colonels Joseph O. Fletcher and William P. Benedict land a plane at the North Pole.

July 25: Puerto Rico becomes a U.S. commonwealth.

December 14: The first successful surgical separation of Siamese twins takes place in Mount Sinai Hospital, Cleveland, Ohio.

1953 Dr. John H. Gibbon performs the first successful open heart surgery in which the blood is artificially circulated and oxygenated by a heart-lung machine.

Alleged communist Charlie Chaplin flees the United States.

January 22: *The Crucible* by Arthur Miller is performed for the first time on Broadway.

April 3: The first issue of *TV Guide* magazine hits the newsstands in 10 cities with a circulation of 1,560,000 copies.

June 30: The Chevrolet Corvette is first produced in Flint, Michigan.

December: *Playboy* magazine is first published with a nude Marilyn Monroe on the cover.

1954 The baseball World Series is broadcast in color for the first time.

The first TV dinner is invented by Gerry Thomas.

William Golding writes the novel *Lord of the Flies*.

J.R.R. Tolkien releases the first book in the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, *The Fellowship of the Ring*.

January 14: Actress Marilyn Monroe weds baseball player Joe DiMaggio.

January 21: First Lady Mamie Eisenhower christens the first nuclear-powered submarine, the *USS Nautilus*.

February 18: The first Church of Scientology is established in Los Angeles, California.

February 23: Polio vaccine administered for the first time in the United States in Pittsburgh by Dr. Jonas Salk.

April 22–June 17: Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin begins the "Red Scare."

May 17: In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* the Supreme Court unanimously bans racial segregation in public schools.

June 14: On United States Flag Day, the words "under God" are added to the Pledge of Allegiance.

August 16: Volume 1, Issue 1 of *Sports Illustrated* is published.

September 11: The Miss America Pageant is broadcast on television for the first time.

1955 *Gunsmoke* debuts on CBS and will go on to be television's longest-running western.

January 7: Marian Anderson becomes the first African American singer to perform at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City.

April 18: Albert Einstein dies from an aortic aneurysm at 1:15 A.M.

July 18: Disneyland opens to the public with admission costing just $1. The cost of attractions ranges from 10 to 35 cents.

September 30: James Dean dies in a car accident at age 26 near Cholame, California.

December 1: Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat on a segregated bus in Montgomery, Alabama.

1956 *The Wizard of Oz* is first aired on TV.

February 22: Elvis Presley enters the U.S. music charts for the first time with *Heartbreak Hotel*.

March 1: Autherine Lucy, the first black student at the University of Alabama, is suspended after riots protesting her presence there.

June 29: President Dwight D. Eisenhower signs the Federal-Aid Highway Act, creating the interstate highway system.

July 30: A Joint Resolution of the U.S. Congress is signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, authorizing "In God We Trust" as the U.S. national motto.

1957 Leonard Bernstein's *West Side Story* debuts on Broadway.

August 5: *American Bandstand* is televised nationally for the first time.

September 4: Orville Faubus, governor of Arkansas, calls out the U.S. National Guard to prevent black students from enrolling in Central High School in Little Rock.

September 4: The Ford Motor Company introduces the Edsel on what the company proclaims as "E Day."

October 4: *Leave It to Beaver* premieres on CBS, ushering in an era of television shows that depict the ideal American family.

December 6: First U.S. attempt to launch a satellite fails when the rocket blows up on the launch pad.

1958 *Billboard* debuts its Hot 100 chart; Ricky Nelson's *Poor Little Fool* is the first No. 1 record.

Truman Capote's *Breakfast at Tiffany's* debuts.

January 8: Bobby Fischer wins the United States Chess Championship at the age of 14.

July 29: U.S. Congress officially creates the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

September 29: The U.S. Supreme Court rules unanimously that Little Rock, Arkansas, schools must desegregate.

1959 National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences presents the first Grammy Awards for music recorded the previous year.

Frank Sinatra wins his first Grammy Award—Best Album for *Come Dance with Me*.

Pantyhose are invented.

Boris Pasternak releases his critically acclaimed *Doctor Zhivago*.

January 3: Alaska becomes the 49th state.

February 22: Lee Petty wins the first Daytona 500.

March 9: The Barbie doll is introduced.

April 25: St. Lawrence Seaway opens, allowing ocean ships to reach the Midwest.

August 21: Hawaii becomes the 50th state.

October 2: Rod Serling's classic anthology series, *The Twilight Zone*, premieres on CBS.

October 21: In New York City, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum opens to the public; it was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–1959
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Overview

An overview of American daily life between 1940 and 1959 should focus on how the nation and its people responded to the unprecedented power and responsibility the United States came to embody during that period of time. Both domestically, and in international affairs, the nation became a great world power in fewer than 20 years. The economic and material growth of America, during and following World War II, made the nation the most potent, wealthiest society in the history of the planet. It made available to Americans, in their daily lives, more goods, services, and products than at any previous period in history. How the people responded to those opportunities and challenges remained an essential aspect of the times. Did access and power bring comfort and satisfaction? Did people realize the promised "pursuit of happiness"? Did Americans recognize that critical changes had occurred in their daily lives? Did success and material satisfaction for the majority cause them to overlook or disregard those who remained unable to achieve those ends? Those, and other questions, serve as the focus for this section.

The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, ended a decade of debate on the role of the United States in world affairs. The battle between isolationists and interventionists that had occupied national affairs in the 1930s, as the world went to war, ended. The "date which will live in infamy" committed the nation to a global war against Germany, Japan, and Italy. America's economy expanded dramatically to confront the massive material demands that the war created. Millions of Americans entered the armed services. Millions more went to work in factories, shipyards, and businesses. Agricultural demands for food grew, and large farming systems evolved to respond to the need for food. If the 1930s offered a worrisome story of unemployment, economic depression, and social anxiety, the war years witnessed an end to the economic concerns that had frustrated America during the Great Depression.

The nation provided more industrial and agricultural goods and products during World War II than all of the other nations involved in the global conflict. In a real sense, the "arsenal of democracy" played a vital role in ultimate victory. When apprised of America's ship-building capacity in 1943, the German dictator Adolf Hitler remarked to an aide, "We have lost the war!"

The economic revival during World War II set the stage for a postwar commercial boom, even though some observers feared it might not. American industry was able to shift its new technologies, capital, and employees from wartime production to peacetime consumer goods. For reasons examined in the chapter, Americans had money, jobs, and demands for new goods and products, and the prosperity that the wartime economy created continued into the postwar decades. With few commercial rivals in the international community, because of the devastation that the war caused in Europe and Asia, the United States experienced a unique period of almost total economic domination and expansion. In every aspect of American daily life, that basic but profound factor remained a critical consideration. The national expectation of limitless employment, expansion, and opportunity that evolved between 1945 and 1959 was a direct result of the postwar situation that the United States experienced. The unusual ability to control natural resources, methods of production, and distribution of goods and services gave the American people a unique position to take material advantage of their situation.

At the same time, however, that special prosperity would lead the nation to draw stark attention to those Americans who had not benefited directly from the advantages the postwar era seemed to provide for a majority of the people. An "other America" (Harrington 1962) existed even in an age of unparalleled prosperity. How was that possible? What had the country and its people missed or disregarded? In the most prosperous, powerful nation on earth, some Americans still went to bed hungry, children remained uneducated, poverty persisted amid plenty, and traditional forms of racism, sexism, and oppression continued. Critics and social observers drew attention to those conditions and tended to focus on the key point that a nation so prosperous and "blessed" had a special responsibility to address the unresolved problems they identified. The "greatest generation" (Brokaw 1998) that had confronted the Depression and the world war still had major and critical issues to address. While the period 1945 through 1959 often seemed a time of disregard for issues more obviously addressed in the 1960s, the seeds of that social conscience evolved in the immediate postwar era.

In international affairs, the single most dominant issue of postwar America hinged on the development of a Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union. The two powerful allies during World War II had fundamental ideological and geopolitical differences. Those issues had surfaced during World War II, but they intensified in 1945. The new postwar "balance of power" had created a bipolar environment with two "superpowers" at odds and armed with an increasing array of destructive nuclear weapons. The Cold War directly affected the daily lives of Americans. From a peacetime military draft that saw millions of Americans serving in the armed forces, to a military-industrial complex that developed to influence the economy, to a propaganda war that saw overzealous politicians ("red hunters") like Senator Joseph McCarthy stifle political debate in the country, Americans had to confront a new threat, even as they experienced unheralded prosperity in their personal lives. A bipartisan political consensus among Republicans and Democrats accepted the need for a powerful American response to perceived Soviet threats—a strategy broadly defined as "containment." The Marshall Plan, an extraordinary defense budget, and a growing U.S. commitment to a global containment of the Soviet Union saw few critics between 1945 and 1959. If Americans disagreed concerning the issue, they did so more on specifics than on substance. Whether accurate or not, most Americans saw the postwar confrontation as a struggle between democracy and totalitarianism, capitalism and communism, and freedom and tyranny.

In simple terms, they had not defeated the Depression and fascism to succumb to the "new" threat to their American way of life. That thinking and conclusion would dominate the national mood well into the 1960s and beyond. In modern American popular culture, the singular view of the period portrays American daily life as conservative, limited in perspective, and inherently dull or predictable. The popular television series *Happy Days,* now widely syndicated, presented a bucolic view of American teenagers and their families enjoying good times and almost mindless conformity. Some of that portrait is accurate. Yet, seismic social and cultural changes had begun to take shape during the postwar era, and those issues also remain a major aspect of American life. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine both aspects of the period 1940 to 1959.

Domestic Life

THE WAR YEARS, 1940–1945

World War II had a significant impact on domestic life in America. Children went to school as they always had, but their lives were changed by the war. Millions of men served in the military, many sent "overseas" to fight in North Africa, Europe, or the Pacific theater. Millions of women worked in factories to build the arsenal necessary for the war, and the stereotype of "Rosie the Riveter" (a popular song) came to personify those women. Military service separated parents. Families moved more often to find work in the factories. Transient domestic life became more commonplace in America during the war. The anxieties and uncertainties of war affected families throughout the conflict. Wartime rationing of essential foods and services (gasoline, butter, meat, etc.) also placed a daily strain on families as they went about their lives. Yet, men and women married in greater numbers than ever before. The concern about jobs and income during the Depression had seen a decline in marriages in America during the 1930s. That was not the case during the war.

As jobs expanded and wages rose in the 1940s, economic fears about establishing families seemed to disappear. Men and women also may have married because of the war itself and the personal and emotional separation that the war caused. Whatever the reasons, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that at least a million more marriages took place between 1940 and 1943 than expected. Marriage rates continued to rise until 1946, and the median age of married couples dropped to less than 21 years of age, an unprecedented low number. With the rise in marriages, incidences of divorce also grew. Some married-in-haste relationships ended with "Dear John" letters to servicemen. Those breakups occurred so often that the government passed legislation protecting service personnel from quick divorces.

POSTWAR AMERICA, 1946–1959

In 1946, the film *The Best Years of Our Lives* won seven Academy Awards, including best picture. An adaptation of MacKinley Kantor's book, the film told a poignant story of three World War II veterans returning to domestic life. It not only focused on their readjustment, but also examined the response of their families, wives, children, and neighbors to the touchy issues that confronted American domestic life at the end of World War II. The transition was not as simple as textbooks often suggest, yet Americans appeared to respond to the opportunities as well as the problems with remarkable resilience. Critics and observers often portray the years from 1946 to 1959 as conservative, orthodox, and dull, a kind of mindless "happy days" reflected in the television sitcom of the 1980s. Other critical writers discuss the *Organization Man* (White 1956) or the *Lonely Crowd* as prototypes of a postwar American society that put men in *Grey Flannel Suits*, working in huge corporate businesses, nine to five, and going home to "little pink houses" in the new suburbs. Children become spoiled youngsters growing into unmanageable teenagers. Their world focused on 45 rpm records, drive-in movies, and rebelliousness. Women, dismissed from their wartime factory jobs, were forced to revert to lives as "Betty Crocker" homemakers, bearing children, baking cookies, and waiting for their husbands to return from a variety of "white-collar" jobs. While those images have some merit, the years from 1946 to 1959 also saw enormous innovation and positive changes in domestic life in America.

In 1944, the United States Congress passed the Serviceman's Readjustment Act—the GI Bill. It provided for a series of grants, loans, and other benefits for veterans returning from military service. In education, the GI Bill awarded monthly stipends for tuition, books, and room and board for veterans who entered colleges or vocational schools. Approximately 10 million veterans took advantage of the opportunity at a cost of $10 billion. The result created a new college-educated, white-collar management population that had access to more lucrative employment and hopefully a better domestic standard of living. At the same time, the GI Bill, operated through the Veterans Administration (VA), provided insured loans for veterans buying homes or investing in their own businesses. The government ultimately spent more than $50 billion in the home loan program. The growth of suburban living following the war came as a result of a boom in single-home construction that the GI Bill helped finance. In 1947, Levittown, using prefabricated construction techniques that lowered housing costs, opened in Hempstead, Long Island, and the move to the suburbs accelerated. By 1950, almost 36 percent of Americans lived in suburban communities. And between 1945 and 1955, families moved into 15 million new homes.

The move to the suburbs and the job opportunities that the GI Bill created altered the domestic outlook and options available to many American families. While most Americans still lived in rural, small-town environments or in large urban centers, a suburban mentality seemed to influence domestic thinking in the country as the 1950s evolved. The idea of a neighborhood changed. In the big cities, it meant one thing. In rural America, that domestic sense of community had another quality. Suburbia focused on single homes constructed in patterned communities, where children went to school and played, families communicated with each other, and men or women worked and adapted to the new patterns of postwar life in a novel suburban setting.

The explosive increase in automobile sales following the war reflected that change in domestic life. In 1945, new car sales reached close to 70,000. A year later, that number climbed to more than two million, and by 1949, car sales had climbed to more than five million. By the middle of the 1950s, the number reached almost eight million sales (Kaledin 2000, 55). Responding to the increasing number of automobiles and the lack of transportation infrastructure to link suburbs, cities, and small towns, Congress passed the Federal Highway Act in 1956. Originally budgeted at $32 billion, by 1972 the United States had constructed more than 41,000 miles of interstate highways at a cost of $76 billion. The combined impact of the GI Bill, other government supports, postwar prosperity, the rise of suburbia, and the institutional systems that developed to support those changes became the linchpins of a domestic environment that changed America's lifestyles.

FAMILY LIFE

Most Americans accepted traditional family values and responsibilities in the period following World War II. Heterosexual marriages, the birth of children, and kinship ties within that social context remained the norm. Whether in suburbs, cities, or small towns, the basic formula remained the same. Men (fathers) went to jobs outside the home, women (mothers) bore and raised children (see the following discussion of birth rates in the section on Children), and youngsters grew up under reasonably strict parental guidelines. While the number of extended families (grandparents, relatives, etc.) living together declined during the period, American daily life still witnessed a social and cultural commitment to the basic formula of family life that had existed for years. The popular artist Norman Rockwell portrayed that idealized lifestyle in many of his works, and the 1998 movie *Pleasantville* poked fun, and some serious reservations, at the conservative quality of family life in the 1950s. Yet, stereotypes and idealized views often represent a basic truth. Teenagers may have gone to malt shops and hamburger joints after school, but most families ate together, at home. Families gathered for religious and national holidays to share meals, attend local events such as Fourth of July fireworks, and enjoy local outings. The major institutions in American society—religious, political, and economic—supported and encouraged those qualities of family life as righteous and acceptable, even while new ideas and challenges to traditional daily life began to develop.

> ***Snapshot***
>
> **Cost of Living: 1950**
>
> New house, \$8,450; Average income, \$3,216 a year; New car, \$1,511; Gasoline, 18 cents a gallon; Postage stamp, 3 cents; Sugar, 85 cents for 10 pounds; Milk, 84 cents per gallon; Eggs, 24 cents a dozen; Hamburger, 4 cents a pound; Bread, 14 cents a loaf.
>
> *Source: Remember When* (Millerville, TN: Seek Publishing).

In terms of family members and family behavior, no greater revolution took place during the 1950s than the shift in attitudes toward sex. By the end of the decade, all institutional control over individual sexual behavior seemed to melt away. Beginning with the two gigantic Kinsey reports, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* in 1948 and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* in 1953, and ending with the government's approval of the birth control pill in 1960, the nation's mores were turned upside down within two decades. It was still not possible, however, to get a legal abortion during the 1950s, when Massachusetts and Connecticut even made prescriptions mandatory for birth control devices.

Alfred Kinsey, a distinguished entomologist from the University of Indiana, identified his sudden interest in sexuality with his discovery of playwright Tennessee Williams's fascination with façades. Kinsey had come to appreciate the contrasts Williams presented between "social front and reality." His research into sex patterns, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, and his books, marketed by Saunders, a respected publisher of medical texts, became the subject of national debate and contention. Kinsey represented himself as a crew-cut, bow-tied, middle-American "square." He saw himself as a serious, if somewhat quirky, professor who remained stunned when his scientific sexual surveys became best-sellers.

What Kinsey revealed, as David Halberstam neatly summarized in his 1993 survey of the 1950s, was that "there was more extramarital sex on the part of both men and women than Americans wanted to admit" and that "premarital sex tended to produce better marriages." Kinsey documented that masturbation also was a normal part of sexual development. Perhaps his most controversial discovery was that more homosexuality existed in the United States than Americans wanted to acknowledge. Scholars continued to question the sources of his homosexual statistics, because he interviewed prison populations, but the immediate effect of his findings was one of shock and then curiosity.

People were outraged at Kinsey's refusal to make moral judgments. His materials were delivered as pure statistics without emotional or moral contexts. Yet, few scientists were willing to come forward to support his work. Although Kinsey poured his book royalties back into the Institute for Sex Research of Indiana University, his funding grew insufficient when the Rockefeller Foundation withdrew support after the book on female sexuality received hostile reviews. Following the spirit of the times, the Rockefellers shifted their money to Union Theological Seminary. On the defensive from then on, Kinsey's health deteriorated. In 1956, at the relatively young age of 62, he died.

Even if the age of the "feminine mystique" (to use author Betty Friedan's term) was not any more eager to sanction women's sexuality than their need for serious education, all such social debate was liberating for women. Institutions began to change. By the end of the decade *Playboy* magazine, publisher Hugh Hefner's "respectable" monthly magazine with nude, female centerfolds, had become a popular addition to the new sexual debate, and the mail censorship of classics like Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn* and D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* which contained sexually explicit material, would be a memory. Admitted to the United States after protests, Vladimir Nabokov's distinguished novel *Lolita,* about an adolescent and her older lover, published in 1958, sold more than 3 million copies. The big-time best-seller of the 1950s, Grace Metalious's *Peyton Place,* about secret lives and sexual desires in a quaint New Hampshire town—far from Thornton Wilder's Grover's Corners—sold 6 million copies in 1958. It would go on to become the best-selling American novel ever, surpassing 10 million copies.

Even Hollywood modified its restrictive sexual codes by the end of the decade in which *Baby Doll,* a 1956 Tennessee Williams story about a child bride, had been condemned by the Legion of Decency as an evil film. Compassion for alienated, vulnerable heroes like the young men James Dean and Sal Mineo played in *Rebel Without a Cause* was as real as the ongoing cult of the cowboy John Wayne. The Mattachine Society appeared in California in 1951 to promote better understanding of homosexuality as well as to prevent individual harassment. One of the most popular films of the decade, *Some Like It Hot* (1959), featured Jack Lemmon and Tony Curtis in drag (they dressed as women throughout the film to avoid gangsters). With the Food and Drug Administration's marketing approval of the birth control pill in 1960, Claire Boothe Luce declared modern woman had become as "free as a man is free to dispose of her own body."

Until the mid-1960s, the early marriage boom and the Baby Boom continued to define preferences in American life. As long as women were willing to subordinate their ambitions to their husbands', marriages remained stable. But the family did not fully absorb most women's energies for long. The proportion of married women in the workforce rose from 36 percent in 1940 to 52 percent in 1950. At the same time, the divorce rate went back to its steady rise. By the mid-1960s the American family—always more complex than portrayed by media myths like *Leave It to Beaver* or *Ozzie and Harriet*—found different representations in movies. In *East of Eden* (1955), James Dean's role as a misunderstood son became the actor's best performance, and *All That Heaven Allows* (1956) described an older woman who shocked people by loving her gardener. American women, who were now living longer, imagined richer lives outside their families. A useful book on changing images of women in the movies during the 1950s, *On the Verge of Revolt,* suggested that even in the world of media myths a new awareness was taking shape. The seed of rebellion described in Molly Haskell's critical classic *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies* (1973) germinated in the kitchen (Kaledin 2000, 109–11; *Daily Life Online,* "Domestic Life: Family Life," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

CHILDREN

Caring for children proved a key issue during the war. The global conflict separated families, as fathers entered the military and mothers went to work in the factories. The War Manpower Commission estimated that two million children lacked appropriate child care. Federally funded day care programs assisted only about 10 percent of workers' children. Often, extended families saw grandparents and other relatives watching children while their parents were gone. In a real sense, however, the problem of the "latchkey" child developed during the war. It remains difficult to gauge the impact the war had on children. If most grew up in caring families, extended or otherwise, went to schools, played with friends, and helped their families with "victory gardens" or gathering scrap, they probably experienced a collective sense of community and shared commitment to the conflict. Others, those left alone, or who moved on a regular basis, or the victims of divorce, had a different exposure to growing up in wartime America.

Some issues and numbers arose as ominous concerns for American children. Between 1941 and 1944, high school enrollments declined by more than a million students. Juvenile delinquency cases throughout the nation increased. Concern regarding the welfare of teenage children, both male and female, grew to the point that local, state, and federal officials attempted to develop policies and programs to combat the problem of teenage delinquency. The evolution of youth agencies, sponsored recreation programs, and new welfare policies all aimed at confronting concerns regarding teenage children. By 1944, the U.S. Office of Education started a "Back-to-School" initiative, asking local school boards to get on board and requesting that employers hire older workers to force children back to school.

In 1946, 3.4 million babies were born, an all-time record—26 percent more than in 1945. Into the next decade babies poured onto the American scene in record numbers. Indeed, by 1964 two-fifths of America's population had been born since 1946 (a generation known as the Baby Boomers). Having developed a strong sense of their capabilities during the war, women transferred many of their skills to raising large families. It was no longer just religious opponents to birth control or the poor who had large families. The greatest jump in fertility occurred among well-educated white women with medium to high incomes. Just as the war created new jobs and prosperity, so did the Baby Boom. Diaper services, baby food, educational toys and playgrounds, and special furniture for children became big business. Dr. Benjamin Spock's book on common-sense child care became an all-time best seller. For a brief period—for a vast middle class—the sense of prosperity and family solidarity seemed real. Before the next decade ended, the divorce rate would continue to climb again—as it had done before the war—and the family would begin to lose power as a source of community stability in American life.

One source of instability in family life was the introduction of television and worries about its effect on children. Many parents tried to limit young children's programs to cartoons and educational shows. In the norms adults were trying to establish for their own lives, many struggled to provide sensible entertainment for the boom generation of children. Milton Berle even called himself "Uncle Miltie," because so many children enjoyed his slapstick show, *Texaco Star Theater,* that their parents asked for his help in putting them to bed.

In the beginning, gentle programs for preschoolers like *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie, Ding Dong School,* and *Captain Kangaroo* counteracted the vicarious violence of Saturday morning cartoons. Those programs often dealt sensitively with specific problems children experienced, emphasizing rational approaches to conflicts rather than fighting. And there were educational programs for older children about zoo animals and space travel. The amount of airtime given over to shows that would enhance the lives of America's children, however, remained meager. From the beginning television programming showed more interest in the buying power of little people than in their minds. By the end of the 1950s the extreme violence that characterized American television at the end of the century would be available to everyone who switched on a station for news or sitcoms at almost any hour. One waggish critic remarked that more people were killed on television in 1954 than in the entire Korean War. Whether excessive exposure to murder, rape, and bizarre horrors of all sorts could create generations of criminals became an ongoing debate. Statistics indicated that the jail population was increasing, and a few sociopaths credited television with ideas they used for particularly horrible crimes. Children could see almost anything when they turned on the set. The TV spectacle of so much blood and cruelty, many feared, might produce generations of youthful viewers who would grow up completely callous to human suffering. In one of her best reviews on how television seemed to be depriving the young of their childhood, Marya Mannes introduced a Danish scholar who challenged America: "If fifty million children see terrible things like this every day," he said, "do you not think they will feel less about shooting and murder and rape? They will be so used to violence that it does not seem like violence anymore."

Mannes characterized the westerns that flourished for a short time as plays that "concerned good men and bad men who rode horses over magnificent country and decided issues by shooting each other." In clarifying how little educational value there was in such programs, she noted that they "were all very much alike in that they bore no resemblance to what used to be the pioneer west of the United States except in the matter of clothes and horses." What these westerns did most successfully, she perceived, was "to sell a great amount of goods." As children became the most promising group of consumers for televised products, Hopalong Cassidy items boomed. The grandfatherly cowboy became a children's idol, inspiring a line of toys that grossed $100 million in 1950. Howdy Doody, a freckled clown, also inspired quantities of consumer toys at the time. The television portrayal of Davy Crockett seemed capable of putting coonskin caps on every small head in America before overproduction led to warehouse surpluses. Such toys often provided a source of community for children of different backgrounds. Just as adults found a source of identity in discussing their cars or their hi-fi music equipment with each other, children came together with their collections of televised loot designed for young people.

Davy Crockett, a one-hour prime-time western series sponsored by Walt Disney, garnered the highest ratings of the decade. Not only did the show make children eager for coonskin caps, but it also inspired some parents to turn to the simplicity of the old West for housing and furnishing styles. Log cabins and wagon wheels were easy to copy even in suburbia. By the end of the decade the ranch house would become the most popular style among the choices at Levittown. The West brought back echoes of a simpler life and easier living. Dungarees became the classic weekend wear for suburbanites.

The television show *Disneyland* appeared in the early 1950s, testing on air all the American themes that would be incorporated during the next decade into the sparkling California amusement park. At the time, few realized that Walt Disney's construction of that utopian vision would come to represent a worldwide dream of American possibility. In 1954, when *Disneyland* first appeared regularly on TV, it was a source of publicity for the Disneyland theme park Disney was building to represent his dreams. Some critics called the show an hour-long commercial. Fantasyland, Frontierland, Adventureland, and Tomorrowland, with all the star-studded glitz that attended the grand opening of the park, quickly became as real to the American imagination as America itself—perhaps more real. Child viewers eager to participate in the televised adventures Disney conjured up might indeed learn something from the details of the displays, but many reviewers criticized the brash commercialism. One described the theme park as "a giant cash register, clicking and clanging as creatures of Disney magic came tumbling down." Television previews had prepared visitors to Disneyland for necessary compromises, but it was the tension between perfection and reality, Karal Ann Marling suggests, "between the real and the more or less real," that really delighted so many visitors.

On New Year's Eve in 1957, attendance at Disneyland reached 10 million. The kind of entertainment the theme park offered fit perfectly with the togetherness of the car-centered suburban family. For the price of admission, Walt Disney's TV dream worlds conducted everyone from an imperfect present into an idealized past or a thrilling future. And Main Street, USA, like an exhibit at a world's fair, suggested that utopia was already possible in middle-class America. Some children may have been inspired to pursue a study of Disney's themes even if many more were seduced into buying Mickey Mouse Club paraphernalia and other trademarked toys and T-shirts. Eager children often found both pleasure and instruction in Disney's optimistic distortions. In a world of chaotic diversity, Marling points out, "Disney motifs constituted a common culture, a kind of civil religion of happy endings, worry-free consumption, technological optimism and nostalgia for the good old days." Such dreams could define survival.

If parents monitored the hours small children sat before their television sets, they need not have been concerned. And adults did not have to worry about the disc jockeys shaping teenage taste at the time; Dick Clark's decency, as he hosted *American Bandstand* from Philadelphia, charmed everyone. Jukeboxes in popular hangouts still offered songs with inoffensive lyrics in the decade that was still by all contemporary standards quite innocent (Kaledin 2000, 21–22, 69–70, 143–44). Some observers have challenged the idea that children were so easily influenced by the violence and consumer seduction of television, suggesting that they understood the difference between cartoon violence and the real thing. Studies at the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania continue to debate the issue (*Daily Life Online*, "Domestic Life: Children," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

WOMEN

Although race had emerged from World War II as a clear category, gender was not used in the 1950s to help women define their rights. But the experiences of American women from the end of World War II through the 1960s also reflected an underlying social upheaval. The high marriage and birth rates and the low divorce rate intertwined naturally with the "feminine mystique"—the idea that woman's fulfillment was in the home and nowhere else. Yet, women were already questioning domesticity as a consuming and permanent role. Like many African Americans of both sexes, they needed to make invisible selves visible and valued. They came slowly to realize that sex discrimination could be subtle as well as overt—even as they played the roles of wife and mother that society demanded. Most women were content for a time to make the most of these old-fashioned roles. Yet, although many middle-class 1950s white women are identified in women's magazines with suburban homes and large families, the truth is that many others kept working after the war—not just to help pay the mortgage, but because work outside the home was satisfying. In 1955 that stalwart feminist Eleanor Roosevelt published an article titled "What Are the Motives for a Woman Working When She Does Not Have to for Income?" Self-esteem was Roosevelt's conclusion. She made readers recognize women's right to fulfill all their potential.

In *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*, a documentary book on radicalism, Sara Evans asserts that throughout the 1950s, "[W]omen from middle income families entered the labor force faster than any other group in the population." By 1956, 70 percent of all families in the $7,000 to $15,000 annual income range had two wage earners. Although women usually took the duller jobs that were offered them and suppressed the higher aspirations provided by better educations, they often saw such jobs as temporary. Instead of regarding themselves as victims—as later feminists often saw them—they just put their professional and working lives on hold while their children were very young. By no means did they accept domesticity, as their mothers might have, as their only choice—any more than they believed the television commercials that made "ring around the collar" the reason for their husbands' failures. American women have never been as gullible as Madison Avenue advertising writers—or as historians—see them. Tupperware may have made life in the kitchen easier for some women, but it also made jobs for the many women who sold the plastic containers.

Nor were women obsessed with the appliances that future president Ronald Reagan and the current Miss America displayed on television. Large refrigerators with freezers allowed people to shop less often. And middle-class women with families made good use of washing machines without wringers and dryers that did away with clotheslines. Some still liked the smell of clothes dried in the wind, and others enjoyed baking as a kind of escape therapy. Prepared foods like soup mixes and cake mixes—and even instant coffee—entered the kitchen slowly. When labor-saving devices like dishwashers appeared, homemakers of childbearing age often took advantage of freed time to explore new opportunities to do volunteer work.

In the 1950s, to be sure, women were denied access, as blacks were, to equal professional education and equal salaries. They were not readily welcomed back into competition with men. In 1963, Betty Friedan, a Smith College *summa cum laude* graduate, published *The Feminine Mystique*, which, based on questionnaires sent to Smith College graduates in 1957, explored the glorification of homemaking. Though the book sold three million copies and made her famous, Friedan was labeled "too old" at age 42 to master statistics for a Ph.D. at Columbia. Most medical schools at the time had quotas to admit fewer than 5 percent women. And a number of prestigious law schools, and some graduate schools, often denied all women admission, asserting that they would be taking places away from more serious men. Too many women grew depressed at being locked out of professions and high-paying jobs. Psychotherapy flourished. But other women found ways to escape confinement. As Friedan discovered, even as she decried the feminine mystique, American women often became ingenious at creating lives that enabled them to be useful citizens outside the home. In the 1950s, however, most women seemed to put family needs first.

A belief in Cold War victimization that shed light on some women's lives at this time by no means captured the energies of vast numbers who defined themselves beyond the narrow confines of one decade. Historians need to adapt interpretive time frames to women's gender roles to value women's achievements more precisely as opposed to those of men. The magazine articles usually cited to describe women's lives during the 1950s suggest little about their vision of society in any depth or about their future goals for themselves. And such articles do little to assert the significance of the many important older women on the scene. The same magazines that celebrated domesticity offered lively journalism by Martha Gellhorn, Dorothy Thompson, Marguerite Higgins, and others. Betty Friedan suggested at one point that mothers be given the GI Bill to compensate for child-rearing years, as men were rewarded for a different kind of social service. Of those women who had been in the armed forces, fewer than 3 percent were able to take advantage of the GI Bill.

Some studies suggest that a good number of women did not envy the lives of middle-income "organization men," advertising executives in gray flannel suits, or even well-paid factory workers creating appliances for the new world of consumers. At a time when there was no organized child care, few suburban families had relatives nearby to help with babysitting, and the jobs offered to women—still advertised in separate sections of the newspapers—were dull and ill-paid, many women willingly stayed home with their children if they could afford to do so. At the time it was still possible for many families to live on just one income. People seemed to have fewer needs or inclinations to possess more.

Even if they did not see themselves fighting the Cold War in the kitchen, many middle-class college graduates seemed to take Adlai Stevenson seriously when he urged the young women at Smith College's 1955 graduation to value the role of nurturing the "uniqueness of each individual human being." Yet, new patterns of domesticity were emerging that were more deeply connected with the human rights of the nurturers. When Dr. Benjamin Spock rewrote his bestseller *Baby and Child Care* (originally published in 1945) for the third time, it was to eliminate sexist biases that perpetuated discrimination against girls and women. Spock acknowledged that his use of the male pronoun and his early childhood gender differentiation might well begin "the discriminatory sex stereotyping that ends in women so often getting the humdrum, subordinate, poorly paid jobs in most industries and professions; and being treated as the second-class sex."

In 1957, when Betty Friedan read the responses to questionnaires sent to her college classmates as the basis of her research on what was happening to women, she discovered a deep restlessness among the respondents. But she also found an attitude different from that of women of earlier decades who saw having children as limiting access to other roles. The "either/or" dilemma—children or career—that had characterized women's lot before the war was changing. Although Friedan herself acknowledged never having known a woman who had both a good job and children, the 1950s brought about a decided change. All the women she interviewed were planning ahead for freedom to be themselves. Postwar actuarial statistics revealed that women lived longer than men and would often have as many as 40 years ahead of them to lead creative lives after their children left the nest. Most women entering the workforce in the 1950s were older. The number of women over age 35 in the labor force had jumped from 8.5 million in 1947 to almost 13 million by 1956. As the median age of women workers rose to 41, the proportion of married women who worked outside the home also doubled between 1940 and 1960.

When she later became a founding member of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Betty Friedan spoke to the needs she had discovered in the lives of 1950s women. NOW's statement of purpose proclaimed, "Above all, we reject the assumption that women's problems are the unique responsibility of each individual woman rather than a basic social dilemma which society must solve."

Bringing about social change is rarely fast or easy. The self-consciousness of the 1950s became essential preparation for the decades of action ahead. Consensus and containment describe much of the postwar era, but history demands that more serious attention be given those—like Betty Friedan—who also worked hard to define and improve the moral quality of American life (Kaledin 2000, 99–106; *Daily Life Online*, "Domestic Life: Women," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

MEN

As women and children responded to the new opportunities and changes in postwar America, men experienced similar domestic concerns. Their images and realities had also undergone significant challenges. Millions of service veterans had to readjust to peacetime life following the war. And, as the film *The Best Years of Our Lives* suggested, that was not always an easy task. When the U.S. government instituted a peacetime draft in 1948 and extended that policy in 1951, it subjected a generation of American men, 18 years and older, to a two-year period of military service. Many of those young men found themselves stationed throughout the world, as the United States developed its global military response to the evolving Cold War. Certainly, the Korean War (1950–1953) dramatically impacted the domestic life of American men. Hundreds of thousands served in the Korean conflict, including veterans of World War II called back to active duty. Often, those men had just settled into new jobs and careers and were starting families and growing accustomed to the postwar prosperity of the new decade.

The Korean conflict came as a shock to the domestic environment, and the heavy casualties served as a rude and tragic reminder that the Cold War would have a serious influence on domestic life in the nation. More than 54,000 Americans died in the war, and more than 100,000 were wounded. Many of the veterans returning from Korea not only faced the same problems with marriage and family that their World War II counterparts had confronted, but the nature of the war itself added to their concerns. Never as easily understood or accepted as World War II, Americans appeared less willing to reward Korean veterans with the adulation and patriotic ardor of 1945. Most veterans who survived the conflict returned to their peacetime lives without fanfare. In American popular culture, Korea became known as the "Forgotten War."

As fathers, husbands, sons, and breadwinners, most American males accepted traditional standards of behavior and attitude. The society expected them to be strong, self-reliant, and responsible heads of their households. Dr. Benjamin Spock's popular book on child care called for a joint effort on the part of mothers and fathers to work as a team in every aspect of rearing their children, from changing diapers to attending Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings to monitoring their children's education. At the same time, however, fathers were expected to secure stable, successful jobs and provide an increasing income to support their home and family. The revolution in sexual attitudes and mores confronted American males head on. In 1956, William Whyte's *The Organization Man* sought to define the "new breed" of middle-class, suburban, white males working in the new corporate environment. As the following excerpt from the book's Introduction indicates, he hoped to identify the impact that that world had on their domestic life:

They are all, as they so often put it, in the same boat. Listen to them talk to each other over the front lawns Of their suburbia and you cannot help but be struck by How well they grasp the common denominators which Bind them. Whatever the differences in their organization Ties, it is a common problem of collective work that Dominates their attentions, and when the DuPont man Talks to the research chemist or the chemist to the army Man, it is these problems that are uppermost. The word Collective most of them can't bring themselves to use. except to describe foreign countries or organizations they don't work for—but they are keenly aware of how much deeply beholden they are to organization than were their elders. They are wry about it, to be sure; they talk of the "treadmill," the "rat race," or the inability to control one's direction. But they have no great sense of plight; between themselves and organization they believe they see an ultimate harmony and, more than most elders recognize, they are building an ideology that will vouch-safe this trust. (Whyte, Introduction)

If Whyte correctly identified the new work/domestic role of white men in the postwar society, he did so with concern, and his major themes focused not so much on the business or economic aspects of the stereotype, but rather the influence the thinking had on these men as domestic individuals. His interest hinged on the "new society" of the organization man. Where were their loyalties? How did their jobs conflict with their relationships with wives, children, and the family? He recognized that the character he studied did not reflect the lifestyle of all American males. To be sure, he did not study blue-collar workers, laborers, rural males, or minorities. He focused, however, on what many American observers saw as the "model" of the postwar era. Here, one sees the image of conservative men responding to the pressures and demands of a corporate world that influenced every aspect of their lives.

THE "OTHER AMERICA"

In 1962, Edward Michael Harrington published *The Other America,* a critical study of American life challenging the standard belief that the prosperous, middle-class suburbs of the nation remained the only template to view domestic life in the country. A broad majority of Americans had experienced significant economic and social opportunity since the end of the war, but a noteworthy minority, examined in Harrington's study, had not. His work focused on the millions of Americans, the poor, minorities, and others, who lacked access to the "American dream," so much heralded in the decade following World War II. To those families, single homes in the suburbs, new shopping malls, automobiles, corporate jobs, good public schools, and backyard barbecues remained unattainable. Their standard of living, he argued, had not grown with the rest of the nation. Racism, endemic poverty, and other failures in the richest domestic society in human history had cavalierly bypassed a significant portion of the American population.

Harrington's influence would not be felt until the 1960s when Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson heralded his study. Yet, Harrington based his work on what he observed during the 1950s. As late as 1947, the government still identified 30 percent of the American people as poor. More than 30 percent had no running water, 40 percent lacked modern toilets, and 60 percent had no central heating (Kaledin 2000, 69). Those numbers certainly declined between 1947 and 1957, but by the end of the 1950s, Harrington and others would argue that 15 percent of the American people still lacked the basic options, services, and domestic needs that their suburban counterparts accepted as normal. That discrepancy, and those who drew attention to it, created one of the key social issues of the 1960s.

How should the nation respond to the obvious concerns of the "other Americans"? What responsibility did the booming free market economy have to attack the problem? What role might the government play in addressing the concerns? What was the root cause of the problem—racism, ignorance of the situation, disinterest, or what? Domestic life in America had expanded, changed, and altered so significantly between 1945 and 1959 that the society had barely stopped to examine the results of that domestic revolution. The new decade of the 1960s would call for that examination.

> ***Snapshot***
>
> **Cost of Living: 1955**
>
> New home, $10,950; Average income, $4,137 a year; New car, $1,910; Gasoline, 23 cents a gallon; Postage stamp, 3 cents; Sugar, 85 cents for 10 pounds; Milk, 92 cents a gallon; Coffee, 80 cents a pound; Hamburger, 56 cents a pound; Eggs, 27 cents a dozen; Bread, 18 cents a loaf.
>
> *Source: Remember When* (Millerville, TN: Seek Publishing).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Chafe, W. H. *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Fehrenbach, T. R. *This Kind of War*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2000.

Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Norton, 1963.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society*. Boston: Little Brown, 1958.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II*. New York: Touchstone, 1994.

Harrington, Michael. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1962.

Harrison, C. *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945–1968*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Hayes, C. D., J. L. Palmer, and M. J. Zaslow, eds. *Families That Work: Children in a Changing World*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1982.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online as *Daily Life Online*, in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

May, E. T. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1988.

Mills, C. Wright. *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.

Mintz, S., and S. Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life*. New York: Free Press, 1988.

Tuttle, W. M., Jr. *"Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Whyte, William. *The Organization Man*. New York: Doubleday, 1956.

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–1959
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Economic Life

THE WARTIME ECONOMY, 1940–1945

Even before the United States entered World War II in December 1941, the American economy had begun to surge out of the Depression. The Roosevelt administration's commitment to the "great arsenal of democracy" called for a slow but growing industrial and agricultural response. American military supplies came off assembly lines to support nations fighting against the Germans and Japanese, but production numbers remained low compared to what would occur after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor.

In 1938, defense appropriations amounted to less than 2 percent of the federal budget. Six months after Pearl Harbor, the government budgeted $100 billion for war materials. In 1942, the president announced a goal of 60,000 airplanes, 8 million tons of ships, and close to 50,000 armored vehicles. The federal government created the War Production Board, in January 1942, to coordinate the economic effort, but federal officials generally left production methods and employment practices in the hands of private business owners.

America's gross national product (GNP) rose from under $89 billion in 1938 to almost $200 billion by 1943, most of that increase a result of government defense contracts. New factories, new tools, equipment and supplies, and novel technology helped revitalize an American industrial system that the Depression had weakened. By 1943, 40 percent of the GNP was tied to military production. Big businesses and corporations benefited most from the government contracts, because they could produce the large amounts of material the government required. The hundred biggest businesses in America produced 30 percent of the contract requirements and gained 70 percent of the defense contracts. Estimates indicate that as many as half a million small businesses closed between 1941 and 1943 as they failed to compete with the larger corporations.

An American World War II poster stating the need for women to work, 1943. Chaiba.

The wartime economy not only benefited the heavy industry of America, it impacted on other businesses as well. Cotton textile factories in the South produced millions of dollars worth of uniforms. A number of southern states saw the opening of large military training bases that provided construction jobs and other supporting work in and around the bases. Agriculture also expanded its production and markets. While the rural population of the nation declined by 20 percent during the war, as people moved to the cities and factories for higher-paying jobs, the demand for food increased. The effort to provide that necessity, however, appeared to have the same impact on small farms as the industrial demands had on small businesses. At the beginning of 1945, large "industrial" farming had doubled profits and production, but thousands of small farms had ceased to exist. Either their people had moved to more profitable work in the factories or the big agricultural combines had made it impossible for them to compete. Demographically, the nature of wartime production changed regional growth and development. As America prepared for a two-front war, the conflict in the Pacific made California a different place. The state received 10 percent of federal funding during the war. Los Angeles became the second largest production center in the nation, behind only Detroit (Faragher et al. 2000, 757–60).

The wartime economy virtually ended unemployment in America. Seventeen million new jobs developed. Women and minorities found access to work previously closed to them. African American workers in industry jumped from under three million to almost four million. Many black women who had been employed as domestics (housekeepers or cleaning women) left those low-paying jobs for better wages in the factories.

The *bracero* legislation invited 200,000 Mexicans to the United States to work in the vegetable fields and fruit orchards of the Southwest and California. The female workforce expanded by more than 50 percent. In 1945, more than 19 million women were at work, many in positions previously closed to them. Stereotypes, sexism, and racism remained prevalent during the war even as various new employees joined the workforce. Both the government and private employers tended to seek out white males first in their employment practices, but the demands of the war made that more difficult. Ultimately, workers experienced a general rise in wages, as much as 50 percent in some industrial jobs, and a clear escape from the economic anxiety of the Depression. At the same time, most men and women working in America during the war believed they were supporting an important national cause. Certainly, the 16 million servicemen and women of America's armed forces thought so. The general rate of increase in salaries and wages between 1940 and 1945 varied depending on the type of work and the location. Roughly, however, annual wages in the United States rose from about $1,700 to $2,400 during the war years.

Two women welders working on ship construction, ca. 1942. Library of Congress.

OVERVIEW, 1945 AND BEYOND

With the end of World War II in August 1945, many American economists feared the United States might confront a postwar depression similar in scope to that of the

1930s. As government military contracts ended, as the economy dealt with the debt that the conflict had created, and as millions of servicemen returned to a peacetime economy looking for work, America braced for a recession. The war, critics believed, had created an artificial prosperity that would collapse in peacetime. That dire prediction failed to occur for the following reasons:

1. During World War II, Americans had accumulated personal and investment capital. Full employment had created earnings, and rationing and the inability to buy essential and consumer goods and products led Americans to put their money in banks or savings bonds. That income, protected by the government's Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), ensured a surplus of capital.
2. The nation's industrial system remained able to shift from the production of wartime material to the production of peacetime products. Instead of jeeps and tanks, General Motors could send new automobiles off its assembly lines. DuPont shifted from the production of munitions and chemicals to house paint. The technology that had developed radar and sonar systems for the military had the capacity and the expertise to make new radios, television sets, and record players. The war had revitalized American industry with new plants and factories, new tools and technology, and businesses possessed the innovative skills to shift adroitly from government contracts to consumer "supply-and-demand" interests.
3. World War II had devastated the competing economies of Europe and Japan. Bluntly, the United States confronted few foreign alternatives for consumers looking to buy.
4. The American economy faced a population of consumers eager to purchase new goods and products. The grim days of the Depression and the restricted years of wartime rationing had ended, and American consumers had money to spend and a desire to do so.

As government, business, and economic observers began to recognize the elements working in favor of a prosperous postwar economy, they also looked back at the causes of the Depression and reached an interesting conclusion. Americans, they argued, had perhaps saved too much revenue in the 1920s rather than spending it on consumer goods. That, they maintained, had created a surplus of goods, upset a supply-and-demand market, and plunged the nation into the Great Depression. A healthy free market economy, in their view, depended on some capital savings, but most importantly relied on heavy consumer spending. To avoid a reoccurrence of that flaw, therefore, Americans needed to engage in perpetual consumption. To a degree, the consumer culture of postwar America, the target of a host of critics, served as the best economic method to prevent a future depression. If Americans continued to buy goods and products on a regular basis, businesses would find a ready market for their services. That would guarantee ongoing employment, thus creating wages and salaries, enabling people to spend more money on more consumer items, thus a continued cycle of positive supply and demand. Business would benefit. Workers would have jobs. Consumers could buy all they wanted. The economic thrust of the nation would expand and prosper in a cyclical economic theory of success (Tuttle and Perry 1970, 698–705).

Did it work? Yes! Between 1945 and 1959, the United States created the most powerful, profitable, innovative economy in history. From labor unions to white-collar managers to professionals in supporting work (law, teaching, medicine, etc.), America saw the evolution of a vast middle class, employed, with access to a host of new goods and services, and relatively stable and secure compared to previous decades in the United States.

LABOR UNIONS

Organized labor unions became a powerful and influential part of the American economy following the war. The Roosevelt administration, and the individual commitment and struggle of union leaders and their rank and file members, had created legislation guaranteeing the right of workers to organize and collectively bargain with owners to improve and advance their work and salary conditions. Unions had also provided the Democratic Party with a substantial group of voters. The National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) in 1935 set the stage for government support of collective bargaining. It created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), and the Roosevelt administration came out squarely in support of union organizers. As early as 1886, Samuel Gompers had created the American Federation of Labor, a skilled workers union. That organization united with John L. Lewis's Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1935. The two major industrial unions split during the war years.

In 1933, at the height of the Great Depression, union membership had dropped to fewer than 3 million, but by 1940, it had climbed to more than 10 million, and membership grew during World War II. The postwar era saw an increase in labor union membership, reaching a peak of 17.5 million by 1956 (United States Department of Labor). During the 1950s, the AFL and CIO reunited in an organizational convention in New York in December 1955. George Meany became its new president. At that point, one out of three workers in the private sector belonged to labor unions.

The large unions calculated their demands for increased wages and fringe benefits (health insurance, vacation time, etc.) on the profit and loss statements of the corporations that employed them. Business owners tended to negotiate with the unions based on worker productivity and competition with other similar businesses. That debate dominated discussions, negotiations, and disputes throughout the postwar era. During the war, the National War Labor Board sought to encourage union leaders to avoid strikes in order to confront the national emergency and guarantee full production. It worked for most of 1942, but a number of "wildcat" strikes (unannounced, short work stoppages) did occur throughout the war in a variety of different industries. For the most part, however, organized American workers did their jobs. Following the war, however, union disputes and strikes occurred in increasing numbers. In 1946, the United Steel Workers struck and the United Auto Workers stopped work at General Motors. Those actions led to later labor union strikes in the steel and coal industries. The threat of those strikes so concerned the probusiness Republican Congress that it passed the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, over President Harry Truman's veto. Under that new law, unions were required to give 60 days notice before considering a strike. Both labor and management then had an obligation to seek a resolution to their dispute during that time period. An 80-day cooling-off period was also added to the Taft-Hartley Act in a clear effort to forestall union actions (Tuttle and Perry 1970, 702–15).

While organized labor clashed with the government during the period, its membership continued to grow and wages and work benefits expanded. At the same time, however, Congress began hearings concerning illegal racketeering activities within the major unions to investigate possible organized criminal involvement in union management and operations. That led the AFL-CIO to expel three of its key unions, including the Teamsters (trucking union), one of its largest groups. While probusiness legislation and criminal investigations threatened the development of labor unions in the 1950s, membership and benefits grew to unprecedented numbers during the decade. It is important to remember that economic growth for Americans following the war did not accrue only to "men in gray flannel suits." The era also witnessed the high point of American industrial blue-collar workers, both men and women.

WOMEN AT WORK

American women had found employment during the war in a variety of jobs previously closed to them. Many wished to continue working. While a standard view of the postwar era saw women returning to their traditional role as homemakers and mothers, and the Baby Boom of that generation was profound, women continued to enter the workforce in significant numbers. Whether expanding consumer spending or a desire to work outside the home encouraged women, they took employment at a quicker rate than men, providing more than 50 percent of the total growth of the workforce following the war. By the beginning of the 1950s, two million more women were working outside the home than had during World War II. Economic necessity or personal interest appeared to have created an increasingly two-paycheck family as the decade progressed.

Critics bemoaned the abandonment of the traditional home and family on the part of women. In *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex* (1947), a best-selling book by Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Farnham, the authors warned that working women threatened the stability of the family. Even the popular Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose book on childcare, *Baby and Child Care* (1946), became the "bible" of the era, advised women to stay at home and care for their families. The threats failed to accomplish their goal. The role of American women as a viable and contributive aspect of the postwar economy remained both a commercial and social aspect of evolving life in the United States.

BENEFITS, GROWTH, AND CHANGE

American workers in most jobs and professions experienced a formula of sorts in their daily employment. Five days a week, 40-hour workweeks (with overtime as a bonus), paid two-week vacations, health care and retirement packages, and other fringe benefits became a standard template between 1945 and 1959. Most of those benefits had not existed prior to 1945, yet they became standard practice by the 1950s. Americans believed that if they remained loyal, hardworking employees of businesses and corporations, they could count on lifelong jobs with relatively comfortable working conditions and the promise of a secure retirement after 20 to 30 years of commitment. With that stimulus, the positive promise of American economic life galvanized the nation's workforce following World War II. Essentially, the presumed rewards of the new economic environment far surpassed the anxiety that had existed during the Great Depression and the war.

As a result, American workers experienced an unprecedented period of economic prosperity after World War II. As people settled down to domesticity to compensate for the uprooted anxiety of the war years and the fear of the Cold War, it became a paradox that materialism provided comfort. Americans saw themselves in close-knit nuclear families rather than as a lonely crowd. What is called "the culture of the Cold War" not only had an impact on the growing birthrate—in 1955 as great as India's—but also influenced the increased production of material goods. By the mid-1950s, with only 6 percent of the world's population, the United States was producing and consuming over one-third of all the world's goods and services. The gross national product, considered by many the most important index of economic success, leaped from $206 billion in 1940 to over $500 billion in 1960.

In place for defense reasons at the end of the Korean War, the military budget continued to provide economic stimulus for research and development in fields like electronics and aviation. Easily available credit for installment buying encouraged Americans to purchase consumer durables on budget terms, while the booming public relations industry took note that people spent 35 percent more using credit cards than they would using money.

In 1950, "credit cards" entered the vocabulary of the American financial world with the creation of the Diners' Club card. American Express and credit cards from oil and phone companies and car rental services followed by the mid-1950s. Such installment purchases caused consumer indebtedness to soar during the decade from $73 billion to $196 billion. Madison Avenue advertisers preached immediate personal gratification as a way of life, and manufacturers complied by building "planned obsolescence" into many new products. Along with new lives, people were encouraged to refurbish their personal worlds. The Model T car that still drove and the turreted GE refrigerator still running when given away were treasures from the past. So many additional appliances appeared in new households that the use of electricity nearly tripled during the decade.

As the country's population increased by one-third between 1940 and 1960—in the Pacific states it rose by 110 percent—people needed more basic material goods. Half of the population in the far West now lived in a state different from the one in which they were born. And one-fifth of the nation's new population had settled in California, which by 1963 had surpassed New York as the most populous state. From 1946 to 1958 venture capitalists invested huge amounts of money in mechanization and power. Air conditioning, along with more available water, helped open new regions of the nation for homes and businesses. The electronics industry also began to thrive. Industry experienced a great rise in output per man-hour as automation intensified postwar scientific management.

If many unskilled workers did indeed lose their jobs to machines, economists argued that technology would create many new ones. The first giant computer, built around the time of the invention of the transistor during World War II, was marketed in 1950. IBM, the industry leader, could not turn computers out fast enough to satisfy demand. In 1954, the company produced only 20; by 1957 it produced 1,250; only a decade later it managed to turn out 35,000. Factory sales increased from $25 million in 1953 to $1 billion by the end of the decade, bringing all sorts of new jobs into the marketplace.

The huge spending on research and development still used as much as 50 percent government funding to support the Cold War's defense needs. Long after World War II the electronics industry continued to sell expensive weapons systems. In 1956, military items amounted to $3 billion—40 times the amount spent in 1947.

With the new interstate highway system demanding construction workers, the government remained one of the decade's largest employers. Jobs in the public sector doubled between 1950 and 1970. And incomes rose enough to create an expanded middle class. The proportion of the population enjoying an income of $10,000 or more increased from 9 percent in 1947 to 19 percent by 1968. The proportion of those earning below $3,000 also fell, from 34 percent to 19 percent. As late as 1940, fewer than two million Americans had any education beyond high school, but the GI Bill enabled many ex-soldiers to become professionals. By 1960, college enrollment reached 3.6 million, creating a range of skilled graduates with higher salaries to spend.

Some believed America had experienced a bloodless revolution. But the statistics about personal wealth did not document great changes. The distribution of income or wealth in America remained roughly the same throughout the period. The wealthiest 5 percent of Americans received a bit more than 18 percent of personal income; the richest 20 percent earned 45 percent. The poorest two-fifths of the population earned approximately 14 percent. In basic terms, the rise in wages, salaries, and income had grown for all of the various economic segments of the society, but the actual distribution of that personal capital remained about the same throughout the 15 years following World War II (Faragher et al. 2000, 805).

In 1953, just 1.6 percent of the population, for example, held 90 percent of the corporate bonds. By 1968 only 153 Americans possessed nine-digit fortunes, while millions still lived in want. In 1957, a University of Wisconsin sociologist, Robert Lampman, produced research revealing that 32.2 million Americans (nearly one-quarter of the population) had incomes below the poverty level. And many people still lacked minimal comforts like indoor toilets, hot water, and heating systems. Because there was so much visible well-being it remained easy to ignore the "other America."

Along with all the new homeowners, but not living beside them, grew a varied culture of poverty that included old people of all races, African Americans, Hispanics, and residents of Appalachia as well as many rural citizens who wanted to remain on farms. From 1948 to 1956 the American farmers' share of the wealth fell from 9 percent to scarcely 4 percent. Small farmers could not profit from the mechanization that was creating agribusiness to make the wealthy wealthier. Even during this period of the Baby Boom, the farm population declined by nine million between 1940 and 1960. By the end of the 1960s only 5 percent of the American population remained on farms.

Yet, paradoxically, many unlikely people seemed to have more material goods. In a place as poor as Harlan County, Kentucky, a depressed coal-mining community, 40 percent owned homes; 59 percent had cars, 42 percent telephones, 67 percent TV sets, and 88 percent washing machines. Michael Harrington noted that in the most powerful and richest society the world has ever known the poor remained "the strangest in the history of mankind." An American prophet, Harrington wrote a number of essays during the decade passionately reminding readers that the misery of the poor "has continued while the majority of the nation talked of itself as being 'affluent' and worried about neuroses in the suburbs" (Harrington, *The Other America*).

It was true that more Americans owned their homes in the 1950s than at any other time in the country's history. The 1949 National Housing Act had promised to build 810,000 low-cost homes so that every American family could have "a decent home and a suitable living environment." But by 1964, only 550 units had been built. The Federal Housing Authority made matters worse by refusing to allow integration in public housing projects. Michael Harrington insisted that it would take an effort of the intellect and will even to see the poor.

Many Americans later learned much from Harrington's 1962 book *The Other America*, the collection of his research on the poor. Many more knew about John Kenneth Galbraith's 1958 bestseller on the American economy, *The Affluent Society*. Not just concerned with examining America's newly defined wealth, Galbraith also seriously considered the remaining poverty. He attempted to shatter the argument that increased production would destroy poverty. In his view, distribution of wealth did not eliminate the poor. Although by 1960 per capita income in the United States was 35 percent higher than in the war boom year 1945, the poor were still part of the American landscape.

And public spaces deteriorated as surely as transportation systems decayed. The cities became impoverished as money set aside for low-income housing remained unused or was spent inappropriately on soon-to-be-destroyed high-rise buildings. Not until the social and environmental movements of the 1960s would many Americans begin to recognize that public spaces were as important to a democracy as personal consumer goods. The appeal of a simpler life had always been a powerful force in America's spiritual heritage, but the abundance of the 1950s made it hard to escape the materialism that defined the times.

The following famous passage from Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* epitomizes the dilemma of this period, the implications of which Americans still need to consider seriously:

> The family which takes its mauve and cerise, air-conditioned, power-steered and power-braked automobile out for a tour passes through cities that are badly paved, made hideous by litter, blighted buildings, billboards and posts for wires that should long since have been put underground. They pass on into a countryside that has been rendered largely invisible by commercial art. . . . They picnic on exquisitely packaged food from a portable icebox by a polluted stream and go on to spend the night at a park which is a menace to public health and morals. Just before dozing off on an air mattress, beneath a nylon tent amid stench of decaying refuse, they may vaguely reflect on the curious unevenness of their blessings.

By the end of the decade the hazards of successful free enterprise had become as real as the Cold War anxieties that communism had provoked (Kaledin 2000, 127–30). The bleak assessment that Galbraith, Harrington, and other critics leveled at America's postwar consumer-driven society, however, failed to counter the conclusion that more people had gained economic stability, jobs, access to goods and services, and a measure of security than at any time in the previous history of the United States. Similarly, the American economy that emerged after 1945 became a powerful force in the global community as well. It remains important for students of daily life in America to consider the concerns expressed in *The Affluent Society* and *The Other America,* but it is myopic to see those problems as the single, most significant result of the nation's boom period between 1940 and 1959. Suggestions that some simple life of contentment and comfort existed prior to the consumer culture of the postwar era fail to pass objective scrutiny. Galbraith's "air-conditioned automobiles" and "packaged food," so casually dismissed as harmful to the society at large, reflected more an access, for many Americans, to comforts and benefits unrivaled in the daily lives of men, women, and children anywhere else. Milton Friedman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist at the University of Chicago, would take issue with Galbraith and other critics of the economy in his 1962 book *Capitalism and Freedom.* Friedman became a lifelong advocate of a free market, consumer-driven economic concept.

CONCLUSIONS

The concern regarding postwar unemployment with the return of millions of service personnel to civilian life failed to materialize. In fact, the reverse occurred.

The economy saw an increased demand for employees. Unemployment remained below 4 percent until 1949, spiked to 5 percent in 1949 and 1950, dropped to under 3 percent until 1954, and then remained around 4 percent for the remainder of the decade. Employers found it necessary to offer fringe benefits to attract workers. Paid vacations, health insurance, retirement benefits, and other options became a new aspect of employee packages in the 1950s. Wages for production workers rose significantly between 1946 and 1959, even when calculated against the rise in inflation. In 1946, wage earners in production and manufacturing jobs worked an average of 40.2 to 40.5 hours a week and received a weekly salary of $41.14 to $46.49. By 1950, the hourly workweek remained about the same, but salaries had jumped to between $54.71 and $63.32 a week. At the end of the decade, those wages had grown to between $79.60 and $97.10 weekly (Tuttle and Perry 1970, 711).

The construction industry emerged as one of the nation's largest employers. The suburban housing boom, the expansion of business construction in warehousing and office buildings, and other aspects of commercial growth following the war created a demand for workers. At the same time, the infrastructure of roads and highways needed for the expanding economy created additional demands. So-called complimentary services included public school teachers, college professors, firefighters, police officers, trash collectors, and government employees.

The GI Bill supported an increase in college attendance, and the emerging white-collar graduates of four-year institutions also found a ready job market in expanding professional and administrative fields. The so-called organization man (see William Whyte's view under "Men," in the section on Domestic Life) found some critics concerned, but that new generation of management employees secured career opportunities that promised stable, secure jobs their parents or grandparents had never envisioned (*Daily Life Online*, "Economic Life: Work," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Faragher, John Mack, Susan Armitage, Mari Jo Buhle, and Daniel Czitrom. *Out of Many*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society*. Boston: Little Brown, 1958.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Homefront in World War II*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online as *Daily Life Online*, in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Lundberg, Ferdinand, and Marynia F. Farnham. *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.

Tuttle, Frank W., and Joseph M. Perry. *An Economic History of the United States*. Chicago: South-Western Publishing, 1970.

Winkler, A. *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*. 2nd ed. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2000.

Intellectual Life

OVERVIEW

In the present world of instant telecommunication with excesses of information in every space, it is hard even to imagine the 1930s, when not every American family owned a radio. In fact, much of rural America lacked the necessary electricity to plug one in. When Franklin Roosevelt gave his fireside chats, often more than one household joined together to listen. During that period, rural electrification had just begun to extend airwaves to allow farmers to hear stand-up comedians like Jack Benny and Fred Allen, sitcoms like *Fibber McGee and Molly* and *Amos 'n' Andy* (stories of blacks played by whites—not heard as racist at the time). Daytime soap operas (which really advertised laundry soap) like *Ma Perkins*, *My Gal Sunday*, and *Pepper Young's Family* enabled the homebound to imagine that other families' problems could be worse than their own.

A popular radio demagogue and Catholic priest, Father Charles Coughlin, used *The Golden Hour of the Little Flower* to attract as many as 40 million listeners. His original belief in the New Deal turned into hatred for Franklin Roosevelt and support for European fascism, causing his audience to drop away before he left the airwaves in 1940. One sensationalist reporter, Walter Winchell, broadcast gossipy versions of news like the items printed in the *National Enquirer*—even as a few serious journalists, like Edward R. Murrow and H. V. Kaltenborn, felt free to express personal liberal opinions. Lowell Thomas, a daily newscaster, used broadcasting to help isolated families visit remote places like Arabia and Tibet, making more convincing the "One World" advocated by Wendell Willkie, Roosevelt's 1940 Republican opponent, in a best-selling book (*One World,* 1943). In trying to solidify new ideals, Americans have often found it difficult to imagine the vast range of cultural experiences others have had to put aside to become citizens of the United States. More than books or magazines, the radio became a source of public relations for unifying a frequently fractured society. Just as talking pictures took over from the silent films of the 1920s, movies replaced radio as a means of communication and entertainment, becoming one of the few American businesses that flourished in the 1930s.

After World War II, television began to replace movies and the radio as the main means of communication. By the end of the 1950s visual images taught Americans who they were. Although an advertising slogan of the decade boasted that movies were better than ever, and the introduction of drive-in theaters tried to accommodate both car culture and family (many had playgrounds, diaper services, and special foods for kids), the truth was that television was taking over as the main medium of communication. Gimmicks like three-dimensional films and aroma-ramas that puffed scents through the theaters' ventilation systems failed to bring in necessary crowds. Cinerama appeared in 1952, using overlapping cameras for a gigantic screen effect to extend the possibilities of adventure films. Pictorial innovations such as the famous chase across the face of Mount Rushmore in Alfred Hitchcock's *North by*

Northwest (1959) suggested that the excitement of the big screen was far from over, but by then many movies were being created just for the living-room viewer. Weekly movie attendance dropped from 90 million to 47 million in the 10 years after 1946. By 1952, 19 million Americans had television sets, and a thousand new TV appliance stores were opening each month. When Lucille Ball bought the unused RKO film lot in 1955 to film *I Love Lucy,* the most popular sitcom of the decade, she became a pioneer producer in the new industry of making movies specifically for TV.

On its face, *I Love Lucy* might seem another example of a stream of simple plots about a ditzy housewife manipulating a loyal husband to advance her schemes for money and attention. In fact, the show reflected different levels of media liberation. For one thing, Desi Arnaz played himself on the show—Lucy's Cuban bandleader husband, Ricky Ricardo. Far from the suburban organization man, Arnaz offered a vast audience the chance to appreciate Latino culture. He used his accent and charm to introduce viewers who knew nothing about Cuba to a different kind of civilization, while audiences enjoyed the tensions of the mixed-culture marriage. Everyone knew that the slapstick character Lucy Ricardo, played by Ball on-screen, was far removed from the brilliant businesswoman producing the most popular show on television.

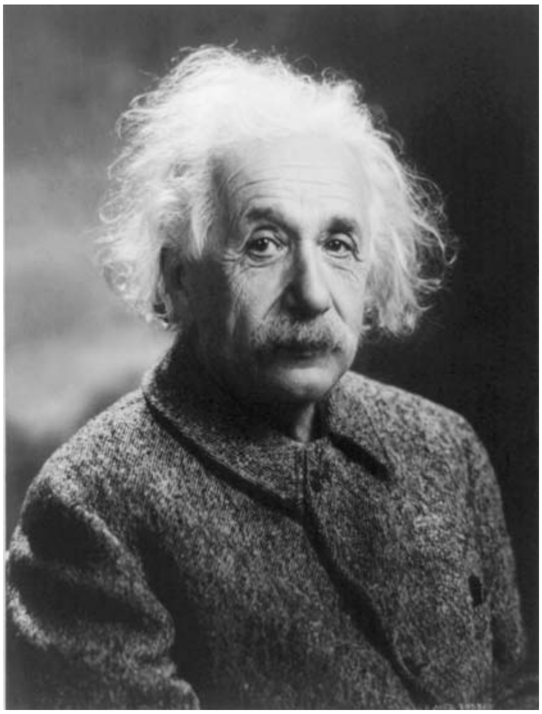
Always torn between trying to please her husband and dreaming of being a star, Lucy Ricardo responded to every woman's fantasies while coping with the social mandate of the "stay-at-home" 1950s. Ball insisted on playing the role as a housewife, not a star. Desi and Lucy represented caricatures that helped many—in this most married of decades—laugh at the disasters and peculiarities of marital stress. There was never any suggestion that divorce and extramarital love affairs were realities. Both characters emerged as sympathetic and vulnerable, far from sure of their social status. Their on-screen dealings with their neighbors' points of view offered some exposure to the world of compromise many Americans experienced in new housing arrangements everywhere.

The Monday evening show was such a success that Marshall Field's, the Chicago department store, changed its weekly Monday night clearance sale to Thursday. As early as 1952, 10.6 million households were tuning in to *I Love Lucy,* the largest audience thus far in history. By 1954, as many as 50 million Americans watched. The show allowed CBS-TV to make a net profit for the first time in 1953. No problems emerged with Desi's being Latino—except behind the scenes when one producer argued that Americans would not accept Desi as a suitable TV husband for Lucy.

In 1947, Lucille Ball had been among the Hollywood stars who protested the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee. On a radio show called *Hollywood Fights Back* she had read excerpts from the Bill of Rights. When the tabloid journalist Walter Winchell accused her of being a communist in 1953, she acknowledged that she had joined the party to please her grandfather. But her television ratings were so high that Philip Morris cigarettes, Lucy's sponsor, refused to withdraw its backing, demonstrating that in a capitalist society the bottom line frequently shapes ideals. Desi had left Cuba when Fidel Castro, the communist leader, was just six years old. He insisted that both he and Lucy were 100 percent American. The only thing "red" about Lucy, Desi claimed, was her hair—and even that was dyed.

The situations played out on the show often challenged audiences to think more about marriage, especially when Lucy's pregnancy took center screen. The on-TV baby was another example of Lucille Ball's power to challenge network stereotypes. Before Lucy's baby all pregnancies had been hidden. CBS wanted her to stand behind chairs. Even the word *pregnant* was not to be used; she agreed to call herself an *expectant mother.* By the time Desi (too busy on-screen to notice the change in his wife) acknowledged the great event, CBS had lined up a rabbi, a priest, and a minister to make sure the script was in good taste. But at the hospital it was Lucy who pushed Ricky in the wheelchair. When the baby was born in January 1953, 68 percent of the television sets in the country were tuned in as 44 million people watched—twice as many as watched the inauguration of Dwight Eisenhower the next day. As time went on Lucy and Desi followed their fellow Americans into suburbia, but their domestic adventures ended at the close of the decade when their real marriage, sympathetic as it seemed, collapsed. Lucille Ball held financial control of the ongoing programs that she developed herself (Kaledin 2000, 30–31, 133–42; *Daily Life Online,* "Intellectual Life: Communication," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

EDUCATION



Albert Einstein. Chaiba.

"No other idea has seemed more typically American," wrote Diane Ravitch, a historian of education, "than the belief that schooling could cure society's ills." In *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980,* she made a list of all the problems—from crime rates to unemployment, to ethnic differences, to health standards, to traffic accidents, to general morality—that most Americans placed at the door of public education. In a society that continued to pay teachers low salaries, and rewarded athletes and media stars with much more money than what scientists and scholars earned, the government began to take greater responsibility for better education. Between 1944 and 1965, the United States was willing to spend $14.5 billion to educate its people.

The disparity between the elementary education offered to the middle classes and that offered to the poor emerged sharply during the war. Community differences in income meant sharp differences in the quality of education, determining whether children had books and paper to write on—or even chairs to sit on. When defense jobs offered new opportunities for better pay, many teachers in poverty-stricken communities simply quit. In the three years following Pearl Harbor, 11,000 out of 20,000 teachers in Alabama left their jobs. In Iowa 800 rural schools had no teachers at all. In 1947, the *New York Times* reported that 350,000 teachers had quit teaching for better jobs. Those who remained worked at salaries lower than those of garbage collectors.

Twelve major teacher strikes took place after 1946, calling attention to the fact that both Russia and Great Britain spent more on education than Americans did.

Federal aid to education began to be considered essential to bringing about equality of opportunity for American children. By the mid-1940s even "Mr. Republican," Robert Taft, senator from Ohio, would agree that "children were entitled not as a matter of privilege but as a matter of right to a decent roof, decent meals, decent medical care and a decent place in which to go to school." Astonishing to many was his conclusion: "Education is socialistic anyway" (remarks made in a stump speech while campaigning against Harry S Truman in 1948).

After the war a variety of new schools—with some experimental programs—grew up in the midst of all the freshly built communities. Although the relaxed ideas of John Dewey's progressive education movement extended in many directions, debates were ongoing on the need for rote learning versus more imaginative programs. The same debates would continue into the 1990s—not only in Walt Disney's utopian town of Celebration, Florida, but in every community where parents became involved in what children needed to be taught to be civilized and productive members of society.

Funding for religious education came under renewed discussion. Because the GI Bill was sending people to all sorts of religiously oriented schools, and because lunches at every elementary school were also subsidized in the mid-1940s, it was hard to argue then that the separation of church and state was clear-cut. A 1947 Supreme Court decision even allowed public funds to be used for transporting children to parochial schools. But a strong anti-Catholic movement arose to limit such funding. Fear of church influence was ongoing. A book by Paul Blanshard (*American Freedom and Catholic Power,* 1949) attacking the intrusion of the Catholic hierarchy into public education went into 26 printings and remained on the national best-seller list for six months. Even Eleanor Roosevelt wrote in her "My Day" column (syndicated in a number of national newspapers) in June 1949, "I do not want to see public education connected with religious control of the schools which are paid for by taxpayers' money." The issue of federal funding for education relating to the separation of church and state remains alive today. The only federal money freely given at the time would be for local schools near military installations, because such bases contributed no real estate taxes to subsidize the education of youngsters on base.

The postwar commitment to educating all the children in a democracy used the vocabulary of John Dewey's progressive education movement to define its goals. Such education stressed training in problem solving more than memorizing historical facts and arithmetic. Modern pedagogy favored projects, field trips, life experiences, and group learning instead of rote memorization and drills to acquire knowledge. Although high school attendance went up by over 50 percent by 1950, such education was broadly attacked for lowering standards. The progressive faith, as Lawrence Cremin, another historian of education, described it, believed that "culture could be democratized without being vulgarized, and everyone could share not only in benefits of the new sciences but in pursuit of the arts as well" (Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*).Yet narrow professionalism and anti-intellectualism often impeded such ideal goals. One of the most unfortunate results was a shift to "life adjustment" courses that taught little of substance and kept many young people—especially women and working-class students—in social grooves.

In 1947, the National Commission of Life Adjustment for Youth created state commissions to respond to a general demand for vocational or functional education. Simultaneously, the study of foreign languages and the serious study of the history of past civilizations were considered less significant for everyone. Later decades would call this "dumbing down" education. By the mid-1950s, only 20.6 percent of American high school students would study a second language. And multiple-choice exam questions began to replace essay writing in tests that measured the critical-thinking skills students had mastered. Conservatives began to blame progressive education for all that was vacuous and anti-intellectual in postwar America. Before the decade was over, strong debates would take place all over the country about what students should be taught.

Even *Time* magazine, among several critics, ridiculed the frenzy for "life adjustment education" that seemed to absolve teachers from teaching and students from learning. A famous elite educator, Robert Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, tried to define the direction general education in the United States should take: "Our mission here on earth is to change our environment, not to adjust ourselves to it." More specifically, Hutchins questioned how minds should be trained. "Perhaps the greatest idea that America has given the world is the idea of education for all," he wrote. "The world is entitled to know whether this idea means that everybody can be educated or only that everybody must go to school."

After World War II, when liberal education—once available only to a privileged few—became available to everyone, at least in principle, educators had to consider attitude changes related to who was being educated, not just what was being taught. The social texture of postwar America no longer resembled Thornton Wilder's small town, Grover's Corners (from his play *Our Town,* 1938). "Our Town" might be a trailer camp or a Levittown more often than a community of elm-lined streets.

The most significant development in higher education related to the GI Bill. Specific entitlements offered returning soldiers the choice of a year of monetary benefits while job hunting or—more important for fulfilling the dream of human potential—a chance for paid higher education or additional training in skills that postwar America needed. As the gross national product expanded from $91.1 billion in 1939 to $213.6 billion in 1945 to $300 billion in 1950, 17 million new jobs had been created. Between 1944 and 1946 also, the six million working women who had done so well during the war were pressured to give up their lucrative jobs; four million either were fired or left voluntarily, offering returning veterans a vast array of work opportunities. But many still chose more education over the immediate possibility of earning a living.

Instead of going to work, almost eight million veterans took advantage of the GI Bill to pursue the higher education they would not otherwise have been able to afford. The creation of a new educated class meant extending professional status to all sorts of ethnic newcomers in law and medicine and in the university. For the first time, colleges and universities became multicultural on a broad scale. Unfortunately, elitist admissions policies continued to work against blacks and women. At the same time, the expansion of all higher education in terms of huge enrollments, new buildings, and new kinds of community colleges also opened doors wider for everyone, preparing the way for a more meritocratic society. Many people going to college after the war would become that first person in the family to get a higher degree. The government gave each veteran $65 a month ($90 to those with families) and $500 a year to cover tuition and books—adequate at most colleges at the time. State institutions felt a special mandate to meet the great need, expanding at new campuses—like Stonybrook in New York—and offering new courses presumably keyed to a modern economy and a more complex society.

Conservative educators predicted the end of quality education in the great tides of mediocrity flowing into America's most famous institutions. They began to give attention to creating more complex entrance exams for the best universities. But after only a few years of experience with GIs in the classroom, many had to concede that maturity, motivation, and hard work often produced scholarship as competent as that of young people trained at preparatory schools. Instead of lowering standards, those older students forced educators to reassess their vision of America's potential. By the 1990s, the State University of New York at Stonybrook, built only 40 years before, was ranked the third best public research university in the country.

The creation of more possibilities to get an education grew out of the great sense of need that was discovered during the war. A 1940 census revealed that only 2 out of 5 people in America had gone beyond the eighth grade; only 1 in 4 had graduated from high school; and only 1 in 20 went on to complete college. During World War II, the government was so concerned about the low level of American education that it set up all sorts of additional training programs for soldiers: to help make illiterates literate, to teach foreign languages, and to train mechanics and builders in new electronics skills. The U.S. Armed Forces Institute set up courses in which more than 6,000 students enrolled during its peak. Many poor young men joined the army as a way to achieve the upward mobility that education promised. Indeed, the U.S. government spent $321 billion on education between 1941 and 1945, twice as much as in the entire preceding 150 years of its existence. Investing in education represented an ongoing belief in America's citizens—an affirmation of faith in the future.

When the army was officially integrated in 1948, such training was clearly extended also to African Americans. As early as 1944, Wendell Willkie, the Republican who ran against Roosevelt in 1940, asserted that the war should make us conscious of the "contradiction between our treatment of the Negro minority and the ideals for which we are fighting." With the congressional establishment of the Women's Armed Services Act, also in 1948, the country acknowledged that women too were entitled to the same educational rewards offered men. Yet, Americans learned slowly that legalization may be just the first step toward achieving broader social goals. Fewer than 3 percent of the women eligible took advantage of this opportunity to educate themselves, and too many African Americans coming out of segregated schools did not have adequate preparation for higher education. Nevertheless, the GI Bill provided education for 50 percent of all the people who served in the armed forces. By 1956, when it ended, 7.8 million veterans had taken advantage of its entitlements: 2.2

million (97 percent men) had gone to college, 3.5 million to technical schools, and 700,000 to agricultural programs. In the academic year 1949–1950, 497,000 Americans received university degrees—over twice as many as in 1940. No longer would higher education be seen simply as the proprietary right of the upper middle class. The quality of cultural experience had begun to change for everyone.

Even women began to see changes in their educational opportunities. Although larger numbers of women had begun to go to college in the 1950s, only 37 percent stayed to graduate, and the number going on for higher degrees was smaller than in the 1920s and 1930s. Yet women, glad to sacrifice careers for family at the beginning of the decade, were eager to get back to school by its end, even though most institutions would not let women with families attend college part-time. One brilliant Wellesley dropout, divorced with four children, was told that to return to college she would have to attend full-time and take gym.

Betty Friedan praised the few enlightened institutions that modified their degree programs to accommodate women with children. In 1955, the New School for Social Research set up a human relations workshop to help the homebound pursue broader goals. In 1959, the University of Minnesota established a revolutionary program to encourage older women to get degrees. By 1962, when Sarah Lawrence College announced a grant to help mature women finish their education or get graduate degrees, the number of eager inquirers put their switchboards out of commission. Most adult education programs during this decade gave no credits and led nowhere—except in fields like nursing and teaching, where there were labor shortages. In those fields, a few programs also met women's needs by scheduling classes during the daytime when children were in school. And some schools tried to make good use of women who already had bachelor's degrees by setting up master of arts programs in teaching.

"Unless we get more women equal education we can't get them equal pay and opportunity," declared the president of the Federation of Business and Professional Women in the *New York Times* in 1952, anticipating the idea of equal rights embodied in the *Brown* decision in 1954. Keeping women undereducated in the 1950s by maintaining quotas for the young and denying older women—often in their early thirties—admission to professional schools was also a way to keep establishment power in the hands of white men. When the Educational Testing Service at Princeton went on to design college-level equivalency exams to enable women students who had followed their husbands' jobs to write off credits, such exams were often not accepted by schools that relied heavily on Scholastic Aptitude Tests—produced by the same company—to evaluate the young. No one wanted to make it easy for women who were also mothers to do anything more with their lives. In 1956, the *New York Times* described a mother and daughter who were both getting degrees at Rutgers. The mother—also still taking care of her house and family and commuting—was permitted to take six courses to catch up. Another mother commuting from New Jersey to Brooklyn College three nights a week so she would not have to leave her children alone managed to graduate with Phi Beta Kappa honors. With a tone of amazement, the *Times* completed this story with her future plans for law school. Such "superwomen" stories made people pay attention to general concerns about what was happening to other bright women with complicated lives.

Perhaps just as embarrassing as the quota systems of the 1950s that kept women out of competition with men for professional jobs was what was called sex-directed, gender-focused education. Mills College in California, trying to compensate for the indifference of Eastern establishment schools to talented women faculty, defined gender education that would cater to women's needs. Unfortunately, like the high schools that fostered functional education, these colleges often ended up emphasizing "life adjustment" rather than intellectual achievement. Categories of experts—sociologists, psychologists, and psychoanalysts—banded together to persuade women to believe they were better off in the role of housewife. As noted sociologist Talcott Parsons described the American woman, her life was as "her husband's wife, the mother of his children." At a time when the Cold War made Americans critical of progressive education designed to foster good judgment and problem-solving skills rather than rote learning, women were urged back into functional feminine molds, not developed as critical thinkers.

Although progressive education, expressing the ideas of the great pragmatic philosopher John Dewey, reached back to the 1920s, it became another target for the paranoia of the 1950s. All sorts of local groups thought such education was responsible for Marxist ideas and juvenile delinquency. In 1951, in Pasadena, California, Willard E. Goslin, a creative progressive educator and president of the American Association of School Administrators, was pressured by organized right-wing groups to resign. In the same year the American Association of School Administrators chose to devote its entire annual meeting to examining widespread assaults on public education. Anxiety produced best-sellers like Arthur Bestor's *Educational Wastelands* (1953) and Rudolph Flesch's *Why Johnny Can't Read and What You Can Do about It* (1955). Few new programs, however, emerged. Successful schools, long influenced by progressive ideas, continued to produce well-trained, creative students. And, Dr. Spock, whose child-rearing classic was in almost every home with children during this era, did not hesitate to label his book a "common-sense" guide to child care. "Trust yourself," he urged new mothers.

In 1957, when the Russians sent two *Sputnik* satellites to circle the globe, a huge outcry went up for more serious education that would improve standards for everyone. Americans confronted the reality that in the Soviet Union 69 percent of the medical students and 39 percent of the engineers were women, whereas in the United States in 1956 three out of five women in coeducational colleges took secretarial, home economics, nursing, or education courses. Only 20 percent of all science and math majors in American colleges were women.

A 1957 book, *Signs for the Future,* prepared by a varied group of educators and edited by Opal D. David, urged greater flexibility in admissions and scheduling and use of educational television, adult education, and refresher courses to enable more women with children to come back into a more high-powered career stream. The Cold War concern that we had fallen behind the Russians inspired Congress to pass the National Defense Education Act in 1958, allotting over $900 million for scholarships and loans to encourage the study of science, math, and foreign languages. That act also provided 12,000 counselors for secondary schools. Although the pendulum seemed to be swinging back to conservative education, with the subsequent creation of a huge number of community colleges (one every two weeks by the mid-1960s), many child-free women as well as young men were given the chance to begin entirely different lives. The flexibility of our institutions was helping us turn away from what Betty Friedan had labeled a culture that educates its most capable women to make careers out of raising their families. Again, the government was helping the individual find human fulfillment.

The importance of the GI Bill in enriching institutions and changing old-fashioned educational environments cannot be overestimated. Not only did the army of new learners not diminish academic standards, as feared, but the presence on campus of older students able to make mature judgments also worked to erode sophomoric customs like fraternity hazings and wearing freshman beanies. Older students were presumed to be wiser. The idea that college discipline replaced the parent—strong before World War II—began to erode by the 1960s, when parietal rules and dress codes became quaint memories. Who could even imagine that women at Radcliffe College, going to classes at Harvard, were not permitted to wear pants on the streets of Cambridge, Massachusetts? Wellesley students had to leave their dormitory doors open while entertaining men. Because so many men everywhere also returned to college with wives, married women were slowly tolerated as part of the learning environment (Kaledin 2000, 64–68, 106–09; *Daily Life Online*, "Intellectual Life: Education," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FILM

During the 1940s sales of movie tickets soared to 3.5 billion a year. By then, movies would be what embodied American ideas—not just for Americans but for the whole world. Entertaining, informative, and relatively cheap, films reinforced the values the United States wanted to honor, the ideas people would be willing to make sacrifices for. A 1940s classic, *Mrs. Miniver,* that was created to glorify the bravery and ingenuity of America's British ally, personified by the charming Greer Garson, could be seen in New York along with the famous Rockettes' precision dancing stage show at the elegant Radio City Music Hall for 75 cents. The film broke all attendance records for the time, grossing over a million dollars.

One anthropologist, Hortense Powdermaker, referred to Hollywood as a "dream factory" in her book *Hollywood, The Dream Factory* (1950), while the historian Robert Sklar defined the whole country as "movie-made America" (*Movie-Made America*, 1975). The power of the motion picture industry to influence how Americans saw themselves, to turn myths into live traditions, would become increasingly apparent. When the nation elected its first movie star president, critics remarked that Ronald Reagan sometimes seemed to confuse his World War II movie roles with what actually happened. In the 1940s the social and cultural makeup of the movie industry reflected the values of an America concerned with helping people recognize what was worth fighting for.

Hollywood's representation of the American dream has been definitively described by the television movie critic Neal Gabler in a social history of the film industry, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (1989). Examining the lives of Hollywood tycoons as symbolic American successes, Gabler revealed the anxieties of the movie moguls' world as suggestive of the values of most new Americans. In articulating on film their own immigrant dreams of the good life available in America, the filmmakers helped influence how other Americans defined their identities. Most convincingly, Gabler recorded the intense and often uncritical patriotism that shaped the moviemakers' attitudes toward foreign ideologies, like the Nazism so many in the industry had fled and the communism that others believed was a threat to American life. In the 1940s, the movie empire demonstrated unquestioning patriotism—a wholehearted commitment to the war effort that would help both to educate soldiers and to stir up civilian support for the war. Films such as *This Is the Army* (1943), *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), *The Fighting 69th* (1940), and *Lifeboat* (1944) attempted to revitalize the American myths of ethnic success and integrated culture. All groups needed to believe that individuals could do well working together in a pluralistic society for a common goal.

During the war years, attendance at local theaters mounted to over 90 million viewers a week. Commitment to the war effort by the film industry extended to many different levels. Movie houses—palaces of imagination in the 1930s—were used in the 1940s as community centers. In their spacious lobbies, people gathered to buy and sell War Bonds and to collect flattened tin cans and aluminum pots as well as surplus fats for making munitions. Even youngsters worked at selling defense stamps at small tables set up near the ticket takers to remind people of their civic responsibilities. When movie stars joined in the sale of government bonds at American theaters everywhere they sold over $350 billion worth. People did not hesitate to lend their savings to the government.

Teenagers also collected money in movie lobbies to boost the canteens of the United Service Organizations. Many young soldiers stationed all over America in army training camps far from their homes needed wholesome places for entertainment on weekend leaves. Members of the film industry worked with local volunteers to make these Stage Door Canteens represent homey refuges of warmth and hospitality for young strangers. Even though the armed forces were racially segregated during World War II, the canteens for relaxation often made a point of being integrated. Actress Bette Davis, one anecdote records, threatened to sever connection with her local canteen when some officious volunteers questioned the interracial dancing that took place there. Although most of the elegant theaters where such community activities could happen were torn down in the 1960s when television became a more socially isolating way to view movies, a film called *Stagedoor Canteen* (1943) remains a tribute to the idea of innocent entertainment and welcome for out-of-towners under supervision of the movie industry. The Hollywood Canteen, sponsored by 42 craft guilds including both white and African American musicians' locals, fed thousands of meals to eager soldiers and sailors during its first two years. Yet, it is the movies themselves—the "things" that embody the ideas of the 1940s—that students will continue to consider the most important social artifacts of the war. Almost every film made during the war years reveals some social aspect of wartime America.

On the most obvious level Hollywood filmmakers offered the government their resources to create training films for the army—telling soldiers about our allies and introducing our enemies. The public would be offered similar fare. Propagandistic work like *A Yank in the R.A.F.* (1944) and *Journey for Margaret* (1942), about an evacuated English child, were meant to demonstrate our deep connection with the British. Ideological films like *Hitler's Children* (1943) or Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940) made it easier to dislike Germans. Exaggerated features of treacherous Japanese film characters helped Americans accept the necessity to incarcerate patriotic fellow Americans. Not until after the war, when Japan had become an American friend, was a film made to expose the injustice of the internment camps. Other movies created during wartime to familiarize the American people with our new allies, the Russians—like *Mission to Moscow* (1944)—would haunt their Hollywood producers and writers after the war when the relationship with Russia disintegrated and a blacklist labeled the creators of such sympathetic scripts communist sympathizers.

That distinguished writers like John Steinbeck joined the war effort with *The Moon Is Down* (1943) and *Lifeboat* (1944) suggests the extent of involvement of serious writers and artists in wartime propaganda. A list of Hollywood producers, writers, directors, technicians, and stars that put personal preferences aside to do what was most helpful for their country in fighting the war would fill a small book. Two favorites—the witty movie star Carole Lombard and the bandleader Glenn Miller, who traveled as an enlisted army officer entertaining troops—lost their lives in military air crashes. No one in the movie community criticized the government or questioned the need to get behind the war. A rare pacifist, star Lew Ayres, emphasized his opposition to killing by joining the medical corps. Newsreels—shown in Translux theaters for short subjects—were also included with feature films, recording ugly realities just as TV news did during the Vietnam War. There were honest journalists like Ernie Pyle who described what continuous fighting did to people, but there was also protective censorship—as people on the home front complained if too much brutality was shown. Movies were constructed to show the enemy—not American young men—being blown to bits. Students might consider how much such attitudes shift in different decades by looking at the 1998 film *Saving Private Ryan,* an effort to depict the invasion of Europe with some degree of realism and accuracy.

Glorification of the war experience became essential while the war was being fought. Although films such as *The Story of G.I. Joe* (1943), *A Walk in the Sun* (1945), and *Pride of the Marines* (1945) stressed a wholesome distaste for war as human activity, they made a point of demonstrating the surprising courage of the ordinary individual in the multicultural foxhole. Critics tend to make fun of the Hollywood melting-pot group: black–white, Catholic–Jew, slum kid–stockbroker dependent on each other in submarine or fighter plane; but the need to nourish the myth of equality for those willing to die for it brought about a more realistic exploration of American prejudice in films after the war. A 1939 movie like *Gone with the Wind* could get away with showing blacks to be dully loyal or simply silly. In the name of the national unity forged out of the Civil War, this famous classic praised only the individual spunk of whites enduring social disaster—slavery was not an issue in the film. After World War II, African Americans would be taken more seriously in films, and American prejudice would be discussed in the open. Such movies as *Crossfire* and *Gentleman's Agreement* (both 1947) would also help to alert many to the reality of American anti-Semitism. *Intruder in the Dust* (1949) allowed viewers to appreciate the intelligence of a black hero. In 1948, acknowledging the need for equality of opportunity in an important section of American life, Harry Truman integrated the army. In 1945, during Roosevelt's brief fourth term, the government repealed the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which set quotas on Chinese immigration and denied citizenship to the Chinese.

The 1940s film industry's contribution to pure entertainment to help people escape the tensions of war and the problems of reshaping postwar life also included such classic musicals as *State Fair* (1945) and *The Harvey Girls* (1945). *Film noir* is a term that describes dark Hollywood crime dramas that were often focused on corruption and sex. Masterpieces of *film noir,* such as *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *Laura* (1944), *Double Indemnity* (1945), *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946), and *Spellbound* (1945), often made distraction exciting. Westerns like *The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943) and *My Darling Clementine* (1946) extended the mythology of the West with greater compassion.

Through the 1950s, movies continued to have a link with larger national political issues. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), designed to ferret out communists in labor unions in the 1930s, became an invigorated source of terror under the control of Congressman J. Parnell Thomas. In 1947, a group of Hollywood screenwriters and directors summoned before the committee to account for past communist beliefs were considered especially dangerous because of their power to influence American opinion through the movies. Called "unfriendly witnesses" because they took the Fifth Amendment to keep from having to name friends, the "Hollywood Ten" were all indicted for contempt of Congress. Although even film star Ronald Reagan testified at the time that he did not believe communists had ever been able to use motion pictures to spread their ideology, the Supreme Court upheld the indictment. Those people were fined a thousand dollars each and sent to jail for a year. Richard Nixon, who would become the most prominent committee member during the 1950 Alger Hiss trial, demanded that new movies be made to spell out "the methods and evils of totalitarian Communism." But the only examples J. Parnell Thomas could find of dangerous old movies were those made during the war, like *Mission to Moscow* and *Song of Russia*—corny propaganda films created to help wartime allies appear sympathetic. Ironically, Chairman Thomas, accused of stealing from the government he had been protecting from communists, would soon find himself in the same prison where he had sent one of the Hollywood Ten, Ring Lardner Jr. As a result of that arrest, Lardner, a particularly talented writer, would not see his name on any list of screen credits for 17 years. But by 1970 his gifts would be valued again; he won an Oscar for work on *M*A*S*H,* an antiwar film ostensibly about the Korean War, but effectively questioning the conflict in Vietnam.

After this trial the atmosphere of fright was so great that a national blacklist was set up not only to deny future employment to the Hollywood Ten but also to keep anyone with questionable political allegiances from working in the media. Loyalty oaths became a part of the American scene, and many less talented and less influential people lost government and teaching jobs—also considered positions of influence. Fortunately for the history of freedom of speech, a panoramic array of gifted writers has recorded many versions of this period of anxiety, labeled "scoundrel time" by playwright Lillian Hellman in her book of the same name (*Scoundrel Time*, 1976). In the future, when scholars and critics collect all such memoirs and compare them, careful research may reveal how much prejudice may have been involved in accusations against intellectuals and New Deal civil servants and whether, indeed, 1930s writers connected with the Communist Party continued to support the Soviet Union.

Although a number of films tried to capture the mood of this decade, two remain classical comments on the emotions of the time. "Friendly witnesses" (the label for those who believed it a patriotic duty to name all the communists they knew) Elia Kazan and Budd Schulberg collaborated on the 1954 prize-winning movie *On the Waterfront*. Awarded eight Oscars, it examined the dilemmas involved in becoming an informer. Kazan acknowledged using his own story in the film to justify his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee. In the movie, the informer, whose moral choices are relatively simple, becomes a hero.

A film offering a different viewpoint could be made only at a much later time. In 1976, once-blacklisted artists Walter Bernstein and Martin Ritt wrote and directed the Woody Allen production *The Front*, re-creating the lives of a writer and comedian barred from work during the 1950s. Although there is humor in the delicatessen cashier character who fronts for the talented writer denied his livelihood, the themes of humiliation and loss of self-esteem involved in being blacklisted dominate the film. The comedian, brilliantly played by Zero Mostel, who had himself been a victim of the blacklist, commits suicide. Such despair was real for artists at the time, because their survival demanded audiences. "The great fear," as British scholar David Caute termed the fear of communism in a long book of the same name (1978) on anticommunist purges under Truman and Eisenhower, touched almost every kind of contemporary activity.

To be sure, by the 1990s, when Russian spy files were opened to reveal the Venona documents of deciphered codes passed by the Russian Secret Service, the KGB, to its American agents, there could be no doubt that the American Communist Party had been controlled by the Kremlin. And there was evidence for espionage where many believed none had existed. But the number of actual subversives remained small. In an eloquent 1950 book, *The Loyalty of Free Men*, Alan Barth, a journalist for the *Washington Post*, pointed out that the number of Communist Party members equaled about 1/30th of 1 percent of the population—yet the general hysteria of the late 1940s and early 1950s appeared extreme. In 1954, a famous critic of American civilization, Lewis Mumford, echoed the concerns of some liberals: "In the name of freedom we are rapidly creating a police state; and in the name of democracy we have succumbed not to creeping socialism but to galloping Fascism" (quoted in

Kaledin 2000, 76–78). The "police state" that Mumford feared, however, neither occurred nor persuaded the broad American public (*Daily Life Online*, "Recreational Life: Film," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

HEALTH

During World War II, the huge budget allotted for war—$321 billion from 1941 to 1943—was not focused solely on the creation of weapons. Americans' payroll deductions and defense bonds also went into research that would eventually contribute to the better health of humankind. First, in that research, was a focus on the massive production of antibiotics. Although Sir Alexander Fleming had discovered penicillin in 1928, it was hardly available until a number of scientists and facilities pooled their energies to meet the needs of war. The federal government, using the Department of Agriculture's regional laboratory in Peoria, Illinois, combined the talents of more than 21 companies to produce more than 650 billion units of penicillin a month by 1945—enough to include even some civilian needs. The discovery of streptomycin by Selman Waksman in 1943, subsequently produced by private pharmaceutical companies, demonstrated that cooperation between industry and government remained important during this period, as it had before in the history of American science.

Because private laboratories rarely had adequate money for complex research, government funding given to university laboratories enabled rapid and important discoveries to take place. One historian of medicine commented that the cooperation among university researchers, government support groups, and private industry seemed a unique American phenomenon leading to extraordinary productivity. Other antibiotics produced during the decade included bacitracin, chloramphenicol, polymyxin B, chlortetracycline, and neomycin. By the end of the 1940s almost all known bacterial illness appeared under control. By 1950, John Enders had also succeeded in isolating viruses in tissue culture that would lead to the successful creation of vaccines against polio and other dreaded viral childhood diseases.

Another concentrated wartime effort, the search for synthetic quinine to combat malaria—essential because the Japanese had cut off areas of natural production—also proved successful. Many American troops taking part in the Pacific war became completely disabled by the mosquito-borne illness. One survey from Guadalcanal reported three entire divisions inoperative with malaria. The discovery of the synthetics atabrine and chloroquine alleviated much physical suffering in the South Pacific. Just as important at the time was the mass production of insecticides such as DDT and insect repellents for personal use that wiped out the plague-carrying mosquitoes and body lice. A typhus epidemic may have been averted by those new vermin destroyers. No one thought about disturbing the balanced life cycle involving the other creatures who survived on such insects, nor was there any awareness of other illnesses that human beings could develop from pesticides. What mattered most was saving the lives of soldiers and making their national service as comfortable as possible.

Perhaps one of the most important areas of study to emerge from World War II has been the examination of secondary effects of goal-oriented knowledge. The realization that unforeseen results often arose from the pursuit of focused purposes would become a challenging and legitimate field of study, as well as a source of popular fear—a favorite theme of science fiction.

Along with the antibacterial drugs that for a time ended pneumonia and tuberculosis came the extensive use and production of blood plasma. Death from infection became so rare that between 1945 and 1951, mortality from flu and pneumonia fell by 47 percent. Mortality from diphtheria dropped 92 percent and from syphilis 78 percent. During World War II, research on steroids to relieve arthritic pain also intensified. The discovery of cortisone led to the production of the most complex drug yet manufactured on a large scale. Wartime managerial and production skills became part of the nation's overall approach to health. Along with the 1948 expansion of the National Institutes of Health came the establishment of smaller foundations dedicated to research on specific problems. Only a few days after the bombing of Nagasaki, for example, General Motors—in the names of its directors, Alfred P. Sloan and Charles Kettering—gave $4 million to set up a cancer research center in New York City. Certain kinds of childhood leukemia would be eradicated before the end of the 1950s. Elsewhere new drugs were being discovered to alleviate severe allergies and anxieties and, most important, to combat certain forms of acute mental illness. Chlorpromazine, produced in quantity after the war by Smith, Kline, and French, liberated many individuals who might have spent years in custodial care in mental hospitals.

The rapidity of change can be imagined in the assertion of historian James Patterson that by 1956, 80 percent of all the drugs being prescribed had reached the market only within the past 15 years. Those "miracle drugs" had an immediate impact on the longevity of Americans. Life expectancy reached an average of 69.7 years by 1960, in contrast with 62.9 years in 1940. Women would continue to live longer than men, and whites to live longer than blacks, but wartime medical research unquestionably produced healthier lives for most Americans.

One of the most significant medical breakthroughs of the postwar era occurred when Dr. Jonas Salk discovered an antiviral drug to attack the disease of polio. During the long summers of the 1950s, parents dreaded the potential of their children contracting the disease. Salk, who had spent most of the 1940s working on drugs to inhibit the flu virus, developed an injection to attack polio. In April 1955, that research bore fruit. Initially injected, Salk later found a method to provide an oral polio antiviral pill. By the beginning of the 1960s, one of the most dangerous and debilitating diseases in America had been virtually eliminated. The advances in medicine and drug treatments not only improved public health but also fostered a confidence that technology and science might conquer all maladies and create a utopia (Kaledin 2000, 52–54; *Daily Life Online*, "Intellectual Life: Health and

Medicine," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959,* http://daily life. greenwood.com).

LITERATURE

Two classic war novels, James Jones's *From Here to Eternity* (1951) and Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), remain testimonies to the fighting men of the time as well as skeptical statements about the nature and necessity of war. After *From Here to Eternity* became a movie in 1953, Frank Sinatra, who had been blacklisted for using an allegedly communist songwriter, won an Academy Award, which allowed him to make his comeback as a singer. Norman Mailer believed the writer's role was adversarial. As one of America's most gifted authors, he would go on to record a panorama of his country's social dilemmas before shifting to a more allegorical style. Of special interest in connection with the 1950s view of war are the stories of Kay Boyle, whose short fiction documented the rarely articulated lives of members of the occupation army and their army wives.

If Mortimer Adler thought his series of the Western world's great books would continue to determine the best tastes, he was mistaken. Adler perhaps assumed that readers would depend on the classics alone, books that had generally been written by European males. Educated readers began to heed a richer variety of viewpoints. The self-consciousness that emerged from the postwar search for identity no longer neglected the writing of women and people of color—even as talent remained the 1950s criterion for judgment. After the war, a great curtain lifted on the literary scene, revealing a tremendous chorus of new and gifted performers.

The most common generalization about postwar fiction, connecting it with social criticism, is that it was a literature of alienation. Writers of the 1950s depicted individuals who no longer felt part of any community. J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* (1951) and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957) described wayward lives seeking release from the material goals of civilization.

In 1996, some 40 years after its initial publication, Kerouac's *On the Road* sold 110,000 copies, clearly demonstrating that it was not a book for just one decade. In the 1950s, young women writers Carson McCullers, Flannery O'Connor, and Jean Stafford used a growing awareness of independent womanhood to express individual skepticism about social institutions.

Jean Stafford, Eudora Welty, Elizabeth Spencer, and Flannery O'Connor—all proud 1950s writers—made much of place in shaping their characters. During this period many powerful southern writers emerged, following the earlier examples of Allen Tate and William Faulkner, to demonstrate that regional consciousness could teach much about the broader human condition. The plays of Tennessee Williams and Lillian Hellman; the stories of Truman Capote, Gore Vidal, William Styron, Walker Percy, Shelby Foote, and Shirley Anne Grau; and the poetry of Randall Jarrell and Robert Penn Warren helped keep the South a source of creativity. The only defeated section of the United States continued to offer the country impressive talent, adding to the national awareness of class as well as alienation. Searching for different levels of personal identity, the decade's literature offered a rich variety of complex individual worlds rather than established political contexts. The "dissidence from within," as the critic Richard Chase described it, may be "our most useful tradition." "In what other mood," he asked, "has the American mind ever been creative, fresh or promissory of the future?" (1952). Like Norman Mailer, Chase believed that American writers often worked best in opposition to the mainstream culture.

Women writers distinguished by their work in other decades—Edna Ferber, Gertrude Stein, Fannie Hurst, Pearl Buck, Katherine Anne Porter, Elizabeth Bishop, and Marianne Moore—produced some of their best writing during this period. Mari Sandoz's classic biography *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* was recognized as one of the best serious books on the West in 1954. Although few women would have labeled themselves feminists during the 1950s, they nevertheless found writing a source of power. Shirley Jackson became a popular writer who managed to capture both the humor and the anxiety involved in domesticity. As her 1947 classic story "The Lottery" was suggestive of the danger of modern witchhunts, so her 1950s stories explored the deep anxieties of homebound women.

In his celebration of the next decade, *Gates of Eden: American Culture in the Sixties* (1977), Morris Dickstein attacked the writers of the 1950s for being too concerned with the "elusive mysteries of personality" and too involved with "craft, psychology, and moral allegory"; yet readers must question whether those qualities do not continue to fortify the human spirit in ways that political attitudes may not. The three-volume unabridged collection of Emily Dickinson's poetry appeared in 1955, suggesting how profound a writer could be without needing to mention the Civil War she lived through. In 1955, another elusive novel of American adventure on the road, Vladimir Nabokov's allegorical classic *Lolita,* was published in Paris. After rejection by five American publishers and much public protest, the story of the older man's obsession with a young girl would be in bookstores in the United States by 1958, on its way to the best-seller list. By the 1990s, *Lolita* would be accepted as a classic. Students of the 1950s fantasizing about what books to take to a desert island or what to read during a long stay in outer space could find a huge variety of satisfying choices to deepen every level of consciousness.

Many of the women writers of the 1950s tackled the social and political issues of the day—even as they delved into personal domestic lives for material. Grace Paley, Tillie Olsen, Hortense Calisher, Harriette Arnow, and Mary McCarthy offered outright challenges to the current definitions of women's roles. The great angry poets of the next decade—Sylvia Plath, Anne Sexton, Adrienne Rich, and Denise Levertov—were all writing away in the 1950s as they took care of their babies. Rich and Levertov would write their roles more specifically as political voices.

Grace Paley and Harriette Arnow made social involvement part of the definition of being human. Gwendolyn Brooks, Ann Petry, Paule Marshall, and Lorraine Hansberry emphasized the distinguished tradition of black women, using their own culture to write about feminism and humanism. Hansberry could imagine a black heroine going to medical school at a time when the idea seemed preposterous. Brooks could write a poem about a journalist witnessing the horrors of Little Rock. In 1950, she won the Pulitzer Prize for poetry. Later Gwendolyn Brooks would be named poetry consultant to the Library of Congress, a job more recently renamed as *poet laureate*.

Strong writers from prewar days were still writing for a large audience. John Steinbeck, John Dos Passos, Eugene O'Neill, and Ernest Hemingway made their opinions heard. In 1952, Steinbeck wrote to Adlai Stevenson, the defeated Democratic candidate, "If I wanted to destroy a nation I would give it too much." In 1954, two years after he published *The Old Man and the Sea,* Hemingway won the Nobel Prize for a lifetime of carefully crafted writing about human courage.

Two of the decade's great men of letters were African Americans; Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin emerged during the 1950s as writers with special evocative skills, not as polemicists. The intensity of their articulation of experiences as black Americans expanded the consciousness of many white readers and inspired a growing tradition of twentieth-century black writing. Playwright Lou Peterson's *Take a Giant Step* opened in 1953 to warm reviews, remaining off-Broadway for 264 performances. Those black artists did not write solely to help African Americans recover their identity. They were well aware of the distinguished writers still on the scene in the 1950s—Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, W.E.B. Du Bois, Zora Neale Hurston, and Jean Toomer. To be sure, many of their insights into the human condition cannot be separated from their racial identity. But as black culture extended into the next decades, black writers spoke to more Americans of every color about the quality of American life. "You are white," Langston Hughes had written, "yet a part of me as I am part of you."

On Broadway a bowdlerized version of Anne Frank's diary helped remind audiences why they had fought World War II. The 1950s became a liberating period for a new generation of American Jewish writers. Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Delmore Schwartz, Philip Roth, and even Isaac Bashevis Singer, who wrote in Yiddish and whose novels were translated into English, spoke to many kinds of Americans in much the same way that Jewish American filmmakers had done at an earlier time. At this moment, when Jews and Catholics were beginning to be accepted on the faculties of elite colleges, gifted Jewish culture critics also emerged to explore their own roles in American civilization. Thinkers like Philip Rahv, Irving Howe, Lionel Trilling, Alfred Kazin, Norman Podhoretz, Diana Trilling, and Leslie Fiedler not only contributed original interpretations of American culture but also celebrated their personal—often ambivalent—success as they became more American than Jewish. They too questioned the good life.

By the 1950s, earlier immigrant consciousness melted into everyone's postwar identity dilemmas. Heroes of contemporary novels, with a sense of ambivalence about all their choices in life, belonged as much to John Updike and John Cheever as to Bellow, Roth, and Malamud. J. D. Salinger's character Seymour Glass is more Buddhist than Jewish. And Kerouac's Catholics also turned to the Zen religions of the East. Norman Mailer would not have been placed with other Jewish writers at the time, nor would Adrienne Rich. Finding out who you were remained one of the exciting mind games of the 1950s, a period when complexity was cherished. The 1947 Broadway musical *South Pacific,* enormously popular throughout the decade and adapted as a movie in 1958, made identity dilemmas seem easy to resolve as *Abie's Irish Rose* (1922), a mixed-culture drama, had done during the vaudeville era. Assimilation remained an attainable ideal in many of James Michener's successful 1950s novels. *Sayonara* (1957) and *The Bridges of Toko-Ri* (1954) also spread Michener's commitment to tolerance to the movies.

A few talented writers opted to drop out of society by becoming part of a drug culture that rejected connections with conventional communities. William Burroughs published *Naked Lunch* in Paris in 1959; Nelson Algren, *The Man with the Golden Arm* in 1947 and *A Walk on the Wild Side* in 1956.

Science fiction writers captured some of the most real social dilemmas of the time in books—as they were doing in original television dramas. Ray Bradbury published his classic on book burning, *Fahrenheit 451,* in 1953—the year before Joseph McCarthy was censured by the Senate. Andre Norton used intergalactic conflict to highlight human values, while Ursula Le Guin and Madeleine L'Engle began writing science fiction that appealed to both children and adults. In 1957, four of the best science fiction writers of the decade—Cyril Kornbluth, Robert A. Heinlein, Alfred Bester, and Robert Bloch—gained respect by lecturing at the University of Chicago.

Writing for young people has been another way for talented individuals to express ideas in a broader context. Helping children adapt to a new postwar world as they developed strong egos and an understanding of democratic choice were a number of distinguished writers who should be honored by the entire society—not just by the readers who award medals to writing for children.

Books for young people, such as Jean Latham's on the doctor Elizabeth Blackwell and the biologist Rachel Carson, not only described women who played roles outside the home but also stressed how they dealt with setbacks. In the 1950s, Ann Petry and Dorothy Sterling both wrote about Harriet Tubman, the fugitive slave who helped many other slaves escape, making the point that black children had too long been deprived of knowledge of the bravery of their own forebears. Elizabeth Yates wrote about Prudence Crandall as a pioneer in school integration at a time when many people, ignorant of the American past, believed such dilemmas began with the *Brown* decision in 1954.

Ann Nolan Clark's long experience in the Bureau of Indian Affairs enabled her to remind 1950s young people of the dignity of the Native Americans' nontechnological civilizations. Rachel Carson introduced children to the wonders of nature by educating their parents in elementary terms about the wilderness resources that many ignored at the time. "When I have something important to say," Madeleine L'Engle wrote, "I write it in a book for children."

During the 1950s, special library rooms for children appeared in many places where mothers worked as library volunteers. Many children discovered E. B. White's *Stuart Little,* which had been a reading pleasure since 1947, and *Charlotte's Web* appeared in 1952 to the delight of Americans of all ages.

The poetry of the 1950s flowered in the midst of consumer delights. Not only did new poetry reflect the expanding consciousness of specific social groups, but a variety of experimentalists appeared, evoking America on many other levels.

Older poets basked in their honors. Robert Frost continued to give readings that celebrated New England as a metaphor for the human soul. T. S. Eliot continued to manicure his British conscience. Marianne Moore, Louise Bogan, and Elizabeth Bishop published collections of distinguished work during the 1950s. William Carlos Williams continued to produce volumes of *Paterson*, comparing a city to a human being. Wallace Stevens, vice president of a Hartford insurance company, managed to offer the decade several magical volumes, and the hospitalized fascist sympathizer Ezra Pound continued to write *Cantos*, a long work of poetic distinction (between 1915 and 1962). e. e. cummings also gathered together a summary of his life and work. John Berryman began to celebrate sonnets.

Gifted young poets emerging at the time included Donald Hall, Richard Wilbur, John Ashbery, Randall Jarrell, Delmore Schwartz, Charles Olson, James Merrill, May Swenson, Denise Levertov, Sylvia Plath, and Adrienne Rich. Frank O'Hara helped shape a school of poets in New York City, and the Poets' Theatre flourished in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Yale University continued to offer gifted unpublished poets the opportunity to see their words in print. Perhaps the general prosperity made it possible for the great variety of new talents to take chances as poets. Visitors to America—chosen home of another great poet, W. H. Auden—could easily assume that this was a country that took poetry seriously.

Indeed, Robert Lowell, the best-known new American poet during the 1950s, quickly made his way into the academic canon, even as he extended his self-awareness into the confessional mode that would characterize much of the next decade's writing. With his solid New England ancestors and obvious talent, Robert Lowell sought a more complex identity in the 1950s. As he exposed his manic depression and his family's quirks in his poetry, Lowell gave permission to a new generation of younger poets to set aside traditions and be themselves.

The most outrageous poet of the decade, Allen Ginsberg would remain identified with the Beat community and its hostility to law and order. As he shocked his listeners Ginsberg insisted on being the heir to Walt Whitman. A poem called "Supermarket in California" addresses Whitman as "lonely old courage teacher" and asks the great poet to tell us where we are going. When Ginsberg read his famous long poem "Howl" in 1955 in a converted auto repair shop, the San Francisco City Lights Bookstore crowd greeted him with foot-stomping enthusiasm. By 1992, the City Lights quarto edition of Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems* would be in its 40th edition, with 725,000 copies in print.

The Beats insisted that they stood for more than rebellion against the world of comfort and conformity. They too were trying to define the good life as they expanded America's consciousness. During the 1950s and 1960s, Allen Ginsberg preached love to stunned audiences while taking off his clothes or playing finger cymbals for interminable amounts of time. Identifying with Buddhism even though one of his most famous poems, "Kaddish," was a Jewish prayer for his dead mother, Ginsberg joined Salinger in the long American tradition of looking East for philosophical wisdom. In the dedication to *Howl and Other Poems*, he called Jack Kerouac the "new Buddha of American prose" and asserted that Neal Cassady's biography enlightened Buddha. A distant neighbor in Paterson, New Jersey, William Carlos Williams, wrote a brief introduction to the text, recognizing that "this poet sees through and all around the horrors he partakes of."

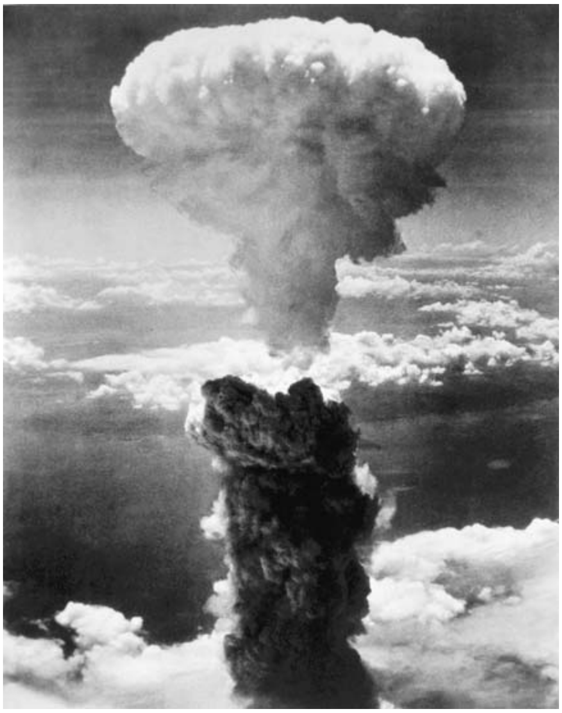
Writing of America, wondering if his country would ever be angelic, Ginsberg wanted his love to show. Yet, his disappointments spoke to many of his followers even as his gentle spirit transcended the vocabulary that shocked. By the early 1980s, Allen Ginsberg had become so respected as a representative of America's counterculture that the State Department sent him all over the world as an ambassador of freedom.

When Ginsberg died in 1997, his poetic vigor and personal kindness were honored in every community where poetry mattered. Harvard professor Helen Vendler noted that Ginsberg was a liberator. For many young people, Vendler suggested, Ginsberg offered "the first truthful words ever heard." "How beautiful is candor," his American ancestor Walt Whitman had written—allowing Allen Ginsberg to continue a legacy of free expression touching every social and erotic experience.

"The real question"—asked by a dying friend of writer Grace Paley and included in the dedication to her collected stories—"How are we to live our lives?" was asked many times during this decade. The 1950s offered up no easy answers. Levittowners, black urban migrants, atomic scientists, victims of blacklists and victims of quotas in professional schools—all struggled to define themselves in an affluent world that offered many the freedom Allen Ginsberg represented. Artists in other media also found that this moment offered time to explore new ideas and individual talents (Kaledin 2000, 155–62; *Daily Life Online*, "Intellectual Life: Literature," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

SCIENCE: THE ATOMIC BOMB

After World War II, science and scientists became closely related to the federal government, especially with the development of nuclear science and space exploration. Not only did hundreds of scientists devote their careers to advancing the scientific goals of the federal government, but they also became the subject of government investigation. Anyone involved with specialized military knowledge always needed scrutiny. In the decade after the war, the case that embarrassed the entire country was that of J. Robert Oppenheimer, former director of the Manhattan Project (which developed the atomic bomb). After his success at Los Alamos, America valued Oppenheimer as the man whose energies created the bomb that ended the war. He became a national hero and in 1948 appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine. A new professional journal, *Physics Today*, also displayed his picture on its first issue—in spite of Oppenheimer's having put aside his career as a research physicist to build the bomb. As head of the Manhattan Project, he experienced no doubts about his status, but the intellectual depth that made him question future atomic wars and oppose the development of the devastating hydrogen bomb turned Oppenheimer, in many eyes, into a security risk.



The H-bomb in action. Library of Congress.

Edward Teller, a physicist enthusiastic about building the "Super"—as the new hydrogen bomb was called—blamed Oppenheimer for alienating the best scientists from working on the project. Because of the witch-hunting atmosphere, the tensions among scientists and government officials in 1954 were extreme. When Oppenheimer went before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1949, the young Richard Nixon had praised him for his candor. In 1954, however, the government moved to strip Oppenheimer of his security clearance. Always naive about politics, the great physicist had confessed to past left-wing beliefs and communist associates. Yet, those ideas had not been held against him as director of the Manhattan Project. Suddenly, his opposition to the H-bomb made Oppenheimer a target for spy hunters who wanted to define all disagreement as treason. Oppenheimer's trial, a series of hearings before the Atomic Energy Commission, remains a scar on the history of American justice. With abundant personal detail David Halberstam captures its intensity in *The Fifties:* "There hadn't been a proceeding like this since the Spanish inquisition," he quotes David Lilienthal, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).

The hearings against him left Oppenheimer stunned. Although the most distinguished scientists in America testified on his behalf, the government's judges paid no heed. After a lifetime of eloquence, Oppenheimer wilted. He could no longer be "the powerful witness for freedom of scientific opinion" his friends had expected him to be. At that moment, as one journalist reported, the great scientist appeared sadly as a man "diminished by tiny misdeeds from the past." Edward Teller's calculated praise of Oppenheimer's patriotism ended with implications that he was no longer fit to protect the vital interests of the country. In April 1954, the AEC voted two to one to deny security clearance to the man who had enabled the United States to build the atomic bomb.

Meanwhile Harry Truman had already gone ahead with the construction of the hydrogen bomb. He had never shared Oppenheimer's doubts about using the atomic bomb. He knew he had done the right thing. Moreover, Truman listened to political advisors, not to scientists. In March 1954, the United States made a series of hydrogen bomb tests at Bikini Atoll in the Pacific, spreading radioactive ash over 7,000 square miles and inadvertently harming a boatful of Japanese fishermen 80 miles away (Kaledin 2000, 81–82).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Barnouw, Erik. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Caute, D. *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge under Truman and Eisenhower.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

Chaplin, Charlie, dir. *The Great Dictator.* 1940.

Chase, R. "Our Country and Our Culture (Part 3)." *Partisan Review* (Sept./Oct. 1952): 567–69.
Cremin, L. *American Education, 1876–1980: The Metropolitan Experience*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
Halberstam, David. *The Fifties*. New York: Random House, 1993.
Hart, J. D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
Jowett, G., and J. M. Linton. *Movies as Mass Communications*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980.
Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online as *Daily Life Online*, in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.
Marling, K. A. *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.
Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Ravitch, D. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
Rybczynski, W. *Waiting for the Weekend*. New York: Viking, 1991.
Shorter, E. *The Health Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1987.
Sklar, R. *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*. New York: Vintage Books, 1975. Rev. ed., 1994.
Spring, J. *The American School, 1642–1993*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994.
Whitfield, S. J. *The Culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Material Life

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–1959
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

OVERVIEW

Every culture has sought forms of material comfort as a significant aspect of daily life. The basic needs of food and shelter, by definition, require specific expressions of materialism to accomplish those goals. The desire to accumulate material possessions existed in American daily life from the colonial beginnings of the society, and the aspects of evolving materialism are examined in previous volumes in this series. During the Great Depression and World War II, various factors limited the amount of material possessions Americans could acquire. Since free market societies tend to provide basic and superficial possessions on "supply-and-demand" purchasing, people need personal income in order to secure those material goods and products. The 1929 Depression resulted partly from a drop in consumer demand. Wholesale and retail inventories had tripled between 1927 and 1929, leaving warehouses and retail store shelves filled with unsold goods (material). As a result, cutbacks in production to deal with the surplus led to unemployment and a rapid shut-down of the American economy. Effectively, the supply-and-demand curve had produced too much supply and too little demand. While early New Deal efforts to correct that problem sought to control and coordinate production, costs, and employment, the fundamental causes and consequences of the free market system remained unresolved well into Franklin Roosevelt's second term (1937–1941). Unemployment remained high and production had not rebounded from the fundamental impact of the 1929 collapse in the market economy. Much of the success of the New Deal centered on developing programs that accepted the basic concept of supply and demand, recognized that downturns in the economy would occur, and aimed to put in place policies to soften that "natural" condition. Programs like Social Security, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), and others did not aim to prevent a depression; they were put in place to assist Americans who might confront a future depression.

WORLD WAR II, 1940–1945

As noted above in the Economic Life section, the beginning of World War II saw a massive government commitment to revitalize American industry in order to wage war. Government defense contracts put the factories, businesses, and people back to work. "Rosie the Riveter," and millions of others, built the largest industrial war machine, to that point, in history. While that effort certainly helped win World War II, and while it ended unemployment in the United States, America's production resources did not aim at material goods and products for daily consumption. The resources of production focused on warplanes, naval vessels, guns, ammunition, and supplies for the U.S. military and America's allies. Between 1940 and 1944, unemployment in the nation dropped from 8 percent to less than 1 percent. For the first time since 1929, Americans could count on paychecks and the ability to purchase needed material items to make their lives better. Ironically, the commitment to military production, not consumer goods, made it difficult, if not impossible, to buy things.

At the same time, the government instituted a series of rationing laws. The Food Rationing Program began in 1942. Americans usually went to their local public school, one person per family, provided some details on family numbers and other information, and received War Ration Books. "Red Stamp" books provided a limited amount of purchases for butter, meat, cheese, and cooking oil. "Blue Stamps" enabled people to purchase frozen fruit and vegetables, canned and bottled food and drink, and beans. Gasoline rationing came through a different book. Some businesses developed novel products to make access to food easier. Oleomargarine became a substitute for butter in many homes. Kraft made a macaroni and cheese product that served as a replacement dinner for hard-to-procure meat and vegetables. In both an expression of patriotism and necessity, many American families began to grow their own fruit and vegetables in "victory gardens" to supplement hard-to-buy commodities. Store owners might keep their businesses open on weekends and for evening hours, which they did during the war, but Americans found little time to shop and rationing imposed limitations in any event. As with all restrictive programs, people inevitably found ways to break the law and get around the system. Black market selling of rationed items began almost as soon as the Food Rationing Program went into operation. When rationing finally ended in 1946, millions of Americans knew where to go to buy goods and products without their ration books, and they had the money to do so.

POSTWAR CONSUMERISM AND MATERIALISM, 1945–1959

The end of the war created a unique series of conditions that impacted significantly on material life in America. Denied access to a broad range of goods and products since the Depression, people were eager to buy new things. Given the full employment of the war years, they had the money to do so. Business, industry, agriculture, and government recognized that demand for material goods now far exceeded supply. Military contracts had provided businesses with the capital to reinvest into the production of consumer products (private materialism), and new technologies enabled them to shift from wartime production to peacetime material goods and services fairly easily. Consumerism and materialism became, then, synonymous terms in the postwar generation. Housing and automobiles tended to take center stage as explosive expressions of the new materialism.

Appliances

When Vice President Richard Nixon challenged Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev at a trade fair in Russia in 1959, he did not argue that Americans had little poverty, nor did he champion the civic freedoms that define American democracy. Instead he made a big issue of American consumer production for easier living. Later called the "kitchen debate," because the two men hovered about a model American kitchen set up in a model home for fair visitors, the confrontation gave Nixon a chance to bombard the Russians with statistics on American consumption. He boasted that 30 million American families owned their own homes and that 44 million families owned 56 million cars and 50 million television sets—awesome evidence, he insisted, of the success of democratic capitalism. The average working man, Nixon asserted, could easily buy the split-level house on display. He noted also that women bought an average of nine dresses and suits and 14 pairs of shoes a year, trivial statistics that made Khrushchev furiously retort that Americans were just interested in surfaces, gadgets, and obsolescent machines. Khrushchev did not pick up on the fact that America's huge defense industry continued to subsidize many consumer goods. Were Americans just self-indulgent pleasure seekers? Karal Ann Marling, in her challenging book *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (1994), depicted the kitchen as a symbol of the domestic culture of the 1950s. The model on display in Moscow appeared designed around new family values—even though such values reached deep into a past where oven, hearth, and warm food traditionally suggested security. Marling suggested that the several kitchen models sent to Moscow were more than just gadgetry, providing "a working demonstration of a culture that defined freedom as the capacity to change and to choose." By the end of 1959, women comprised over a third of the American workforce. Whether they worked to pay for new appliances or because new appliances gave them more time for self-fulfillment remains a middle-class issue. It has taken decades for Americans to acknowledge that many women have no choice about working outside the home. Their wages contributed to rent or mortgage payments and helped pay for their children's basic needs.

The escape into different levels of consumerism was real in postwar America for the great number of people with good jobs. Five years after the war was over, the amount spent on household furnishings rose by 240 percent. Four years after the war, Americans bought 20 million refrigerators and 5.5 million stoves. The icemen who once delivered large blocks of ice to put in wooden chests became a memory and part of American folklore. To many people, the well-furnished domestic nest supplied stronger moral protection from the bomb than the official shelters a few continued to buy. In her carefully documented book *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988), Elaine Tyler May used the word "containment"—the same word government officials used to define America's relationship with the Soviet Union—to define the lives locked into the domestic scene during the period from 1946 to 1960, when real income rose by 20 percent.

The advances in air conditioning also enhanced technical materialism in the postwar era, both in homes and businesses across the nation. Willis Haviland Carrier, a Cornell University engineer, had begun to design and patent forms of air conditioning systems in the early 1900s, and by the 1920s and 1930s, factories and even movie theaters had installed various systems. After World War II, it became commonplace for stores and businesses to install cooling units, particularly in the American South and Southwest. Homes and automobiles began to use air conditioning widely in the 1950s. In 1946, Americans purchased 30,000 portable air conditioners, and, by 1953, that number had reached more than a million. Containment, as Elaine Tyler May described homes in America in the 1950s, may have had some ironic reference to the Cold War, but more accurately, air conditioning may literally have protected Americans from hot summers. The broad material impact, both commercial and domestic, that air conditioning had on American daily life was enormous.

Most of the appliances created for the American home during those years—washing machines, blenders, toasters, electric razors, dishwashers, power mowers, even television sets—were simple in design to accord with a world in which people did their own household chores. Although wild colors came into the kitchen, and airplane models influenced some industrial architects, the basic domestic designs of the period reflected functional European modernism. In fact, certain classics of industrial design, like the sleek chairs fashioned by Charles and Ray Eames, became part of a rebirth of aesthetic awareness emphasizing function and simplicity. Distinguished industrial architects and artists like Eero Saarinen and Raymond Loewy began to make their work available on a grand scale. Indeed, the most elegant of the period's new appliances remain in the collections of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City and in the Smithsonian collections in Washington, D.C.

The new emphasis on style in personal material surroundings also made choosing furnishings time-consuming and socially challenging. Taste started to be graded in popular magazines—few people wanted to be middlebrow when either highbrow or lowbrow items could suggest individuality and character. The ubiquitous picture window—sensibly created so that mothers could keep an eye on children from inside—also allowed neighbors to evaluate each other's home furnishings. If prewar furniture manufacturers could not always make the costly new styles available rapidly and cheaply, there was, nevertheless, no shortage of canvas butterfly chairs or curved boomerang coffee tables. As many as five million wrought-iron butterfly chairs were manufactured at the time, copied from the original basic Knoll chair designed as an example of excellence in inexpensive furniture.

Easy portability as well as functional design remained another mark of a period when many Americans moved as often as every year. Historian Thomas Hine remarked that a feature of the "populuxe" age was that everything had handles or appeared easy to lift. The demand for informality and flexibility supported the invention of small portable appliances. Nothing stayed in its traditional place: washing machines were in the kitchen and television sets were in the dining room. Many carried their entertainment to the beach or office. Portable radios, ancestors of the boom box, began to intrude on parks and even on public transportation.

By the end of the decade, push-button products defined a new life. Even if a cook did not know the difference between "puree" and "liquefy," the blender appeared to take over all drudgery. Ads showed women talking on the phone as their wash whirled behind glass in a nearby machine, but they did not urge those women to learn new skills in their free time or offer them more stimulating lives. Too often, "labor-saving" devices led simply to more labor in the home. No-iron fabrics and synthetic casual clothes made it easier for women to do all their own laundry. When market researchers discovered that women also wanted to feel useful, they urged producers to leave out essential ingredients in packaged mixes so that good wives could feel they were adding something of themselves to their family's lives when they baked a cake. Betty Friedan's 1963 classic *The Feminine Mystique* also helped women to recognize how extensively they were being manipulated to consume (Kaledin 2000, 121–23).

Clothing

While Americans found new ways to buy and eat food in the years following World War II, clothing styles also saw a shift in material needs and interests. At the end of the war, traditional clothing saw men in suits, ties, and hats. The "man in the gray flannel suit" seemed to dictate a basic, conservative style of clothing that defined the conservative nature of the 1950s.

Just as hairstyles for men remained short (crew cuts, etc.) and their faces clean shaven, the color of their suits and shirts and shoes offered the same basic style. Certainly, men bought more clothes than in the past. Again, affluence and middle-class employment tended to require more. Materialism was not just something people wanted; it was often something the socioeconomic culture expected. Women wore calf-length dresses and high heels when stepping out, and they enjoyed the ability to purchase nylon stockings, the new synthetic material that was cheaper than silk. The garment industry was able to copy high-fashion women's clothing designs from Paris dress designers like Coco Chanel and Christian Dior and reproduce copies at retail cost in stores like Sears and Roebuck and J. C. Penney's. American women could buy more dresses and other items to fill the closets of their new suburban homes. Shoes and other accessories added to their closets. Marketing clearly encouraged people to buy more, suggesting persuasively that the guarded, anxious years of the Depression and war had ended, at least materially.

Gregory Peck stars in *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*. 20th Century Fox/The Kobol Collection.

The noteworthy change in clothing habits began with the emergence of a teenage culture, with its own spending potential. Prior to the 1950s, parents tended to establish clothing styles for their children. By the beginning of the new decade, with more money, new music, and movie idols of their own and an inclination to rebel, American teenagers heralded a new materialism in their clothing purchases. James Dean's portrayal of an "average" teenager in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) served as a sartorial icon of the new generation of young adults. Leather jackets (although Dean wore a red, cotton zippered jacket), Levi's blue jeans, and sneakers or penny loafers adorned the new idols of teen fashion, unless they added motorcycle boots to go with the leather jackets. Hair was longer (ducktails and sideburns), and the young men often kept a pack of cigarettes in the rolled short sleeve of their t-shirts. Teenage girls opted for poodle skirts, blouses, saddle shoes, and ballet slippers. Cardigan sweaters became part of the young high school girl's apparel as well. James Dean and Natalie Wood (his co-star in the film) personified the look and the style, but other teenage heroes also influenced clothing styles. Soon, the influence of casual clothes and styles among American teenagers began to affect the way their parents dressed. The suburban backyard barbecues and the long drives on the new interstate highways made comfortable clothes more appealing. The new washing machines made cotton fabric easier to clean than sending clothes to a dry cleaner. And new casual styles simply became part of a more casual lifestyle in the late 1950s. For these and other reasons, adult men and women began to alter their clothing styles as well and add new types of clothes to their wardrobes.

Hollywood actress Terry Moore epitomizes 1950s women's fashion. The Kobol Collection.

If James Dean's influence motivated teenagers, Katharine Hepburn's choice to wear slacks in her films influenced American women as well. A style of "preppy" (loosely defined upper-middle-class prep school styles) comfort clothes influenced a different direction in selection. Mail order stores like L.L. Bean in Freeport, Maine, had mailed camping gear and clothing to people who hunted and fished for years. Suburban men and women began to order their khaki slacks and Norwegian fisherman sweaters as a regular addition to their wardrobes. Jean LaCoste, the French tennis star, marketed a new short-sleeved tennis shirt with a unique emblem on its front. The "alligator" shirt (actually it was a crocodile, LaCoste's nickname) became popular with affluent American men who saw their local country club pro shops stocked with the item. At the opposite end of the affluent, preppy, country club set, a "beatnik" culture offered another alternative dress style. The trend in American clothing increasingly suggested a more comfortable, less formal style of dress in every part of the culture. Variety had begun to replace orthodox requirements in dress and fashion, and the changes that began in urban and suburban America spread throughout the country.

Marketing

The high priests of American materialism had established their temples along Madison Avenue in New York. The advertising and marketing agencies on that famous avenue became powerful purveyors of the postwar consumer culture and a dominant force in persuading people what they should purchase. Advertising products had existed in the United States and elsewhere for centuries. During the 1800s, newspaper and periodical advertisements for a broad variety of goods and services helped create more than 20 advertising agencies on Madison Avenue by the beginning of the American Civil War. The business of selling products to consumers grew rapidly in the twentieth century. In the 1930s, United States Steel and General Motors created their own public relations departments to work with ad agencies to sell their products. The War Advertising Council coordinated U.S. public relations programs during World War II, marketing everything from War Bonds to enlistment posters, propaganda, and security messages. By the end of the war, powerful advertising agencies like Young & Rubicam and J. Walter Thompson had established multimillion dollar businesses in New York. Their account executives competed for a host of clients, businesses willing to purchase space in magazines and newspapers or time on radio to sell their products to American consumers.

The Edsel, the car Ford could not sell. Library of Congress.

When television surfaced as a new medium of attraction, advertisers flocked to the sets with their messages. Advertising agencies developed the ads, sold the time or space to print or other mediums, and monitored the effect the ads had on public interest. By 1947, J. Walter Thompson sold $100 million in advertising revenues. CBS radio and television became the largest purchaser of advertisements in the nation. In 1952, advertisers used the new Nielsen ratings to determine what shows Americans watched on their television sets and billed advertising time accordingly. Agencies hired sociologists and psychologists to study market interest and public attitudes. Dr. Ernest Dichter, the president of the Institution for Motivational Research, maintained that a successful agency "manipulates human motivations and desires and develops a need for goods with which the public has at one time been un-familiar . . . perhaps even undesirous of purchasing" (http://www.trivia-library.com/ahistoryofadvertising).

Few American consumers were left out of the message. Children confronted a series of advertisements on Saturday morning television as they watched cartoons. Toys and cereal ads sought to persuade the youngsters to entice their parents to buy particular brands at the new supermarkets or toy stores. Afternoon soap operas encouraged women to use the right laundry detergent or bathroom soaps. Sports programs offered men new brands of razors and shaving cream or beer. As bathroom medicine cabinets filled with a host of new products, kitchen cupboards with cereal brands, and driveways in suburbia with cars hot off the assembly lines from Detroit, Madison Avenue went about its clever and expensive campaign.

While periodicals and newspapers remained a continuing source of advertising revenue, and while radio sought to carve a particular market for advertising dollars, television became the new darling of the industry in the 1950s. Thirty- and sixty-second spots, neatly filmed and produced for television, filled a nice gap in programming. In many cases entire hour-long programs attracted one company's advertising. In 1951–1952, 4 of the top 10 television programs had a single sponsor's title. By the end of the decade, advertising had become too expensive, and businesses could no longer afford the cost of supporting a program alone. In popular, important books like Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), the author attacked the advertising industry as a manipulative force in the United States, pushing the materialism and consumer-driven culture of the decade. The powerful ability of ads to form taste and purchasing desires created concern among a host of critics and observers. Yet, Americans seemed able to withhold their dollars and enthusiasm from the most intense advertising when they decided that the product failed to impress them. The classic examples of that marketing calamity emerged during Ford Motor Company's effort to market and sell their new model *Edsel* in 1957. An advertising campaign costing millions of dollars could not attract car buyers to the new model, and it remains a stark example of consumer resistance no matter what the effort to have them buy the product.

Food

If the human need for food remains a necessity, the shift in material access to food products changed significantly following World War II. Traditional neighborhood "mom and pop" grocery stores, in cities and small towns, gave way to a growing demand for supermarkets. In the 1920s, initial self-service stores like Piggly Wiggly and A&P opened their doors to customers looking for convenient, one-stop shopping. The large retail stores offered a variety of food products and household items under one roof, with convenient parking for cars and dependable hours of operation. After the war, with the growing move to the suburbs, supermarket chains expanded rapidly. The addition of frozen and processed foods as convenient items stocked in new systems of refrigeration allowed consumers to select from a broad variety of goods. Meat, produce, and dairy products could be kept cold and displayed in larger volume,

A young boy surprising Santa Claus as he takes a bottle of Coca-Cola from the refrigerator, ca. 1945. Library of Congress.

along with canned and packaged foods. By the 1950s, a number of chain stores had opened throughout America. Wholesale food producers could deliver larger quantities of goods, in refrigerated trucks, to the supermarkets, and customers came to depend on a wide variety and amount of food and other products to purchase in one location.

By 1957, food producers had introduced more than 5,000 new products into the stores. As an example, American consumers purchased 400 million frozen chicken pot pies in 1958. Examining the postwar growth of consumer–material culture in American daily life, it remains essential to consider the abundance of food products available to people living in the United States. Critics have suggested that processed and frozen food diminished both the health and quality content of supermarket selections. Americans settled on quick, tasteless food that lacked nutritional value as they rushed through their local supermarkets doing their weekly shopping. Consumers also saw large corporations enhance their control of the distribution of products and their marketing in everything from boxed cereal to canned goods. Some concern existed as to the ability of the Pure Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to monitor the safety of the products going into the stores. Yet, by the end of the 1950s, the expansion of supermarkets in America had made more food products available to more people, at less cost, than ever before in history. The system appeared here to stay.

If Americans continued to have their meals at home, they also began to eat out more often in the postwar era. New technology in kitchen appliances and access to supermarket convenience certainly made home food preparation easier, but Americans also exhibited an interest in going to restaurants more often than in the past. Clearly, the affluence of the emerging middle class helped prompt the trend. At the same time, the transient nature of wartime travel and separation from families required Americans to find meals outside their homes. Again, neighborhood restaurants, coffee shops, malt shops, and other types of eating establishments offered people everything from quality dining experiences to hamburgers and sodas. Horn and Hardart had opened its chain stores as early as 1902, serving prepackaged food in slots in glass enclosures that could be retrieved by placing a coin in the appropriate slot.

"Food-to-go" options had developed as early as 1921, when *White Castle* began to sell hamburgers for five cents. A series of *White Castle* chains grew throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The revolution in fast food occurred when Ray Kroc purchased a hamburger and milk shake shop in San Bernardino, California, in 1954. Kroc noted that the store owners, Richard and Maurice McDonald, had ordered milk shake machines in large quantities, suggesting clearly that the owners were doing a lot of business. He recognized the potential bonanza in fast-food sales, bought the name McDonald's from the original owners, and began the history of the McDonald's fast-food empire. Kroc envisioned a systematic preparation of fast food, reasonably inexpensive, ready to go, and predictable in quality. In simple terms, whether you went into a McDonald's in Keokuk, Iowa, or Bangor, Maine, a customer could expect the same hamburger, the same milk shake, and the same French-fried potatoes for the same price. Nutritional value didn't matter. Americans developed a taste for the new fast food restaurant for these reasons. By 1961, McDonald's had established the system of production and preparation, franchised its restaurants nationwide, and made the "Golden Arches" the most ubiquitous and recognized business symbol in the country. Other fast-food franchises followed suit.

At the same time as fast food, food to go, and processed food entered the American market, so too did a variety of "comfort food" and ethnic options. Potato chips topped the list of preferred comfort food for Americans, followed by ice cream, cookies, and candy. Chips probably evolved in the mid-nineteenth century at a lodge in Saratoga, New York, but they were not mass marketed until after World War II. Sealed bags replaced tin cans to hold the crisp potatoes, and, in the 1950s, Joe Murphy developed a method to season the potato chips with salt. Under the brand name Tayto, his small company soon attracted a host of copycats, and supermarkets and restaurants filled with bags of chips. The same type of material marketing developed for other forms of comfort foods as well. Freezers in supermarkets and better refrigerators in homes allowed shoppers to purchase prepackaged ice cream to transport from store to house easily. Bags of candy and cookies, which different companies offered on market shelves, emerged in the 1950s and continued to expand in variety. The popularity of comfort food seemed simple. It tasted good. Critics warned that the food had almost no nutritional benefit and probably was unhealthy for people. Heavy in carbohydrates, refined sugar, and other chemicals, the items did little but please the palate. That was enough! The traditional meat and potatoes diet of Americans (also apparently bad for one) had begun to succumb to a host of options and tastes.

Ethnic food also surfaced after World War II as a varietal form. While urban neighborhoods in cities, and rural and regional recipes elsewhere, had always offered different and unique forms of food, the national marketing of ethnic foods became popular in the 1950s. Pizza and Chinese food topped the list. Tomato sauce and mozzarella cheese oven-baked on flat bread with herbs had existed for centuries in Italy, and the item had come to America with immigrants in the early 1900s. Small pizzerias or pizza shops operated in ethnic neighborhoods throughout America, often developing different styles and types of offerings. In 1943, Pizzeria Uno opened in Chicago to sell deep-dish pizza. It is still in business. Mass marketing and franchise pizza restaurants did not appear until the 1960s, but pizza, as a comfort food, had become a staple of American cuisine in the decade and a half following the war.

Chinese restaurants evolved from the numerous immigrants who came to the United States in the nineteenth century and settled in "Little China" neighborhoods in American cities, particularly in the far West. By the mid-twentieth century, such restaurants existed throughout the United States. Every city and town of size in the country had a version of Chinese food available in small establishments, usually family owned, serving everything from legitimate Chinese food to versions of American Chinese options like chop suey and egg rolls. Boxed containers of rice, noodles, mixed vegetables, and some wok-fried meat became staple take-out food in the 1950s.

Through the broad evolution of different food options in the postwar period, from food-to-go restaurants, to frozen food options in the new supermarkets, to a growing interest in ethnic food, American regional menus and options remained. Southern cookouts and picnics featured fried chicken and corn bread. New Englanders cherished their lobster and clambakes. New Yorkers could relish a corn beef on rye at a Jewish delicatessen, and a wide variety of regional, ethnic, and cultural foods continued to appeal to Americans in the era of consumer-material conventionality. The broad, general affluence of the postwar generation made food consumption a matter of taste and choice as much as a condition of mass marketing and prepackaged convenience.

Housing

Housing and the necessities of life also changed during the war for American families. A dramatic housing shortage developed during World War II, and prices for buying or renting homes and apartments rose significantly. In 1940, the average home cost $3,900 and apartment rentals were $30 a month. Salaries averaged $1,800 a year. By 1945, apartment rents had doubled, housing costs had risen by almost 20 percent, and salaries had only increased by $600. To respond to the housing dilemma, the National Housing Agency developed a "Share Your Home" program, asking Americans to volunteer space in their homes for others. Almost 1.5 million families did so. The federal government also built a number of low-cost housing developments that provided around two million new residences.

> ***Snapshot***
>
> **Cost of Living: 1940**
>
> Sugar, 6 cents for 10 pounds; Milk, 51 cents a gallon; Coffee, 42 cents a pound; Eggs, 19 cents per dozen; Hamburger, 15 cents a pound; Bread, 8 cents a loaf.
>
> *Source: Remember When* (Millerville, TN: Seek Publishing).

Similar increases in the cost of food, clothing, and other domestic needs had also risen proportionately. Rationing continued to confront Americans with day-to-day problems in their domestic life. Most agreed to the necessity of rationing essential items for the war effort, but the government-issued ration books for such items as meat, butter, sugar, and gasoline made shortages at home a serious concern. The books had to be presented when purchasing items and the tickets inside limited the amount Americans could procure. Certainly, Americans fared better than people experiencing worse access to domestic goods in other countries, but rationing became an inconvenience during the war. As always, people found ways to get around the law and the ration books. A black market economy grew, and many Americans, particularly toward the end of World War II, took advantage of the opportunity (*Daily Life Online*, "Material Life: Housing," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

The "Other America"

African Americans and Hispanics witnessed an ambivalent evolution in their domestic lives during World War II. Certainly job opportunities expanded significantly, and demographic shifts in population became noteworthy. The number of black workers rose from under three million to almost four million in the industrial North and Midwest.

As black Americans moved from the rural South to the urban North, their domestic life changed. Racism continued throughout the war regardless of location. The military services remained segregated as well. Pay, housing, and available domestic services, including schooling for children, never approached the access that white families had. The domestic shift in living conditions for American minorities ultimately led to racial tension and confrontation.


Japanese-American children heading for internment. Library of Congress.

The *bracero* program was a binational temporary labor contract that the United States and Mexico initiated in 1942. The program was designed to increase the number of Mexican workers in the United States. The influx of Mexican workers produced similar racial tensions in the United States. In June 1943, as an example, riots broke out in Los Angeles, as white sailors attacked Mexican Americans, ostensibly because of the clothes the young Latino males wore. The so-called "Zoot-suit" riots lasted five days.

The worst example of domestic differences in America during the war occurred with the internment of Japanese Americans. Certainly, their domestic lifestyle during the war differed dramatically and tragically from other Americans. The December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor had created a growing demand for the removal of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast of the United States. Under pressure, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 approving Japanese internment.

More than 100,000 Japanese Americans, men, women, and children, were removed from California, Oregon, Washington, and other states. They lost their property, businesses, and homes. By 1942, the War Relocation Authority had interned the Japanese Americans in 10 camps. The Supreme Court in *Korematsu v. United States* (1944) upheld the constitutionality of the internment. The domestic life of those interned Japanese Americans certainly differed from others living through the war. Ironically, a Japanese American division fighting in Italy during the war received more combat decorations than any other unit in the Italian campaign.

World War II had changed both perspective and practice in American domestic life. It had created jobs and money but also rationing. New opportunities for movement and relocation existed, but the anxiety and tension that arose with that condition evolved. Children may have been caught up in the excitement of the war, with scrap drives and victory gardens, but their lives could be disrupted and devastated by moving, divorce, or the death of a loved one in the war. Women certainly had access to newer, perhaps better, employment opportunities, but the work placed stress on their family lives and called into question their "traditional" or "orthodox" role in marriage and family. Of the 17 million Americans who served in World War II, 405,000 died and 670,000 were wounded. Most of those casualties were men. Those who had lived through the war would be returning relatively quickly to peacetime and domestic responsibilities. The women and children had also changed, confronted with a new world of domestic opportunity, responsibility, and challenge. The war had changed all of them.

The demand for housing to fit new lives—to accommodate all the Americans who moved during the war or needed a place to put a new family—was again eased by financial help from the government. In 1949 congressional subsidies helped build low-income urban housing, and many universities built temporary housing for the huge number of new students coming to school under the GI Bill.

The GI Bill helped returning veterans get mortgages as well as educations. A great variety of developments in single-family homes appeared in the suburbs. Between 1945 and 1955 some 15 million housing units were constructed in the United States, leading to historic highs in home ownership. Before World War II would-be homeowners often had to offer down payments as high as 50 percent to buy a house, promising to pay the rest in periods of as short as 10 years. With the GI Bill some veterans put down nothing at all, and others offered a token one-dollar down payment with long-term mortgages. Also important was the wide-scale adoption of the self-amortizing mortgage that fundamentally altered the lending business and made it possible for millions of Americans to become homeowners in the postwar era.

After 1947 changes brought about by the Federal Housing Administration, working with the Veterans Administration, made available mortgages of up to 90 percent with interest rates as low as 4 percent—and with periods as long as 30 years to pay off the debt. By 1960, 60 percent of all Americans owned their own homes.

By 1950, these two government agencies also insured 36 percent of all new nonfarm mortgages; by 1955 they handled 41 percent. The suburbs that grew out of governmental generosity became the market for the new consumerism, demonstrating once again the interdependence of public and private forces shaping the lives of every class. Federal income taxes, withheld from salaries for the first time in 1943, continued to be deducted during the postwar period. People gladly maintained the New Deal tradition of tax-provided public services, such as twice-a-day mail deliveries and, at the local level, services such as street cleaning.

The same technological and production skills that fired United States defense efforts were turning 1950s America into a world of new things. Consumerism made it as easy to be distracted from the Russian menace as it was to ignore the one-third of the population that remained outside of the generally flourishing economy, the "other America" Michael Harrington clearly defined in 1962.

In the years between 1950 and 1970 the suburban population more than doubled, from 36 million to 74 million. People enjoyed living in the mortgage- and building-subsidized communities exemplified by Levittown. In the 1950s the "typical

American" lived in suburbia. Everywhere groups of people established new roots with the help of money saved during the war from higher salaries and War Bonds. If people shared no past experiences with new neighbors, they could still manage to focus on the future of the children most of them had in great numbers. Community efforts to build playgrounds, libraries, schools, swimming pools, and baseball diamonds brought many families together who did not know each other before the war.

The flight to the suburbs remained difficult for blacks. Although over a million African Americans managed to move away from the inner cities after 1950, by 1970 the suburban population still remained 95 percent white. Even though it was true that the American dream of family security embodied in home ownership was more possible than ever before, it was clearly not available to everyone. A gifted journalist and historian, Thomas Hine, described the period between 1954 and 1964 in his book *Populuxe* (1986). Hine pointed out that the number of better-paying jobs running or maintaining new machinery was increasing faster than the number of low-paying jobs was declining. The average industrial wage for white men had doubled since pre-Depression days, and health insurance and paid vacations allowed many working-class people to see themselves as middle class. No longer made up of small proprietors, much of this new middle class, which even included service workers, was employed by large corporations. Because of the smaller number of Depression-born adults, more wealth was shared by fewer people.

Liquor

The consumption of alcoholic beverages has seemed a pervasive aspect of American history since colonial times. Europeans brought the cultural and social traditions of drinking to the Americas, and that aspect of daily life has continued to the present day. Evidence suggests that Americans drank more in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than they do in modern times. Certainly concerns about the social dangers of excess drinking prompted the rise of the temperance movement in the mid-1800s. By the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of states had banned the sale of alcohol. In 1919, the Volstead Act prepared the way for the 18th Amendment. In 1920, the U.S. government banned the manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages throughout the nation. While the law pleased temperance advocates, it led to some serious unforeseen consequences. The acerbic writer H. L. Mencken reportedly noted that "Americans were the most law abiding people in the world, so long as they agreed with the law." Prohibition apparently did not fall into that category. Speakeasies, bootlegging, and organized crime syndicates became commonplace responses to the law as Americans in the 1920s found a variety of ways to circumvent restrictions.

In 1933, the 21st Amendment repealed the 18th. President Franklin Roosevelt, frankly, enjoyed a martini (gin and vermouth) as a favored afternoon cocktail. Throughout World War II, the nation resumed its cultural affection for alcohol. Beer, wine, and hard liquor resumed a legal presence in local and neighborhood bars and restaurants and in American homes. A number of states retained laws prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcohol, but the "noble experiment," as

1949 Lincoln Convertible. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

1956 Ford Victorian. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

Herbert Hoover defined national prohibition, had ended. Like food and other material options in American life, liquor followed a similar pattern of postwar development. Mass marketing of beer made it a standard advertised product on radio, television, and magazines, particularly on aired sports programs. The evening cocktail served as a predinner social habit in millions of American middle-class homes. Sophistication, marketed in magazines like Hugh Hefner's *Playboy,* suggested that not only drinking but also what one consumed, defined style and class. Food and drink, in American daily life, became another broad example of materialism as consumers added beer to their refrigerators and more hard alcohol to expanding liquor cabinets. Affluence and variety continued to dictate American material tastes.

Transportation

America's postwar attraction to automobiles seemed both functional and emotional. The growth of suburban living, the government's construction of interstate highway systems, and the simple luxury of owning a car stimulated the automotive industry to produce and sell millions of new cars in the decade following the war. In 1945, Americans bought 69,500 new cars. A year later, purchases topped two million. By 1949, auto makers sold over five million new vehicles. And the numbers kept increasing. The auto industry reported 6.7 million new sales in 1950 and almost 8 million by 1955. Almost 40 million families registered more than 40 million new cars in 1950 (Kaledin 2000, 55). The boom in purchases turned the Detroit-centered automotive industry, both its corporate management and its labor unions, into one of the most powerful


1957 Ford Thunderbird. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

enterprises in postwar America. At the same time, it helped create a host of new subsidiary enterprises that became profitable companies. The oil industry, trucking, road construction, motels, shopping malls, even drive-in movies all grew and prospered with the expanding sales of automobiles. At the same time, car use threatened other businesses. Bus and train transportation began to slowly, then rapidly decline as a method of travel for Americans.

Greyhound and Trailways bus companies saw a loss of business and routes as more Americans took to the highways in their $1,300 new Fords or Chevrolets. Trains and busses also lost customers as a result of the new consumer use of air travel as a long-range transportation option. The development of jet engines at the end of the war, and their application to commercial planes, enabled the planes to fly higher and faster, above the turbulent weather patterns at lower altitudes. That made air travel safer and more comfortable. By the end of the 1950s major American airline corporations provided a method of transportation previously reserved for the wealthy and privileged.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Evans, S. *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America.* New York: Free Press, 1989.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society.* Boston: Little Brown, 1958.

Harrington, Michael. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States.* New York: Macmillan, 1962.

Hine, T. *Populuxe.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online as *Daily Life Online,* in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Marling, K. A. *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.

May, E. T. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era.* New York: Basic Books, 1989.

Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Tennyson, Jeffrey. *Behind the Arches.* New York: Bantam Books, 1986.

Wright, G. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America.* New York: Pantheon, 1981.

Political Life

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–1959

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE ERA OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

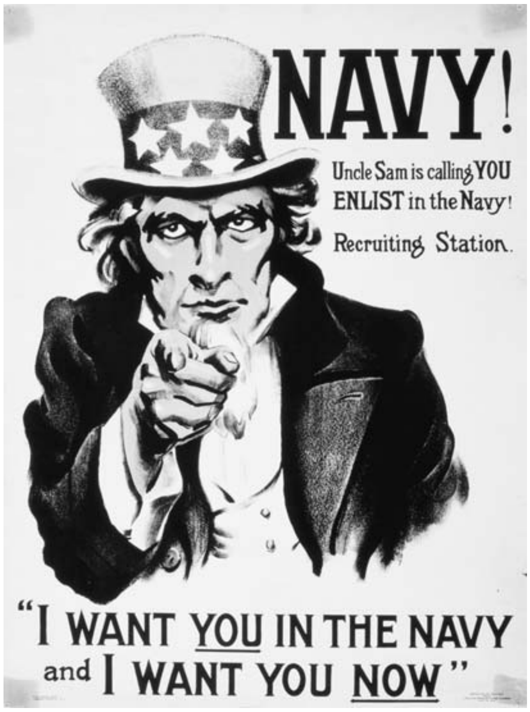
Between 1940 and 1945, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (popularly known as FDR) dominated American political life. Most Americans recognized FDR's profound influence on both the Depression and U.S. involvement in World War II. What the New Deal accomplished most successfully was the restoration of faith in the power of government to help individuals—those forgotten men and women who worked hard but could not manage to support their families. No manuscript collection is more moving than the file of letters collected in Eleanor Roosevelt's archives in the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park from needy people asking for small loans of money until they could get on their feet again. Eleanor Roosevelt acted as Franklin's eyes and ears as she traveled all over the country to help the New Deal become synonymous with concern for human dignity. The creation of Social Security, workers' compensation, and higher income taxes for the rich, along with guarantees that workers could strike for fair wages, among several New Deal programs and reforms, demonstrated respect for the American worker, even if a number of political promises fell short of fulfillment. Called "a traitor to his class," the patrician FDR made his commitments the source of loyalty for many blue-collar workers. The 31 "fireside chats" he gave on the radio made him a father figure to many who thought of the Roosevelts (both Franklin and Eleanor) not as politicians but as moral leaders. Although people at the time never saw pictures of Roosevelt in a wheelchair or realized just how physically helpless he was (no one talked about disabilities), most Americans knew about his bravery in reentering politics after surviving polio. His overpowering smile and his sense of humor won him admirers all over the world, and his aristocratic self-assurance—enriched by Eleanor's great social awareness—proved exactly what the country needed to inspire a national turn from provincial isolationism to global power.

A sailor and a nurse kiss in Manhattan's Times Square, as New York City celebrates the end of World War II, 1945. AP/Wide World Photos.

President Roosevelt, as the leader of the Democratic Party, had also created a powerful political coalition of various interest groups in the United States that enabled him and his party to exercise control of the White House and the Congress between 1932 and 1946. He attracted labor union voters, minorities, and ethnic-urban Americans and managed to hold the southern Democrats to the party by providing a number of programs and policies that benefited their interests. Ironically, he shifted African

American voters to his party while, at the same time, providing few viable benefits in the area of civil rights. That omission enabled him to hold white southern segregationists as Democrats even while Eleanor Roosevelt sought avidly to work with black leaders in support of their causes. Ultimately, African American voters left the Republican Party for the party of FDR largely because they believed that the New Deal programs promised them more in access to jobs, training, housing, and other vital needs than Republicans offered. As a "broker politician," FDR's political legacy remains noteworthy.

In a 1999 prizewinning book, *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II,* Doris Kearns Goodwin documented how amazingly popular FDR's radio speeches were. A May 1941 talk designed to alert the nation to the possibility of a national emergency got a 95 percent favorable response from the more than 65 million people in 20 million homes who listened. When popular comedians such as Bob Hope and Jack Benny appeared thrilled to have a listener rating of 30 to 35 percent, Roosevelt attracted radio audiences of over 70 percent. The only other broadcast that even approached FDR's for listeners was the audience for the Joe Louis–Max Schmeling world heavyweight boxing match in 1938—an encounter that seemed symbolic of battles to come.



Uncle Sam—World War II recruiting poster. Library of Congress.

The paternalism of the New Deal made it easier for many to accept the new constraints on freedom that preparation for war demanded. Price controls and gasoline and food rationing, blackouts and air raid drills, limits on travel, censorship, and security clearances were all part of the war world that took over the New Deal in 1941. "Loose lips sink ships" declared a poster plastered in coastal towns, reminding ordinary people that everyone was involved in winning a war. Along both the East and West Coasts, citizens prepared for attacks from enemy submarines or bombers. Communities set up first-aid stations, and even junior high children trained with Red Cross manuals to learn simple survival techniques. Air raid drills in schools were conducted with buddy systems so that older children became responsible for smaller ones in reaching makeshift shelters or simply hiding under designated tables. Looking back on those moments as the New Deal was replaced by the push to win the war, older Americans found it hard to reconstruct that reality of fear. More often, they cherished the orderliness of the daily tasks that made them feel useful to the country as a whole. The New Deal raised America's self-confidence.

In 1944, Roosevelt broadcast his State of the Union message to Congress as a fireside chat, because so few newspapers would print the entire message. What FDR suggested sought to extend the original commitments of the New Deal into the country's wartime role in the world. A "basic essential to peace," he asserted, "is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want." As he went on to define America's role as one that would not repeat the tragic errors of isolationism, FDR made sure that people understood the need for firm inner discipline and well-organized government to control profiteering and social injustice.

In that speech, FDR not only recommended a specific set of new laws to control the cost of living and equalize the burdens of taxation, he also set up what he called a "second Bill of Rights," based on the belief that "true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence." The rights he defined and connected with the war and with the needs of the entire world might not be as "self-evident" as FDR believed in the 1940s, but they will remain worthy of serious consideration. Roosevelt wanted "all" (in his introduction he did not say "all men," but rather "all—regardless of station or race or creed") to have the right to a useful and remunerative job, the right to a decent home and food and clothing, and the right to medical care and a good education. He also included protection for farmers and businessmen from monopolies and unfair competition abroad, and he articulated once again the concern to provide for the economic insecurities of old age. Always the main agenda of Eleanor Roosevelt's articles, lectures, press conferences, and columns, the bill of economic rights FDR wanted to guarantee—the nation understood—also remained his wife's first priority. Seeking to clarify the dreams of the New Deal for the rest of the world, FDR concluded the 1944 chat with a reminder that "unless there is security here at home, there cannot be lasting peace in the world" (Kaledin 2000).

Children who grew up in the midst of World War II gathered a sense of self-esteem from the many small roles they played to help win the peace. In Vermont, schools provided bags for gathering milkweed pods to replace the no longer available kapok fibers used for warmth and padding in jackets; in New York children collected fats used for making explosives. All over America young people saved tinfoil, flattened tin cans, and enjoyed squishing little yellow buttons of color in white margarine to make it look like rationed butter. Many children bought and sold 10-cent defense stamps, purchases that represented real sacrifice at the time, as 10 cents could also pay for an entire matinee at the movies, with short serials, cartoons, and two feature films included.

Mothers who had been convinced that being housewives was their only true profession often did both volunteer and paid work to contribute to the war effort. They labored in hospitals, knitted afghans (blankets), and helped plot and identify aircraft in undisclosed places all over American cities. Many women were proud to take jobs in defense plants doing "men's work" and to find themselves making higher wages than ever before. By the end of the war, a rare group of women pilots were even flying huge bombers to destinations all over the world.

In one of his remarkable collections of interviews with Americans who lived through significant moments of American history, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II*, author Studs Terkel recorded the impressions of a number of citizens who for the first time in their lives felt free of intense competition to survive. To a lesser extent, that same experience became true on the home front: "It was the last time most Americans thought they were innocent and good without qualifications." One man noted, "It's a precious memory. . . . That great camaraderie of savin' tinfoil, toothpaste tubes, or tin cans, all that stuff made people part of somethin', that disappeared" (Kaledin 2000).

That sense of community also developed in parts of the army where people felt what it was like to work together for the same goals for the first time in their lives.

One ex-soldier told Terkel they were in a tribal sort of situation where they helped each other without fear. The absence of economic competition and phony standards created for many men a real love for the army. Many defense industries refused to give African Americans higher-paying jobs until Roosevelt issued an executive order mandating equality. Although the armed forces themselves, at the time, were bastions of racism, as several of Terkel's black citizens reported, people *had* to learn to work together. The dream of equal rights became part of the incentive for fighting a war against countries that made national ideals of inequality. Wartime belief in cooperation to win seemed more than simple propaganda. Another man Terkel interviewed remembered that the whole world seemed absolutely mad—people were in love with war.

Feeling they were part of something important enhanced the lives of soldiers of all ages. One man recalled those moments of need when others were there to help him as the high point of his entire life. Civilians felt similar connections. A journalist whose patriotism led him at age 14 to lie about his age to get a job in an arms plant felt that he would have done anything for the president. When he was able to join the navy at 18, he told Studs Terkel he was sure "there was right and there was wrong and I wore the white hat" (Terkel 1984).

HARRY TRUMAN'S FAIR DEAL AND THE MARSHALL PLAN

Harry S Truman, a former Missouri senator, was elected as Roosevelt's fourth vice president and succeeded him in office when FDR died in April 1945. Faced with the monumental challenge of ending World War II (victory in Europe in May 1945) and the particular decision to use the atomic bomb to end the war against Japan (August 1945), the new president confronted a variety of difficult postwar issues. George Kennan, a career foreign service officer in the American embassy in Moscow, alerted the president and his secretary of state, George Marshall, to the new threat of a postwar confrontation with America's World War II ally, the Soviet Union. Between 1945 and 1947, Kennan developed a long-range policy (defined as "containment") to challenge the Russians.

In June 1947, George Marshall announced the new American response at a Harvard University commencement address. The so-called Marshall Plan would commit millions of dollars to revitalize the economies of western Europe and confront the Soviets in that region. It became the initial basis for a growing Cold War strategy against perceived Russian expansion. The plan received the bipartisan support of the Congress, and Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-Michigan) shepherded the necessary legislation through the Congress. President Truman also sought to continue some of the commitments of the New Deal in his domestic policies. By executive order, he eliminated racial segregation in the military and in all federal offices. He also proposed legislation to provide a new program for medical support for Americans. While Republican majorities in the Congress blocked many of his proposals, Truman did seek to continue his predecessor's drive to "promote the general welfare." President Truman narrowly defeated his Republican opponent, Thomas Dewey, in 1948 in an upset victory that stunned most political pundits. The Korean War (1950–1953), however, harmed Truman's influence and popularity, and the rise of Senator Joseph McCarthy and the "Red Scare" of the 1950s took center stage in American politics.

THE DECADE OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER AND MCCARTHYISM

President Dwight D. Eisenhower and wife Mamie at home in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1952. Library of Congress.

As much as Roosevelt dominated the years from the Great Depression through World War II, Joseph McCarthy, a senator from Wisconsin, seemed to influence the decade of the 1950s. Politically, the period following World War II was different from the New Deal era as government solutions became suspect and as the government sought to destroy communists at home and abroad. The term McCarthyism, which now appears in the dictionary and is defined as "the political practice of publicizing accusations of disloyalty or subversion with insufficient regard for evidence" (*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 1969), was applied to that battle against leftists, including those who had helped the New Deal. In other words, Senator McCarthy made a political career of attacking the accomplishments of the Roosevelt years. McCarthy shared Richard Nixon's hostility toward those who were running the State Department, which he claimed was infested with communists. He boasted a list of 205 State Department spies, but when challenged to produce proof McCarthy changed his accusation to "bad risks" and lowered the number to 57. Later Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland offered McCarthy $25,000 to convict just one actual employee of the State Department. McCarthy never collected the money.

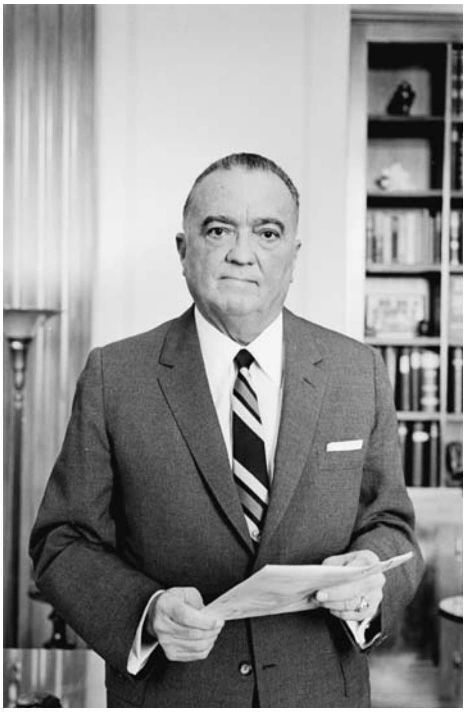
The country looked for scapegoats to compensate for Russia's Cold War aggression and for the loss of China to communist ideology. McCarthy came up with Owen Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins University professor and China scholar who would call his memoir *Ordeal by Slander*. Lattimore retired to England after being accused of spying for Russia. John Stuart Service, a State Department China desk expert in the 1940s who favored withdrawing U.S. support from Chiang Kai-shek, was fired in 1951 on trumped-up charges. The simple idea that ridding America of communists at home would cure world tension and purify democracy appealed to many. By the end of 1950, Congress had also passed the Internal Security Act, also known as the McCarran Act, to register all communists, strengthen espionage and immigration laws, and set


Senator Joseph McCarthy. Chaiba.

up detention camps for spies and saboteurs in case of emergency. As early as 1947, the *American Legion* magazine boasted that the House Un-American Activities Committee had not summoned any farmer, workman, or "common man." Without exception, the legionnaires pointed out, the suspect people examined were college graduates, Ph.D.s, summa cum lauds, and Phi Beta Kappas from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, or other great colleges. Such dominant populist sentiments made it easy for Dwight Eisenhower to defeat the "egghead" Adlai Stevenson, who ran a sophisticated campaign against him in 1952. A professor at the University of Utah commented on Stevenson's defeat, "A whole era is ended, is totally repudiated, a whole era of brains and literacy and exciting thinking." Most Americans disagreed with that assessment, as Dwight Eisenhower's victory in the election indicated. Eisenhower, the much admired former general who led the Allied victory in Europe, had capitalized on his military credentials to end the conflict in Korea and ensure American security. His campaign also effectively used television to promote the "I like Ike" candidacy. Eisenhower was a man of his time (Kaledin 2000).

After the tremendous Eisenhower landslide in the presidential election of 1952, the Republican-dominated Senate made McCarthy head of his own committee on government operations. He had been reelected by a margin of more than 140,000 votes. Immediately, McCarthy sent two young assistants, Roy Cohn and G. David Schine, on a whirlwind tour of U.S. Information Services abroad that ended with the banning of "books, music, painting and the like" of any communist or fellow traveler. Included were books by Henry David Thoreau and Foster Rhea Dulles, an anticommunist professor who was a cousin of the secretary of state. Ordered to remove dangerous thinkers from libraries, some custodians actually burned books. Many librarians lost their jobs. Eisenhower openly criticized that outrage at a graduation speech in June 1952 at Dartmouth College: "We have got to fight Communism with something better," he declared, "not try to conceal the thinking of our own people." But the president did not countermand McCarthy's directive.

The Wisconsin senator seemed as out of control as a forest fire in a high wind. He made outrageous accusations and bullied innocent people to try to establish guilt by association or past connection. Such irresponsible behavior caused a fellow Republican, Margaret Chase Smith from Maine, to present to the Senate "A



J. Edgar Hoover. Library of Congress.

Declaration of Conscience," signed by six other brave Republicans. She gave her "Declaration of Conscience" speech on June 1, 1950: "I don't like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity," Smith proclaimed. "The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as Communists." She concluded with a common sentiment: "I want to see our nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves" (Congressional Record, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess.). In 1952, Smith's name had been put in nomination for vice president by approving Republicans, although she did not receive the nomination.

Yet McCarthy seemed unable to stop. He did not even hesitate to accuse General George Marshall, wartime chief of staff and later secretary of state, of being a longtime communist sympathizer, although it was Marshall's economic plan for rebuilding Europe that kept much of the West out of communist control. Perhaps for party solidarity, Eisenhower tolerated many of McCarthy's antics, but he responded to the attack on Marshall by declaring the general a distinguished patriot—"a man of real selflessness." He went on to assert, "I have no patience with anyone who can find in Marshall's record of service to this country cause for criticism." By 1951, many Americans began to agree with Harry Truman that Senator McCarthy was an asset to the Kremlin. Adlai Stevenson, twice the Democratic presidential nominee, commented that "perhaps this hysterical form of putrid slander . . . flourishes because it satisfies a deep craving to reduce the vast menace of world Communism to comprehensible and manageable proportions." Stevenson also noted the damage done to freedom: "We have all witnessed the stifling choking effect of McCarthyism, the paralysis of initiative, the discouragement and intimidation that follow in its wake and inhibit the bold, imaginative thought and discussion that is the anvil of policy."

When McCarthy took on the rest of the army, people speculated it was because his protégé, G. David Schine, had been denied special status when drafted, bringing his flashy political career to an end. Not only did McCarthy once again come up with no proven communists in leadership positions in the U.S. army beyond one sympathizing dentist, but he also flaunted his bullying tactics on camera before the American people. In 1954, the Army–McCarthy hearings provided 35 days of riveting television performances demonstrating the new medium as a strong force for exposing truth. No doubt remained about McCarthy's cruel character as he browbeat witnesses and lawyers alike. A documentary film, *Point of Order,* released in 1964 by Emile De Antonio, shows how offensive McCarthy's performances were. In 1954, after eight years of destructive misuse of senatorial authority, McCarthy was condemned by the Senate by a vote of 67 to 22, for misconduct. Through their representatives the American people made clear that they had had enough of profitless ranting. Three years later McCarthy would be dead of acute hepatitis. Yet the anxiety about communism lingered in underlying fears of what the Russians might be up to in the postwar world. As late as 1958, 300 subscriptions were canceled when *Esquire* magazine published an anti-McCarthy article.

THE ARMS RACE, THE DRAFT, REGIONAL SECURITY, AND THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The developing bipolar tension between the United States and the Soviet Union following World War II altered seriously the daily lives of Americans as the government created a variety of new policies and initiatives to respond to the tension. As the Russians created their own atomic weapons in the late 1940s, a nuclear arms race began between the two "superpowers." During the decade of the 1950s, more deadly weapons emerged in the nuclear arsenal (hydrogen bombs) to escalate the tension and danger. Both nations, and other states as well, increased their stockpiles of nuclear weapons in an ever-expanding nuclear arms race. Delivery systems became equally important. Bomber aircraft served as the primary source, but technical development of missiles and submarines added a triad (including bombers) of potential delivery options for nuclear weapons. By the end of the 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union had placed hundreds of nuclear weapons into their arsenals, and Americans confronted the daily danger of a nuclear holocaust.

The Cold War prompted other influences on Americans' daily life. In 1950, the United States instituted a peacetime draft. The law required 18-year-old males to register with the Selective Service Administration as the nation moved to create a large peacetime military force to confront the Soviet Union on a global scale. The National Security Act of 1947 created the National Security Council (NSC), combining the Defense Department, State Department, and Central Intelligence Agency as an advisory body. The NSC had determined that George Kennan's policy of containment and the Marshall Plan were insufficient to confront the dangers of Soviet expansion. The Korean War (1950–1953) also convinced American policy makers that the nation needed to challenge Russia in a global contest that required military as well as economic responses. Accordingly, the United States signed a series of regional security treaties to defend U.S. and Allied interests across the world. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954, and several additional treaties in other regions brought the nation into a number of military defense pacts. Thousands of American servicemen, drafted in the 1950s, became "global police," serving in outposts from Europe to Japan and from the Middle East to the Pacific. Ironically, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles defended the expansion of nuclear weapons in the American arsenal by arguing that they were cheaper, both economically and socially, than drafting more American young men to confront the massive conventional forces of the Soviet Union. In colloquial terms, those deadly weapons provided "more bang for the buck."

The social impact of the draft saw hundreds of thousands of young Americans serving two- and three-year enlistments that required basic training and deployment not only to bases in the United States but throughout Europe, Asia, and elsewhere.

A generation of American families became accustomed to that required service for their young men. The draft did not end until Richard Nixon's administration in the 1970s and the creation of the so-called all-volunteer army.

During the 1950s, the federal budget devoted more than 50 percent of its revenues to defense, an enormous increase in spending and commitment that Americans had never experienced in peacetime. Those demands on the economy placed an increased emphasis on research and development (R&D) in military technology and saw the evolution of corporations and businesses devoted to the production and distribution of military weapons and systems of defense. Traditional peace advocates and other concerned citizens in the United States had begun to question the wisdom of the nation's expanding military and nuclear commitment. The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) claimed 25,000 members at the end of the decade. A Student Peace Union organized in 1959, even while Reserve Officer Training Programs (ROTC) existed on most American college campuses to train commissioned officers to serve in the military.

Delivering his Farewell Address in January 1961, President Eisenhower, a lifelong military officer, worried about the evolution of a "military-industrial complex" that had emerged during his administration. He noted that its impact, "economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government." Eisenhower continued, "The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes" (Faragher 2000, 838).

THE ROSENBERGS: A CASE STUDY

The trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the final significant communist trial of the McCarthy era, reached beyond the United States. The whole world commented on the capital punishment meted out to the "atomic spies," who were also parents of two small boys. Their execution seized the literary, mythic imagination and continues to haunt the definition of American justice. Even many who believed in capital punishment were appalled at the lack of moderation in the justice system that sent the Rosenbergs to their deaths with so little concrete evidence against them.

The British atomic physicist Klaus Fuchs had acknowledged in 1950 that he stole atomic bomb plans from Los Alamos. He served 9 years of a 14-year sentence in a British prison. Yet, in the United States, anticommunist fervor became so fierce that the Rosenbergs—whose messenger roles for an allegedly similar theft were much less certain—were executed. Later evidence made it clear that Ethel knew almost nothing about her husband's role. The government had arrested her as a bargaining chip to get more information from him. But, the Rosenbergs' refusal to cooperate with the justice system remained their undoing.

Years later, in March 1997, Alexander Feklisov, a retired KGB agent who had had frequent direct contact with the Rosenbergs, told the *New York Times* that the couple had given Russia no useful information at all about the atomic bomb. Although

Julius had given away some military secrets during 50 or so meetings between 1943 and 1946—when Russia was also our military ally—Feklisov claimed that Ethel was completely innocent. He thought she probably knew of her husband's activities but added, "You don't kill people for that" (Benson 1996).

Convicted mainly on the testimony of Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, who had worked on the bomb, the Rosenbergs appeared an affront to the American myth of family solidarity. The press, instead of revealing the couple's affection for each other and their concern for their little boys, dehumanized them as robot-like Soviet ideologues. That practice continued even after the Rosenbergs' executions when their collected letters were edited to exclude homey details like their passion for baseball and music and the sustenance they found in their Judaism. To be sure, the Rosenbergs were unrealistically committed to communism as a means to making a better world, but in 1942, a freer time, a *Fortune* magazine poll revealed that as many as 25 percent of all Americans considered themselves socialists and another 35 percent were open-minded about socialism. Just a few years earlier, the dogmas the Rosenbergs accepted would never have brought about such extreme punishment. Yet, the dogmas of the man who passed judgment upon them seemed equally distorted. Judge Irving R. Kaufman, perhaps afraid of being labeled soft toward fellow Jews, accused the couple of "a crime worse than murder" in putting the atomic bomb into the hands of the Russians. When Eisenhower denied the Rosenbergs clemency, it was because he too believed they had increased the chances of atomic war and "exposed to danger literally millions of our citizens." He ignored the pleas of Pope Pius XII and the 40 members of the British Parliament who had joined the pope in urging leniency. Jean-Paul Sartre, a powerful French philosophic voice, called the executions "a legal lynching that covered a whole nation with blood."

Whether the Rosenbergs' deaths made Americans feel more secure or merely heightened their anxiety is worth debating. What is certain is the role that the Rosenbergs began—almost at once—to play in the literary imagination. They joined abolitionist John Brown, slave rebel Nat Turner, and anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti as characters in the mythology of American martyrs. As scapegoats, as government pawns, as intellectual outsiders, the Rosenbergs would find literary definition in such works as E. L. Doctorow's novel *The Book of Daniel* (1971) and Robert Coover's *The Public Burning* (1977) and in the poetry of Adrienne Rich and Sylvia Plath. The 1990s drama by Tony Kushner, *Angels in America,* would present a confrontation between Ethel Rosenberg and Roy Cohn, Senator McCarthy's aide, who boasted of getting her executed. "You could kill me," Ethel tells him, "but you couldn't ever defeat me."

Prominent liberal culture critics Leslie Fiedler and Robert Warshow reflected the general public's hostile attitude toward the doomed couple. Falling in with the consensus of Cold War intellectuals, they made it clear that there could be little humanity in people who pursued the rigidity of communist ideology. Recent evidence does indicate that the Rosenbergs were involved in minimal espionage, but whether the punishment fit the crime remains an ongoing matter of debate.

In 1990, *Ethel: The Fictional Autobiography* by Tema Nason created a brave characterization. A movie version of *The Book of Daniel* (1983) attempted to make her sympathetic—unfortunately, not by remembering Ethel as she was but by turning her into a compliant blonde. Tony Kushner's Ethel may well have captured her most essential traits. Students trying to evaluate this trial and what it meant for the United States must look into *Invitation to an Inquest: A New Look at the Rosenberg and Sobell Case* (1968) by Miriam and Walter Schneir (Kaledin 2000, 5–8, 83–86).

THE SUPREME COURT AND *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*

While Americans may have focused their attention on news dealing with the Cold War, Joseph McCarthy's rants against "pinkos" and other subversives in the government, and the Rosenberg case, the United States Supreme Court issued a powerful opinion against segregation in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case (1954). It served as the most significant judicial opinion regarding race and segregation since the late nineteenth century. In 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* the justices had agreed to permit "separate but equal" accommodations for white and black Americans in a Louisiana issue involving public transportation. As a result, racial segregation became commonplace, especially in the South, in a variety of public venues, including schools, theaters, restrooms, and even water fountains in public parks. In the postwar South, still populated by more than half the nation's 15 million African Americans, segregation remained an oppressive, sometimes violent issue. The lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), led by Thurgood Marshall, had begun a series of legal challenges questioning the laws of segregation. The cases tended to focus on examples of less than equal conditions, but Marshall sought to attack the entire concept of segregation regardless of equality of available services.

The *Brown* case involved six challenges to racially segregated schools, brought together in the federal docket. Brown referred to a suit that Oliver Brown filed on behalf of his daughter, Linda, with the local NAACP office in Topeka, Kansas. The youngster had to walk past a white school to attend her segregated school. Combining the issue with other earlier cases, Marshall went before the Supreme Court in 1952. Chief Justice Fred Vinson and the associate justices seemed interested but unconvinced. When Vinson died, President Eisenhower appointed Earl Warren, the former governor of California, to his place. Marshall found a more sympathetic ally in Warren.

Using evidence that Professor Kenneth Clark (an African American psychologist) provided Marshall, he argued that the very nature of segregation developed a negative self-image among black children. Clark had used a collection of black and white dolls as examples. He showed them to schoolchildren, and, in virtually every instance, both black and white youngsters identified negative stereotypes when shown black dolls and positive ones when shown white dolls. Along with other social science evidence and arguments, Marshall persuaded the justices, and Earl Warren utilized his political skills to convince all members of the court to issue a 9–0 decision on May 17, 1954, so as to give the decision collective force and encourage its acceptance. The chief justice summed up the majority report as follows: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race . . . deprive the children of minority groups of equal educational opportunity?" He answered, "We believe that it does" (Faragher 2000, 854).

Effectively, the *Brown* decision had struck down *Plessy v. Ferguson* and challenged institutional segregation as a violation of civil rights in America. In *Brown II,* in 1955, the court left it to local school districts and federal judges to work out desegregation plans "with all deliberate speed." While southerners seized on that vague timetable to stall any real compliance, they also organized resistance to prevent voluntary desegregation. Still, with the imposition of the *Brown* decision, its method and purpose encouraged other groups to push for civil rights and respect.

The Supreme Court joined the postwar African American civil rights movement with full force. During the next decade, the nation would engage in a critical, often violent struggle over the implementation of the law. President Eisenhower, less than supportive of the decision, felt compelled, however, to send federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1957, when that state's governor, Orval Faubus, defied a court order to integrate Little Rock's Central High School. The issue at every level of government and politics dwarfed the concern Americans had shown over Cold War concerns like McCarthyism and the Rosenberg trial. By the end of the 1950s, the fight for civil rights for African Americans had become a central factor in American political life (*Daily Life Online,* "Political Life: Government," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Benson, Robert Louis. *The Venona Story.* Washington, DC: National Security Agency, 1996.

Coover, R. *The Public Burning.* New York: Viking Press, 1977.

Doctorow, E. L. *The Book of Daniel.* New York: Random House, 1971.

Faragher, John Mack, Susan Armitage, Mari Jo Buhle, and Daniel Czitrom. *Out of Many: A History of the American People.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000.

Goodwin, D. K. *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Homefront in World War II.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online as *Daily Life Online,* in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Kennedy, David M. *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Kushner, T. *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes.* New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1993.

Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Saville, P., dir. *Fellow Traveler.* 1989.

Terkel, Studs. *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

Recreational Life

OVERVIEW

A variety of recreational options had developed for Americans throughout the twentieth century. Mass culture, egalitarian and commercial, became readily available to the public throughout the first three decades of the century. New technologies expanded the influence of movies, and radio programming became a major home entertainment option by the 1930s. New musical forms replaced ragtime as jazz and blues pieces filled the speakeasies and new record shops. Many sports historians consider the 1920s the golden age of spectator sports. George Herman Ruth, "The Babe," swatted home runs for the New York Yankees. College football grew into a powerful force in athletics. Bobby Jones even popularized golf, formerly an elite, private country club sport. Gertrude Ederle became the first woman to swim the English Channel, and the new sports heroes created a host of athletic idols for Americans to admire.

The Great Depression may have reduced the time and money available for Americans to spend on such trivial pursuits, but throughout the 1930s, popular culture remained a powerful attraction and escape for the people. Radio shows were free and the soap operas, sitcoms, and melodramas drew millions of listeners. Movie attendance remained high. Spectator sporting events still attracted patrons. Life during the Depression years still appeared to warrant forms of recreation and entertainment to balance the serious economic concerns that faced the nation. By the beginning of the 1940s, and for the next 20 years, American recreational life experienced a new surge of interest in and involvement with the mass culture of American recreation.

FILM

Orson Welles, the famous director and actor, had defined motion pictures as a "ribbon of dreams," a fantasy and escape for Americans in the dark theaters of the United States. A visual medium and form of entertainment, movies became the single most important commercial enterprise in twentieth-century U.S. history, eclipsed only by television by the end of the century. By the beginning of the World War II, major corporate studios, centered in Hollywood, California, controlled the movie industry. Warner Brothers, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, RKO, Paramount, and 20th Century Fox contracted actors, directors, scriptwriters, and technical people. They produced movies, usually 40 to 50 a year, which went to theaters throughout the country, theaters that they owned. In 1940, a movie ticket cost 30 cents and weekly attendance topped 80 million. While the movie industry remained big business for its studio executives, films provided a broad variety of quality and technical innovation to enhance the status of the art form as well as to bring more patrons into the theaters.

From its early years of silent movies and grainy black-and-white options, Hollywood had developed "talkies" in the 1920s (*The Jazz Singer,* 1927) and movies in color by the 1930s (*The Wizard of Oz,* 1939). In a period of only three years, the studios produced four of the great, classic films in American history: *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), *Citizen Kane* (1941), and *Casablanca* (1942). The 1940s also saw the production of Walt Disney animated movies. In 1937, Disney had created *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs.* Three years later, he produced *Pinocchio* and *Fantasia.* At the same time, studios cranked out Saturday morning serials (which lacked the style and substance of classic westerns) and melodramatic *Buck Rogers* science fiction fare for youngsters to enjoy in a pretelevision era. Newsreels, shorts, travel films, and documentaries added to the rich lode of film fare available to moviegoers. The movie industry appeared capable of providing a broad variety of films for a huge audience, both young and old.

Hollywood joined the war effort in 1942. The movie industry created a host of training and propaganda films for the military and for the nation as a whole. Between 1942 and 1945, the famed director Frank Capra (an army major) produced seven films for the War Department entitled *Why We Fight.* John Ford's *Battle of Midway* became one of the most famous docudramas of the war. Those movies offered a powerful defense of America's war effort. At the same time, the studios made a series of commercial movies that portrayed the nation's commitment to World War II in heroic terms. A quintessential hero of many of those films, John Wayne (who never served in the military) confronted the Japanese in *Flying Tigers* (1942), *The Fighting Seabees* (1944), and *Back to Bataan* (1945). Other Hollywood stars joined in the effort. Errol Flynn, Cary Grant, and Robert Taylor, to name a few, gave American audiences a stirring portrait of Americans at war. Critics have argued, correctly, that the popular films portrayed ugly stereotypes of the nation's enemies during the war. Almost without exception, the Japanese and Germans appeared as caricatures, evil and oppressive, even racially offensive in the case of the Japanese. The movies also enhanced a mythical community of soldiers serving in the American armed forces, a team of young men and women from every walk of life and ethnic, racial, and religious background fighting and dying to preserve democracy and freedom. Audiences flocked to theaters to enjoy the options.

While Hollywood continued to produce movies in support of the war effort, thousands of actors, directors, and others joined the armed services, encouraged the sale of War Bonds, and traveled on United Services Organization (USO) tours to visit and entertain the troops serving in the war. Marlene Dietrich, a German actress who moved to the United States, returned to Europe to entertain soldiers throughout the war years. Bob Hope became a notable celebrity and continued his USO visits during the Korean and Vietnam wars. The movie industry believed it had done its part to secure America's victory in World War II, and it emerged from the conflict with pride and profits intact.

In 1938, the United States Congress created the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to investigate the influence and threat of communist subversion in America. HUAC became a permanent committee in 1945, and by 1947, it cast, oddly, a baleful eye on Hollywood. Searching for left-wing communist sympathizers in the movie industry, the committee subpoenaed 41 witnesses to testify before Congress. A number of those witnesses were jailed for "contempt of Congress," and many more were blacklisted by the studio executives and failed to find work in the industry as a result of their public support for the convicted members of their professional community. Whether any of those involved had legitimate ties to the Communist Party remains dubious at best, but as in other areas, the commercial world of the studios feared the backlash of the anticommunist sentiment of the postwar era and responded accordingly.

While the movie industry responded shabbily to the HUAC assault on its colleagues, it continued to produce profitable films for the American audience. In 1946, *The Best Years of Our Lives* provided a brilliant, poignant view of three servicemen returning from the war and the effects the conflict had on them and their families. Movie attendance continued to thrive until the 1950s. In 1946, attendance reached its highest numbers—90 million a week.

Minorities continued to appear as racial stereotypes in most American movies even while Hollywood had begun to make some effort to address the issue of racism in the country. Sydney Poitier starred in *No Way Out* (1950), an example of that shift in attitude, but black Americans and other minorities still had to wait for the civil rights movement of the postwar era to challenge the traditional roles they were forced to accept as secondary, stereotyped characters in movies made primarily to attract white audiences.

Like other recreational options, movies offered Americans a variety of entertainment during the period. Prices for movies rose from 30 cents a ticket in 1940 to 65 cents in 1950 to $1.00 in 1960. People could attend their local theater in small towns or cities, buy a variety of refreshments like popcorn or candy, watch previews of coming attractions, a *Movietone* news clip, and perhaps even sing along with "bouncing ball" lyrics of popular songs of the day. Often the theater showed double features, with two studio films for the price of one. Major urban centers offered large, impressive theaters with similar fare. Drive-in movies became popular in the 1950s as a more private way for young people to view films (critics referred to them as "passion pits") or as a baby-sitting alternative for married families. The first drive-in theater opened in Camden, New Jersey, in 1933. By the 1950s, more than 4,000 drive-in theaters, mostly in rural areas in America, served patrons.

An ominous Supreme Court decision in 1948, the antitrust *Paramount Decree*, ordered the studio to divest ownership of theater chains and forbid "block booking" (studios, in the past, could require theaters to take all of their films whether or not theater owners wanted to do so). The court's decision signaled the end of a monopoly of the business that the major studios had enjoyed for years. The times appeared to be changing as the movie industry moved into the 1950s, yet the business went on as before, apparently content to deliver the same products to a happy audience of postwar Americans. Television offered the new and dangerous alternative. By the mid-1950s, movie attendance began to decline as more Americans turned on their television sets rather than head for the local theater. By 1956, movie attendance had dropped to 46 million a week. Jack Warner, a top Hollywood executive, flying cross-country from California to New York, appeared stunned by the television antennas he saw in the neighborhoods below. At the same time, a number of European directors and films had begun to enter the American market. Federico Fellini and Ingmar Bergman offered new, subtle film interpretations that attracted so-called highbrow viewers. While television appeared to attract a mass culture audience, formerly dependent on the movies, the European films drew the other side of the aisle.

The movie industry felt compelled to respond. New technology enabled Hollywood to produce Cinemascope (wide-screen) color epics and spectacles like *The Ten Commandments* (1956) to challenge television. Additionally, the movie studios began to purchase rights to produce their own television programs, ultimately moving the whole business of television programming from New York to Hollywood. By the end of the decade, the movie industry had also become the television industry.

MUSIC

The music of the 1940s and 1950s shaped significantly the rest of the twentieth century. The special music of the war years became popular for dancing on 78 rpm vinyl "platters" even when the leaders of the big bands—such as Tommy Dorsey, Benny Goodman, and Glenn Miller—were either in uniform or entertaining troops. Middle-class teenagers often held weekend dances with records in neighborhood homes as well as in high school gymnasiums. Some coastal towns inaugurated curfews. Although not every community had complete blackouts, walking about at night in streets with dimmed lights was unwise. Older high schoolers, imitating many movie stars and draftees, might smoke a cigarette or two at such record parties. Often, their parents gave consent to smoking. But drinking and drugs remained unfashionable. Soft drinks and nonalcoholic cider prevailed. Potato chips, pretzels, and popcorn were the only junk food available.


Ella Fitzgerald, "the first lady of jazz." Library of Congress.

Everyone could sing along with wartime favorites like "Don't Sit under the Apple Tree with Anyone Else but Me," "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition," and the Andrews Sisters' sensational "Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy." "Rosie the Riveter" became a particular swing favorite on the home front. Young people—themselves often lonely at home—enjoyed the yearning in sad songs of separation like "I'll Walk Alone" and "Saturday Night Is the Loneliest Night in the Week."

The 1950s may have been the richest decade in American history for African American music. All the great classical jazz musicians and singers, including Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Billie Holiday, and Ella Fitzgerald, performed during this decade. As the LP (long-playing 33 rpm records) brought back the early sounds of King Oliver, Ma Rainey, and Bessie Smith, the new Motown sound began to shape itself in Detroit. In a different cultural genre, Marian Anderson, in 1955, became the first black woman to sing at the Metropolitan Opera, opening the stage for a great parade of superb African American singers. And although Paul

Chuck Berry. Library of Congress.

Elvis Presley, the "King of Rock 'n' Roll." Photofest.

Robeson—because of his communist sympathies—had his request for a passport denied along with opportunities to sing and act, many recordings of his rich, deep voice remained to be transferred to the new vinyl LP recordings.

African American musicians also led the wave of new rock and roll music (a term that came from a black slang term for sex) that swept the nation in the 1950s and began to attract teenage fans. Chuck Berry, Little Richard, and Fats Domino became popular performers, not only with African American audiences, but with white teenagers as well. Joining with white performers, black rock and roll singers and bands breached the racial barrier in popular music entertainment. Richie Valens, a Hispanic performer from California, joined the diverse entourage and created a major hit record with an upbeat, rock version of a traditional Mexican folksong—"La Bamba." Buddy Holly, a white guitar player from Lubbock, Texas, entertained at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem, and signs of a new integrated music became evident. Quickly, radio disc jockeys like Allen Freed put together rock concerts that engaged a host of black and white stars who performed on the same stage to mixed racial audiences. The new music and the racial overtones shocked and alarmed many older Americans, but teenage record buyers (now purchasing new 45 rpm records) supported the growth of rock and roll with millions of dollars in record purchases. The commercial implications of the new music led to a serious "payola" scandal in the 1950s. Agents and record company executives often paid disc jockeys to play particular artists and songs—a form of bribery. Alan Freed, one of the most popular disc jockeys of the era, became involved in one of the major payola scandals of the decade and lost his job and influence. Yet, in the phrase of a contemporary lyric, "Rock and Roll Is Here to Stay!" (Danny and the Juniors, 1956).

The 1950s was also the decade of Elvis Presley, the rockabilly performer from Tupelo, Mississippi. Entertainer Steve Allen first focused discussion on Elvis Presley's pelvic gyrations by making him stand still as he serenaded a tethered hound dog on Allen's popular TV show. But Jackie Gleason deserves credit for pushing Presley's talents on the 1956 *Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey Stage Show* in spite of the Dorsey brothers' protests. Gleason rightly recognized Elvis as another hero of working-class culture, labeling him a guitar-playing Marlon Brando who had "sensuous, sweaty, T-shirt and jeans animal magnetism." Elvis managed to step forward—in between the quaint clowns and trained animal acts—to send rock and roll music into affluent suburban America. Although Dick Clark was on *American Bandstand* every afternoon in Philadelphia with well-groomed youngsters and modest songs, Elvis's ability to attract huge audiences suddenly put him in great demand. Milton Berle even hired him to inject life into his dying show—at what was then the outrageously high salary of $50,000 a week.

Like the rebel James Dean portrayed in 1950s movies and the exposer of phonies Holden Caulfield represented in J. D. Salinger's 1951 classic *Catcher in the Rye,* Elvis Presley became a symbol of youthful independence and teen rebellion. By the singer's third appearance in 1957 on America's most popular variety show, *The Toast of the Town,* host Ed Sullivan defended Elvis as "a real decent, fine boy." The press began to stress his patriotism and how good he was to his mother. Estimates suggest that over 82 percent of the American viewing audience saw Elvis on the Ed Sullivan show—54 million people watched as the cameras shot him only from the waist up.

Fifty years later Elvis Presley would be esteemed by music critics not for his sensationalism but for the agility of his voice and for the variety and range of his ballads. The accusation that he borrowed much from African American gospel music and from black blues had to be understood in the same way that blending of cultural currents must always be explained in a country made up of complex energies. Elvis's rock and roll and rockabilly represented in music the integration of black and white folk cultures that the law attempted to bring about on the social level. Greil Marcus in his classic *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music* (1975) attributes Elvis's great popularity to the self-respect he offered people who were only on the edge of the new affluence. Marcus believed Presley managed to stabilize country music even as he pulled away from it. The power of his music stems from such tensions.

If Elvis remained "king" after the 50 intervening years since appearing with Ed Sullivan, it may be because the tensions he communicated are still part of an upwardly mobile society. The country music Elvis Presley offered America in his own extreme forms continued to celebrate traditions people were losing in the decade after the war. To many, Elvis suggested how much Americans remained trapped by fate. Often his message seemed to be simply that his music passed on lost values from many different roots. Marcus's belief that Elvis embodied "the bigness, the intensity, and the unpredictability of America itself" may well be true. Although many black musicians complained that Elvis stole their material, his African American audience endured.

It is important to remember that the new music that teenagers in America supported continued to compete with other styles. Big band and swing orchestras still entertained audiences at resorts and nightclubs. Frank Sinatra, Doris Day, Nat King Cole, and other crooners still sang their ballads to adoring fans. Broadway and a host of regional theaters offered excellent musicals like *South Pacific* and *Oklahoma*. Innovative new forms of jazz evolved during the era. Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, and numerous black and white musicians pursued a whole new genre of interpretive jazz that brought a different group of record buyers to the stores. Folk music also offered an alternative. The Depression songs of Woody Guthrie would encourage a generation of singers. Joan Baez, Peter, Paul, and Mary, and Bob Dylan topped the list of new recording artists who began to work in the late 1950s. Part of the key to understanding the commercial and cultural quality of American music between 1940 and 1959 should focus on the broad variety of musical forms that became available to men, women, and children living in the United States. By the end of the decade, record stores had begun to divide their options into many different styles, subjects, and tastes. The egalitarian and commercial quality of American mass culture permeated the music business and its entertainers and fans.

The evolution of modern, popular music also created new forms of dancing for Americans. In the 1940s, people would foxtrot to the big band, swing orchestras, but jitterbugging emerged as a wartime option. Teenagers in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s invented their own styles to complement the evolution of rock and roll. Dick Clark's *American Bandstand,* an afternoon television show from Philadelphia, encouraged young viewers to copy the latest dance crazes they saw their peers performing for the cameras. High school "sock hops" and proms followed suit (*Daily Life Online,* "Recreational Life: Music," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

RADIO

Popular radio programs continued to offer the best home entertainment recreation for Americans throughout the 1940s. Television technology had existed much earlier, but the commercial switch to that new visual medium failed to occur until the 1950s. The same basic format for commercial radio that had emerged in the 1920s continued to drive the programming and ownership. The National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) dominated the airways. Their local affiliate stations throughout the country broadcasted programs and formats developed at the national level, with some time set aside for local news and ads. The commercial structure operated on the sale of advertising time to a variety of businesses. Listener interest determined how or whether sponsors would continue to support programs with their money. The Federal Communication Commission (FCC) issued station licenses to operate and assigned radio frequencies on the Air Modulated bands (AM). The advent of television changed the impact of radio and forced it to change its format. Yet, the same major corporations owned television rights of broadcast, and they adopted the same style of organization and format for the visual, home entertainment systems as black-and-white televisions began to enter American homes in the decades following World War II.

While radio remained an important entertainment option, with traditional programming into the 1950s, the advent of television slowly began to erode the former medium's influence with advertisers. As networks shifted to television in the mid and late 1950s, radio altered its approach and appeal as well. A new option for automobiles included AM radios, and the stations began to program music and news as primary forms of programming for car owners. The increase in car sales enhanced that genre for radio programmers and radio bowed to the new "giant" while retaining its entertainment value for Americans through another alternative.

TELEVISION

The rise of television as both a technical and recreational medium following World War II remains a dominant factor in the daily lives of Americans. Erik Barnouw's study, *Tube of Plenty* (1990), offered a thorough and sound history of television's influence. As a technical innovation, television had existed since the 1920s, but it failed to develop as a commercial option until the end of World War II. The dominance of radio, the problems of the Depression and the war, and other factors led network executives and others to conclude that people would not buy the product. That changed after 1950. In 1940, 28 million households owned radios (80 percent). In 1950, almost 41 million homes had radios (93.6 percent). Yet, only four million households had purchased television sets (9 percent). The explosion of television purchases and viewing rose between 1950 and 1960. By the end of that decade, almost 46 million American homes had purchased television sets (87 percent), and the new age of the visual medium had become the home entertainment phenomenon of the postwar era (Faragher 2000, 830).

The three national radio networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, also controlled the commercial and technical development of television programming, and they made an easy transition into the new medium. The FCC provided licensing and technical support for the networks, advertisers flocked to television with commercials, and program directors transferred traditional forms of radio entertainment to the black-and-white television sets that took center stage in American living rooms. Radio advertising often saw a single sponsor underwrite an entire program, but the expanded costs of television advertising made that prohibitive. Instead, advertisers bought 30-second "spots" and spread their advertising dollars to different programs accordingly. As had been the case with radio, the sponsors generally left types of programs to the networks and their affiliated stations. In 1947, net advertising revenues amounted to $2 million. In 1959, that number had reached close to $1.5 billion.

Radio programs had depended on a basic format of offerings: comedy–variety shows, melodramas, and soap operas during the daytime hours. Television easily followed suit. The contention that advertisers foisted those less-than-quality shows on an unwary public is a tenuous one. Both advertising and network executives provided the entertainment that the public appeared to want, often slavishly so. At its worst, the new medium programmed hackneyed, simple shows like *I Remember Mama.* At its best, it produced teleplays written by serious playwrights like Paddy Chaevsky. His 1952 teleplay *Marty* served as example of early television drama at its best. As with all commercial enterprises, supply and demand remained the key factors in television programming, and the networks and advertisers remained quick to respond.

The popularity of particular television shows changed more often than radio shows. If *Amos and Andy,* a comedy about the African American Sunshine Cab Company, remained the top radio show throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s, television audiences appeared more fickle in their selections. In 1950, variety shows like *Texaco Theater* and *Fireside Theater* were numbers one and two in television ratings. Five years later, the *$64,000 Question* (a quiz show that became part of a major television scandal in 1957, when the "selected" contestant, Charles Van Doren, was given answers to help him win the top prize) was number one, and *I Love Lucy,* a comedy program with Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, took the second spot. In 1959, westerns commanded top ratings. *Gunsmoke* and *Wagon Train* led the list (http://www.ClassicTVHits.com).

Top Ten Shows in 1954/1955

1. *I Love Lucy*
2. *The Jackie Gleason Show*
3. *Dragnet*
4. *You Bet Your Life*
5. *The Toast of the Town*
6. *Disneyland*
7. *The Chevy Show* (Bob Hope)
8. *The Jack Benny Show*
9. *The Martha Raye Show*
10. *The George Gobel Show* (Steinberg)

It is easy to make fun of amateur hours like Ed Sullivan's. Fred Allen, a witty radio comedian who did not survive on television, said that Sullivan would stay on the air as long as other people had talent. But there was talent—a prodigious amount. In the 1950s Sullivan offered the public artists as varied as the violin prodigy Itzhak Perlman and the great black musical performers Ella Fitzgerald, Duke Ellington, and Lena Horne.

At a time when black singer Nat King Cole could not get a sponsor for a television series because of his race, Sullivan made a vast audience aware that talent had nothing to do with race or ethnicity. As the nation's leading TV impresario for 23 years, Sullivan shaped American values and taste. Money spent for music lessons and musical instruments soared from $86 million in 1950 to $149 million in 1960. During those early years, Sullivan's Sunday night show brought families and neighbors together in living rooms to watch and discuss new talents.

How much television influenced national values remains a "chicken-and-egg" dilemma. The new medium allowed many Americans to appreciate, for the first time, the best of the national pastime as big-league baseball appeared on the screen. TV also exhibited cultures and countries never thought about in isolationist pre–World War II America. The video screen revealed aspects of nature never imagined before and expanded viewers' visions of what the global village contained. Such images could dispel fear (Kaledin 2000, 18, 138–39, 165).

SPORTS

The 1940s and 1950s witnessed the dawn of televised sports in America, but the full effect of televised sports would not be felt until later in the twentieth century. Following World War II, as television gained popularity across the country, professional team owners and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) made efforts to limit the availability of televised games. Owners and NCAA schools correctly feared that televised games would depress attendance figures. In 1946, Major League owners adopted a rule that prevented teams from broadcasting games into another team's territory, but they repealed that rule in 1952 under the threat of an antitrust lawsuit from the Justice Department. In 1951, the National Football League (NFL) adopted its blackout rule—home teams could not broadcast their games within their own markets. For example, whenever the Philadelphia Eagles played home games, they could not televise those games within the Philadelphia area. In 1952, the NCAA negotiated a deal with Westinghouse to sponsor a limited number of events on NBC. Although attendance at major sporting events declined from the late 1940s to the late 1950s, the availability of televised sports skyrocketed during the ensuing decades, because networks paid increasing amounts of money for the rights to broadcast games. Ultimately, television harmed the popularity of Major League baseball, increased the "win-at-any-cost" attitude within college football and basketball, and sparked the emergence of professional football as America's most popular sport.

—*Courtney Smith*

Sports and Race

Racial discrimination represented another problem plaguing college sports, as most southern schools stubbornly clung to segregation policies. Until the 1960s, most southern schools refused to recruit black players and instructed integrated northern teams to leave their black players at home when they played in the South. Prior to World War II, northern schools bowed to the demands of southern schools, but after the war, the attitude of northern schools began to change. The biggest controversy over integrated northern football teams flared during bowl season, since segregated southern cities hosted three of the most popular postseason bowl games. To remain relevant, southern bowl committees and host cities gradually modified and even removed their segregation guidelines to accommodate integrated northern football teams. By the end of the 1950s, the Sugar Bowl in Louisiana, the Cotton Bowl in Texas, and the Orange Bowl in Florida had held games featuring white southern teams and integrated northern football teams. Despite that progress, racial discrimination remained a persistent problem in American college and professional sports.

In the early 1940s, most American professional sports remained rigidly segregated. Since the 1934 season, professional football owners had maintained almost exclusively white rosters, but by the late 1940s, the National Football League had several black players. Major League baseball's racial segregation policies dated back to the late 1800s. Several early Major League teams had employed a few black players, but all of those black players had disappeared by 1890. Until 1945, Major League owners adhered to a gentleman's agreement, an unwritten rule barring all black players. Due to the gentleman's agreement, black Americans created their own baseball leagues, collectively known as the Negro Leagues. By 1940, the Negro Leagues consisted of the Negro National League with teams in the Northeast and upper South and the Negro American League with teams in the Midwest. After suffering through years of financial losses, the leagues enjoyed a period of economic prosperity during World War II. The war, however, also intensified the movement to integrate Major League baseball, a movement that would unintentionally lead to the demise of the Negro League baseball.

Wendell Smith of *The Pittsburgh Courier,* a black newspaper, initiated the movement to integrate Major League baseball in the late 1930s. Smith wrote columns comparing the statistics of black and white players and petitioned Major League owners to hold tryouts for Negro League players. He also conducted surveys among Major League players and coaches and discovered that most of them were open to the idea of signing black players. During World War II, Smith and other antisegregation activists started their own "Double Victory" campaign, equating victory on the battlefields with victory over segregation on the home front. Antisegregation activists compared American racial segregation laws to Nazi Germany's treatment of the Jews and even staged protests outside Major League ballparks.

Jackie Robinson of the Brooklyn Dodgers and Larry Doby of the Cleveland Indians, the first two African American major leaguers. AP/Wide World Photos.

Much to the worry of Negro League owners, Smith intensified his efforts to secure tryouts for black players with Major League teams. Negro League owners did not assist Smith, because they correctly recognized that the integration of the Major Leagues would mean the end of the Negro Leagues.

Smith's efforts resulted in a handful of sham tryouts, since the vast majority of Major League owners remained opposed to integration. At a press conference in early 1945, Smith briefly met with Branch Rickey of the Brooklyn Dodgers and urged him to scout a promising young player, Jackie Robinson of the Kansas City Monarchs. Unbeknownst to Smith, Rickey had already resolved to sign a black player. Following that meeting, Rickey instructed his most trusted scout, Clyde Sukeforth, secretly to investigate Robinson and determine whether he was a good candidate to break the color barrier. Robinson's personal and athletic background made him the ideal person for this role. He came from a middle-class family, had played on integrated college teams at the University of Southern California (UCLA), and had served in the army during World War II. Most importantly, in secret meetings with Rickey, Robinson promised not to fight back when he faced racial taunts or slurs when he played in the Major Leagues. Consequently, Rickey stunned the baseball world in October 1945 when he signed Robinson to a contract and assigned him to play for the Dodger's minor league club, the Montreal Royals.

Robinson spent one very successful season with the Royals before making his Major League debut with the Dodgers on April 15, 1947. Around the same time as Robinson's debut with the Dodgers, professional football and basketball teams also began to sign black players. Unfortunately, the integration of Major League baseball destroyed Negro League baseball. When he signed Robinson, Rickey neither consulted with the owner of the Kansas City Monarchs nor offered the franchise any kind of financial compensation. As other Major League owners signed black players, they followed Rickey's example and essentially stole the best talent from the Negro Leagues. Consequently, black baseball teams suffered steep financial declines, and the Negro National League disbanded following the 1948 season. During the 1950s, the need for all-black baseball teams eroded as young black players completely bypassed black teams on their way to predominantly white major or minor league teams.

Despite facing a torrent of racial taunts and slurs from fans as well as opposing teams, Robinson enjoyed another successful season and even won the inaugural Rookie of the Year Award. Before retiring in 1956, Robinson added a Most Valuable Player award, a batting title, and a World Series championship to his impressive resume. Unfortunately, the pace of integration proceeded very slowly in the Major Leagues. When Robinson retired, two teams, the Philadelphia Phillies and Boston Red Sox, still had all-white rosters; the Phillies finally started a black player in 1958, and the Red Sox followed suit in 1959. Moreover, spring training facilities in Florida remained segregated, so black players could not live at the same hotels or eat at the same restaurants as their white teammates. Blatant racial discrimination persisted in the Major Leagues through the end of the 1950s and would represent a source of controversy between more assertive black players and conservative white baseball officials in the 1960s.

Sports and Gender

Since the early twentieth century, American social mores had discouraged women from playing competitive sports. In the 1920s, the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation passed a series of resolutions that required all female college teams to engage in noncompetitive "play days" instead of competitive intercollegiate contests. During the 1940s, however, white American women enjoyed their first opportunities to play professional sports. In 1943, concern over the World War II-induced manpower shortage in the Major Leagues led Philip Wrigley, owner of the Chicago Cubs, to establish the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL). During its inaugural season, the AAGPBL maintained four franchises in small Midwestern cities—the Rockford Peaches, the Racine Belles, the South Bend Blue Sox, and the Kenosha Comets. Interest in the AAGPBL peaked in 1948 and then declined sharply in the early 1950s; the league disbanded after the 1954 season. In addition to having female players, the AAGPBL differed from the Major Leagues in several ways. AAGPBL players used a slightly larger baseball, and for the first season, the rules allowed softball-style pitching. Additionally, the base paths in the AAGPBL were only 85 feet long, and the pitcher's rubber was located only 55 feet from home plate.

Penny Marshall's 1992 movie, *A League of Their Own*, starring Geena Davis and Madonna, included some factual errors, but it captured wonderfully the stereotypes AAGPBL players endured. All AAGPBL players had to be beautiful; the players had to maintain feminine appearances, meaning they had to wear make-up and have long hair, or else they were expelled from the league. The players also had to regularly attend charm classes, wear uniforms that resembled miniskirts, and obey their female chaperones. In 1988, the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, finally recognized the league by creating a permanent exhibit, Women in Baseball, that honored all AAGPBL members.

The life and career of Mildred "Babe" Didrikson Zaharias, the most famous female American athlete in the 1940s and 1950s, best exemplified the stereotypes facing white female athletes. At the 1932 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, Babe captured the nation's attention by winning two gold medals and one silver medal in track and field events. Since she had very short hair and wore "masculine" clothes, many sportswriters wrote unflattering articles about her and openly questioned her sexuality. The constant criticisms and questions took their toll on Zaharias and, by the early 1940s, she had very dramatically altered her public persona. She always posed for pictures while wearing dresses or performing domestic tasks, abandoned track and field for golf, and married a professional wrestler named George Zaharias. After dominating the women's amateur golf circuit, Babe worked with other female golfers to establish the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA). Much to the dismay of other female golfers, Babe also dominated early LPGA tournaments and quickly became the tour's biggest financial draw. Sadly, cancer shortened Babe's spectacular career; she died in 1956 at the age of 45. Following those humble beginnings, opportunities for American women to play sports would increase in the 1960s and 1970s.

Sports and Athletics

The American sporting world of the early 1940s differed greatly from the American sporting world of the early twenty-first century. For example, Major League baseball represented America's national pastime, but all of its franchises remained confined to the Northeast and Midwest. The popularity of college football vastly overshadowed the popularity of professional football, the National Hockey League had only four American teams, and the National Basketball Association did not exist. Teams traveled by train, and sports fans followed their favorite teams through the daily sports pages or through game broadcasts on the radio. In their dealing with owners, professional athletes suffered from a lack of bargaining power. Major League baseball owners restrained their players' power through the reserve clause in every player's contract that permitted owners to "reserve" his services indefinitely. Consequently, professional athletes earned comparatively meager salaries, and they usually remained with one team for their entire careers.

The end of World War II unleashed powerful forces that drastically altered American society and transformed the nature of American sports. As a result of a postwar economic boom, many Americans joined an increasingly affluent middle class that enjoyed both greater leisure time and discretionary income. Consequently, many Americans devoted more time to playing and watching sports. Attendance at Major League baseball games and college football games skyrocketed, with several teams establishing new attendance records. Middle-class Americans also participated in a larger number of sports; hundreds of new golf courses and tennis courts dotted the landscape, and sporting goods manufacturers rushed to meet surging demands for new and better products. The postwar sporting boom also touched America's growing youth population, as parents enrolled their sons in Little League baseball and Pop Warner football teams.

Professional sports, particularly Major League baseball, mirrored the changing geographic patterns of middle-class Americans. As a result of the postwar economic boom, the affluent white middle class moved out of urban areas and settled in newly emerging suburban communities. Old industrial cities in the Northeast and upper Midwest suffered the most from that population shift, and new Sunbelt communities in the South and Southwest benefited the most. More significantly, "white flight" decimated those older industrial cities and compelled many Major League owners who had teams in those cities to look for new homes. Since the early twentieth century, Major League baseball had teams in only 10 cities—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis. The movement of Major League franchises began in 1953 when the Boston Braves moved to Milwaukee. In the following year, the St. Louis Browns moved to Baltimore and became the Orioles, and in 1955, the Athletics moved from Philadelphia to Kansas City.

The most shocking and significant relocations occurred after the 1957 season, when the Brooklyn Dodgers moved to Los Angeles and the New York Giants moved to San Francisco. Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley engineered the relocation of both franchises. The Brooklyn Dodgers played at Ebbets Field, an aging ballpark that lacked the facilities to accommodate an increasingly suburban fan base. O'Malley worked with Brooklyn officials to build a new, modern ballpark, but behind the scenes, he also successfully negotiated with officials from Los Angeles to build a new ballpark on a site known as Chavez Ravine. To make the relocation palatable for his fellow National League owners, O'Malley brokered a stadium deal between the city of San Francisco and the New York Giants. With two franchises on the West Coast, O'Malley soothed his fellow owners' concerns about long road trips, and he maintained the long-time fierce rivalry between the Dodgers and Giants. The relocation of the Dodgers and the Giants foreshadowed the era of "franchise free agency" and the appearance of more professional franchises in Sunbelt communities later in the twentieth century. Moreover, those relocations also established a pattern of cities using lucrative stadium deals to attract professional sports franchises, often to the detriment of their local economies.

The rapid growth of youth sports also exemplified both the promise and problems present within postwar American sports. Since the late 1800s, organizations like the YMCA had sponsored organized youth sports programs under the premise that sports fostered good character and discipline. Following World War II, the economic boom and the newly affluent middle class triggered a Baby Boom, which in turn sparked a surge in sports programs. For example, from 1945 to 1959, the number of Little League teams skyrocketed. Parents enrolled their children in Little League baseball, because they believed that it instilled sportsmanship, patriotism, and character in their children. Unfortunately, an insatiable desire for victory at any cost often plagued Little League baseball and negated the program's beneficial qualities. Critics of Little League baseball disliked its adult-controlled bureaucracy and accused adult coaches of placing too much stress on children to win games and championships. Those critics believed that children should organize their own teams, write their own rules, and structure their own games so that everyone, not just the athletically gifted stars, had chances to participate. Little League officials ignored those criticisms and continued to insist that their teams offered many benefits to young boys. Criticisms of Little League baseball would increase after the 1950s as the League expanded its annual World Series and even made games available on national television.

Criticism and the victory-at-any-cost attitude also plagued post–World War II intercollegiate athletics, particularly the big-time sports of football and basketball. Since football's emergence as the predominant intercollegiate sport in the late 1800s, critics had accused coaches and athletic departments of sacrificing academic priorities in favor of athletic victories. In 1906, American colleges had created the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) in response to concerns about falling academic standards and increasing brutality in college sports. As a cooperative organization of member institutions, the NCAA relied on individual schools to police themselves and consequently lacked any real authority to punish schools for rules violations. In October 1929, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching published a report, *American College Athletics*, that highlighted widespread abuses present within most intercollegiate athletic programs. The report criticized schools for recruiting potential athletes, lowering academic standards for those athletes, and offering illegal athletics-based scholarships. The report also criticized alumni and athletic boosters for establishing slush funds and for giving talented athletes jobs that did not entail any actual work. The Carnegie Foundation suggested reforms, but it lacked authority to enforce those reforms or to punish schools for their illegal tactics. Additionally, any uproar over the Carnegie Report quickly became lost amid concerns about the stock market crash and the subsequent Great Depression. Consequently, most colleges and universities openly ignored the Carnegie Report and continued to bend academic guidelines to achieve athletic success.

In 1948, the NCAA tried to implement reform by establishing the Sanity Code, which limited the amount of financial aid schools could offer athletes and required that all jobs given to athletes demand actual work. The Sanity Code, however, quickly fell apart since NCAA member institutions refused to adhere to the new regulations. Seven schools, including the Citadel and the University of Virginia, emerged as the Sanity Code's most vocal opponents, arguing that most schools would find ways to work around the new regulations. Two years later, a shocking and embarrassing scandal erupted when the prestigious U.S. Military Academy (USMA) had to dismiss all but two members of its football team for cheating on exams. The USMA's football team had ranked among the top national title contenders for most of the 1940s and had engaged in a very popular rivalry with another national powerhouse, Notre Dame.

Although college basketball lagged behind the popularity of college football, it also endured a widespread and very embarrassing scandal in the early 1950s. Since Madison Square Garden in New York City hosted most important intercollegiate basketball games, gamblers and mobsters frequented the arena and enticed key players to shave points or even throw games. Alerted to the problem by a local sportswriter, District Attorney Frank Hogan launched an investigation that ultimately indicted 32 players and a handful of professional gamblers. Schools implicated in the scandal included the City College of New York, Long Island University, Manhattan, Bradley, Toledo, and the University of Kentucky; Kentucky had won national championships in 1948 and 1949. In addition to convictions on charges of bribery, conspiracy, and gambling, most of the 32 indicted players also received lifetime bans from the newly created National Basketball Association (NBA). In response to the cheating and gambling scandals, NCAA schools moved to give the association more credibility and authority. At the 1952 convention, member institutions gave the NCAA power to impose sanctions, passed legislation governing postseason competition, and named a full-time executive director. During that same convention, however, NCAA schools formally repealed the Sanity Code and approved the awarding of athletic scholarships, or full scholarships based solely on athletic ability. Despite the increased power of the NCAA, the win-at-any-cost attitude continued to grow, and the gap between academics and athletics widened.

—*Courtney Smith*

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Barnouw, Erik. *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States from 1933–1953*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

———. *The Image Empire: A History of Broadcasting in the United States from 1953*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

———. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Cayleff, Susan E. *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Davies, Richard O. *America's Obsession: Sports and Society since 1945*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 2007.

DeCurtis, A., and J. Henke, eds. *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll: The Definitive History of the Most Important Artists and Their Music*. New York: Random House, 1992.

Faragher, John Mack, Susan Armitage, Mari Jo Buhle, and Daniel Czitrom. *Out of Many: A History of the American People*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online as *Daily Life Online*, in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Kenney, W. H. *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Marcus, Greil. *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1982.

Olson, James, and Randy Roberts. *Winning Is the Only Thing: Sports in America since 1945*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Presley, Elvis. *30 No. 1 Hits*. CD, 2002.

Rader, Benjamin G. *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sports*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998.

Sklar, Robert. *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*. New York: Vintage Books, 1975; rev. ed. 1994.

Steinberg, Cobbett S. *TV Facts*. New York: Facts on File, 1980.

Tygiel, Jules. *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Religious Life

OVERVIEW

Institutional religion and belief have played a key role in American daily life since the colonial beginnings of the nation. Many of the initial European settlers who arrived in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries immigrated to pursue some form of religious practice that they could not follow securely in their country of origin. At the same time, an evolving sense of exceptionalism developed in the American character as generations of immigrants concluded that God had provided a special place and opportunity for them to pursue their lives, both secular and religious. Concepts like Manifest Destiny were colored by that sense of exceptionalism and had strong antecedents in religious belief. At the same time, the eighteenth-century Enlightenment created a more secular commitment to reason rather than faith as a guiding principle in human behavior. Institutional religions remained a major factor in American daily life, as did the creation of more religions in the ferment of America's open religious climate, where there was no state church. Religions grew on the ability to attract and hold believers through persuasion and service. Yet, the Constitution's First Amendment, prohibiting Congress from favoring any religion, and early interpretations of its meaning created ambivalence in American religious life that has remained to the present. Thomas Jefferson wrote of a "wall of separation" between church and state, and Americans have wrestled with that issue ever since. Overall, American religions expanded dramatically so that the United States became the most "churched" nation in the modern world by the twentieth century.

MORALS, MEMBERSHIP, AND ANTICOMMUNISM

Statistically, America has remained a predominantly Christian nation. The vast majority of Americans claimed Protestant Christianity, in a variety of denominations, as their institutional faith. Roman Catholic immigration in the nineteenth century helped to make Catholics the second largest group. Judaism claimed a distant third. Cultural diversity in immigration in the twentieth century saw small groups of other faiths come to the country, but Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, and others have always remained a small percentage of the population. Effectively, Christianity dominated religious life and cultural overview within the American society. At the same time, religious prejudice, often expressed in the form of nativism against immigrants, remained an aspect of American daily life well into the 1900s. Anti-Catholic and Anti-Semitic attitudes were expressed in many different forms, political, economic, and social, throughout the century. Yet, the First Amendment provided a significant legal protection for free religious expression. And the clash of faith and reason continued to occupy the sometimes emotional debate over the role of religious life in American society.

One aspect of that clash emerged in the Scopes Trial in 1925. Fundamentalist Christians vigorously denied the work of Charles Darwin's theories of evolution, which contradicted, in their view, the creation message of the Bible in the book of Genesis. By 1925, five states banned the teaching of evolution in their school systems. In Tennessee, a biology teacher, John Scopes, broke the law, taught Darwin's theories, and was arrested and tried in the small town of Dayton, Tennessee. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) hired Clarence Darrow to defend Scopes, and the prosecutor had William Jennings Bryan, a nationally known politician and fundamentalist, join his team. The resultant "Monkey Trial" called into question the entire religious debate and the role of the First Amendment and made national headlines. The sensational trial, wonderfully portrayed, if grossly distorted historically, in the film *Inherit the Wind* (1960), set the table for religious ambivalence in

America for the remainder of the twentieth century. What was the role of religion in a secular state? How should the First Amendment apply to religious conviction in a society with broadly different points of view? The expanding role of federal courts in making judgments about those questions would serve as a key factor in the last half of the twentieth century.

During World War II, most Americans came to believe that God was on their side in the conflict against Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition" and "there are no atheists in foxholes" provided glib, supportive clichés to Americans engaged in the "good war." Nostalgic songs and music like Irving Berlin's *White Christmas* and Norman Rockwell's patriotic paintings portrayed religious messages in their responses to why Americans fought the World War. Movies about the war even sought to project a religious message of ecumenical sacrifice in an effort to underplay the religious prejudice that still existed in the nation. Virtually every infantry or Marine squad of soldiers had a stereotyped Protestant, Catholic, and Jew fighting together to preserve the "Four Freedoms" that Americans believed they were in defending.

Notable institutional changes took place within the religious establishments in the years 1945 to 1950. Americans felt the need to protect their children from "godless communism." It was a time when atheists and agnostics were sometimes fired from jobs that earlier inspired anticommunists to take work away from liberals. An American skeptic, Elinor Goulding Smith, published an article in *Harper's* magazine in 1956 titled "Won't Somebody Tolerate Me?" Smith could not believe the extent of hostility she experienced as an agnostic during the Cold War. She felt it her duty to champion respect for diversity of opinion.

The rise in church membership during the 1950s astonished those who identified America with the Enlightenment spirit that defined the Founding Fathers. During his administration, Eisenhower even had himself baptized in the White House. In 1954, inspired by Eisenhower's minister, Congress added the words "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance to the United States. And, beginning in 1955, "In God We Trust" was engraved on all U.S. currency. Statistics revealed that although only 49 percent of Americans were church members in 1940, just before the war, membership rose to 55 percent in 1950. And by 1959 an all-time high of 69 percent of polled Americans acknowledged church membership. The generalized breakdown was 66 percent Protestant, 26 percent Catholic, and 3 percent Jewish. No other Western culture was so religious, at least as measured claims of membership in a church or synagogue.

In 1952, the Revised Standard Version of the Bible sold 26.5 million copies in its first year of publication. For two years in a row—1953 and 1954—it was on the best-seller list. The religious enthusiasm of the 1950s, unlike that in other periods of American history, involved every class and economic division. A 1954 survey revealed that four out of five people would not vote for an atheist for president, and 60 percent would not permit a book by an atheist to remain in a public library.

Will Herberg's popular 1955 book *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (1955–1960)* characterized the spiritual mood as "religiousness without religion." He saw the new affiliations not as a way of reorienting life to

God, but as a way to sociability. In his view, churches provided social communities for a nation of uprooted individuals. What might seem more disillusioning about the 1950s was the degree to which American religion—committed to fighting the materialism of communism—was also involved with marketing itself. In 1957, Billy Graham, an enormously popular evangelical preacher, reported a $1.3 million budget, a tremendous amount for the time.

Television provided a new arena for evangelism. Billy Graham, Fulton J. Sheen, and Oral Roberts became important leaders in the religious Cold War, and the evolution of the contemporary Christian Fundamentalist movement probably had its origins during the 1950s. Norman Vincent Peale sold over two million copies of *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1955); Joshua Loth Liebman's *Peace of Mind* (1946) found thousands of readers beyond his own Jewish community. In California a drive-in church—"pews from Detroit"—matched the excitement of drive-in movies and fast foods. A dial-a-prayer service offered solace for those who could not get out. Religious movies such as *The Robe* (1953), *The Silver Chalice* (1954), and *The Ten Commandments* (1956) dramatized Christian struggles in terms easily translated into Cold War images. Spiritual biographies such as Catherine Marshall's *A Man Called Peter* (1952) and Jim Bishop's *The Day Christ Died* (1957) provided personal inspiration.

J. Edgar Hoover's minister preached that communism was really just secularism on the march. Detective fiction writer Mickey Spillane quit writing corpse-strewn best-sellers to become a Jehovah's Witness. The well-endowed actress Jane Russell called the Lord a "livin' doll," Elvis Presley offered up a special Christmas record, and the notorious gangster Mickey Cohen joined Billy Graham's Crusade for Christ. Commitment did not have to be associated with any special religion, nor did religious choice necessarily involve social action. The focus, as in all else during the decade, was on the individual family—the personal, not the civic. A popular slogan claimed that "the family that prays together stays together." Both Billy Graham and Norman Vincent Peale emphasized personal salvation and improvement and downplayed social activism, too readily identified with socialism.

POSTWAR RELIGIOUS SOCIETY

While some of the social and political quality of religious resurgence in the 1950s stemmed from fear regarding communism and the Cold War confrontation with the "godless" Soviet Union, other factors also influenced the quality and style of religious life. The swift and significant changes in postwar lifestyles impacted on religious commitment in the United States. Prosperity, consumerism, demographic movement to the suburbs, new technology, and the influence of the "new science" of the postwar era also confounded Americans even while providing them with a host of new options and opportunities. Institutional religious faith and regular church attendance provided a traditional "sanctuary" for Americans seeking to understand the broad revolutionary trends that faced Americans in the postwar era. Billy Graham and others may have been less interested in communism and more concerned about secular humanism and self-indulgence, which they perceived as the result of a society more concerned with the acquisition of goods and products than serious religious conviction. Most of all, they were concerned with saving souls and used modern instruments of mass appeal, including radio, film, and television. They also utilized carefully staged revivals with inspirational music to get their message out to millions of people.

Socially committed groups like those affiliated with the Catholic Worker and Quakers called attention to the needy. And the black civil rights workers depended on African American churches and ministers as much as on lawyers to back their efforts toward change. For many, peace of soul and mind still centered on ideas of patriotism and community.

In Levittown, Herbert Gans noted that 13 houses of worship—including two synagogues—sprang up during the first two years. Controlled by outside organizations, these religious establishments met local social needs by providing nursery schools, couples' clubs, and associations to bring about civic improvements. Gans saw no social hierarchies among churches. A Levittowner described the most common attitude: "Religious differences aren't important as long as everyone practices what he preaches."

Memories of the Depression and World War II and nightmares of the Holocaust and the H-bomb made the turn to religion often more than just social or material. The great power of the African American churches during this decade demands ongoing respect and study. In his recent detailed work on the civil rights movement, *The Children* (1998), David Halberstam pays special homage to James Lawson, admitted to Vanderbilt Divinity School in 1959 in a token gesture. Along with John Lewis and James Bevel, Lawson helped connect religious faith—as Martin Luther King did—with social justice. He taught his followers to move beyond the passivity of their elders, yet to remain nonviolent as they became the next decade's freedom riders. Black preachers spread their deep religion among people risking their lives for a better society, not for easy salvation. But they too were often invisible at the time.

Women who were denied access to power through careers and institutions also began to play a greater policy-making role in organized religion. Their great enrollment as church members demanded attention on other levels. As early as 1951, the first woman Methodist minister was ordained. And women deacons were encouraged by Southern Presbyterians to help in the fight against communism. Mary Lyman, ordained a Congregational minister in 1950, became the first woman to hold a faculty chair at Union Theological Seminary. Before her retirement as dean of women students in 1955, she played a vigorous advocacy role for other women in the ministry. She also wrote about women's concerns for international accords through the World Council of Churches in a 1956 book, *Into All the World.* In 1957 New York City boasted its first woman Presbyterian minister and also its first Episcopalian "vestry person."

On the West Coast, Georgia Harkness of the Pacific School of Religion published three books during the 1950s emphasizing Christianity's need to create greater meaning for the people in the pews, a belief designed to make better use of women's social gifts. Edith Lowry—an example of such outreach as a Protestant minister to migrant workers—in 1950 took over the directorship of the Home Mission for the National Council of Churches. "Golden Rule Christians" emerged in many church organizations to guide members toward ethics—lived religion—in everyday life (Kaledin 2000, 111–13).

RELIGION AND THE COURTS

As noted above, the federal courts had become critically involved in debates on American religious life, particularly with regard to the First Amendment and the "establishment clause" in the U.S. Constitution. In 1943, in *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, the justices ruled that the school could not require students to salute the American flag during Pledge of Allegiance ceremonies if it contradicted their religious beliefs. In 1947, the Supreme Court considered the question in *Everson v. Board of Education*. The court concluded as follows:

> Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church, Neither can pass laws which aid one religion or aid all religions, Or prefer one religion over another . . . Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of [Thomas] Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect "a wall of separation between Church and State." (McCarthy and Cambron-McCabe 1987, 26, 39)

The court's decision made clear, utilizing the First and Fourteenth Amendments, that the issues that had created the Scopes Trial debate in 1925 had no basis in law. Neither individual states nor the federal government could legislate the kind of laws that Tennessee and others had in the 1920s. Critics would continue to challenge the court's conclusions, but the battle was joined. Future Supreme Court decisions in the 1960s would reaffirm, in more detail, the conclusions reached in *Everson v. Board of Education*.

Any effort to portray American religious life in the period 1940–1959 as simply orthodox, conservative, and focused on fear of communism lacks credibility. Religion in the United States remained a complex, often divisive issue even as it also was a means of bringing people together and meeting not only spiritual needs but also social ones. Just as there were families that attended weekly services for social reasons, there were others deeply committed to social justice. For fundamentalists who demanded orthodoxy and unquestioning faith, other Americans challenged the status quo and called for sweeping changes in the role that women should play in institutional religious life. The federal courts assumed an active role in examining the separation of church and state during the period even while other branches of government sought to imprint religion more obviously on American currency. To some degree, the very nature of the emotional debate in America defined the seriousness with which people in the country approached the issue. Elinor Goulding Smith's article in *Harper's* called clear attention to her concerns about intolerance and her desire for more diversity. Yet, the magazine published the piece, and a variety of champions and supporters joined her call for acceptance (*Daily Life Online*, "Religious Life: Religion," in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Barton, B. *The Man Nobody Knows*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925.

Herberg, W. *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online as *Daily Life Online*, in Kaledin, *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Marty, M. E. *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. Boston: Little Brown, 1984.

McCarthy, Martha M., and Nelda H. Cambron-McCabe. *Public School Law: Teachers' and Students' Rights*. Newton, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1987.

3

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990

Timeline

1960 The movie *Psycho* by Alfred Hitchcock becomes one of the most famous psychological thrillers of all time.

Ninety percent of U.S. homes have a television set.

Democrat John F. Kennedy defeats Republican Richard Nixon in a closely fought presidential race.

Harper Lee publishes *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

February 1: Four black college students are denied service at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina; the students refuse to leave their seats, thus initiating the civil rights movement protest tactic known as a sit-in.

July 4: Following Hawaii's admission as the 50th state in August 1959, the 50-star flag of the United States is introduced in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

September 26: The two leading U.S. presidential candidates, Richard M. Nixon (Republican) and John F. Kennedy (Democrat), participate in the first televised presidential debate.

October 29: In Louisville, Kentucky, Cassius Clay (who later will take the name Muhammad Ali) wins his first professional fight.

1961 January 26: Wayne Gretsky, a future professional hockey player, is born.

March 1: President John F. Kennedy establishes the Peace Corps.

April 17: U.S. forces unsuccessfully attempt to invade Cuba in what becomes known as the Bay of Pigs invasion.

May 5: Alan Barlett Shepard Jr. becomes the first American in space.

July 2: The writer Ernest Hemingway commits suicide.

1962 February 20: John Glenn becomes first American astronaut to orbit the earth.

June 25: In *Engel v. Vitale*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that mandatory prayer in public schools is unconstitutional.

July 6: Nobel Prize-winning American writer William Faulkner dies.

August 5: The famous actress Marilyn Monroe is found dead after a sleeping pill overdose.

October 14: A U-2 plane photographs Soviet nuclear arms positioned in Cuba.

October 22: President John F. Kennedy announces the Cuban missile threat to the American public.

October 28: After a tense standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev announces the removal of nuclear warheads from Cuba.

1963 January 11: *Whiskey a Go Go* opens in Los Angeles as the first disco club in the United States.

June 17: In the case *Abington School District v. Schempp,* the U.S. Supreme Court declares mandatory Bible reading in public schools to be unconstitutional.

August 28: Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington, D.C.

November 22: President John Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas.

November 24: Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby murders Lee Harvey Oswald, the suspected assassin of President John F. Kennedy, on live television.

1964 February 9: The Beatles make their first appearance on the *Ed Sullivan Show,* sparking "Beatlemania."

July 2: President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

July 31: Ranger 7 sends back the first close-up photographs of the moon.

August 28–30: Race riots erupt in Philadelphia.

September 24: The Warren Commission's report on the assassination of President Kennedy is published.

1965 February 25: Malcolm X, the founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, is shot to death.

March 8–9: President Lyndon B. Johnson sends first U.S. troops to Vietnam.

September 6: Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers (UFW) Union launch a boycott of table grapes.

October 30: A march in support of the Vietnam War draws 25,000 to Washington, D.C.

December 9: "A Charlie Brown Christmas" airs on CBS for the first time.

1966 June 13: The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Miranda v. Arizona* that police must inform suspects of their rights before questioning.

August 1: Sniper Charles Whitman kills 13 people at the University of Texas.

August 29: The British rock band the Beatles play their last concert.

October: Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton found the Black Panther Party.

December 15: American animated film producer Walt Disney dies.

1967 January 15: The Green Bay Packers of the National Football League defeat the Kansas City Chiefs of the American Football League in the first Super Bowl.

February 10: Ratification of the 25th Amendment establishes the succession to the presidency.

August 30: Thurgood Marshall is confirmed as the first African American justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

October 2: Thurgood Marshall is sworn in as a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

December 19: Professor John Archibald Wheeler uses the term *black hole* for the first time to describe an object in space characterized by a gravitation field strong enough to even prevent the escape of light.

1968 January: Viet Cong troops attack Saigon, Hue, and other provincial capitals in Vietnam; the action is known as the Tet Offensive.

March 18: The U.S. Congress repeals the requirement for a gold reserve to back U.S. currency.

April 4: Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.

April 11: President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

June 1: Helen Keller, the famous deaf-blind inventor and activist, dies in her sleep in Connecticut.

June 5: Robert Kennedy, brother of the late President John F. Kennedy and a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, is shot at a campaign rally in Los Angeles; he dies on June 6.

November 5: Republican Richard Nixon defeats Democrat Hubert Humphrey to become the 37th president of the United States.

1969 June 27: Police storm a Greenwich Village gay bar, the Stonewall Inn, sparking three nights of riots in the area; the Stonewall riots are widely accepted as the beginning of the gay rights movement.

July 20: Neil Armstrong and Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin Jr. become the first men on the moon.

August 9: Members of the Charles Manson cult, on orders from Manson, murder actress Sharon Tate and others in her home in Los Angeles.

August 15–18: The Woodstock Music and Art Fair is held on a dairy farm near Bethel, New York.

September 26: The pilot episode of *The Brady Bunch* airs.

1970 April 17: Apollo 13 safely lands in the ocean after experiencing a burst air tank on its mission to the moon.

April 22: Earth Day is observed for the first time in the United States.

May 1: Four students are shot to death by National Guardsmen during an antiwar protest at Kent State University in Ohio.

October: The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) begins broadcasting.

October 4: Janis Joplin dies of a heroin overdose.

1971 January 1: Cigarette advertisements are banned on national television.

June 13: The *New York Times* begins publishing the Pentagon Papers.

June 30: The movie *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* is released in theaters.

July 1: Ratification of the 26th Amendment gives 18-year-olds the right to vote.

July 3: Doors musician Jim Morrison is found dead in his Paris apartment.

1972 February 1: First handheld scientific calculator (HP-35) is introduced (price $395).

March 22: Equal Rights Amendment is passed by Congress and submitted to the states for ratification.

June 14–23: Hurricane Agnes kills 117 along U.S. East Coast.

September 1: American Bobby Fischer becomes the world chess champion.

November 7: President Richard Nixon is reelected by a landslide over Democratic challenger George McGovern.

November 8: Home Box Office (HBO) is launched.

1973 January 14: Elvis Presley's "Aloha from Hawaii" television special is seen around the world by over one billion viewers.

January 22: In its *Roe v. Wade* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court makes abortion legal in the first trimester.

March 29: U.S. troops are removed from Vietnam.

August 13: The Houston mass murders occur; 3 men kill 27 boys.

September 2: Fantasy writer J.R.R. Tolkien, the author of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, dies.

October 10: Vice President Spiro Agnew, facing charges of tax evasion and money laundering, resigns from office.

December 6: Gerald Ford, President Nixon's nominee, is confirmed as vice president of the United States.

1974 May 19: The Philadelphia Flyers defeat the Boston Bruins, becoming the first expansion team to win hockey's Stanley Cup.

August 8: Facing likely impeachment as a result of his involvement in the Watergate cover-up, President Richard Nixon becomes the first president to resign from office; Gerald Ford assumes the presidency effective August 9.

September 8: Gerald Ford grants a presidential pardon to Nixon.

October 4: American poet and writer Anne Sexton dies from inhaling carbon monoxide.

November 20: The U.S. Department of Justice files its final antitrust suit against AT&T.

1975 *Jaws* becomes the first movie to gross $100 million dollars in North America.

March 10: *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* opens in New York City with four performances.

May 5: The Busch Gardens Williamsburg Theme Park opens in Virginia.

July 31: Labor leader Jimmy Hoffa is reported missing in Michigan.

October 1: First *Saturday Night Live* episode is aired in New York City.

1976 March 27: The first 4.6 miles of the Washington, D.C., subway system open.

July 4: Americans celebrate the U.S. Bicentennial, the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

July 29: In New York City, the "Son of Sam" kills his first victim and seriously wounds another, marking the beginning of a reign of terror unleashed by his serial killings.

July 31: NASA releases the famous Face on Mars photo.

November 2: Democrat Jimmy Carter of Georgia defeats Republican Gerald Ford to become the first candidate from the Deep South to win the presidency since 1848.

November 26: Microsoft is officially registered with the Office of the Secretary of the State of New Mexico.

1977 The book *The Amityville Horror* by Jay Anson is released.

January 21: President Jimmy Carter pardons all Vietnam War draft evaders.

July 28: The first oil piped through the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System reaches Valdez, Alaska.

August 16: Elvis Presley dies in Memphis, Tennessee, at the age of 42.

December 14: The film *Saturday Night Fever* is released.

1978 First Sundance Film Festival is held.

Artificial insulin is invented.

February 15: Serial killer Ted Bundy is captured in Florida; he later confesses to over 30 murders.

April 10: Volkswagen becomes the first non-American automobile manufacturer to open a plant in the United States.

April 18: The U.S. Senate votes 68–32 to turn the Panama Canal over to Panama on December 31, 1999.

1979 January 13: The YMCA sues the Village People for libel because of their song of the same name.

January 29: Brenda Ann Spencer opens fire at a school in California, killing two teachers and wounding eight students.

March 28: Three Mile Island nuclear reactor in Pennsylvania experiences a near meltdown.

September 1: The *American Pioneer 11* becomes the first spacecraft to visit Saturn.

November 4: Iranian students storm the U.S. embassy in Tehran, holding 66 people hostage; the hostages will remain in Iranian custody for the next 444 days.

1980 January 20: The United States announces that its athletes will not attend the Summer Olympics in Moscow, unless the Soviet Union withdraws troops from Afghanistan.

January 27: Six American diplomats, posing as Canadians, manage to escape from Tehran, Iran.

February 22: Team U.S.A. beats the Soviet Union in what would later be called the “Miracle on Ice” at Lake Placid, New York, thus ending the Soviet Union’s chance for five consecutive gold medals in hockey.

April 24: A failed attempt to rescue the American hostages in Iran results in the deaths of eight rescuers.

April 24: In the Pennsylvania lottery scheme, the state lottery is rigged by six men, including Nick Perry, the host of the live TV drawing.

November 4: Republican challenger Ronald Reagan defeats incumbent Democratic President Jimmy Carter, winning 44 of the 50 states.

December 8: John Lennon is murdered outside his New York apartment.

1981 January 20: The U.S. hostages in Iran are given over to American custody only minutes after Ronald Reagan is sworn in as president of the United States.

March 19: Walter Cronkite signs off from the *CBS Evening News* for the last time.

March 30: President Ronald Reagan is shot and wounded by John Hinckley.

June 12: Major League Baseball begins a 49-day strike over the issue of free agent compensation.

August 12: IBM releases its first personal computer.

September 25: Sandra Day O'Connor is sworn in as the first woman justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

1982 February 10: *Das Boot* is released in the United States.

July 13: Montreal hosts the first Major League Baseball All-Star game held outside the United States.

September: The first episode of *Cheers* premieres.

December 2: Barney Clark becomes the first person to receive an artificial heart.

December 9: Norman Mayers threatens to blow up the Washington Monument before being killed by U.S. Park Police.

1983 February 28: The final episode of *M*A*S*H* is aired, becoming the most watched episode in TV history.

March 23: President Reagan introduces the Strategic Defensive Initiative (SDI).

April 4: Space shuttle *Challenger* makes its first voyage into space.

August 9: Peter Jennings hosts the first broadcast of ABC's *World News Tonight*.

November 10: Microsoft announces the release of Windows, an extension of MS-DOS that allows for a graphical operating environment for PC users.

1984 February 3: Space shuttle *Challenger* is sent on its tenth mission into space.

March 29: The Baltimore Colts of the National Football League move to Indianapolis.

April 24: Apple Computers introduces the Apple IIc portable computer.

July 12: Geraldine Ferraro becomes the first woman on a national political ticket when she is selected by Democratic nominee Walter Mondale to be his vice presidential running mate.

August 6: Prince releases his blockbuster album *Purple Rain*.

October 7: Walter Payton of the Chicago Bears breaks Jim Brown's National Football League rushing record.

November 6: President Ronald Reagan wins a landslide reelection victory over Democratic challenger Walter Mondale, winning 49 of the 50 states.

1985 March 11: Mikhail Gorbachev is elected leader of the Soviet Union.

April 23: New Coke is introduced.

July 3: *Back to the Future* is released in theaters.

September 11: Pete Rose gets his 4,192nd hit, breaking Ty Cobb's record.

October 18: Nintendo releases *NES* to limited American markets.

October 19: The first Blockbuster video store opens in Dallas, Texas.

1986 January 28: Space shuttle *Challenger* explodes just over a minute after takeoff; the entire crew is killed.

April 3: IBM releases the PC convertible, the world's first laptop.

July 18: The motion picture *Aliens* is released in the United States.

October 25: Thanks to Bill Buckner's error, the New York Mets defeat the Boston Red Sox to win Game 6 of the World Series; the Mets go on to win the Series two days later.

September 8: The *Oprah Winfrey Show* hits national television.

November 21: The Iran-Contra scandal breaks out.

1987 January 4: Amtrak train heading from Washington, D.C., to Boston collides with Conrail engines, killing 16 people.

January 5: President Ronald Reagan undergoes prostate surgery; many question the health of the president, who is nearly 76.

May 11: First heart-lung transplant takes place in Baltimore, Maryland.

June 12: President Reagan gives his "tear down this wall" speech in Berlin.

July 11: The United Nations announces that Earth's population has exceeded 5 billion.

August 11: Alan Greenspan becomes chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve.

August 13: President Reagan admits his role in the Iran-Contra scandal.

1988 April 4: Republican Governor Evan Mecham of Arizona is convicted in his impeachment trial and removed from office.

April 14: The USS *Samuel B. Roberts* strikes a mine in the Persian Gulf, sparking U.S. retaliation against Iran; known as Operation Preying Mantis, the resulting encounter is the world's largest naval battle since World War II.

August 6: Police riot in New York City's Tompkins Square Park.

September 24: Ben Johnson sets a record of 9.79 seconds in the 100 meters at the Summer Olympics.

November 8: Republican George H. W. Bush, who was vice president under Ronald Reagan, defeats Democrat Michael Dukakis to become the 41st president of the United States.

December 7: Yasser Arafat recognizes the right of the state of Israel to exist.

1989 March 24: The *Exxon Valdez* tanker spills more then 10 million gallons of oil after running aground in Prince William Sound, Alaska.

April 26: The beloved American comedienne Lucille Ball dies at age 78.

June 23: *Batman* is released in movie theaters.

July 5: *Seinfeld* debuts on NBC.

August 22: Nolan Ryan becomes the first pitcher in baseball history to reach 5,000 strikeouts.

August 24: Pete Rose is banned from baseball for illegal gambling.

October 15: Wayne Gretzky becomes National Hockey League's all-time leading scorer.

December 17: *The Simpsons* debuts on Fox and becomes an instant hit.

1990 January 13: L. Douglas Wilder, the first African American elected governor of a U.S. state, takes office in Virginia.

February 7: The Soviet Communist Party agrees to give up power in the Soviet Union.

June 30: East and West Germany unite their economies.

August 6: The United Nations orders a global trade embargo against Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait.

November 13: The world's first known World Wide Web page is written.

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Overview

IMPACT OF THE "AGE OF PROTEST AND CHANGE" ON AMERICAN DAILY LIFE

Changes in the everyday life of Americans usually occur so gradually that often they are discovered only after they have gained momentum and resulted in new structures and patterns of living. Looking back on the years 1967–1974, we see continuities in everyday life being broken. Lines between private and public lives became so blurred that it became virtually impossible to draw distinctions between them. The descriptive term *modern* fit less well than before, although *postmodern* did not fit well either. Thoughtful men and women of all ages had reason to ponder the meaning of what they saw around them.

They could ask, for example, where idealism had got them: personal insecurity still existed. Some continued to suffer from hunger or a lack of decent clothing or shelter. Some were unemployed or lacked the skills for economic advancement. Distribution of wealth remained unequal. Some Americans still experienced discrimination in their quest for housing, jobs, and education and as producers and consumers in the marketplace. Some were politically powerless; some who had power abused it. They could wonder whether the Voting Rights Act of 1965 did much to change the circumstances of the African Americans who were previously denied the right to vote, or whether lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 (achieved through ratification of the 26th Amendment in 1971) conferred significant power on American youth.

How long did the forces driving the cultural changes of the 1960s last? Did the counterculture leave a permanent mark on America? Many of the changes of these years were most visible among youth on college campuses, so one way to answer those questions is to compare life and ideals there in the early 1970s with what they had been in the late 1960s. Polling studies done by Daniel Yankelovich between 1967 and 1974 and reported in *The New Morality* showed, among other things, that by the early 1970s what might be called the everyday life on campuses was different in these ways:

- the campus rebellion was moribund;
- new lifestyles were scarcely connected to radical politics;
- students sought self-fulfillment within conventional careers;
- criticism of America as a "sick society" had lessened;
- campuses were free of violence;
- gaps between generations in mainstream America had narrowed on values, morals, and outlook;
- the new sexual morality prevailed in both mainstream college youth and mainstream working-class youth not enrolled in college;
- the work ethic seemed stronger on campuses but was growing weaker among noncollege youth;
- criticisms of major institutions were tempered on campus but taken up by noncollege youth;
- criticism of universities and the military had subsided;
- although campuses were quiet, signs of latent discontent and dissatisfaction appeared among working-class youth;
- concerns for minorities had lessened;
- the number of radical students was significantly smaller and there was greater acceptance of requirements for law and order;
- public attitudes toward students showed few signs of anger and little overt concern about them. (Yankelovich 1974, 3–5)

Obviously, the revolt of the 1960s had ended. "Youth no longer appeared as a major force on the national political scene, in search of new institutional patterns and interpersonal relationships," wrote David Chalmers in *And the Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s*. Even though the war in Vietnam was over, "military budgets escalated. No organization spoke for black America. Preachments about radically changing America were more likely to be heard from the Right than the Left. The poor were still poor, particularly the children." Although it may not be proper to blame the 1960s and the consumer culture, he adds that "three of the saddest developments in the following decades derived from both too little and too much affluence and freedom. By the eighties, teen-age pregnancy among the poor, and drugs among the young, had become national epidemics, while the dark shadow of AIDS hovered over sexual liberation" (Chalmers 1991, 144–45).

By 1974, the times of one kind of troubles were over. Other troubles remained, however, as America entered a period of readjustment. At the same time, the period 1960–1990 had created as many new opportunities as it had problems. American daily life responded to both the problems and opportunities with a new set of values and experiences. The cultural transitions we have considered became cultural standoffs that intensified throughout the years. Given their multiple causes and terrains, the term *standoffs* is intentionally used here in the plural. If the opposing sides in the standoffs wish to find common ground, it will be necessary to learn that fixing blame for what went wrong and claiming credit for what went right will not accomplish that (*Daily Life Online*, "Not Ready for New Times," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

PROSPECTS AND LATENT EVENTS

When the 1980s drew to a close, there were few signs that sources of discord would soon fade away. Moreover, what historians call the latent events of the 1960s through the 1980s meant that discord was likely to broaden and deepen. Latent events—in contrast to events that are seen as they occur and have immediate, observable consequences—are generally unnoticed, partly because their consequences are postponed. Latent events of the decades treated in this book, particularly the 1980s, carry prospects of consequences awaiting future generations of Americans. Some latent events merit mention here. Interpretations of their meaning, speculation on the nature of their consequences, and ideas on how they should be dealt with are left to readers (*Daily Life Online*, "Prospects: Latent Events," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Carr, Edward Hallet. *What Is History?* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963, pp. 42–43.

Chalmers, David. *And the Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Hughes, H. Stuart. *History as Art and as Science: Twin Vistas on the Past*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964, p. 107.

Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online*, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Yankelovich, Daniel. *The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the 70s*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Domestic Life

OVERVIEW

If the 15 years following World War II appeared to create a clear template for American domestic life, the 30 years between 1960 and 1990 saw major alterations in that domestic lifestyle for men, women, and children. While changes occurred in family life with regard to marriage, divorce, the perception of the roles of men, women, and children, and other factors, many fundamental domestic concepts remained the same. American families continued to pursue the acquisition of material goods and services, and those families came to expect a continued quality of life that offered variety, options, and benefits to improve their standard of living. In the 30-year period between 1960 and 1990, regardless of economic conditions or new perceptions about families, American domestic life witnessed an increasing expansion of access to products and services designed to equate quality of life with consumption. That basic domestic reality had existed since the end of World War II.

By the beginning of the 1960s, 70 percent of women had married by age 24. That contrasted with only 42 percent just two decades earlier. By 1990, only 50 percent of women that age were married. The birth rate had also grown significantly between 1945 and 1960. Over 4 million children born in 1960 contrasted with the 2.3 million born in 1940. Many families had three and four children. The popular culture suggested an iconic family lifestyle assuming that males had the financial ability to provide sufficient income to manage the growing families, while women could successfully raise children and maintain domestic life with success and pride. The culture also appeared to lavish more time and attention on children than it had in the past. The so-called Baby Boom era had a definable framework for American families, a broad social perception of how domestic life in America ought to proceed. As the economy continued to expand, and the cultural norm continued to present a clear image of American domestic life, the patterns remained reasonably static. Divorce rates also remained historically low. At a bit more than 2 divorces per 1,000 population, the new decade of the 1960s saw divorce rates rise to 2.5 divorces per thousand in 1966 and reach more than 5 per thousand by 1981. The 1960 census noted that a "typical" American family included a father, mother, and three children. The times were about to change.

By 1972, the birth rate in the United States began to decline as numbers dropped below 2.1 children per mother. Those numbers continued to fall throughout the 1970s and 1980s. During those years, two major commissions began to analyze what the data might suggest. The President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future and the Select Commission on Population both considered the long-term impact and considerations regarding population and American society. While observers saw the studies as primarily aimed at demographic and statistical concerns relating to overpopulation, critics argued that the studies appeared to be subtle but profound assaults on the American family and traditional Baby Boom era thinking. Certainly, the decline in the birth rate signaled some significant change in American domestic life. A subtle, but apparent, shift took place beginning in the 1960s. The daily lives of Americans, as they viewed family relations, home life, and other aspects of domesticity, altered perceptibly in the 30 years that followed.

THE "OTHER AMERICA"

It remains important to remember that a segment of the American domestic population did not have full access to the goods, services, and opportunities that continued to expand for most people in the years between 1960 and 1990. Poverty levels in the nation tended to remain steady at between 10 and 15 percent depending on how various agencies calculated the data. While suburban expansion benefited the middle class, still the largest percentage of Americans, inner cities and rural areas continued to see the loss of jobs and revenue. As urban areas lost businesses and tax revenue, school systems suffered, unemployment rose, crime increased, family structure broke down, and domestic life in much of the inner cities did not match the style and substance discussed previously. Similar problems had also occurred in rural areas. The Great Society and War on Poverty programs, initiated in the mid-1960s, certainly had a long-term positive impact in a variety of measurable ways. Yet, the domestic crises that confronted a significant portion of America's people remained an unresolved concern. The fact that middle- and upper-class Americans continued to enjoy a comfortable, secure domestic environment with more options and variety may even have exacerbated the situation. The disparity between the shopping malls of Shaker Heights, Ohio, and Cherry Hill, New Jersey, and the ghettos of Detroit and Camden, New Jersey, drew stark attention to a disturbing reality.

There were two Americas, and that condition remained unresolved. In some ways, it seemed worse. As early as 1965, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a sociologist working as assistant secretary in the Department of Labor, published *The Negro American Family: The Case for National Action*. The book created a fire storm of controversy. Moynihan's statistics indicated that African American family life in the urban ghettos of northern cities had broken down. One of four children was illegitimate. The divorce rate among black families was higher than for their white counterparts (5.1 percent to 3.6 percent). Crime rates among young black men had risen dramatically. Urban blacks lived, predominantly, in single-parent environments, invariably matriarchal, and the nature of domestic life for African Americans in the cities had become a national disgrace. Intended for internal review and study within the Department of Labor, the book became known publicly as the *Moynihan Report*. It made national headlines, and it drew a host of supporters and critics throughout the late 1960s and for the next two decades. Critics saw the report as an attack on African Americans and characterized the study as embodying a blame-the-victim mentality. They believed the report played into the hands of racists who would use the statistics to justify segregation and discrimination. Supporters saw the data as evidence that a trend had developed based on long-standing racism and discrimination. Those "facts" had to be addressed and corrected if positive changes could occur. As a drug culture began to grow in the inner cities in the 1980s, the situations described in Moynihan's report worsened. More studies, more statistics, and more recrimination continued to spark the debate.

Snapshot

Average Cost of Living Examples, 1960 and 1980

	1960	1980
Average Income	$5,199	$19,100
New Car	$2,600	$7,200
Gasoline	$0.25 per gallon	$1.19 per gallon
Milk	$1.04 per gallon	$2.02 per gallon
Movie Ticket	$1.00	$2.25

Source: Remember When (Millersville, TN: Seek Publishing).

CHILDREN

The postwar generation of parents focused more time and lavished more attention on children than had any previous generation in American history. From birth to adolescence, children were perceived as unique and deserving of special consideration and were provided with as many resources and opportunities as possible to help develop their potential. From public schools, to organized sports, to television programming, to access to money, children experienced a wave of attention. Perhaps, themselves denied stability and security during the Depression and the war, American parents, and the society that supported them, encouraged a new view of children. Local Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) witnessed a more direct involvement between parents and their children's schoolteachers and administrators. If recreation and sports activities had been spontaneous and child controlled in the past, the 1960s saw an evolution of parent-run organizations designed to sponsor and direct their children's play time. The 1976 film *Bad News Bears* offered a wonderful critique of the harmful influence such organized activities could have in a less-than-subtle knock at Little League baseball. Organizations like the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America grew into large, administrative systems with paid professionals running the organizations while using volunteer parents to operate the day-to-day activities for their children. Advocates of the adult involvement argued that it made recreation safer and more beneficial. Critics contended that the trend toward such organization and control ruined the pure fun and innovation that spontaneous recreational activity provides children. The debate continues, but the shift to adult-controlled and -supervised activity for young people has remained a standard since the 1960s.

The influence of television on children also grew during the 30-year period between 1960 and 1990. As television technology provided better, bigger color sets, and as advertisers and program directors expanded viewing options for children, kids simply watched more TV. The adolescent "couch potato" evolved in the 1960s and provoked another explosion of commissions and studies examining the impact of too much television on America's youth. From Newton Minnow's warnings as head of the Federal Communication Commission to scholarly work at the Annenberg School of Communication at Pennsylvania University, critics worried that children watched too much television (six to eight hours a day), saw too much violence, and remained subject to ill-advised advertising. Clearly, the medium, to its critics, had a harmful impact. To combat the negative image, new positive shows for children began to compete. *Sesame Street*, *Romper Room*, and *Mr. Roger's Neighborhood* offered instructive and interesting alternatives to previous options, and they certainly became long-standing parts of television's effort to present wholesome entertainment. Critics, however, continued to point out that "plopping" a young child in front of *Sesame Street* may have been better than having them watch competing commercial programs for kids, but it remained a technological "baby-sitter" that freed parents from direct supervision. In any event, the studies, critiques, and concerns failed to diminish the time children spent watching television, nor did it impact fundamentally on the types of programs they viewed.

If American children watched more television between 1960 and 1990, they also had the purchasing power to indulge in a broad variety of technological entertainment options that began to appear in the 1960s and 1970s. Traditional vinyl records (78 rpm) fell victim to new 45 rpm and 33 rpm long-playing records that encouraged teenagers to purchase new record players and records. By the beginning of the 1960s, they dominated the market. Abruptly, tape recorders, stereophonic hi-fidelity components, and other innovations offered another source of entertainment. Between 1965 and the early 1970s, 8-track cassettes became standard fare in automobiles and homes. Sony Walkman portable tape systems entered the market in 1978–1979. As the sale of new records and record players swelled, American children (as well as their parents) could indulge their consumerism in an increasing technological supermarket of items.

Video games also drew the attention of children during the era. Between 1958 and 1962, *Pong* and *Space War* were the first video games developed. Initially devised for use in arcades, the number of video games expanded to more than a hundred in the early 1970s. *Atari* and *Odyssey* pioneered video entertainment systems for children, and, in 1972, they produced home consoles for television sets. By 1980, *Death Race, Space Invaders,* and *Pac-Man* became three of the most popular video games, and children had become enthralled with the games, spending hours in front of their consoles and millions of dollars on the systems. Critics saw the same dangers in the video games as they had with television programming. While one could argue that video games provided children with interactive involvement in contrast to the passive influence of television, the new games still tied young people to sedentary recreation, often violent and clearly commercial. Children had become the victims of a consumer-marketing barrage of new technology that stole time from their formal education and healthy outdoor recreation. Glued to their television sets or record players, America's children had become captive to unhealthy alternatives. The President's Council on Youth Fitness had warned as early as 1961 that America's children lacked sufficient physical activity to maintain healthy lives.

Coupled with new technologies that appealed to children, toy manufacturers expanded their businesses to appeal to American families. Mega-toy stores like *Toys "R" Us* expanded from a furniture store for children in Washington, D.C. to a franchised retail store for toys in the 1960s. Large toy companies like *Mattel* and *Hasbro* added hundreds of new options to the market, and a billion dollar annual industry developed around the business of selling toys to children of all ages. Increasingly, the Christmas holiday focused as much on toy buying for children as it did on religious observance for Christians. Hanukkah, a traditional but minor Jewish religious holiday, also drew parents to the toy stores as sales rose and children came to expect more and more gifts. Saturday morning television commercials not only encouraged youngsters to have parents buy this or that breakfast cereal, they also bombarded children with the latest toys and games to consider.

Education occupied the attention of adults throughout the 30-year period between 1960 and 1990. On the political and social level, the era often focused on civil rights and integration. The Great Society programs of President Lyndon Johnson included massive new education bills to support every level of public education from grade school through college. At the same time, however, educators and parents had begun to rethink the role of education and its domestic purpose for young people. The traditional separation of school and family as dual educators of children began to blur in the public mind. The view that "reading, writing, and arithmetic" were the sole purpose of schools changed. Public education began to accept a social and domestic function as well. Building esteem and self-confidence became important components of the "new education." Sex education in the schools, the subject of a heated social debate, became a standard aspect of the curriculum. Special education legislation developed throughout the public school systems in America, as did new options for underprivileged children that included breakfast programs and after-school care centers. Increasingly, a broad public debate began as to the limits of authority in child rearing. Parents had traditionally controlled subjects and interests now assumed in schools. The domestic role of families in child rearing remained fundamental, but public policy increasingly transferred key aspects of that function to professional educators.

Certainly, the "decades of discord" that marked the period had a direct influence on the attitudes and behavior of children. High school and college-age young people not only questioned the role of government in public issues like civil rights and the war in Vietnam, they also challenged parental authority. In 1955, James Dean's *Rebel Without a Cause* became a popular movie depicting the problems high school students confronted in the immediate postwar era. Their concerns appeared mild by the 1960s and 1970s. Alcohol, drugs, sex, and rebelliousness among teenagers dominated the news and concerned educators and parents. Traditionalists claimed that permissiveness and the decline of family influence had created a trend of defiance and disobedience among young people in every area from clothing styles to outright aberrant behavior. Too much money, self-indulgence, and a lack of social discipline, they argued, had created a generation of ill-behaved adolescents. Other observers argued that the problems confronting young people had become so complex and difficult that their responses to the times were understandable. It was not their fault. It was society's failure.

MEN

Any social change regarding domestic life in America included the role of men. If the previous era had prescribed specific roles for women as mothers and homemakers, that same social conditioning had determined the responsibilities of males as well. Conditioned as breadwinners, patriarchal heads of families, and hardworking, responsible leaders in community standards and behavior, males certainly held power positions within the domestic environment. Just as children and women began to respond to new conditions and options, however, so, too, did American men. Those alterations provoked a variety of responses. Because half of American marriages remained stable, and because many married women began to work outside the home, men had to respond to changes in their home life. The anecdotal world of women changing diapers, cooking meals, and cleaning the house, while men cut the grass, took out the trash, and changed light bulbs required some rethinking. A new division of labor within the family began to surface in American domestic life. Shared responsibilities became more commonplace in the 1970s and 1980s.

While divorce laws certainly made marital separation easier for men and women, the issue of child custody continued to pose a critical problem. Divorce court judges almost invariably awarded custody to women, and they required men, still financially better off than their spouses, to provide alimony and child support payments. Court decisions regarding child visitation policy hinged on narrow options. Men complained that divorce settlements cost too much, they were granted too little access to their children, or some variety of other concerns. Yet, a number of divorced males failed to comply with court orders regarding alimony and child support. "Deadbeat dads" became a catch phrase for men who disregarded their court-ordered responsibilities. At the same time, however, significant numbers of divorced men did pay required alimony and child support but began to question a legal system that seemed to automatically award child custody to their former wives. The complex issues that surrounded the domestic impact of divorce on men, women, and children have remained a major problem.

An area of domestic responsibility that had always confronted American men hinged on their required military service. More than 30 million men served in the U.S. military during World War II (1941–1945), the Korean War (1950–1953), and the conflict in Vietnam (1965–1975). Millions of others were drafted to serve in peacetime assignments overseas and in the United States between 1940 and 1971. The Selective Service System, initiated after World War II and retained until 1971, required all males 18 years of age to register for a military draft. If a man was called to active duty, military service demanded two years of active military duty and, often, additional service in the National Guard. In simple terms, American males could be asked to leave their homes and families and provide military service for the United States. The domestic impact on the men and their families is often overlooked in studies of military history. How that military service shaped men's attitudes and pre- and post-service roles in the domestic environment remained a key aspect of their lives. In 1971, President Richard Nixon, facing increasing political pressure regarding the war in Southeast Asia, announced the end of the military draft. By 1973, conscription into military service ended. While 18-year-old males were still required to register, the U.S. government had determined to create an all-volunteer military force (Millett and Maslowski 1994).

SUBURBS, CITIES, AND RURAL AMERICA

In Richard Hofstadter's award-winning book, *Age of Reform,* he noted that "America was born in the country and moved to the city." If urbanization dominated the first half of the twentieth century, the move to America's suburbs influenced domestic life in the last half of the century. While that movement began following World War II, it accelerated after 1960, and suburban living became more complex. By 1990, a majority of Americans lived in the suburbs. Both rural and urban populations had declined in relation to the suburbs, and demographics also showed a shift in population from the South and East to the Southwest and the Pacific Coast. Suburban living no longer had the look of early Levittown communities, isolated from urban centers. The growth of the American population, the increasing development of land resources for housing, and the rising income of American middle-class workers had begun to create the "megalopolis." Highways and transportation systems tied suburb to city in an expanding network of homes, businesses, shopping centers, and government offices. From Washington, D.C., to Boston, Massachusetts, a massive domestic complex of cities, towns, and infrastructure had emerged as an example of the American megalopolis. Suburban downtowns like those in Tyson's Corner, Virginia, and Costa Mesa, California, were often centers of commerce and business that were as large as many former urban areas. At the same time, utilization of living space in suburban areas required a new form of development. If single homes built on quarter-acre lots had dominated housing construction in the 1950s and 1960s, townhouses and condominiums emerged as an option in the 1980s. The cost of housing and space allocation demanded a more confined suburban option, and those new complexes answered the problem.

Cities suffered in the 1960s and 1970s as more middle-class families and businesses moved to the suburbs. Observers of the accelerating shift saw a variety of reasons for the move. Racial unrest in the 1960s, often punctuated by inner-city riots, prompted "white flight." Businesses found better tax incentives to locate in suburban industrial parks and corporate centers. The decline in industrial production, centered in major urban locations, also influenced the loss of jobs, revenue, and people. The resultant drop in tax revenue placed cities in the impossible situation of providing services with decreasing funds to do so. As a result, unemployment, urban blight, and the slow deterioration of the inner city became common problems in the 1970s and 1980s. Attempts to regenerate the health and prosperity of American cities remained an issue. Baltimore, Maryland, developed an Inner Harbor complex to attract tourists and business. Cleveland, Ohio, began a similar revival, as did other cities. How to bring money back to urban areas became a driving concern by the beginning of the 1990s. Tax incentives, gentrification, and regional responsibility all became strategies to redress urban decline.

Rural America suffered a similar loss of people, revenue, and farms. The number of farms dropped from around 4 million in 1960 to fewer than 2.5 million by 1980, and to fewer than 2 million by 2000. While large corporate agricultural businesses continued to reduce the number of small family-owned farms, a process that had occurred throughout the century, other factors changed the nature of rural living. Rural locations close to cities and suburbs saw the sale of small farms to real estate developers, and the former farming communities became increasingly tied to the burgeoning megalopolis complex of the 1980s. It became more profitable for a farmer to sell his land to developers than continue to compete in an increasingly difficult enterprise. Former farming communities, as diverse as the eastern shore of Maryland and the Amish counties of Pennsylvania, had become tied to the expanding demands and domestic structure of the suburban lifestyle.

Traditionalists argued that two distinct and unique domestic ways of life had been altered dramatically. The great hope of many Americans in the twentieth century had centered on its thriving urban centers. The long-standing value of farmers and rural living had also been part of the nation's mystical, exceptional past. In lore and reality, urban and rural life had defined the American experience. From small town picnics and Fourth of July celebrations to big-city ball games, skyscrapers, and ethnic diversity, domestic life in America had tended to focus on the two traditional templates. Suburban living altered that way of life and created a new way for Americans to assess their domestic environment (Jackson 1985).

TECHNOLOGY, GADGETRY, AND DEBT

Americans continued to use the consumer options of a successful middle-class economy to improve or expand the products and household items brought into their homes. Even while economic observers indicated, and the recession in the 1970s proved, that the expansion of the postwar economy had begun to slow down, Americans continued to improve aspects of their standard of living. If income levels had begun to remain steady in the 1960s and 1970s, American consumers purchased more domestic goods and products on credit. Using credit cards, reducing family savings, using mortgage loans on their homes, or buying big-ticket items on credit, family indebtedness grew substantially between 1960 and 1990. In 1957, family debts made up 47 percent of income. By 1969, that number had reached 55 percent, by 1981 62 percent, and by 1990 it had climbed to 90 percent (U.S. Census Report, 1990). In simple terms, Americans continued to buy things, but they paid for them on credit and appeared comfortable doing so. The consumer-driven economy of the postwar, free market system had convinced most Americans that their "keep up with the Joneses" lifestyle remained a necessity and not an indulgence. What did the increased spending and personal debt provide? Larger or newer homes, two-car families, new domestic technology, clothes, food, and other consumer items expanded dramatically between 1960 and 1990.

Most middle-class homes included clothes washers and dryers, large refrigerators with built-in freezers, dishwashers, microwave ovens, electric garage door openers, two or more color television sets, stereo and component sound systems, and other domestic conveniences that would have seemed incredible a decade or more earlier. By the 1970s and 1980s two-car families were commonplace in suburban America. Conspicuous consumption had replaced basic home needs as a fundamental aspect of domestic life in America, and while critics had worried about the consumer culture of the 1950s, the three-decade period between 1960 and 1990 dwarfed the purchasing demands of that early domestic public. Advertisers and producers continued to encourage families to keep acquiring goods, but those forces had a relatively easy sell. American middle-class society had become addicted to material consumption. They could argue, reasonably, that the products, gadgets, and items in their homes made life easier and more enjoyable and provided additional time for recreation and relaxation. Women could defend the many new household appliances as time-saving devices that allowed them more time with children or the opportunity to pursue careers and other professional or social options outside the home. As a final addition to the growing list of gadgets and resources, the Federal Communications Commission authorized the private, commercial sale of cellular telephones in 1982. Five years later, a million Americans had purchased the new communications device (U.S. Census Report, 1990).

WOMEN

The role of women in American domestic life may have witnessed the most significant change during the 30-year period from 1960 to 1990. Rising divorce rates and the decline in the birth rate during the period reflect a broader issue. The role of women as wives and mothers remained important but was no longer a domestic imperative. Betty Friedan, a graduate of Smith College, published *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. The popular, best-selling book argued that the traditional role of American women as mothers and homemakers had become a stifling stereotype limiting female fulfillment. Friedan and other feminist advocates encouraged women to seek careers and satisfaction outside the home, and a new wave of women's rights issues entered the mainstream of America's social debate. Women's rights had concentrated on voting and other political and economic issues in previous generations. The new feminism struck at psychological and social concerns, much of it tied to the domestic role of women in American society.

In the past, women had been tied to marriages because divorce laws in the nation made divorce difficult. In the early 1960s, state law generally accepted adultery and abandonment as the only two legal reasons for separation. The *National Association of Women's Lawyers* began to advocate a new position in that decade arguing the need for "no-fault" divorce laws in the various states. By 1977, only nine states accepted no-fault divorces. By the beginning of the 1990s, almost every state in the nation had passed laws allowing them. In 1966, Christopher Lasch published an article titled "Divorce and the Family in America." Lasch challenged the hypothesis that the rising divorce rate reflected simply a breakdown or decay of the family. He argued that it indicated a major cultural shift in American society. Child raising, Lasch argued, had been the central obsession of the previous generation. The times, however, had changed. The sexual revolution, including the increasing use of birth control pills, freed women from the danger of unwanted pregnancy and the need to seek marriage as a safety net. Industrialism and the new technology gave rise to enhanced professional opportunities for women. It also reduced the traditional demand for large families. The modern feminist movement encouraged women to seek personal satisfaction in areas and arenas outside the home. The option of contributive lives beyond their traditional roles as wife and


Gloria Steinem—feminist activist. Chaiba.

mother existed, and women knew it. They could seek equal education, find rewarding, successful careers, and achieve self-fulfillment in other arenas. In simple terms, women's "obligation to family and society" could be replaced by their "obligation to self" (Whitehead 1997).

More liberal divorce laws and a growing social perception of obligation to self may have played key roles in the changing status of women in domestic American life, but other issues also influenced women's positions in family life. Economics had begun to increasingly demand two family incomes. If divorce rates reached numbers close to 50 percent of American marriages by the 1990s, the numbers still suggest that a majority of Americans remained in two-parent households. Yet, women in increasing numbers sought employment outside the home, whether married, divorced, or single. The emerging debate regarding women's rights and opportunities tended to hinge on the dual issue of home and career. Could or should women try to manage both? Did men have more of a responsibility as homemakers and caregivers for children? Were there broad sociological, even biological factors that separated the roles of men and women in domestic life? The fundamental focus of the women's rights movement in the era argued those domestic questions, even as they branched into other arenas and issues. For the first time since the end of World War II, American society faced a serious discussion regarding the role of the family and the primary responsibility that women had in that regard.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Jackson, Kenneth. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online,* in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

Millett, Allen R., and Peter Maslowski. *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America.* New York: The Free Press, 1994.

U.S. Department of Justice Report. 1991.

Whitehead, Barbara. *The Divorce Culture.* New York: Alfred Knopf, 1997.

World Health Organization. "Global Status Report on Alcohol." 2004.

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Economic Life

OVERVIEW

The American economy began to experience significant changes between 1960 and 1990, and those alterations had a key influence on American daily life. While the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) continued to expand, economic variables began to alter American lifestyles. Personal or household debt rose from 25 percent to 45 percent of GDP between 1950 and 1964, then remained steady at around 45 percent into the 1980s. Unemployment rates had averaged between 4 and 6 percent during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, spiked to 7.2 percent in the 1980s, and then declined to about 5 percent by 1990. Interest rates had also remained at around 5 percent during the 1960s, began to climb slowly, and then accelerated in the 1970s to reach double-digit numbers. By the 1980s, those rates had dropped to 5 percent and by the beginning of the 1990s had dipped to 4 percent. Inflation experienced a similar pattern: single-digit numbers in the 1960s, a significant increase to double digits in the 1970s, and then a decline in the 1980s, leading to 3 to 4 percent inflation by the beginning of the 1990s (U.S. Department of Labor). Those numbers indicate that the 1970s saw a clear shift in the American economy, one that did influence the day-to-day lives of Americans. Economic statistics may be uncertain and debatable, but the economic changes suggested by those broad numbers remain important.

Competition with newly emerging economies in Europe and Asia challenged a virtual American economic monopoly that had existed since 1945. By the 1960s, U.S. businesses were competing with a variety of foreign products. The rise in household debt signaled that Americans were buying more goods and services on credit. The spike in interest and inflation rates in the 1970s also placed Americans in a position in which home mortgages, car payments, and big-tag appliances cost more. The 1970s energy crisis, which saw petroleum prices rise dramatically, also had a key influence on the American economy and daily life in the nation. What had become clear during the 30-year period between 1960 and 1990 was an American economy that was still the strongest in the world but now in competition with a variety of external conditions that the nation had not faced in the 15 years following World War II.

NUTRITION

Food continued to be plentiful for most of the American population, but concerns regarding nutrition appeared well founded. A report by a Senate committee in 1977 estimated that deaths in the United States caused by heart disease could be reduced by 25 percent through better diets. In addition, improved nutrition would reduce infant mortality by half and eliminate or minimize the effects of other diseases. Healthful diets included more fruits, vegetables, whole grains, poultry, and fish and smaller quantities of meat and salty, high-fat, high-sugar foods. It is not surprising that meat, dairy, and egg producers took issue with the report. Word that the American Medical Association questioned the report's scientific justification lessened its impact, but it nonetheless gave the American people reason to be more conscious of the nutritional content of foods they consumed. Such consciousness, furthered by heavy advertising campaigns, resulted in modest dietary changes. For example, sales of bran cereals and breads with higher fiber content increased significantly (*Daily Life Online*, "Cares of Daily Life: Nutrition," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

CHANGING POPULATION PATTERNS AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE ECONOMY

The daily lives of most Americans may not seem to have been directly affected by what came to be known as the unrest of the 1960s, but the changes wrought by protests in those years rippled across America. The most striking changes were the fruits of the civil rights movement, which had gained significant force since World War II. At that time the cruel irony of asking African Americans to risk their lives for a country that denied them constitutionally guaranteed rights became glaringly obvious. Several Supreme Court decisions set precedents for the 1954 landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. In *Brown* the court ruled that schools designed to be "separate but equal" were inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional.

Armed with the conviction that the Supreme Court's decision outlawing separate but equal schools extended to other aspects of their lives, and frustrated by resistance to calls for change, African American activists adopted a strategy of nonviolent, direct action that at first baffled those seeking to thwart them: They defied laws that denied them rights but refused to respond in kind against physical and verbal attacks. On February 1, 1960, four students at North Carolina A&T College in Greensboro took the first nonviolent action of the 1960s. Those students, the 66 who joined them the next day, the 100 the next, and the 1,000 by the end of the week, sat down at a "whites only" lunch counter in a Woolworth's store in Greensboro. The Greensboro "coffee party," which historian William Chafe (1995) says "takes its place alongside the Boston Tea Party as an event symbolizing a new revolutionary era," infuriated segregationists. Television cameras captured the segregationists' resistance and broadcast it nationwide, thereby creating support for blacks who were ready to take further direct actions (*Daily Life Online*, "Changing Population Patterns: Civil Rights for African Americans," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States*, *1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

LABOR IN THE ECONOMY

Like the period 1940 to 1959, from the 1960s to the 1990s, many homes and families throughout America enjoyed a general prosperity. But if migration to the suburbs remained a sign of affluence, the city neighborhoods and the people left behind soon showed the many faces of poverty. Poverty was abundantly evident in rural America as well, particularly in Appalachian regions of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Although industries had moved from the North to the South, particularly in textile and furniture manufacturing, it was the prospect of paying lower wages that lured them, so increases in living standards were slow in coming. Most African Americans who earlier had migrated from the South to what they saw as the promised land in northern cities found poverty rather than promise there. Slums and derelict housing projects populated almost exclusively by blacks became common in major cities, and racial discrimination posed barriers as formidable as those existing in the South.

Some economists and social activists who had studied the conditions faced daily by America's poor proposed strategies for economic development to ameliorate them, but action did not come quickly. John F. Kennedy's slight margin of victory in the 1960 presidential election would have hobbled any major reform efforts he might have proposed, and his conservative instincts probably discouraged him from recommending ambitious plans anyway. His measures to stimulate the economy had some positive effects, as the gross national product (GNP) grew at an average annual rate of 5.3 percent between 1961 and 1964, compared to the 3.2 percent annual average of the 1950s. But problems of unequal distribution of wealth—indeed, of outright poverty—persisted.

Just as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) and Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965) had stimulated interest in environmental and product safety concerns, Michael Harrington's passionate book *The Other America* (1962) changed what many people thought about problems of poverty. Although Harrington sprinkled statistics throughout the book, it was his description of the "invisible poor," particularly the elderly, the young, and minorities, that gave the book its power. "In a sense," he wrote,

> one might define the contemporary poor in the United States as those who, for reasons beyond their control, cannot help themselves. All the most decisive factors making for opportunity and advance are against them. They are born going downward, and most of them stay down. They are victims whose lives are endlessly blown round and round the other America.

There were 40 to 50 million of them, he estimated. Harrington asked his readers

> to respond critically to every assertion, but not to allow statistical quibbling to obscure the huge, enormous, and intolerable fact of poverty in America. For, when all is said and done, that fact is unmistakable, whatever its exact dimensions, and the truly human reaction can only be outrage.

Although Harrington chose not to use statistics to dramatize the condition of the "other Americans," one can see in the numbers of the early 1960s that daily life differed dramatically according to where one stood on the nation's economic ladder. The 20 percent of Americans on the top rungs of the ladder owned more than 75 percent of the nation's wealth; the 20 percent on the bottom rungs owned only 0.05 percent. Those on the bottom rungs received 23 percent of the total money income; those on the top, 77 percent.

In 1968, 13 percent of the American population still lived below the poverty line as defined by the federal government. That compared with 20 percent at the beginning of the decade. Twenty percent of African Americans remained below the poverty line, down from 40 percent eight years earlier. These improvements meant that the Great Society's War on Poverty could claim only a partial victory.

When Richard Nixon became president in 1969, he supported modest growth in the size and cost of a few Great Society programs, went along with legislation that increased Social Security benefits, and approved construction of subsidized housing and expansion of the Job Corps. More significant, he offered a bold and ambitious plan for welfare reform. The Family Assistance Plan (FAP) would have ended piecemeal allowances and guaranteed every family of four an annual income of $2,400, with a maximum of $3,600 for a family of eight or more. The FAP passed the House of Representatives but died in the Senate, caught between liberals who thought it too conservative and conservatives who thought it too liberal.

Mostly left out of the political debates of the 1970s, the American poor suffered even more in the 1980s. Hit especially hard by economic circumstances and policy decisions in the mid-1980s were those Americans affected by the reductions in various welfare programs. President Reagan's inaugural address dramatically revealed his intentions: "Government is not the solution to our problem," he asserted, as he had throughout his campaign; "government *is* the problem." Government generosity and good intentions, he believed, were out of control; he called for "new federalism," a plan to make the down-and-out in society a local and state responsibility. Reductions in federal welfare programs caused worries about whether there would be a safety net to catch those losing government assistance.

Statistics on poverty in 1984 reveal the plight of many Americans. More than 33 million people, about one-seventh of the nation's population, lived below the poverty level, reversing trends set in motion by the Great Society. The percentage of children living in poverty was higher than that of adults. Among both blacks and persons living in female-headed households, the ratio was one in three. Monthly payments to the 3.7 million families covered by the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program averaged $338. About 21.5 million persons received services funded by Medicaid, with average annual costs of $1,569 per person. Nearly 20 million people were eligible for food stamps, a four-year low resulting from more stringent eligibility requirements.

From time to time Congress attempted to reform the welfare system, with specific measures aimed at giving the poor the job training or education needed to get off welfare. In 1988 Congress passed a law requiring parents on welfare whose children were past the age of three to enroll in appropriate education, training, job search, or work programs. The new law, which had an estimated cost of more than $3 billion over five years, allowed for a long lead-in time, reflecting awareness of the difficulty of moving welfare recipients into independence: By 1995, 20 percent of those eligible for welfare would be required to enroll in an appropriate program.

At the very bottom of society were those who lived with no place called home. Estimates of homeless Americans reached a record high in 1986, but the numbers were still rising. New York counted 10,000 single people and 5,500 families as homeless. In Chicago the number of homeless was somewhere between 9,000 and 22,000; in Newark, New Jersey, 4,000–7,000; in Atlanta, 5,000; in Philadelphia, 13,000; and in Los Angeles, 40,000. Included in the tallies were higher proportions of women, children, and younger men than in previous decades.

More than a sluggish economy and a tight employment market accounted for the increased numbers of homeless persons. As noted earlier, in the 1960s and 1970s state and local governments had released mentally ill people from medical facilities. As a result of those deinstitutionalization policies, the population in state mental hospitals dropped from more than 550,000 in the 1950s to fewer than 150,000 three decades later. Community-based programs were intended to help those former patients, but the programs were never sufficiently funded. Those who lacked the mental, physical, financial, and familial resources to cope with life in the outside world, particularly the ability to find and keep jobs, ended up on the streets. Cities grappled in various ways with the problem of caring for them, none with notable success.

Compounding government failures to handle poverty was the decline in the labor movement that in the early 20th century had helped poor working-class people emerge from poverty. From the mid-1930s until the 1960s labor unions had played an important part in improving the economic security of many working-class Americans. By 1970, however, the unions' influence had begun to erode, not only in the workplace but in politics too.

In only two respects did unions maintain or increase the strength they had enjoyed in the 1950s and early 1960s. First, as women entered the workplace, they formed two organizations—the National Association of Working Women (known as Nine to Five) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Recognizing the potential power of women in the labor movement, the AFL-CIO, labor's largest organization, endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1973. In subsequent years unions provided support on what came to be called women's issues, such as affirmative action, child care, and pay equity.

Second, unions representing uniformed and nonuniformed public employees at all levels gained power and influence. By 1970, membership in public employees' unions exceeded four million, making it 10 times larger than it had been 15 years earlier. Particularly powerful were the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; the American Federation of Teachers; and the National Education Association, along with unions of police officers, firefighters, nurses, and postal workers. Yet, their power remained limited by the fact that work stoppages—some legal, some illegal—by public servants directly affected the lives of those whom they served, thereby arousing public resentment.

The recruitment of women and the growth of government workers' unions were insufficient to offset the decline of industrial unions. That decline reflected many changes in economic processes that attracted little attention until their consequences were widely felt. One was the increased automation of manufacturing processes, making assembly-line workers dispensable. Another involved the rising aspirations of families that had moved to the suburbs and worked their way into white-collar jobs. They sent their children to college with expectations that the children could reach even higher rungs on the employment ladder through individual rather than collective effort.

More significant was the process known as deindustrialization. In the 1970s, the United States became an exporter of raw materials and an importer of more cars and steel as well as electronics, and other manufactured goods. The U.S. share of global manufactured exports declined significantly and trade deficits ballooned. Large corporations invested their money in mergers, so much so that in 1968 the Federal Trade Commission launched a sweeping investigation of the causes and consequences of runaway conglomerate mergers. The chairman of the commission referred to those conglomerates—the joining of companies engaged in unrelated or remotely related businesses—as a virus threatening the health of the American economy. Corporations also acquired related business enterprises and invested in overseas operations. Consequently, workers found themselves competing more strenuously against one another for jobs in the United States and against poorly paid workers in other countries. That competition allowed businesses to call for concessions, or "givebacks," as they were known. They included reductions in pay, elimination of formerly protected jobs, and the scaling back of such fringe benefits as medical insurance.

Also affecting unions' effectiveness was something unseen by most Americans, that is, the development of more than a thousand consulting firms that specialized in advising corporations on how to keep union organizers and sympathizers out of the workplace. Those firms also showed how to defeat a union when elections could not be avoided and helped employers find ways to decertify unions that had won elections.

The 1980s got off to a bad start for labor unions when President Reagan fired 12,000 members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) on August 5, 1981. PATCO had rejected the final bargaining offer made by the Federal Aviation Authority (FAA), and the traffic controllers had gone on strike a week earlier. Because the strike violated federal law, the firings were legal. "Dammit, the law is the law," Reagan said to his aides, "and the law says they can't strike. By striking they've quit their jobs." With the firing of the professional controllers, the FAA had to use military controllers, nonstrikers, and supervisors to keep the nation's planes in the air. The immediate results included a cutback in services, loss of business from people who were reluctant to fly in uncertain skies, and, according to the International Air Transport Association, a $200 million loss by the airlines in the month of August alone.

The symbolic effects of the firings lasted longer. Unions could not expect cordial or deferential treatment from the new administration, particularly the increasingly restive unions of government employees. Those effects, along with the changing nature of workplaces across the nation, made it natural for the decline in union membership to continue. Fear of company shutdowns or permanent layoffs weakened individual union members' readiness to support aggressive tactics by unions in dealing with employers. For ordinary workers, union membership had once symbolized a mutual commitment between themselves and their employers, even in times of difficult negotiations. That sense of commitment gave way to anger and humiliation in the 1980s when unions were compelled to accept distasteful provisions in bargaining agreements. These included such things as lump-sum payments based on company profits rather than permanent wage increases; givebacks of benefits and wage increases that were won in earlier bargaining; and systems of pay with two tiers, allowing for lower wages for new employees.

In the early 1980s, organized labor represented about one worker in four; by the end of the decade it represented one in six. With the decline in membership and the disadvantaged positions in which union workers found themselves, the use of work stoppages in disputes with management declined. In 1988, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the 40 stoppages involving 1,000 or more workers was the lowest number since it began keeping records 40 years earlier (Marty 1997, 43–44, 100–103, 268–69, 271–72; *Daily Life Online*, "Economic Life: Class and Caste Experience" in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

MALLS AND SHOPPING CENTERS

Consumers attending to their material needs went shopping, and by the 1960s that meant going to shopping centers. The rise of such centers went hand-in-hand with the increased use of automobiles and the growth of suburbs. The first—including such well-known and distinctive ones as the Country Club Plaza in Kansas City, Missouri—were built in the 1920s and 1930s. Construction accelerated rapidly following World War II, and by the end of the 1960s there were more than 10,000 shopping centers of all sizes and descriptions. Most notable were the new creations of the 1960s, the enclosed shopping malls. Only homes, schools, and jobs claimed more of the American people's time than did shopping malls.

The malls, developed in the 1960s, had features that have since been refined. By today's standards, the early malls seem unsophisticated. Although each shopping mall had distinctive architectural features and each sought to set itself apart from others, a monotonous predictability prevailed. In mall after mall, the climate-controlled interiors with replanted landscapes blurred indoor and outdoor sensations. Few sounds could be heard—only Muzak, music intended to remove silence without requiring listening.

In Disneyesque fashion, malls reproduced images of the small town. Missing, however, as one scholar has noted, were pool halls, bars, secondhand stores, and the kind of people who patronize them. From one mall to the next, even the shoppers seemed to look the same: white, middle-class, suburban. So did those who were there just to hang out, or to meet over a cup of coffee and a doughnut, or to walk routes where rain and snow, cold and heat, never interfered.

A main purpose of malls was to create a community of shoppers so as to make time at the mall a regular part of everyone's day. Walk in, they seemed to say, and feel at home. Listen to the folksingers. Visit Santa Claus. See the temporary art gallery in the center court. Give blood. Gather around the automobile on display. Spend a few minutes at the antique fair, the science fair, or the history fair. Forget about the elements. Slip into a store and buy something. Feel safe. Malls have never been free of crime, of course, but they are intended to make shoppers feel that they are (*Daily Life*

Online, "Consumers in the Material World: Shopping Centers and Malls," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND CONSUMER PROTECTION

The American people in the 1960s had reasons to worry about the air they breathed, the water they drank, the food they ate, and the hazardous wastes found in their communities or transported through them. Industrial processes that produced much-desired consumer goods also produced waste that was dumped into streams or blown into the atmosphere. Automobiles consumed huge quantities of natural resources and pumped substantial quantities of pollutants into the air. The streets and roads on which automobiles traveled and the space required for parking took up large parts of the landscape. Tankers that brought petroleum to the United States burst open when they ran aground, and offshore oil wells were susceptible to leaking, as happened in the Santa Barbara channel in 1969.

A spokesman for the Public Health Service (PHS) reported in 1970 that annual household, commercial, municipal, and industrial wastes totaled 360 million tons. Only 6 percent of the nation's 12,000 landfill disposal sites, according to the PHS, met even less-than-minimum standards for sanitary landfills. Of the 300 incinerators used for disposal of waste, 70 percent were without adequate air pollution control systems. Consumers' preference for disposable cans, bottles, and other packaging, as well as their general resistance to recycling, caused the bulk in landfills to multiply.

Survival may not have been an immediate concern, but the welfare of generations to come caused worries. When the sources of worry were specific and close to home, men and women who had never before plunged into political action organized and took steps to protect themselves. Even when immediate concerns were absent, Americans faced the hard question of how to preserve and improve the natural environment at the same time that their rising standard of living posed serious threats to it (*Daily Life Online*, "Environmental and Consumer Protection: Environmental Worries," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

GASOLINE, PETROLEUM, AND THE ENERGY CRISIS

America and other Western industrial nations depended on a steady and increasing use of fossil fuels to supply the heavy demands of energy, transportation, home heating, and industrial production. For years, a consortium of Western oil companies had controlled the drilling and refining process to bring crude oil to consumers. The Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO), a business relationship between American oil producers and Saudi Arabia, had dominated the energy field since the 1930s. The price of crude oil on the world market remained at about $3.00 a barrel

The Alaska Pipeline. Mangionej|Dreamstime.com.

between 1957 and 1970, but a major shift in control of the market occurred in 1960. In that year, five oil-producing nations (Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela) created the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Companies (OPEC). They established their headquarters in Vienna, Austria, in 1965 and added five more nations to the organization. The goal of OPEC was to take control of the important energy market from ARAMCO. Prices remained steady at $3.00 until the mid-1970s. During the October 1973 Yom Kippur War in the Middle East, OPEC embargoed the sale of petroleum to any nation that supported Israel in that conflict against Arab states. Abruptly, OPEC raised the price of oil to $12.00 a barrel. Arab oil accounted for 37 percent of all the petroleum consumed in the West. The embargo and price increase hurt the American economy. A 1974 Department of Energy report argued that the five-month embargo cost 50,000 jobs and close to a $20 billion loss in gross domestic product. Gas lines formed at stations around the nation. Another war in the Middle East, between Iran and Iraq, added to the cost of petroleum, and by 1981, the cost of a barrel of crude oil had risen to $35.00 (Girard 2001, 236–37).

While prices dropped significantly in the late 1980s, it had become clear that an energy crisis had evolved, and it affected every aspect of American daily life. Alternate sources of energy, such as nuclear, solar, wind power, and so on, seemed unlikely to diminish the nation's deep dependence on fossil fuels, and Americans made only a minimal effort to reduce consumption of gasoline and heating oils. The demand for oil from foreign resources not only impacted on the daily cost of those resources, it also altered America's export–import balance as the nation paid more for foreign resources.

INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION: AUTOMOBILES AND STEEL

During the period 1945–1960, Detroit automakers had become the stars of America's postwar industrial boom period. The "Big Three" automakers, Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler, had dominated both the American and global market. As Europe and Japan began their slow postwar economic recovery, competition in the auto industry developed. In 1958, two Japanese firms, Toyota and Nissan, exported fewer than 2,000 automobiles to the United States. German car manufacturers like Volkswagen and Mercedes Benz had also begun to sell cars in America, but consumers

The Jeep Wrangler, 1980s. Mshake|Dreamstime.com.

had grown accustomed to the large, eight-cylinder, gas-consuming automobiles that the Detroit manufacturers had sold for years.

The oil embargo and gas crisis in the 1970s, however, appeared to make smaller, four-cylinder, Japanese and German options more desirable. By the 1980s, Japanese cars made up 22 percent of the American market. In 1981, Detroit automakers laid off 215,000 employees, almost 25 percent of its workforce. A year later, another 50,000 auto workers became unemployed. The impact on the American automotive industry influenced steel, rubber, parts, and other industrial product sales in the United States. Foreign competitors appeared able to produce better or similar items more cheaply and efficiently than their U.S. counterparts. As Detroit automakers sought to respond to the foreign imports, they developed new styles and options for American car buyers.

As fuel costs dropped in the 1980s, manufacturers turned to the production of minivans and sport utility vehicles (SUVs). More upscale and consumer versions of former World War II jeeps, the new models began to attract consumers. The Jeep Wagoneer had been on the market since 1963, was replaced by the Jeep Cherokee in 1984, and drew an increasing number of car buyers. Chevrolet developed the Blazer and Ford the Bronco. Built on light truck chassis, often with four-wheel drive, SUVs became increasingly popular items in the 1980s. Minivans experienced the same popularity, as suburban families appreciated the larger space and passenger room as well as raised bodies that allowed a better view of the road. The fact that the new models consumed more gasoline seemed to fly in the face of increased gasoline prices, a factor in the impact of Japanese and European imports, but the 1980s saw a dramatic drop in gas prices. Additionally, consumer advocates warned that SUVs had a tendency to flip over in a number of roadside accidents. Neither energy costs nor safety issues seemed to concern consumers. By the beginning of the 1990s, more than 50 percent of the drivers of SUVs were women. The Chrysler minivan had become one of the most popular vehicles on the road for suburban families, and Detroit automakers appeared to have staged a major comeback in the auto market with the development of the two new consumer options.

With the exception of the SUV and minivan market, the nation began to experience a serious economic recession as production declined and unemployment rose. Shortly, Japanese automakers also produced their SUV versions to compete with American products. Management blamed excessive labor costs. Labor unions blamed inefficient owners who drew unrealistic salaries. The new models of efficiency and product design appeared to reside in Japan and Europe, and critics and pundits

A man enjoys ice fishing thanks to his SUV, which became very popular in the 1980s. Iofoto|Dreamstime.com.

proclaimed that America's genius in the free market, industrial global community had ended. While the industrial economy of the United States began to rebound toward the end of the 1980s, it remained clear that in traditional industries, the nation's domination of the world marketplace had come to an end.

I'll Buy That!, published in 1986 by *Consumer Reports* magazine, identified and described "50 Small Wonders and Big Deals That Revolutionized the Lives of Consumers" during the magazine's 50-year history. The attention that the book's pictures and essays give to the automobile reveal the important role this technological wonder has played in American life. Through the years, American-made cars grew bigger and more technologically complex. In the 1960s, automatic transmissions became standard on cars of all sizes. Power brakes, power steering, and air conditioning came first in larger cars, then in cars of all sizes. In 1966, Oldsmobile introduced the Toronado, the first domestic car with front-wheel drive. Before long, that innovation, too, became a standard feature.

I'll Buy That! pointed to the 1965 Mustang as a symptom of change in Americans' buying habits. The editors described the Mustang as neither a sports car nor a family car but a "personal car." A 1962 version was a two-seater, but then, say the book's editors, there was a further corporate vision. "Put a young couple in something as romantic as a Mustang and they might just be fruitful and multiply and three into two doesn't go." So the design was scrapped in favor of "two-plus-two"—that is, two seats in front, plus a small rear seat for two children. Of course, not by chance did the Mustang gain popularity. The Ford Motor Company launched it with a $10 million publicity campaign, calling it a "school bus," a "shopping cart," and a "dream boat." "Join the tide of history," one advertisement said, "with a car that scoots through traffic . . . hoards gas . . . and sports a low price tag." Creating the sense of need for the Mustang was just as important as creating the car itself.

The Volkswagen (VW) Beetle, a tiny German-made import with its engine in the rear, established its own popularity through unconventional advertising: "Think small" and "Ugly is only skin deep," for example. Despite the car's many inconveniences and crudities, VW owners drove their Beetles with immeasurable pride. Still, the Beetle was not a family car. The Toyota Corona, introduced in 1965, was. Its acceptance as an economical but comfortable car encouraged other Japanese manufacturers, particularly Honda, Toyota, and Nissan (known then as Datsun), to enter the American market; within a decade the three Japanese companies claimed about 20 percent of the U.S. market. This jeopardized the very existence of Chrysler

Corporation and dented the prosperity of General Motors and Ford, the other two manufacturers in the Big Three. The popularity of smaller cars had implications for automobile safety, as tests showed that their drivers were more vulnerable to accidental injury or death than drivers of larger vehicles. Also affected by the increasing popularity of imported cars were the thousands of families whose breadwinners worked in manufacturing plants that now faced cutbacks caused by declining sales of American-made automobiles.

Ever since its invention, the automobile had played an important role in the development of America. By 1960, wrote historian Kenneth Jackson, "the best symbol of individual success and identity was a sleek, air-conditioned, high-powered personal statement on wheels" (1985). The presence of plain, low-powered, low-prestige foreign vehicles did not threaten that symbol. The imported vehicle often served as a family's second car, providing transportation rather than luxury. Nonetheless, it contributed to a phenomenon noted by Jackson: between 1950 and 1980 the American population increased by 50 percent, but the number of automobiles increased by 200 percent.

Americans' reliance on the automobile had led President Dwight D. Eisenhower to propose and Congress to approve the Interstate Highway Act in 1956, providing for a 41,000-mile system of limited-access highways. Construction proceeded rapidly, with little regard for the farmland and urban neighborhoods that lay in the highways' paths or for the consequences of highway-spawned sprawl. Connecting urban highways to the interstate system meant the construction of spaghetti-like interchanges and resulted in the loss of more neighborhoods and the migration of more residents to suburbia. In the 1960s, factories, offices, and shopping centers also migrated to the suburbs, so that by 1970, according to Jackson, in 9 of the 15 largest metropolitan areas the suburbs were the principal sources of employment. In some cities, such as San Francisco, almost three-fourths of all trips to and from work were by people who did not live or work in the core city. Similar patterns in other cities explain why extensive public transportation systems were usually hopeless dreams.

Romance with the automobile helped create a drive-through culture. The drive-in restaurants, where carhops served patrons who ate in their cars, disappeared rather quickly as new technologies had customers shouting their orders into a loudspeaker and passing a window to pick up their orders. Drive-through banking was its counterpart, along with drive-through cleaners and drive-through pharmacies. Eventually there were even some drive-through funeral homes, where friends could pay their respects to the deceased without getting out of their cars. A drive-through bridal chapel was yet to come.

In 1970, although one family in five had no automobile, Americans' reliance on automobiles showed no signs of diminishing. Nor did the automobile industry escape numerous technological problems. One had to do with air pollution caused by automobile emissions. The California legislature, responding to complaints about the smog that pestered cities, became the pacesetter in setting emission control standards. It imposed limits on the amount of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons permitted from automobile exhausts. The federal laws that followed permitted California to enforce stricter ones, as atmospheric conditions there differed from other parts of the country. Had mass transit—buses, subways, streetcars, and trains—held greater appeal, pollution problems might have been less severe, but mass transit could not compete with the convenience, power, and pride derived from automobiles. Nationwide between 1945 and 1967, mass transit rides fell from 23 billion to 8 billion.

More vexing for the American makers of big cars was consumers' growing preference for small ones, caused mainly by rising fuel costs resulting from the oil crisis. Japan's Datsun (known later as Nissan) and Toyota were serious about doing business when they entered the U.S. market. By 1968, they had been joined in the American market by other Japanese manufacturers (principally Honda, Mitsubishi, and Mazda), and Japan had passed Germany as the world's second-largest producer of motor vehicles.

In response, American makers marketed what were called captive imports. Mitsubishi made the Dodge Colt and Mazda made the Ford Courier pickup. General Motors owned 35 percent of Isuzu, maker of the LUV, marketed by GM. When imports reached 10 percent of all sales of passenger cars, the American automakers began producing their own subcompacts. The Ford Maverick and American Motors Hornet, introduced in 1969, and the Chevrolet Vega, Ford Pinto, and American Motors Gremlin in 1970 did not distinguish themselves as high-quality vehicles, but they positioned the American automobile industry to take on the greater challenges to come.

Those challenges arrived with the petroleum crisis that began in 1973, a crisis resulting from a situation President Nixon described in an address to Congress on June 29: "While we have 6 percent of the world's population, we consume one-third of the world's energy output." He continued, "The supply of domestic energy resources available to us is not keeping pace with our ever growing demand." The demand for petroleum in the United States was 17 million barrels per day, but domestic output was little more than 11 million barrels per day.

The situation worsened in October 1973. The Yom Kippur War between Israel and its Arab neighbors prompted Middle Eastern oil-producing countries to impose an embargo on exports to countries regarded as sympathetic to Israel. Included were the United States, Canada, all of western Europe, and Japan. While the embargo remained in effect, until the spring of 1974, panic buying caused long lines at gas stations. To keep their tanks full, drivers would fill up when they needed as little as three gallons. In January 1974, President Nixon signed into law a 55-mile-per-hour speed limit act, after having asked Congress to set the limit at 50 miles per hour. The reduced speed limit conserved an estimated 3.4 billion gallons per year, and highway fatalities in 1974 fell to 45,196 from 54,052 in the previous year. They soon climbed again as motorists flouted the unpopular law. Some states imposed limits on quantities of gas that could be purchased, causing drivers to go from station to station. Others restricted days on which cars with even- or odd-numbered license plates could fill up. Many communities organized carpools, and state highway departments provided lots to enable drivers to park their cars and share rides with others.

Anger over the problems the 1970s oil shortage caused was plentiful. After all, a way of life seemed in jeopardy. Those who suspected conspiracies believed that oil companies seeking to raise prices were responsible for the shortages. They claimed there were loaded tankers waiting offshore and supplies of gas hidden in the tanks of abandoned stations, all ready to be released when the price was right.

The gasoline energy crisis caused Americans to look to technological developments to decrease reliance on crude oil and provide other ways to power the nation. What could be done to guarantee that electricity, the lifeblood of America, would continue to flow without interruption? Government experts and utilities executives knew that demand for electrical power would increase dramatically in coming years. The threat of blackouts and brownouts, which occurred when power had to be cut back because reserves had fallen too low, demanded answers. Electricity generated by nuclear power plants seemed to provide them. The Atomic Energy Commission estimated that by the year 2000 half the electrical power consumed in the United States would be generated by nuclear fuel. Building more nuclear-powered plants made sense.

Consequently, by 1966 half the new generators planned or being built were nuclear powered, even though serious but unpublicized accidents in nuclear reactors had occurred since testing first began on nuclear generators in 1949. (No American has died as a result of any nuclear plant accident in the United States.) In January 1966, the first nuclear-powered plant, the Enrico Fermi, located on Lake Erie between Detroit and Toledo, went into operation. The following October a malfunction caused the reactor to overheat. Safety devices and extraordinary efforts by plant workers averted a potentially enormous disaster. The Detroit police were able to call off their plans to evacuate the city, thus avoiding something that would have been much more than a mere interruption in daily life. After being out of commission for several years, the Enrico Fermi reactor was eventually dismantled.

Thus, nuclear power brought the American people a new environmental worry. Problems with other nuclear reactors—mainly accidents and difficulties in finding ways to store wastes that would remain radioactive for thousands of years—dashed hopes that nuclear power would be safe and relatively inexpensive. Nuclear power was not going to be the ultimate technological fix, the cure-all for energy shortages, at least until new technologies dealt with the problems and concerns that emerged in the initial ventures.

Finally, in the period 1960 to 1990 there were also technological developments in the home. In 1974, the Amana Refrigeration Company began to market small microwave ovens for home use. Because meals cooked in them, however, seemed less attractive and less tasty than those prepared in regular ovens, microwaves did not catch on for general use. Rather, they became "heat-things-up" devices, increasingly useful for families that found it impossible to gather around the dinner table at the same time. Also, as Baby Boomers headed off to their own apartments and as childless families became more numerous, microwaves proved useful for heating prepackaged dinners and leftovers. Another small but important technological device that was installed unobtrusively in many homes deserves mention: smoke detectors became household necessities after their introduction in 1970 (Marty 1997, 57–61, 145, 149–51, 153–54, 222–23, 305–6; *Daily Life Online*, "Material Life: Technology," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

TECHNOLOGY

Computers

Personal computers (PCs) had been manufactured since 1977, but the market for them did not come of age until 1981, when IBM produced its first one. IBM's size enabled it to market its PCs aggressively, and sales climbed in three years from 25,000 to 3 million, although its experiment with a low-cost model, the PC jr., failed. The Apple Corporation, famous for development of the Apple II, introduced the Macintosh (Mac) in 1984. By 1987, its Macintosh II and SE models were the most powerful personal computers on the market. The Mac was also regarded as more user-friendly than personal computers with disk operating systems, and debates over Mac versus DOS continued for years. The Mac's mouse for moving the cursor on the screen made it even more user-friendly, and eventually other lines of computers also made the mouse a standard feature.

Sales of personal computers stood at 1.4 million in 1981. Sales doubled in 1982, on their way to 10 million in 1988, at a profit of $22 billion. A number of other computer developments made news that year. One was the "virus," a mischievous small program planted in an operating system with the intent of altering or deleting data throughout the network as the virus spread. Another was the expanded capacity and speed of laptop computers, with sales exceeding $1 million. A third concerned possible health hazards posed by computer monitors, known as video display terminals. Studies showed that many people who worked at monitors for six hours or more each day developed difficulties in focusing their eyes. Long hours spent at keyboards also caused injuries to hands and arms, sometimes to a disabling extent (*Daily Life Online*, "Technology: Personal Computers," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

Benefits and Costs

Technology plays an important part in almost every aspect of American life: business and industry, farming, urban development, health care, law, politics, banking, courtship, marital relationships, child rearing, schooling, religion, housekeeping and home maintenance, cooking and dietetics, shopping, social interactions, the spending of leisure time, and more. But the benefits of technology often have a price. For example, its relentless quest for the new necessarily makes our present possessions obsolete. Determination to keep up with the better or the different imposes challenges on both bank balances and human emotions. Technology encourages uniformity and predictability, thereby erasing the distinctiveness of communities and cultures.

Technology's solutions to one generation's problems often create new ones for the next. Disposable diapers are an example. Widespread use did not begin until around 1970, when increasing numbers of mothers of infants and small children found employment outside the home. But since their introduction, there have been concerns about their effects on the environment. By the early 1990s, soiled diapers amounted to 1.4 percent of the bulk in landfills, according to a study conducted in Arizona. Was that too much? And, whatever the quantity, should disposable diapers be banned for other environmental reasons—for seepage of waste into groundwater, for example? Not necessarily. Debates over comparative environmental costs and benefits of using disposable as opposed to laundered diapers typically end in a draw. Washing diapers consumes energy and puts both human waste and detergents—another technological advance with harmful environmental consequences—into sewer systems and larger bodies of water where the wastewater flows (*Daily Life Online*, "Technology: Personal Computers," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

In 1974, the Amana Refrigeration Company began to market small microwave ovens for home use. However, probably because meals cooked in them seemed less attractive and less tasty than those prepared in regular ovens, microwaves did not catch on for general use. Rather, they became "heat-things-up" devices, increasingly useful for families that found it impossible to gather around the dinner table at the same time. Also, as baby boomers headed off to their own apartments and as childless families became more numerous, microwaves proved useful for heating prepackaged dinners and leftovers. Another small but important technological device that was installed unobtrusively in many homes deserves mention: smoke detectors became household necessities after their introduction in 1970 (*Daily Life Online*, "Technology's Small Steps and Giant Leaps: Technology in Homes" in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

THE "OTHER AMERICA"

The preceding chapters might create the impression that the general prosperity enjoyed throughout America reached into all homes and families. But, if migration to the suburbs was a sign of affluence, the city neighborhoods and the people left behind soon showed the many faces of poverty. Poverty was abundantly evident in rural America as well, particularly in Appalachian regions of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Although industries had moved from the North to the South, particularly in textile and furniture manufacturing, it was the prospect of paying lower wages that lured them, so increases in living standards were slow in coming. Most African Americans who earlier had migrated from the South to what they saw as the promised land in northern cities found poverty rather than promise there. Slums and derelict housing projects populated almost exclusively by blacks became common in major cities, and racial discrimination posed barriers as formidable as those existing in the South.

Some economists and social activists who had kept an eye on the conditions faced daily by America's poor proposed strategies for economic development to ameliorate them, but action did not come quickly. President Kennedy's slight margin of victory in 1960 would have hobbled any major reform efforts he might have proposed, and his conservative instincts probably discouraged him from recommending ambitious plans anyway. His measures to stimulate the economy had some positive effects, as the gross national product (GNP) grew at an average annual rate of 5.3 percent between 1961 and 1964, compared to the 3.2 annual average of the 1950s. But problems of unequal distribution of wealth—indeed, of outright poverty—persisted.

Just as *Silent Spring* and *Unsafe at Any Speed* had stimulated interest in environmental and product safety concerns, Michael Harrington's passionate book *The Other America* (1962) changed what many people thought about problems of poverty. Although Harrington sprinkled statistics throughout the book, it was his description of the "invisible poor," particularly the elderly, the young, and minorities, that gave the book its power. "In a sense," he wrote, "one might define the contemporary poor in the United States as those who, for reasons beyond their control, cannot help themselves. All the most decisive factors making for opportunity and advance are against them. They are born going downward, and most of them stay down. They are victims whose lives are endlessly blown round and round the other America." Forty to 50 million of them, he estimated. Harrington asked his readers "to respond critically to every assertion, but not to allow statistical quibbling to obscure the huge, enormous, and intolerable fact of poverty in America. For, when all is said and done, that fact is unmistakable, whatever its exact dimensions, and the truly human reaction can only be outrage" (Harrington, 15).

Although Harrington chose not to use statistics to dramatize the condition of the "other Americans," one can see in the numbers of the early 1960s that daily life differed dramatically according to where one stood on the nation's economic ladder. The 20 percent of Americans on the top rungs of the ladder owned more than 75 percent of the nation's wealth; the 20 percent on the bottom rungs owned only 0.05 percent. Those on the bottom rungs received 23 percent of the total money income; those on the top, 77 percent (*Daily Life Online*, "The Other America: The Other America," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

URBAN AND RURAL ISSUES

One of the major urban developments from the 1960s was the building of thousands of city shopping centers or malls to attract consumers (and their dollars) to urban and suburban areas. Before shopping centers, discount stores, and specialty mail-order houses became plentiful, most consumers shopped in locally owned stores. Even big department stores were owned by hometowners, or at least by local businesspeople from nearby towns. One study reported that in each decade after 1950, more than three-fourths of the towns with populations under 2,500 suffered net losses of such retail and service businesses as gas stations, farm implement dealers, and lumberyards as well as grocery, hardware, and furniture stores. Population decline accounted for some of the losses, but the readiness of small-town residents to drive 50 miles or more for the variety and savings offered in shopping malls and discount stores made a bigger difference.

In cities, stores on main thoroughfares served people in their neighborhoods while big department stores lured them downtown. Competition from malls and grocery supermarkets put many neighborhood stores out of business and emptied the downtowns. Ironically, mall developers eventually discovered that the vacant spaces they had helped create in America's downtowns might be ideal for malls, so that is where, in the 1970s and 1980s, they began to build them (Marty 1997, 134–35; *Daily Life Online*, "Economic Life: Urban and Rural Experience," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

WORK AND EMPLOYMENT

The transformation of work during the 1980s had both encouraging and discouraging features. By the end of the decade, more than 35 million persons did part-time or full-time income-producing work at home. Increasing most rapidly among them, to a total of more than five million, were telecommuters, that is, employees of companies who did part of their work at home during business hours, most typically involving the use of computers. The trend toward telecommuting was so strong that it seemed likely that it would soon be regarded as unexceptional. Telecommuting served the needs of dual-career families particularly well, in that it reduced the need for child care outside the home. Twice as large a number as telecommuters were those who worked at home as freelancers, earning extra income during hours away from their regular jobs—if they had regular jobs.

Yet another change of the 1980s was the growing resistance of employees to management-dictated relocations. Dual-career families found uprooting particularly difficult, even when it involved promotions or pay increases. The costs involved in buying and selling homes also accounted for the reluctance, as did the sense that accepting a move in the new economic times would not necessarily guarantee job security. Employers had increasingly come to regard their employees as a contingent workforce, to be retained or dismissed depending on immediate circumstances. Employees responded by regarding themselves as entrepreneurs seeking advancement where it best served their interests (Marty 1997, 272–73; *Daily Life Online*, "Economic Life: Work," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Barnouw, E. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Boyer, P. S. *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Brumberg, J. J. *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Chafe, William H. *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Comstock, George S. *Television in America*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980.
Consumer's Union. *I'll Buy That! 50 Small Wonders and Big Deals That Revolutionized the Lives of Consumers: A 50 Year Retrospective*. Mount Vernon, NY: Consumer's Union, 1986.
Cremin, L. *American Education, 1876–1980: The Metropolitan Experience*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
"Downsizing of America." *New York Times*.
Ehrenreich, B. *The Worst Years of Our Lives: Irreverent Notes from a Decade of Greed*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1990.
Flink, J. J. *The Car Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975.
Girard, Jolyon. *America and the World*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.
Grmek, Mirko D. *History of AIDS: Emergence and Origin of a Modern Pandemic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
Halberstam, D. *The Fifties*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1994.
Hallowell, E. M., and J. J. Ratey. *Driven to Distraction*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1994.
Harrington, M. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1962; New York: Penguin, 1981.
Harris, Neil. "American Space: Spaced-Out at the Shopping Center." *The New Republic* (December 13, 1975): 23–25.
Hart, J. D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
Jowett, G., and J. M. Linton. *Movies as Mass Communications*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980.
Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
Kennan, E. *Mission to the Moon: A Critical Examination of NASA and the Space Program*. New York: Morrow, 1969.
Kowinski, William Severini. "The Malling of America." *New York Times* (May 1, 1978): 35.
Lemann, N. *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America*. New York: Vintage Books/Knopf, 1991.
Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online*, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).
Miller, Z. L. *The Urbanization of Modern America: A Brief History*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1973.
Moore, Michael, dir. *The Big One*. 1998.
Moore, Michael, dir. *Roger and Me*. 1989.
Newman, K. *Falling from Grace: The Experience of Downward Mobility in the American Middle Class*. New York: Free Press, 1988.
Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Ravitch, D. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
Rybczynski, W. *Waiting for the Weekend*. New York: Viking, 1991.
Shorter, E. *The Health Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1987.
Spring, J. *The American School, 1642–1993*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994.

Tichi, Cecelia. *Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Whitfield, S. J. *The Culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
Williams, T. I., ed. *Science: A History of Discovery in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
Williamson, J. *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
Winn, M. *The Plug-In Drug*. New York: Viking Press, 1977.

Intellectual Life

ART AND FILM

Television did not bring about the demise of the motion picture industry, as some had predicted years earlier that it would. The industry held its own partly by producing made-for-television films and selling broadcast and videotaping rights of movies after they had run in theaters. Sales in foreign countries also helped. Most of the industry's revenue, however, poured in through box offices, as going to movies remained a popular social activity. People were still willing to pay more to see a film on a big screen. In 1975, box-office revenue broke the record set the previous year. Higher admission prices accounted for part of the increase, but the average weekly attendance of 21 million, up 10 percent from the previous year, was the main reason. Those figures were notable mainly because they represented a reversal of the 25-year downward spiral from the average attendance of 80 million in pretelevision days.

Blockbuster films brought in much of the industry's revenue. In 1975, Steven Spielberg's spine-tingling *Jaws* was the big moneymaker. The violence and terror wrought by a huge man-eating white shark in a resort community evidently appealed to the tastes of vast numbers of the reading and movie-going public. Like other popular films, it was based on a novel; when the film was released, there were 5.5 million copies of Peter Benchley's novel in print. Another film based on a novel, *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), did very well at the box office and achieved critical acclaim with its portrayal of life and medical treatment in mental institutions. In 1977 came another blockbuster: *Star Wars*, a movie saturated with special visual and sound effects. Some of that film's appeal lay in its depiction of the romance of fighting a just war in the melodrama of science fiction.

The diverse tastes of producers and audiences were evident in the variety of films winning honors each year. In 1982, for example, *Gandhi*, the story of the man who led India's struggle for independence, won an Oscar for best picture. Several years later the Oscar went to *Amadeus* (1984), which treated the life of the great composer

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Then came *Out of Africa* (1985) and *The Last Emperor* (1987), the latter the story of a bygone China. Named best picture in 1988 was *Rain Man*, starring Dustin Hoffman, named best actor for his performance. The film introduced audiences to autism, a baffling mental disorder. It was followed by *Driving Miss Daisy* (1989), with Jessica Tandy playing the role of an eccentric but lovable elderly woman and winning best actress for it. Then came *Dances with Wolves* (1990), directed by and featuring Kevin Costner (best director) in a romanticized story of the Lakota Sioux nation.

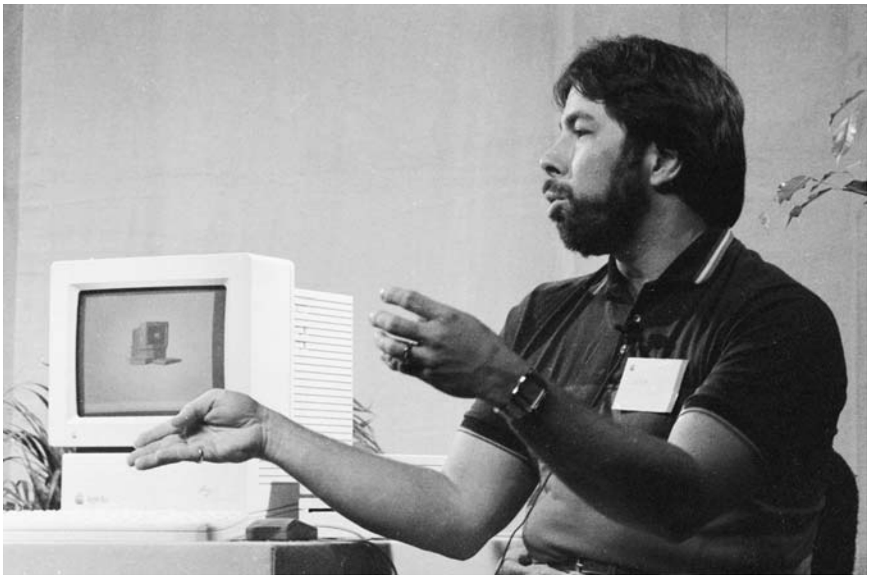
Award-winning films were often bested at the box office by those featuring daring themes or techniques. That explains the success of the 1981 blockbuster *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, and another in 1982, *E.T.—The Extra-Terrestrial*, the story of love between an Earth boy, lonely in suburbia, and a stranded alien from space. Both movies were directed by Steven Spielberg. *E.T.* grossed $228 million at the box office and demonstrated the commercial success that lay in embedding a film's vocabulary ("Elliot," "ouch," and "phone home") into the language of everyday life and in marketing a film's images on such things as lunch boxes, bicycles, and even underwear. Another blockbuster success was Tim Burton's *Batman* in 1989. Although it did not match the revenue produced by *E.T.*, the "Batmania" it inspired paid dividends to marketers of products bearing the image or logo of the Batman.

Sylvester Stallone's *Rambo: First Blood, Part II* (1985) was a good example of a popular film featuring violence. Stallone played the role of a Vietnam veteran who freed prisoners of war, thereby exposing the alleged indifference of the U.S. government. The film's prowar perspective drew complaints from those who thought it tried to revise truths about the war, but the complaints did not keep Rambo from becoming a folk hero or Rambo guns and knives from becoming popular children's toys.

In 1984, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) added a new rating, PG-13, the first change since the introduction of the rating system 16 years earlier. The new rating placed films between PG (parental guidance suggested) and R (restricted). It was advisory in that it did not exclude viewers under age 14, but it informed parents that violence or other content in the film might not be suitable for their children. In 1990 the MPAA replaced the controversial X rating, which had come to be regarded as synonymous with pornography, with NC-17. The new rating was intended for movies that despite depictions of explicit sex or extreme violence, such as *Henry & June*, were regarded as serious artistic efforts (Marty 1997, 209–10, 281–82; *Daily Life Online*, "Recreational Life: Film," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

COMMUNICATION: TELEVISION AND COMPUTERS

There were two major themes in the history of communication during the period 1960 to 1990. The first was the continued dominance of television and the second was the rise of the computing age. The 1960s was the second decade of television's



Home computers like Apple's IIg revolutionized communications among Americans. Here, Apple Computer founder Steven Wozniak demonstrates a new Apple IIg in Cupertino, California, September 16, 1986. AP/Wide World Photos.

dominance of home life. The average number of hours of viewing per home per day increased from just over five in 1960 to almost six in 1970, nearly 18 percent. With more channels, there were more programs to watch. Although virtually no homes were hooked to a cable television system in 1960, the increase to 8 percent in 1970 was the beginning of an accelerating trend. The 2,350 cable systems, up from 640 a decade earlier, principally served isolated areas; but when the Federal Communications Commission allowed cable channels to enter major markets, they began to increase program options for viewers in urban areas, too.

Television did not become, as some had expected, a theater in the home with featured attractions being the center of attention. Although a set might be on most of the time, it did not interfere with the activities of people in the room. One study showed that about one-fifth of the time it played to an empty room. For another fifth, those in the room did not look at it at all. That study reported that children "eat, drink, dress and undress, play [and] fight . . . in front of the set," and that is where adults "eat, drink, sleep, play, argue, fight, and occasionally make love." Almost always, the viewing was discontinuous. Hours spent in front of television sets were greater among persons of lower income and lesser education than among the wealthier and better educated, for whom other activities were within reach and within budgets.

By the mid-1970s, the affordability of televisions increased, and about half of American households had two or more television sets. The sets had become, in historian Cecelia Tichi's words, the home's "electronic hearth," the focal point in a room. Viewers absorbed their radiating warmth and flickering images. They were also a home's window to the world, as the programs and commercials shaped viewers' needs, interests, habits, and values. Television's manipulated portrayals of reality became indistinguishable from reality itself. "As seen on TV" validated claims and opinions.

Given television's dominant role in American life, it is not surprising that its images altered viewers' ways of apprehending the world. In contrast to the way one reads—from left to right across a line, top of the page to the bottom, page after page—television follows no predictable or essential lines. Viewers move quickly, not necessarily randomly but seemingly so, from one scene to another with subtle transitions or no transitions at all. Reading is another matter: one *learns* to read books, magazines, and newspapers, typically going through reading-readiness exercises and then moving from elementary to more complex material.

No one *learns* to watch television. Many programs, and particularly commercials, are designed to simultaneously hold the attention of 6-year-olds, 16-year-olds, and 60-year-olds. As television holds viewers' attention hour after hour, it becomes what Marie Winn has labeled "the plug-in drug." Viewers may not be in a perpetual state of stupor—perhaps they cheer about what they see or talk back to those they hear—but they are addicted to viewing nonetheless. In her book *The Plug-In Drug* (1977), Winn described how the addiction changed viewers' ways of learning, thinking, and being, as well as their relationships with others and their environment. She focused particularly on television's narcotic effects on children, but adults suffered from them as well. Those effects had become widespread.

Television communication changed significantly in 1975 with Sony's video-recording system known as Betamax. At first the system could be purchased only in a console package containing a videocassette recorder (VCR) and color TV that cost as much as $2,295. Even though the price soon dropped almost by half, JVC's Video Home System (VHS) soon displaced Betamax. The systems were incompatible, and VHS eventually won out (partly because of its longer recording time and lower cost), leaving Betamax owners with technology that was almost instantly obsolete.

But VCRs quickly overcame consumers' misgivings, and by the end of the 1980s about two-thirds of American households with television sets owned at least one unit. With a VCR connected to their set, viewers could for the first time arrange to watch whatever they chose, whenever they chose. Television schedules no longer controlled mealtimes and evening activities. Appreciated just as much was the ability to fast-forward through commercials as viewers watched programs they had recorded. Knowing how to program VCRs for recording, however, remained a challenge. VCRs were used most frequently for watching rented VHS videocassettes. Within a decade, consumers were spending almost $2 billion on rentals and purchasing about 50 million videocassettes.

In addition to television, another important technological and communication development in the 1960s was the advent of computers. The first electronic digital computers, built in the 1940s, were huge machines usually dedicated to a single purpose. The development of the transistor, in the early 1950s, made possible integrated circuits, and old vacuum tubes swiftly became obsolete. Texas Instruments's patenting in 1961 of a silicon wafer, known as a chip, opened the way for further changes in computer technology. No bigger than a postage stamp, the silicon chip eliminated the miles of wires required in earlier machines.

Although personal computers did not become common in American households until several decades later, IBM's production of a primitive word processor in 1964 was a first step in that direction. IBM failed, however, to anticipate what was to come as far as personal computers were concerned. Not until 1981 did it market its first one.

As computer technology came to play a larger role in American life, it was not limited to such obvious processes as financial record management, credit card accounting, airline reservation systems, and word processing. In 1966, it took a small first step into the daily lives of users who were unaware of how it worked and even of its existence, as British technologists developed the first computer-controlled, fuel-injection automobile engine. Such advances, while making life easier in some respects, also made it more confusing—as backyard mechanics would soon discover.

The computerization of America accelerated rapidly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with each step affecting more directly the lives of Americans. Until the mid-1960s, most computer applications were found in large businesses and the military, but they spread quickly to smaller settings. Office secretaries who had learned to use the IBM Selectric typewriter when it was introduced in 1961 struggled with electronic typewriters by the end of the decade. Soon they faced the intricacies of primitive word processors.

In 1971, when Intel of California introduced the microprocessor—essentially a computer on a silicon chip—a whole new industry opened up. That meant new jobs in the production of both hardware and software. Boom times came to places like "Silicon Valley," the 25-mile strip in California between Palo Alto and San Jose.

As computers entered the workplace, those who used them did not need to understand how they worked. Previously, processors of data worried about stacking and storing the punch cards or magnetic tapes carrying the data they worked with. Now, they simply used hard drives and floppy disks to enter, manipulate, store, and retrieve data, all in unprecedented amounts and with impressive speed. But the picture was not all rosy for computer users. The repetitive nature of their work, as they sat in the same position hour after hour with their eyes focused on a screen with moving images, made them vulnerable to new physical maladies, particularly something called repetitive strain injury or cumulative trauma disorder.

As computer users became more adept and productive, they unwittingly caused the underemployment and unemployment of other employees who were displaced. Their work also unwittingly increased the prospects that confidential financial, legal, medical, military, and other records would be vulnerable to invasion by persons who had no right or reason to see them. Another worry was that records would be improperly transferred, scrambled, destroyed, or simply lost in the system. Another problem that persisted resulted from the perpetual introduction of new generations of hardware and software. Data generated and stored in obsolete generations cannot be retrieved in the next and can be lost. That might not affect the immediate operations of an organization, but it is a concern to those who attempt, years later, to retrieve original records.

Aside from affecting business life, the computer, by the 1970s, had changed personal and home life. A technological device with a large impact had small beginnings in 1976, when Steven Jobs and Stephen Wozniak, college dropouts, founded the Apple computer company. They designed the Apple I, a crude personal computer (PC) most notable for paving the way for Apple II. The Apple II, introduced in 1977, caught on quickly in both homes and schools and set in motion four important processes. The first led to the development of personal computers by IBM, the big company in the computer business. Before long many companies were manufacturing machines more important for the description "IBM-compatible" than for the name of the manufacturer.

The second came side-by-side with the first: the rapid expansion of Microsoft, founded in 1975 by software whiz Bill Gates, a 19-year-old Harvard dropout (who had scored a perfect 800 on his math SAT), and his 22-year-old partner, Paul Allen. Before long, Microsoft dominated the software market and Gates was on his way to becoming the richest man in America. Third, costly, complicated mainframe systems gradually came to play a different role in computer operations in businesses, as they accommodated increasingly flexible workstations connected through telephone networks. Fourth, the miniaturization of personal computers led to the development, in the 1980s, of battery-powered laptop models.

In anticipation of the PC's arrival, a scarcely noticed event occurred in 1976 when the German manufacturer of the slide rule presented the last one it produced to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. For 350 years that venerable device had been the handheld calculator of mathematicians, scientists, and engineers and a mystery to many in the general public who never mastered it. Electric, battery-operated calculators quickly replaced the outmoded tool.

The development of personal computers and desktop workstations accompanied other trends begun earlier. By 1980, computer technology had established itself in manufacturing and business processes and touched the daily lives of producers and consumers in many ways, from automated assembly lines to banking and credit-card operations, for example, as well as in the operating systems of automobiles and the most intricate surgical devices.

Personal computers had been manufactured since 1977, but the market for them did not come of age until 1981, when IBM produced its first one. IBM's size enabled it to market its PCs aggressively, and sales climbed in three years from 25,000 to 3 million, although its experiment with a low-cost model, the PC jr., failed. The Apple Corporation, famous for development of the Apple II, introduced the Macintosh in 1984. By 1987, its Macintosh II and SE models were the most powerful personal computers on the market. The Mac was also regarded as more user-friendly than personal computers with "disk operating systems," and debates over Mac versus DOS continued for years. The Mac's "mouse" for moving the cursor on the screen made it even more user-friendly, and eventually other lines of computers also made the mouse a standard feature.

Sales of personal computers stood at 1.4 million in 1981. Sales doubled in 1982, on their way to 10 million in 1988, at a profit, then, of $22 billion. A number of other computer developments made news that year. One was the "virus," a mischievous small program planted in an operating system with the intent of altering or deleting data throughout the network as the virus spread. Another development was the expanded capacity and speed of laptop computers, with sales exceeding $1 million. A third concerned possible health hazards posed by computer monitors, known as video display terminals. Studies showed that many people who worked at monitors for six hours or more each day developed difficulties in focusing their eyes. Long hours spent at keyboards also caused injuries to hands and arms, sometimes to a disabling extent (Marty, 59–60, 115–18, 151–53, 205–9, 221–22, 303–4; *Daily Life Online*, "Intellectual Life: Communication," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

EDUCATION

As the Great Society changed the political and economic face of America through legislative and presidential actions, and as the civil rights movement and technology brought other changes in American life, additional forces transformed American culture. With college youth drawing the most attention for their challenges to established practices in American life and rejection of conventional sexual mores and practices, they were joined in quieter ways by men and women of all ages (*Daily Life Online*, "Cultural Transformations," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife. greenwood.com).

The most striking changes in education in the early 1960s affected adults, who enjoyed new opportunities in higher and continuing education. A burst of enrollment in higher education had followed the GI Bill in the years after World War II. Of 14 million persons eligible, 2.2 million veterans jumped at the chance to have their college tuition paid as partial compensation for their military service. Eventually, nearly eight million took advantage of the bill's educational benefits. That set the stage for the continued growth of colleges and universities in the 1960s. In states with rapid population growth the expansion appeared breathtaking. In Florida, for example, where in the early 1940s there had been one university for men, one for women, and one for blacks, along with one public junior college, by 1972 there were nine public coeducational universities and 28 community colleges.

The demand for such institutions increased in part because of the enrollment of women. Nationwide, the proportion of women in college populations grew from around 33 percent in 1960 to more than 40 percent a decade later. The increased enrollment of both women and men was served mainly by the establishment and enlargement of public institutions. In 1940, about 47 percent of the 1,494,000 students enrolled in colleges and universities studied in private, denominational, or sectarian institutions. By 1970, the enrollment reached 7,136,000, with nonpublic institutions serving only 28 percent of the total.


Mario Savio, a founder of the Free Speech Movement, leads a campus protest at the University of California, Berkeley, 1966. AP/Wide World Photos.

The establishment of community colleges—160 between 1960 and 1966—opened doors for many young people and brought back to school adults seeking to acquire new knowledge and skills. In the five years preceding 1968, enrollment of full-time students in community colleges increased from 914,000 to 1,909,000, and part-time enrollment rose from 489,000 to 888,000. Priding themselves on the comprehensiveness of their offerings, community colleges enabled students to lay the groundwork for transferring to four-year institutions or to equip themselves for better jobs by enrolling in two-year vocational programs. Community colleges also provided credit and noncredit continuing education courses of almost limitless variety, some of them designed to improve job opportunities, some for intellectual and artistic growth.

In those same years of educational growth, school administrators, board members, and teachers wrestled with such issues as minimum competency testing, community advisory councils, programs in values clarification, bilingual education, and questions about textbooks. In their student populations were some judged to be at-risk, others gifted and talented, and still others learning disabled (a term used initially in 1963). For those judged to be learning disabled, that designation most likely meant separate classrooms, in that mainstreaming (integrating designated disabled students into regular classroom settings) was not yet a part of schools' responses or vocabularies.

Moreover, until the 20 years of enrollment growth ended in 1970, school administrators faced overcrowded schools and classrooms. Predictably, but with seeming suddenness, enrollment problems shifted into reverse in 1971, as a long downward spiral began. Soon decisions over what schools to close became battles between neighborhoods within school districts. Convenience of location served as one issue. The perception that an empty school building signaled neighborhood decline remained another.

School administrators as well as teachers, students, and parents had to deal with schools' perennial scarcity of funds. A snapshot of the budget picture of schools in 1970–1971 reveals their plight. In that year, about 52 percent of the $39.5 billion spent to operate public elementary and secondary schools was raised by local taxes, typically on property; 41 percent came from state taxes on sales, income, and property; and 7 percent came from the federal government under a variety of programs. A report on school finance showed that in 1970 voters approved only 48 percent of school bond issues, compared with 81 percent a decade earlier. In other words, as the public increased its demands on schools, it also became more reluctant to foot the bill. Unequal distribution of dollars among schools and school districts caused another budgetary problem: where the tax base was low, so was tax revenue, and the schools suffered. Poor children attended inferior schools. Court decisions over the next several years achieved only limited success in equalizing the resources of school districts.

The other major issue educators, parents, and students confronted was school desegregation. In some parts of the country, school districts with racially segregated schools had, for more than a decade, defied the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* that such schools had to be eliminated. They changed school boundaries, redrew bus routes, and offered voluntary choice programs to perpetuate segregation. A series of Supreme Court rulings, however, particularly one in 1968, declared that the federal courts would insist on proof of racial integration in areas that formerly had segregated their schools by law. In 1971, the court upheld busing of schoolchildren as a means to achieve racial balance where segregation still had official local sanction and where school authorities had not offered acceptable alternatives to busing. By 1976, as a result of court orders, 77 percent of black schoolchildren in the South attended schools that had at least 10 percent white students.

In 1972, the court ruled that segregated schools resulting from residential segregation must be treated as the result of deliberate public policies, just as if they had been segregated by law. Such schools were judged in violation of the Constitution, and remedies to eliminate segregation were required. Busing and the creation of magnet schools—schools offering special programs in the arts or the sciences, for example—were the most common remedies. Pairing schools was another remedy, with a portion of black students bused to a predominantly white school and vice versa. School desegregation proceeded slowly, partly because many families moved to avoid sending their children to newly desegregated schools. So-called white flight meant that neighborhood populations changed swiftly and dramatically, and desegregation plans had to be updated almost yearly. Thoughtful persons wondered aloud why the task of desegregating society was being given mainly to children, but where they were given a chance, the children showed they were capable of making desegregation work.

Desegregation posed many challenges. Children of both races found themselves in classrooms with other children from whom they had been taught, or even required, to keep their distance. Teachers encountered children who had been denied solid educational opportunities and who, therefore, had difficulty meeting their expectations. Administrators were compelled, often against their personal wishes, to design desegregation plans and make them work. Parents worried about the effects of desegregation on their children and often resisted it passionately. In Charlotte, North Carolina, for example, the Parents Concerned Association vowed to boycott schools if busing plans were implemented. "I'm willing to go to jail if I have to," one parent said. Even if board members and community leaders supported school desegregation, they had to cope with the resistance of citizens who did not.

But the simple and obvious truth was that the only way to eliminate schools attended solely by black children was to enroll those children in schools with whites. Controversies over school policies, court decisions, and legislative and executive actions at both state and federal levels aimed at desegregation continued throughout the 1970s. Some of them became violent. A much larger effect of the Supreme Court's decisions, as well as of decisions by lower courts, was that color consciousness and sensitivity to group identities came to permeate virtually all decisions in schools, particularly in urban districts.

By the 1980s, conservatives had found a way to challenge school desegregation plans that required children to attend schools in neighborhoods other than their own. Since the *Brown* decision in 1954, some Americans saw desegregation as a threat to a seemingly sacred neighborhood-school concept. By the 1980s, however, some parents wanted to choose their children's school with less regard for its location. *School choice* became a popular phrase. For some, it meant giving parents tax monies to send their children to private schools. Others simply wanted to send their children to schools across district boundaries. The practice of allowing students to attend out-of-district schools gained acceptance, but using tax funds for sending children to private schools was tried on a very limited basis and almost always challenged in the courts.

Conservatives also challenged school textbooks. In a number of school districts, particularly in southern states, parents identifying themselves as Christian and conservative found certain textbooks objectionable. In Hawkins County, Tennessee, for example, a number of parents removed their children from public school reading classes because the textbooks offended their religious beliefs. A lower court ruled in their favor, but an appeals court asserted in 1987 that neither the books nor the classes violated religious freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment. A district court in Alabama allowed the banning of 44 history, social studies, and home economics textbooks on the grounds that they promoted "the religion of secular humanism." Promoting moral behavior without reference to God, claimed the lower-court judge, made humanism a religion, and using books that lacked information on Christianity and other religions advanced godless principles that also amounted to a religion. The judge's rulings were reversed by a court of appeals, also in 1987, but that did not change the sentiments of the 600 fundamentalist parents, students, and teachers (or those of Alabama's former governor, George Wallace) who had initiated or supported the lawsuit that brought the case to trial (Marty 1997, 51–52, 159–67, 309–13; *Daily Life Online*, "Intellectual Life: Education," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Technology has always been the essential link between science and the practice of medicine, and between 1960 and 1966 technological innovations evolved rapidly. A list of those innovations seems truly impressive, but the items in it take on particular meaning for the countless individuals and families who benefited from them at the time and the many more who have since been affected by the further medical progress those innovations made possible. In these years, among many other things, the following events occurred:

- Lasers were used for the first time in eye surgery.
- The first liver and lung transplants occurred, made possible in large part as a result of improvements in anesthesia.
- A prominent cardiac surgeon used an artificial heart to sustain his patient during surgery.
- Pacemakers allowed persons with heart conditions to live normal lives.
- Home kidney dialysis became possible.
- Vaccines proved to be effective against German measles and rubella (which, if contracted during pregnancy, could injure the fetus).
- Methods were perfected for dealing with the Rh factor, a blood condition that threatened the survival of babies at birth.
- An improved polio vaccine led to virtual eradication of the disease.

- The key antigen for development of a hepatitis B vaccine was discovered.
- Development of antibiotics continued.
- Radioactive isotopes were used widely in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases.
- More sophisticated forms of chemotherapy for cancer treatment showed improved effectiveness.

Meanwhile, scientists engaged in basic research laid the groundwork for technological innovations that would arrive in later years.

During these years, the technological developments in medicine of the preceding decades were refined, but stunning new medical procedures captured the headlines. Although they were initially rare, just as organ transplants had been at first, new procedures offered hope to victims of various conditions. Perhaps the best example is the "test-tube baby" as an answer to problems of infertility. The first test-tube baby was born in London in 1978. She had been conceived when an egg extracted from her mother was fertilized in a laboratory by her father's sperm. The fertilized egg remained in a Petri dish until it had developed into an eight-celled embryo; it was then implanted in the mother's uterus, where it developed as a fetus until delivered as a healthy 5-pound, 12-ounce baby. Other such conceptions and births followed as use of the procedure spread.

Technological advancements in medicine and science ranged from those that seemed distant and exotic to those that affected the daily lives of millions of people. Sometimes the speed with which a rarity became commonplace seemed stunning. Within a decade of the first implantation of pacemakers to control irregular heartbeats, those devices enabled thousands of men and women to enjoy longer and happier lives. The same remained true of coronary bypass surgery.

Revenues generated from the 1998 voter-approved antismoking Proposition 10, which added a 50-cent tax on tobacco products, helped fund antismoking programs such as this billboard. Tom Stoddart/Getty Images.

Sometimes medical miracles captured worldwide attention, as when Christian Barnard, a South African surgeon, transplanted the first human heart on December 3, 1967. That it could be done was amazing; whether it was worth the time and expense required to extend one's life for 18 days, as happened in this instance, was debatable. Four days later, the first transplant patient in the United States lived only a few hours.

Though there was no shortage of patients waiting to receive transplanted hearts, the number of hearts available for transplant was always very low. However, the shortage of organs available for transplants—of hearts, livers, lungs, kidneys, and corneas—was not the main obstacle to making transplants routine. Nor was it a lack of surgeons with technical skills for performing transplants. Rather, it was the limitations of drugs to prevent rejection of the implanted organs. In the seven years after Dr. Barnard's feat, more than 250 patients received transplanted hearts, but only about 20 percent lived more than a year after the surgery. For them, life each day was a reminder that the medical miracle performed by their surgeon was worth it, but general questions about transplant surgeries continued to raise ethical, medical, and financial questions.

Many changes in health care that made headlines during these years resulted from these technological advances. Less newsworthy than changes in technology, but undoubtedly more significant in the daily lives of the American people, were the dramatic reductions in infectious diseases occurring between 1960 and 1970, continuing a trend that had begun in the postwar years. Reported cases of measles, for example, which had increased from 319,124 in 1950 to more than 440,000 in 1960, dropped to 47,351 in 1970. Between 1960 and 1990, cases of diphtheria declined from 918 to 4, and poliomyelitis from 3,190 to 7. On the other hand, while deaths per 100,000 population from infectious diseases continued to decline, the decade-to-decade increase in deaths caused by cancer also continued, as it would further in subsequent decades. Deaths from cardiovascular and kidney-related causes began to decline for the first time in the 1960s, although they remained 10 times as high as deaths caused by infectious diseases and 3 times as high as those caused by cancer.

Technological advances still did not solve some of the basic problems of the medical profession, such as a shortage of doctors and the rising costs of health care. The federal government took steps to deal with shortages of physicians caused partly by the broadened availability of health care resulting from the instant popularity of Medicare and Medicaid. In 1971, Congress enacted legislation offering government funding for medical schools that increased their enrollments. Two years later it passed a law encouraging the development of health maintenance organizations (HMOs). Those HMOs, consisting of groups of physicians and other medical providers, offered comprehensive health care to members of groups who paid fixed monthly premiums.

Decades earlier, physicians had stopped making house calls. Now the medical profession made other changes affecting doctor-patient relationships. Patients with acute illnesses and serious injuries were more likely to be referred by their primary doctors—family practitioners, pediatricians, obstetricians/gynecologists, and internists—to persons in specialized fields. Hospitals preferred having only board-certified physicians on their staffs, and health insurers paid higher fees to board-certified specialists, so the American Medical Association and other medical societies began to insist that every physician be certified in a specialty. Family practitioners, the primary care physicians who gradually replaced those known as general practitioners, also required certification. After 1970, therefore, almost all physicians-in-training served multiple-year residencies to be certified.

As medical specialization increased, physicians seemed more inclined to form group practices. Some groups included physicians with the same specialty, such as orthopedics or obstetrics/gynecology. Some included individuals or groups from a broad range of specialties, making it possible for them to provide comprehensive medical care through in-group referrals. In 1970, more than 93 percent of the nation's physicians were men. By 1990 women physicians were beginning to claim a larger place in the profession, as the percentage of male physicians declined to below 83 percent.

In the period 1960 to 1990, there were several health issues that doctors struggled to solve. Among the biggest were the illnesses caused by smoking. Most aspects of health care depend on the willingness of individual Americans to exercise responsibility for their own health. The most persistent preventable health problems were caused by smoking. By 1967, the surgeon general's warning on the hazards of smoking had induced many smokers to tackle the difficult challenge of quitting, and smoking-withdrawal clinics appeared across America.

It is difficult to estimate the numbers of persons whose attempts to quit smoking succeeded. Many quit for short periods, but their addiction to nicotine was so powerful that they ultimately returned to their old habits. Nevertheless, it appears that between 1966 and 1970, 13 million Americans gave up smoking. The percentage of adult men who smoked dropped from 52 to 42, and of women from 34 to 31, although smoking among teenagers increased. The decreases and increases seem to have evened out the per capita consumption of cigarettes, for the figures for 1960 and 1970 were almost identical. By 1980, however, there had again been a slight increase in total consumption. The National Association of Broadcasters announced a plan in 1969 to phase out cigarette advertising on radio and television over a three-year period beginning on January 1, 1970. Publicity accompanying that announcement may have influenced some smokers to quit.

Smoking came to be regarded as a more serious threat to health and a greater social stigma after the surgeon general issued a warning in 1972 that secondhand smoke—that is, other people's cigarette smoke—might pose health hazards for nonsmokers. Gradually thereafter restaurants began to provide nonsmoking areas, and hotels sometimes honored requests by hotel guests for rooms where smoking was not permitted. Meetings and social gatherings that would once have been held in smoke-filled rooms began to be smoke-free. Laws calling for smoke-free workplaces and lawsuits demanding them carried restrictions against smoking even further. Tobacco companies fought the laws and challenged the evidence on the damaging effects of smoking, but they could only slow the imposition of restrictions.

The surgeon general of the United States, Julius B. Richmond (1977–1981), continued the efforts of his predecessors to publicize findings about the relationship between smoking and health. In 1979 he called smoking the "most important environmental factor contributing to early death." In 1980, he reported that cases of lung cancer in women had increased rapidly and that lung cancer soon would lead to more deaths than breast cancer. In March of the same year came reports on research at the University of California at San Diego that produced the first scientific evidence that breathing secondhand smoke harmed nonsmokers. That report and others boosted efforts to limit smoking in public places.

The surgeon general's reports caused some smokers to fight their addiction and sometimes to win. Between 1970 and 1980 smoking dropped 28 percent among men age 20 and older, 13 percent among adult women, and 20 percent among teenage boys. Among teenage girls, however, it increased 51 percent in the dozen years preceding 1980.

Whether from eating too much, eating the wrong foods, or failing to adequately exercise, many American men and women also jeopardized their health and appearance by being overweight. Diet plans promoted on television, in books, and through programs like Weight Watchers all attracted believers and followers. Some nutritionists placed the emphasis on healthful, balanced diets. Others called for drinking nutritious concoctions in place of solid foods. The range of gimmicks for losing weight appeared impressive, but then, as later, most who managed to lose weight by following one plan or another quickly regained it when they returned to their predieting habits.

During these years a number of psycho-physiological eating disorders began to receive greater attention. The most common were anorexia nervosa and bulimarexia, or simply bulimia, whose victims were typically women. The symptoms of anorexia include an abnormal fear of being fat, a distorted image of one's appearance, aversion to food, and, consequently, extreme weight loss. Victims of bulimia go on eating binges followed by periods of depression and guilt. To deal with their insatiable appetites, they try extreme diets, fasting, and self-induced vomiting and diarrhea. For persons suffering from these disorders, the problem is not unavailability of food but inability to cope with its presence.

More and more people, faced with increasing complexity in their lives, sought counseling from psychologists and psychiatrists. Many received effective treatment through counseling and medication. At the same time, there was an increase in so-called pop psychology, that is, do-it-yourself approaches to coping with stress, depression, and other troubling conditions. Doctors and counselors on radio programs provided ready-made answers for questioners seeking help, but probably more significant were books promoting self-help. The first best-seller in what was to become a self-help industry was *I'm OK, You're OK* (1969), a popular rendition of the principles of a field of treatment known as transactional analysis, by Thomas Harris, M.D. Transactional analysis was used widely by psychiatrists, although not without controversy, and it became something of a game, a means for people to discover much about themselves and others. One practitioner remarked, "Tom Harris has done for psychotherapy the same thing Henry Ford did for the automobile: made it available to the average person."

Reliance on medication by persons suffering from stress and physical pain had grown rapidly in the 1960s and early 1970s, so much so that drug manufacturers began to worry about dependence on it. They endorsed warnings to physicians by the Food and Drug Administration that tranquilizers not be prescribed for the stress of everyday life. Perhaps in response to such warnings, legally filled prescriptions for tranquilizers (the most widely used of which was Valium) dropped from 88.3 million to 62.3 million between 1975 and 1979.

Treatment of mentally ill persons changed in other ways as well, the most notable being that fewer of them were confined in institutions. In earlier times, persons judged to suffer from mental illness could be institutionalized without their consent. To gain their release, they had to prove their sanity and ability to handle freedom. In 1975, the Supreme Court ruled that mental patients could not be confined against their will unless they were a danger to others or could not care for themselves. As a result, and also in reaction to worries inspired by reports of mistreatment in mental institutions (as depicted in Ken Kesey's 1962 novel *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, made into a film in 1975), mental wards emptied. Mental patients, in many cases, were simply put out on the streets to become homeless.

Through the 1980s and into the 1990s, mental health remained a concern for millions of Americans. Such illnesses as schizophrenia were the subject of ongoing research, as were depressive illnesses that prevented their victims from functioning well in daily life. Antidepressant medications, along with electroconvulsive therapy, had been used for a number of years to bring about recovery from bouts of manic depression, but the quest continued to find something that would prevent recurrences. In 1970, lithium carbonate became available by prescription for treatment of acute depression and maintenance of relatively normal lives by manic-depressive patients. This required close monitoring of side effects. Lithium is regarded as the first successful preventive medication in the treatment of psychiatric patients.

People in the 1980s complained frequently about pressures of time, family responsibilities, earning a living, and adjusting to change, among other things. The fact that many were indeed affected by stressful conditions could be documented by psychologists and psychiatrists. Moreover, a survey conducted by the National Institute of Mental Health in 1984 concluded that almost 20 percent of adults in the United States suffered mental disorders. Women, according to the study, appeared more prone to depression and phobias, while men to drug and alcohol abuse and antisocial behavior.

Decades earlier the quest for relief from mental conditions often involved psychoanalysis. Patients poured out tales of their past to persons trained to listen and, by asking questions, help them understand themselves and deal with their problems. By the 1980s, neither the pace of life nor the terms of medical insurance allowed for protracted psychoanalytical treatment, and psychoanalysts had few patients. Nonetheless, counseling—both individual and in group therapy sessions—remained important in dealing with mental and emotional problems.

At the same time, the growing belief that mental disorders were often caused by such physical problems as chemical imbalances led psychiatrists increasingly to prescribe medications. That may explain the popularity of Prozac, introduced in 1988 as an apparently effective treatment for depression. Before long, it was also used to treat problems associated with obesity, gambling, and anxiety over public speaking. Although many benefited from it and its side effects were few, some physicians and psychologists voiced concern that Prozac and similar drugs were substitutes for dealing directly with what was wrong in the lives of their users. There were reasons to wonder, too, whether medications might inhibit creative powers in those dependent on them.

Another mental condition that received considerable attention in the 1980s was attention-deficit disorder (ADD); sometimes the term *hyperactive* also describes an aspect of the condition, known then as ADHD. Although physicians and psychologists made many of the diagnoses of ADD and ADHD, many other cases were self-diagnosed. In fact, most people could see in themselves varying degrees of ADD's most common symptoms: a tendency to be easily distracted from tasks at hand, a low tolerance for frustration or boredom, an inclination to act impulsively, and a fondness for situations of high intensity. When diagnoses were made by professionals, they were followed by counseling and sometimes by medication, such as Ritalin. Indeed, overuse of Ritalin for children suffering from attention-deficit and hyperactive disorder worried parents and teachers. Persons who diagnosed their own condition apparently compensated for it by doing such things as establishing demanding schedules or setting goals that required them to work obsessively.

If there was in fact an ADD epidemic in the United States, it was probably related to the hyperactive nature of society. Edward Hallowell and John J. Ratey, both psychiatrists, wrote in *Driven to Distraction* (1994) that "American society tends to create ADD-like symptoms in us all. We live in an ADD-ogenic culture." In the following excerpt, they identify some of the hallmarks of American culture that are typical of ADD as well as of postmodern times:

> The sound bite. The bottom line. Short takes, quick cuts. The TV remote-control clicker. High stimulation. Restlessness. Violence. Anxiety. Ingenuity. Creativity. Speed. Present-centered, no future, no past. Disorganization. Mavericks. A mistrust of authority. Video. Going for the gusto. Making it on the run. The fast track. Whatever works. Hollywood. The stock exchange. Fads. High stim.

It is important to keep this in mind, he suggested, or you may start thinking that everybody you know has ADD. The disorder is culturally syntonic—that is to say, it fits right in.

Americans in the 1980s also witnessed two major epidemics. First, in March 1981, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) determined that cases of the sexually transmitted disease known as genital herpes had reached epidemic proportions in the United States. Victims suffered painful, recurring sores on their genital organs. Between unpredictable outbreaks, the virus withdraws into nerve cells, where it remains out of the reach of the body's immune system. A medication existed to relieve the symptoms when initial outbreaks occurred, but there was no means as yet to prevent or relieve the symptoms in subsequent recurrences, making it the first incurable sexually transmitted disease since the introduction of antibiotics. Research continued for medications to prevent outbreaks for those afflicted with the disease and for vaccines to protect others from contracting it.

At the same time a more deadly disease, usually transmitted sexually, crept into the nation's consciousness. In June 1981, the CDC reported five cases of a strain of pneumonia among previously healthy homosexual men in Los Angeles hospitals. This strain, *pneumocystis carinii,* usually occurs in infants or in adults receiving immunosuppressive drugs, as in the chemotherapy treatment of cancer patients. Reports of other cases of strange illnesses appeared elsewhere, most commonly among homosexual men. Initially labeled GRID (for gay-related immunodeficiency), the name was changed when the victims included recipients of blood transfusions, female prostitutes, intravenous drug users, and heterosexual Africans and Haitians. The disease became known as AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome).

By the end of 1982, 750 AIDS cases had been reported in the United States and almost 1,600 worldwide. A year later the number of reported cases reached about 3,000. With the number of cases growing daily, the AIDS crisis became one of the big stories of the decade. Other factors also made it so, such as movie star Rock Hudson's revelation in 1985 that he battled AIDS and his death later that year. The dedication of an AIDS hospice in New York by Mother Teresa, a nun renowned for her work with the poor and suffering, also increased public awareness. Close-to-home reminders of the dangers posed by AIDS came in 1987 and 1988, when patients began to see their doctors and dentists slip their hands into latex gloves before treating them.

When the CDC reported the first cases of AIDS in June 1981, it opened one of the decade's big stories. Awareness of AIDS spread slowly, but within five years just about everyone knew that scientists, physicians, hospitals, and the victims and their friends and families faced dreadful challenges. In 1986, the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) estimated that the number of cases and deaths would increase tenfold in the next five years. In 1991, predicted HHS, some 50,000 Americans would die of AIDS—more than the number killed in most years in automobile accidents. That prediction may have been too grim. In 1990, there were 29,781 deaths, bringing the total since the center began keeping records in 1981 to 98,350. With about 140,000 cases known, however, the CDC made another grim prediction: that the AIDS death total could reach 340,000 by 1993.

Reporting on the spread of AIDS in 1986, HHS noted that about 70 percent of the victims of AIDS were homosexual or bisexual men. That prompted those who regarded homosexuality and bisexuality as sinful to call AIDS God's punishment. They judged the 25 percent of the victims who were intravenous drug users infected by contaminated needles in much the same way. The fact that more than one-third of the known cases were in New York and San Francisco gave those hostile to homosexuality an opportunity to condemn the cities as centers of wickedness.

Wherever cases appeared, AIDS victims were kept at arm's length, even though it was well established that the virus that caused AIDS could not be spread by casual contact. In well-publicized instances that caused controversy across the nation, even children who had been infected through blood transfusions were kept out of the schools they had been attending. The gravity of the AIDS epidemic, lack of information about the disease, and attitudes about it compelled the federal government to educate the American public concerning its nature and consequences. In May 1988, the government took the unprecedented step of mailing an explicit eight-page booklet, *Understanding AIDS,* to 106 million households.

An often controversial search continued for vaccines to prevent the further spread of AIDS and cure existing cases. In 1989, two studies showed that the drug AZT offered hope as a treatment for AIDS. Initially AZT had been used to treat severely ill patients, but the studies indicated that it could delay the onset of symptoms if it was administered when early signs of damage to the immune system appeared. But AZT was not without side effects. The National Cancer Institute reported in 1990 that persons with AIDS who received it stood a nearly 50 percent chance of developing lymphoma after three years on the drug. The cost of $7,000 to $8,000 per year for those being treated with AZT also inhibited its widespread use. Although other therapies began to develop, it remained too early to determine their effectiveness. Understandably, the slow progress in AIDS research, coupled with homosexuality as a culturally divisive issue, made this an emotional political subject.

Technological advances in developing treatments for diseases such as AIDS played a part in pushing health care costs upward. So did the increased longevity of the population. Another contributor, medical malpractice insurance, had grown in significance for a decade and reached crisis levels in the mid-1970s. Doctors and hospitals purchased malpractice insurance as protection against justified and unjustified claims of mistakes or negligence. Insurance funds were used to investigate the claims, provide legal defenses against them, and pay damages to patient-victims in court judgments or out-of-court settlements. Between 1969 and 1975, according to authoritative estimates, claims had increased by about 180 percent. One doctor in 10, on average, was sued, and the size of awards by juries rose during those years.

A number of factors played a part in the increase, including sharply rising doctors' fees, patients' beliefs that they failed to receive personal attention, lack of personal relationships between specialists and patients, and, apparently, the conclusion that greater sophistication in medical techniques should make doctors and hospitals infallible. The popularity of the television program *Marcus Welby, M.D.* seems to have encouraged notions of medical infallibility. The fact that awards in court cases and settlements were reaching into the millions of dollars also encouraged avaricious patients and lawyers to file claims. Even though the plaintiffs lost about 80 percent of the cases that went to trial, the cost of defending them was often so high that insurers frequently agreed to pretrial settlements. In the decade prior to the mid-1970s, insurance premiums for neurosurgeons and orthopedic surgeons increased more than 10-fold, and practitioners in less-risky specialties also saw sharp increases. Where state insurance commissions refused to approve rate increases, insurance companies withdrew coverage. In such instances, some doctors declined to perform anything but emergency procedures. Even as solutions to the insurance problems proved elusive, most states tried to find them. Meanwhile, patients covered the cost of increased premiums when they paid the larger fees charged by their doctors.

In the 1980s, the portion of the gross national product devoted to health care increased from 9.1 percent to 12.2 percent, on its way to more than 14 percent by the mid-1990s. The rate of increase in the total health bill for the nation soared to double the inflation rate. Not only did the annual increases have implications for state and federal budgets, but they also had significant effects on family budgets. Insurance premiums and payments made directly to doctors and hospitals multiplied several times between the late 1970s and 1990. Employers felt the squeeze, too, as the cost of providing health care insurance for their employees skyrocketed.

In the absence of a national plan guaranteeing health insurance for all Americans, some simply accepted the spiraling costs of individual and group coverage, some did without coverage and hoped that hospitals' emergency rooms or charity policies would meet their needs, and some hoped to control costs by joining health maintenance organizations (HMOs). Although the relatively lower costs of HMO coverage made them popular, to compete with other forms of coverage they had to relax their initial limits on patients' rights to choose their doctors. Even so, the less-restricted choices left many of their members unsatisfied.

That dissatisfaction no doubt reflected a cynicism about providers of health care in general. One survey reported that only 29 percent of its respondents believed that physicians performed important services. Another 27 percent said that few physicians perform such services. In another survey, respondents expressed much greater confidence in pharmacists than in physicians and were more satisfied with their services. The changing health care scene prompted changes in the education of pharmacists, who were taught to counsel persons about their prescriptions. Their pill-counting role was being taken over by more accurate and efficient technological devices.

Despite the superior training of doctors and the breakthroughs in research, health problems were far from solved. The National Cancer Institute reported that cancer deaths continued to rise. Between 1973 and 1987, for example, occurrences of cancer increased by 14 percent. Melanoma (skin cancer) showed the greatest increase (83 percent), followed by prostate cancer (46 percent), lung cancer (31 percent), and breast cancer in women over age 50 (30 percent) and under age 50 (20 percent). Incidents of stomach, uterine, and cervical cancer declined. Heart disease also remained a major cause of death, with coronary disease or heart attacks accounting for more than 25 percent of the deaths occurring annually (Marty 1997, 62, 135–38, 155–57, 217–19, 295–99, 321; *Daily Life Online,* "Intellectual Life: Health and Medicine," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

LITERATURE

Newspapers had difficulty competing with television for readers' time. The *Washington Star* shut down in 1981 and the *Philadelphia Bulletin* in 1982; also in 1982 nine newspapers located in all parts of the country merged their morning and evening papers into single morning or all-day publications, resulting in the loss of one kind of coverage or another. In 1985 the 131-year-old *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* folded when a new owner could not rescue it from bankruptcy. At the end of the decade the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* and the *Raleigh Times* (North Carolina) ceased publication, and the morning edition *Kansas City Times* (1867–1990) was absorbed by the morning *Kansas City Star.* In a basic sense, many Americans turned to other mediums, particularly television, and often morning "drive time" radio, for their news.

Perhaps the biggest change in the newspaper business occurred in 1982 when the Gannett Company, owner of a chain of dailies, launched *USA Today.* The national newspaper made explicit attempts to compete with television as a primary source of news. Boxes dispensing it on street corners displayed the front page in windows that looked like television screens. News reports and features were brief and crisply written, and pictures, often in color, appeared more plentiful than in other newspapers. The fast-glimpse qualities of *USA Today* inspired critics to compare its fare with that offered in fast-food restaurants. "McNews," they called it. Within the next several years Gannett also acquired a number of major newspapers, including the *Detroit News*, the *Des Moines Register,* and the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times*. Although Gannett-owned newspapers maintained individual identities, they also reflected traits displayed most prominently by *USA Today,* such as the shortened news reports. Some readers detected a loss of local flavor in the papers' coverage.

Following *USA Today*'s lead, other newspapers printed more pictures in color and abbreviated their reporting. Perhaps that enabled them to remain a staple in the life of the two-thirds of American adults who read them daily. Only one in five of the readers spent more than 30 minutes with the daily paper, and they tended to be older and better educated. Meanwhile, television continued to grow as the main source of news for the American people, partly because the network anchors seemed like authoritative guests in many homes and partly because of the news coverage of CNN. Ted Turner founded the Cable News Network in 1980.

Big-circulation magazines intended for general audiences saw their sales slump as their traditional readership was aging and dying. Smaller, more precisely targeted magazines fared better, as did some fashion magazines. The wide range of choices, symbolic of postmodern conditions, no doubt encouraged browsing rather than selecting one magazine and staying with it. Reflecting the get-rich climate of the times, *Forbes*, one of the nation's leading business magazines, saw its circulation grow and the median age of its readers move downward.

By the end of the 1980s, total book sales approached $15 billion, double the amount recorded at the beginning of the decade. Much of publishers' revenues came from the works of best-selling authors. Stephen King landed 10 horror novels on best-seller lists during the decade, and Danielle Steele eight romances. Sometimes outstanding works like Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* and Toni Morrison's *Beloved* also became best-sellers, promising to become classics.

In 1982, readers of established classics by American writers welcomed the appearance of eight handsome, sturdy, meant-to-last volumes in the new Library of America series. Published in the first year were works by Walt Whitman, Herman Melville, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Jack London, Mark Twain, and William Dean Howells. Admirers of such best-sellers as Robert Fulghum's *All I Really Need to Know I Learned in Kindergarten* (1988) would contend that they were classics, too. The very fact that such best-sellers existed alleviated fears that books would be crowded out of people's lives by television and computers. So did the continued popularity of children's books—longtime favorite writer Theodore Geisel published two more Dr. Seuss best-sellers. Children who grow up with books are more likely to be serious readers as adults (Marty 1997, 280–81; *Daily Life Online*, "Intellectual Life: Literature," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

SCIENCE AND AMERICA'S SPACE PROGRAM

In the United States, space exploration reflected not only the close relationship between scientists and the government but also the strong desire to beat the communists in the space race. American scientific technology propelled the United States into space. Computer technology, in particular, played an essential role in America's first flights into space. In 1961, navy commander Alan Shepard and Air Force captain Virgil Grissom each piloted space capsules in suborbital flights of just over

300 miles, preparing the nation for the big moment to come the following winter. At 9:47 A.M. on February 20, 1962, with schoolchildren bunched around television sets in their classrooms and their parents interrupting tasks at work and at home, an Atlas missile at Cape Canaveral, Florida, launched the space capsule *Friendship 7* into orbit around the earth, with Colonel John Glenn aboard. Minutes short of four hours later, CBS newsman Walter Cronkite narrated Glenn's reentry into the atmosphere and his splashdown in the Caribbean Sea. In orbit, the capsule had reached a velocity of 17,500 miles per hour, and in the four hours between launch and recovery from the water Glenn had seen three sunrises. Viewers cheered what they saw and buzzed with excitement as they talked about it. Still, the way it was carried out was so precise that it looked routine, matter-of-fact, and predictable. It had all the marks of a choreographed theatrical production. Surely this was American progress, the success of modern times.

There was more to come: Three months later, astronaut Scott Carpenter repeated Glenn's feat, this time taking control of functions done by computerized instrumentation in the first flight. The following October, navy commander Walter Schirra completed a nearly perfect flight of more than nine hours, circling the earth six times and making a pinpoint landing in the Pacific Ocean. Television viewers began to take success for granted, but even bigger things would occur in the developing space program.

Based on the counsel of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and his advisors, and at the urging of Vice President Lyndon Johnson, President Kennedy declared in a speech before Congress on May 25, 1961: "This nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth." President Kennedy concluded. "No single project . . . will be more exciting, or more impressive to mankind, or more important for the long-range exploration of space; and none will be so expensive to accomplish."

The cost? Likely $30 to $40 billion, with those dollars contributing little to economic growth. The Cold War explained why American taxpayers were willing to pick up the tab. Johnson was correct in saying he did not believe "that this generation of Americans is willing to resign itself to going to bed each night by the light of a Communist moon" (remarks made during a news conference). Anyone doubting that the Soviet Union saw the contest in the same terms should remember that every day thousands of Russians pass a statue of Yuri Gagarin mounted on a pedestal 40 meters tall on a main thoroughfare in Moscow. Gagarin was the Russian hero whose single-orbit flight on April 12, 1961, three weeks before Alan Shepard's suborbital flight, showed America that the Soviet Union could beat the United States in launching a man into spatial orbit.

The only immediate benefit of the space flights for the American people seemed bolstered pride in the nation's technology. The flights had been accomplished in full view of the American people, via television. So what if comparable feats had occurred earlier in the Soviet Union? They had been done in secret. How could we know, Americans asked, how many failures had preceded the Russians' successes?

More tangible benefits were to come, space scientists claimed, as by-products of space exploration reached into many quarters of daily life. One such benefit became apparent by mid-1962, with the placement in orbit of AT&T's Telstar communications satellite. The satellite permitted transmission of the straight-line waves of television, unhampered by mountains or oceans. When more orbiting stations were launched later, continuous transmission via satellites became possible. Television networks and weather forecasters soon came to rely on satellite transmissions, and eventually homeowners willing and able to mount a "dish" in their yards or on their roofs enjoyed the benefits too. Meanwhile, the American people maintained their interest in space flights, particularly those with two men tucked tightly into the Gemini capsules. In a period of 20 months, 20 astronauts in Project Gemini conducted a variety of experiments in space. Despite scary moments, NASA called each one of them an unqualified success.

As the Gemini space capsules scored successes in the mid-1960s, it became only a matter of time before a moon landing would occur. In May 1969, *Apollo 10* astronauts took their lunar module into orbit within nine miles of the moon before reconnecting with the command module. On July 20, hundreds of millions of Americans listened to communications preceding the landing on the moon of the Eagle, *Apollo 11*'s lunar module, by astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin. When it touched down, their television sets enabled them to watch events as they occurred. Speaking the first words on lunar soil, Armstrong called the venture "one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." The astronauts conducted experiments on the lunar surface, collected about 45 pounds of rock and soil samples, and returned safely to the command module for the journey back to earth.

"After centuries of dreams and prophecies," wrote *Time* magazine, "the moment had come. Man had broken his terrestrial shackles and set foot on another world." The magazine continued, "Standing on the lifeless, rock-studded surface he could see the earth, a lovely blue and white hemisphere suspended in the velvety black sky." One of the six remaining missions, *Apollo 13*, survived a near-disaster without a moon landing, but the other five were successful, the last one in December 1972. In that year, NASA began a space shuttle program to provide means for further scientific exploration, and possibly future colonization and commercial activities. In the meantime, though, NASA faced deep budget cuts. Some were caused by the costs of waging war in Vietnam, others apparently by the belief that the big goal, reaching the moon, had been accomplished. By 1970, NASA's workforce of about 136,000 was roughly half of what it had been five years earlier.

The dividends of the space program for the American people, the payoff on the $25 billion it cost them, seemed difficult to calculate but included photographs of the lunar surface, rock samples of great geological interest but no known practical significance, considerable knowledge concerning how to maneuver vehicles in space, improved technological bases for telecommunication via satellites and weather surveillance worldwide, and information that would prove useful in advances in medicine. Most important, perhaps, was the restoration of American morale that had been damaged when the Russians sent *Sputnik* into orbit 12 years before the moon landing. Never mind that the Soviet Union used unmanned moon landings to accomplish many of the same results as the manned landings of NASA. Of the tangible benefits of space technology, one cited frequently, sometimes sarcastically, is Velcro. That material had been designed to help space travelers keep track of pencils and other handheld objects in the zero gravity of space. The prototype of video cameras that later came into common usage was developed for space missions, as were electronic stethoscopes, fire-resistant fabrics, lightweight insulation materials, dehydrated foods, computer technology for automated control of highly sophisticated equipment, and many other things.

Early fascination with television spectaculars featuring the accomplishments of the space program had seduced viewers into ignoring its cost. So what, they seemed to say, if with each launching a $200 million Saturn rocket sank into the ocean? As the consecutive launchings and returns blurred together, however, viewers' interest waned. The technical and political milestone represented by the linking of an *Apollo* spacecraft and the Russian *Soyuz* on July 17, 1975, attracted only passing attention. Television showed the exchange of visits by the American astronauts and Russian cosmonauts during the nearly 44 hours their spacecrafts were linked, but viewers seemed to take this historic occurrence for granted. The same was true when two *Viking* spacecraft landed on the planet Mars in 1976 and sent back spectacular pictures.

The 1980s saw more technological feats in space. The decade began on a promising note for the space program when the *Columbia*, the first reusable spacecraft, touched down at Edwards Air Force Base in April 1981. Its landing in the Mojave Desert concluded a flight begun more than 54 hours earlier when the spaceship launched as a rocket. In 36 orbits of the earth, it operated like a typical spacecraft, and it landed like an airplane on a runway. An amazingly successful mission, it gave Americans a renewed sense of pride and raised the prestige of the nation worldwide.

The goals of the space program, though, went beyond pride and prestige. NASA hoped to make orbiting in space a profitable venture. The communications industry was its early client, but NASA wanted to encourage advancements in medicine and other technologies. It faced competition from other nations as well as from private companies trying to break into space travel.

The American people took success in space exploration for granted until January 28, 1986. On that day the space shuttle *Challenger* exploded 73 seconds after liftoff from Cape Canaveral, Florida. Six astronauts died, along with a teacher on board, Christa McAuliffe. Her presence had attracted special attention to the flight, and millions of schoolchildren saw the explosion on television. News reporters could say nothing to set the children at ease, and the entire nation was stunned.

Failures of other spacecraft occurred in subsequent months, but none so dramatically as the *Challenger.* Almost three years passed before the launching of *Discovery* again put a shuttle in space. Things went well for a while, but an event in 1990 that should have been a spectacular achievement turned out to be tarnished. The space shuttle *Discovery* launched the $1.5 billion Hubble space telescope into orbit, only to find very soon thereafter that an incorrectly made mirror blurred the images it was to transmit back to earth. The Hubble telescope was later corrected and went on to provide valuable data that changed the thinking about the scope and nature of the galaxy and beyond.

Another shuttle disaster, again resulting in the loss of the seven-person crew, occurred on February 1, 2003, when the *Columbia* broke up upon reentry. The new tragedy again resulted in the grounding of the shuttle fleet. Nevertheless, despite the disasters and mistakes, the scientific-government complex, as one might call it, remained firmly intact and hard at work developing more scientific and technological breakthroughs that helped to advance humanity in general and the U.S. government and people in particular (Marty 1997, 60–61, 153–54, 222–23, 305–6; *Daily Life Online*, "Intellectual Life: Science," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Barnouw, E. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Boyer, P. S. *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Brumberg, J. J. *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Cremin, L. *American Education, 1876–1980: The Metropolitan Experience*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Grmek, M. D. *History of AIDS: Emergence and Origin of a Modern Pandemic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Halberstam, D. *The Fifties*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1994.

Hallowell, E. M., and J. J. Ratey. *Driven to Distraction*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1994.

Hart, J. D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Jowett, G., and J. M. Linton. *Movies as Mass Communications*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Kubrick, S., dir. *Dr. Strangelove*. Tri-Star Home Video, 1964.

Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online*, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

Parker, A., dir. *Mississippi Burning*. 1988.

Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Ravitch, D. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.

Ritt, M., dir. *Norma Rae*. 1979.

Rybczynski, W. *Waiting for the Weekend*. New York: Viking, 1991.

Shorter, E. *The Health Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1987.

Sklar, R. *Movie-Made America*. Rev. ed. New York: Vintage, 1994.

Spring, J. *The American School, 1642–1993*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994.

Tichi, Cecelia. *Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Whitfield, S. J. *The Culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
Williams, T. I., ed. *Science: A History of Discovery in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
Winn, M. *The Plug-In Drug*. New York: Viking Press, 1977.

Material Life

OVERVIEW

American daily life continued, in most instances, to pursue a consumer-driven material commitment during the 30-year period from 1960 to 1990. While new economic and political concerns had altered the expansive productive growth of the immediate postwar period, the middle class, in the United States, still had money to spend and an urge to do so. New products, broader options, and technological innovations had created a marketplace of goods and services to attract American consumers. While critics, particularly in the youth movement, began to question the materialism evident in American society, the trend that had begun following World War II persisted.

ALCOHOL AND DRINKING HABITS

Champagne to toast newlyweds, a martini at a cocktail party, wine with dinner, a bottle of beer at a picnic, a gin and tonic at a bar—such customs came to America with immigrants from diverse backgrounds and became standards. Drinking establishments, from the corner tavern to the bar in exclusive clubs, have long been fixtures in the American social landscape. With the drinking goes friendly conversation, political arguments, television watching, and "hanging out." The other side of the story is also part of daily lives: poor schoolwork done during repeated hangovers, tragedies caused by drunk drivers, families ruined by alcohol-related conflicts, jobs lost because of excessive absences caused by drinking binges, homeless men and women clutching bottles barely concealed in giveaway brown bags, and illness and death caused by excessive drinking.

Although the effects of excessive drinking are well known, knowledge alone does not restrain those who are tempted to drink too much. By the mid-1960s, the National Institute of Mental Health began to encourage research into the causes and consequences of alcoholism, and in 1966, two federal appeals court decisions supported contentions that alcoholism was a disease. Two years later, the Supreme Court, in the 1968 case *Powell v. Texas,* took note of those decisions, observing that experts were divided on the matter; the court then ruled that arrests for public intoxication were permissible. The next logical step was for Congress to establish an agency to direct federal efforts to deal with alcohol-related problems. President Richard Nixon and Congress developed the Hughes Act in 1970, creating the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA), making it possible for treatment, research, and educational activities to be conducted at new levels. One result was a recommendation that states remove many alcohol-related legal infractions from the criminal justice system, substituting medical treatment for punishment.

Researchers at the University of Iowa confirmed the increasingly popular theory that a tendency toward alcoholism might be inherited. Children of alcoholics had a high incidence of alcoholism even when they had been adopted and raised by non-alcoholics. Theories aside, the reality of the 1960s and 1970s was clear: Between 1960 and 1975, the annual per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages increased by one-third. Did that signal a return to earlier times? Not quite, given that the average consumption remained at a level half as high as in 1830. The increase came in part from the fact that teenagers began drinking at earlier ages and in larger numbers. Further, with liberation of women from old constraints, their drinking levels approached those of men. As far as consumption of hard liquor (distilled spirits) was concerned, 1978 was the peak year in recent times. Then came a steady decline, continuing to the mid-1990s.

Excessive drinking harmed the health of the drinkers, but it also did damage to others—particularly when accidents resulted from drunk driving. Between World War II and 1980, drunk drivers were involved in half of the 45,000 fatalities caused annually by automobile accidents. Mothers against Drunk Driving (MADD), founded in 1980, became the most powerful organization striving to reduce drunk driving, particularly among the young. As a result of health and drunk-driving concerns a slight decline in consumption of alcoholic beverages occurred in the later 1980s.

At the same time, the consumption of soft drinks increased by almost 20 percent. Diet drinks got a boost in 1983 when the Food and Drug Administration approved the use of *aspartame,* an artificial sweetener. Although critics warned that aspartame's effects on certain chemicals in the brain could cause behavioral changes, diet-conscious consumers ignored the warnings and the sweetener quickly became popular. Much sweeter than sugar, aspartame has the advantage of not causing tooth decay. While diet and regular soft drinks continued to attract consumers, they also began to use a variety of bottled water options. The use of bottled water doubled in the latter half of the 1980s.

Consumers of soft drinks were ready for a new sweetener, but millions let the Coca-Cola Company know they were not ready for a new taste. In 1985, a year before its 100th birthday, Coca-Cola decided to change its formula for Coke, the world's most popular soft drink, by making it sweeter. A $100 million advertising campaign promoting the new Coke attracted overwhelming attention. A survey by the company claimed that 81 percent of Americans heard about the change within 24 hours of its announcement—higher than the percentage who were aware in the same length of time of the 1969 moon landing. The campaign, however, failed to persuade angry protesters that the new formula was better than the old, so within three months the company brought back the original formula, now labeled Coca-Cola Classic. Some preferred the new taste, however, so the company produced both the old and the new. The controversy gave the Coca-Cola Company valuable free publicity, boosting sales of both old and new Coke and arousing suspicions (that the company denied) that creating controversy had been the plan all along. The episode provided a dramatic demonstration of corporate America's responsiveness to consumers (Marty 1997, 130, 216, 291–92; *Daily Life Online*, "Material Life: Drink," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

NUTRITION

Eating and drinking practices frequently did not match the heightened awareness of the need for healthful foods. Advertising for such foods abounded, and labels became more honest and explicit in reporting the contents of food packages, especially after a law passed in 1990 required it. But even with accurate labels, food products and repeated warnings concerning the health hazards posed by cholesterol, fats, salt, and sugar, and junkfood, consumption increased. Reports that poultry was healthier than pork and beef led to increased poultry consumption, although not sufficiently to catch up with either of its competitors. Nutritional concerns led to other healthful changes, including increased consumption of fruits and vegetables and reduced intake of fats and oils. The food industry encouraged the trend. In 1988, it spent more than $1 billion on advertising that included some type of health message, although critics contended that the messages were both confusing and misleading. Nutrition and the eating habits of Americans remained a major aspect of their material life throughout the era and into the new millennium. Particularly the impact of eating habits on heart disease and the growing issue of obesity in American life would make nutrition a high-profile concern as the century came to an end (*Daily Life Online*, "Concerns of Daily Life: Nutrition" and "Cultural Reflections/Cultural Influences: Home Life and Television," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOOD

Since World War II, eating and drinking have amounted to more than meeting bodily needs. In *Eating in America*, published in 1976, Waverly Root and Richard de Rochemont summarized as follows their observations on practices that were well under way by the early 1960s:

> Americans are consuming, along with unheard-of amounts of valuable proteins in their meats and cereals, and along with vast quantities of fruits and vegetables full of good

nutrients and vitamins, tens of billions of dollars' worth of packaging, additives, and advertising, as part of their total estimated two hundred and fifty billion dollar contribution to the food industry, agribusiness, and the conglomerate corporations that decide what we will be allowed to eat.

What was new in this "great glob," as the writers called it, that made up the American diet? By the early 1960s, what nutritionists called junk food had claimed a big place in the fare American people consumed. Promoted by Saturday-morning cartoons for children, the options included sugared breakfast foods and synthetic "fruit" drinks containing little fruit juice. Added to those items were much of the fatty, salty, and sugary goods passed over the counter at fast-food restaurants. If Americans were improperly nourished, they were at least not underfed.

Just as important as the quantity and quality of what the young and old in America ate is when and where they ate it. In 1965, one meal in four was eaten outside the home, with that number on the rise. When meals *were* eaten at home, they were less likely to be occasions for families to come together. That is not surprising, given the many commitments to jobs, school, and leisure and cultural activities of all generations in the typical family.

Fashion consciousness, particularly that inspired by the super-thin "Twiggy" look that came into vogue in the 1960s, and health concerns made many Americans sensitive to being overweight, so it is not surprising that dieting became something of a national pastime. The most prominent organization in the weight-loss industry was Weight Watchers, begun in 1961 and incorporated for granting franchises in 1963. It gained adherents using a combination of group therapy in weekly meetings and menus that prescribed foods low in fat and high in protein; the diet prohibited foods not fitting that description. Although Weight Watchers changed its prescriptions and prohibitions through the years and the character of its approach evolved with the times, it continued to attract followers. Other diet formulas and plans have enjoyed bursts of popularity and then faded away as new ones took their place. But diet books and articles published in magazines catering to women especially filled store racks at supermarket checkout aisles.

Dieters had more than mere weight loss as their concern. Reports on relationships between nutrition and health appeared regularly. For example, the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Academy of Sciences published a calorie table showing dietary allowances based on one's age and desired

McDonald's famous golden arch. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

weight. The American Heart Association recommended that people reduce the amount of fat they eat and begin "reasonable substitution" of vegetable oils and polyunsaturated fats for animal fats. Previously the association had suggested dietary changes for persons judged to be vulnerable to heart attacks. Now, for the first time, it called for changes in the eating habits of the general public. Sharp controversy followed, with representatives of the dairy industry leading the attacks on the recommendations.

Despite dieting fads, the American people were, in the words of historian David Potter, "people of plenty." Even so, many were distressed by the high prices of foods—so much so that in 1966 and again in 1970 and 1973 consumers in various parts of the nation organized boycotts of supermarkets. A Gallup poll showed that the 1973 boycott involved 50 million people, or 25 percent of all consumers. Boycott participants acknowledged that the increases in per capita spending on food resulted in part from their demand for more meat, bakery products, delicacies, and easy-to-prepare foods, but those were matters within their control. Beyond their control were such things as the amount of money producers and retailers spent on advertising, promotions, and trading stamps. Buyers earned trading stamps with their purchases, placed them in savings books, and exchanged them for such premiums as toasters, can openers, and electric blankets. Enthusiasm for stamps peaked in the early 1960s, but by the end of the decade most consumers regarded them as a nuisance. Some consumers, however, remained passionate stamp collectors who would shop anywhere to get them.

Readily available electricity radically changed the American kitchen and its appliances. This kitchen had the most advanced cooking tools of the day. Library of Congress.

In the midst of plenty, well fed does not always mean well nourished. In recent decades, consumers have gained more knowledge about nutrition than in earlier times, but increased knowledge has not always led them to better eating habits. Appealing advertisements aimed especially at children, catchy promotional jingles, and attractive packaging have often had more to do with choice of food than did its nutritional content.

The Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, passed in 1966, intended to assure consumers that packages and labels told the truth. So powerful was the lobby opposed to the act, however, that it required only that manufacturers print their name and address on the label, display the net weight prominently, state the size of servings, and stop using terms like *giant* and *jumbo*. Several packaging mandates came later, one requiring that a label list all the ingredients in a packaged product and another that package sizes be standardized. Those requirements were poorly enforced, however, and by the end of 1969 the commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) could only guess that 70 percent of the packages were in line with the law.

Had the labels been required to list all of a package's ingredients, what might have caught the consumer's eye? The list likely would include artificial flavoring and sweeteners and such natural flavorings as salt and sugar to change food's taste, food colorings to change its appearance, chemical preservatives to lengthen its shelf or refrigerator life, thickeners and thinners to change its texture, and ingredients such as caffeine to change its effects. Revelations about the effects of some 3,000 food additives, many of them poorly tested, gradually led to new labeling requirements. In 1973, the FDA required standardized nutrition information on food labels and began to require the listing of such things as calories and grams of protein, fat, and carbohydrates per serving. As the printing of that information on labels became more widespread, competition induced some marketers to include information that the regulations may not have explicitly required.

Just as important in changing the nutritional qualities of foods with additives were practices that removed important ingredients. Refining processes often removed fiber, now considered important in preventing certain diseases. Canning, freezing, heating, and dehydrating destroyed at least part of such water-soluble nutrients as thiamin and various vitamins, enzymes, and proteins. Here, too, consumers heard wake-up calls and began to change their eating habits. Perhaps those changes reflected a change in the character of the American people, for, as anthropologists contend, to know what, where, how, when, and with whom people eat is to know the character of that society.

Advertising for foods thrived on ambiguities. Foods were called "natural" without particular attention given to what that meant. Restaurants served "shakes" containing no dairy products. Producers of imitation "chocolate" bars synthesized from various agricultural products, made tasty with an artificial flavor, mixed with bulking agents, and given the appearance of chocolate, could describe them as "all natural." Such developments, along with the profusion of foods to which chemical fertilization and pesticides had given a misleading appearance of wholesomeness, encouraged interest in organically grown foods. In their growth and processing, these foods were not touched by chemical fertilizers, pesticides, or additives. Whether those organic foods are any safer or healthier remains a matter of debate, but such foods served to heighten the debate regarding food consumption in American material life.

Despite quickened lifestyles and changes in family structures, much good cooking continued to be done at home. Would-be gourmet cooks used high-tech food processors and cookbooks filled with nutritious and tasty recipes. Newspapers and women's magazines had long contained recipes, but now, as more and more men helped out with home cooking, sometimes taking over completely, food sections in newspapers moved from women's sections to lifestyles pages, and special magazines devoted to cooking began to appear. Television programs also featured cooking ideas, examples, and recipes.

According to estimates in 1973, one meal in three was eaten outside the home—many of them hastily at fast-food restaurants, the number of which doubled between 1967 and 1974. McDonald's, described by *Time* magazine as "the burger that conquered the country," had fewer than 1,000 restaurants in 1967 and more than 3,000 in 1974. New ones opened at the rate of one every day. In 1972, McDonald's passed the U.S. Army as the biggest dispenser of meals; by then it had served more than

12 billion burgers. Numbers like that are only part of the story. McDonald's managers' greatest achievement, according to *Time*, was the following:

> taking a familiar American institution, the greasy-spoon hamburger joint, and transforming it into a totally different though no less quintessential American operation: a computerized, standardized, premeasured, superclean production machine.

The fact that its menu items were loaded with fats and calories—almost 1,100 in a meal consisting of a Big Mac, a chocolate shake, and a small order of fries—did not keep customers away.

In 1969, it was difficult to avoid news reports of possible hazards in food, even in mothers' milk for breast-fed children. The Sierra Club reported that mothers' milk contained four times the amount of the pesticide DDT that was permitted in cows' milk sold in stores. High concentrations of DDT in coho salmon in Michigan lakes and streams led the state to restrict the spraying of crops with DDT. Baby food producers discontinued use of monosodium glutamate (MSG), a flavor enhancer, when tests showed that mice fed large amounts suffered brain damage. Test rats given excessive amounts of artificial sweeteners known as cyclamates developed cancer in their bladders. The FDA then removed cyclamates from its "generally recognized as safe" list and revealed plans to remove products sweetened with it from stores. Later, however, serious doubts were raised about the validity of the tests. The next year the FDA ordered the recall of large quantities of canned tuna because the mercury levels were thought to be too high. Despite the scare, it turned out that only 3 percent of canned tuna exceeded the FDA-prescribed limit.

It seems somewhat ironic that in the midst of plenty, hunger was as serious a problem in the United States as it was at the time. Throughout the nation's history there have been people who have gone hungry, particularly in times of depression. A 1968 CBS documentary, *Hunger in America*, revealed how serious the problems of hunger could be, even in relatively prosperous times. In the same year, a nutrition investigator claimed that malnutrition in some parts of the United States was as grim as any he had seen in India or any other country. At one school, he reported, children had vitamin A deficiencies worse than those who had gone blind as a result of that deficiency.

Buying food stretched the budgets of many beyond their limits. To help such persons, the government established a program to provide food stamps to purchase certain items in grocery stores. By Thanksgiving 1967, three years after that Great Society program was launched, 2.7 million Americans received food stamp assistance. That was just the beginning. By 1969, the number of participants climbed to 7 million, on the way to 19.6 million in mid-1975. Between 1969 and 1974, funding for the program increased from $4 million to $3 billion. Urban food stamp recipients typically had to pay more for food than more affluent suburbanites, because their parts of town had no supermarkets and prices in the small stores located there were higher. When government programs provided free or reduced-cost meals for schoolchildren in areas where feeding a family was difficult, the meals were often the best, if not the only, meals some children ate. The programs also benefited farmers and helped reduce government-financed food surpluses (Marty 1997, 37–38, 127–30; *Daily Life Online*, "Material Life: Food," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

DINING OUT AND COOKING

Americans ate more and drank more between 1960 and 1990 than in previous generations, and they did so with greater variety, both in and out of their homes. Calorie consumption climbed from an average of 3,000 a day in 1960 to 3,300 in 1970 to 3,600 a day by 1990. In 1960, the Department of Agriculture reported that 23 percent of Americans were overweight and 13 percent were defined as obese (30 lbs. over average). Twenty years later those numbers had doubled to 46 percent and 27 percent. Oddly, while Americans seemed to be getting heavier, they were actually spending a lower percentage of their income on food than they had in the past. In 1971, Americans spent 13.4 percent of their disposable income on food. In 1981, it was 13 percent, and by 1990, the percentage had declined to 11.6. At the same time, Americans spent more of those food dollars away from home—dining out. In 1990, families spent 40 percent of their food dollars eating out (U.S. Department of Agriculture Report, 1990).

Nutritionists and others have consistently questioned what American families eat, with particular concern about both amount and food value: too few fruits, vegetables, and whole grains and too many meat, sugar, and dairy products with high fat content. While the domestic response to those warnings influenced some families and led to a more healthy awareness, most American families either added only a little healthy food to their diets or disregarded the concerns. Oddly, while Americans had begun to exhibit more anxiety about their weight and physical condition, and while different forms of dieting systems emerged to respond to the concern, people continued to eat more and gain more weight. Junk food in the home contributed to the problem as did the growing inclination to eat out. By 1981, families consumed some type of meal outside the home 3.7 times a week—38.4 billion meals a year. Lunch made up more than 50 percent of those meals, mostly eaten by men in the workforce. Women, children, and families, however, had also begun to eat more meals at fast-food chains and ethnic, neighborhood, and "four star" restaurants. The explosion of restaurant options during the period indicated how broad the experience had become. McDonald's, as a franchise, had appeared as a phenomenon in the 1950s. By the 1960s and 1970s, the fast-food giant competed with a host of others. Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), Genos, Wendy's, Burger King, and others all established businesses. National pizza franchises like Domino's and Pizza Hut challenged small, local pizzerias, and the trend continued. If Howard Johnson's had served as a nationally known family restaurant along America's turnpikes, it faced competition with new family-style restaurants like Bob Evans and Jimmy Dean. By the end of the 1990s, American families had so many dining-out options, in so many rural, urban, and suburban locations, that the experience became an issue of choice, not availability.

As American families spent more of their time eating out, they also purchased a host of new cookbooks and began to watch popular cooking shows on television. Betty Crocker's famous home cookbook had been on most American brides' gift lists for years and served as a basic "how-to" for home cooking. While a variety of regional and specialized cookbooks had always been part of domestic kitchen libraries, the home kitchen changed in 1961, when Julia Child (1912–2004) published *The Art of French Cooking*. A graduate of Smith College (1934), Child had worked for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II and studied at the famous French cooking academy—Le Cordon Bleu—after the war. She lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Her book became a best-seller, and Child began a half-hour television show on PBS—Boston (WGBH) in 1963, titled *The French Chef*. The sophisticated, witty chef became an instant hit as she doled out equal amounts of good humor and good menus, arguing that Americans did not have to eat bad food. Although she liked McDonald's French fries, Child hoped to convince American families to add a simple, but gourmet quality to home cooking that she believed did not exist in America. Her popularity led to other chef and cooking shows Graham Kerr's *Galloping Gourmet* became an equally popular program. Men and women visited gourmet shops to purchase cooking utensils and other items shown on television. Family cooks began to experiment with a variety of new herbs, spices, and foods that had only seemed the privilege of experienced chefs. Supermarkets added gourmet aisles to their stores and began to import exotic fruits and vegetables for their produce sections. As with many of the domestic trends in American life, variety and options continued to expand, both in and out of the home.

In a similar fashion, America's drinking habits changed, not just in the consumption of alcoholic beverages, but in general terms. Families tended to serve coffee, water, and occasionally homemade iced tea or lemonade as staple drinks at meals and for snacks. Children drank orange juice and milk as healthy options or limited choices of soft drinks like Coca Cola or Pepsi. Between 1960 and 1990, those staples became part of an expanding option. Mass-produced, pasteurized, and bottled forms of iced tea, lemonade, soft drinks, and a variety of fruit drinks hit the supermarket shelves. At the same time, health concerns about whole milk led to fat-free milk with the ability for families to select anything from 0 percent to 2 percent alternatives. Alcoholic beverages saw a similar increase in variety.

While Americans had always consumed liquor as a cultural habit, the amount and options grew significantly after 1960, even while actual consumption began to decline. Average American alcohol consumption amounted to approximately six quarts a year in 1960 and dropped to four quarts by 1980. That continued until the 1990s. By comparison, Europeans on average consumed 17 quarts in 1960 and 10 quarts in 1980. Concerns about health, drunk driving, family abuse, and alcoholism all contributed to the decline. Adolescent drinking also increasingly concerned the public. A Justice Department report suggested that the largest percentage age group drinking in the United States was between 18 and 25. Eighty-eight percent of college students indicated that they drank alcohol. Beer remained the beverage of choice for all Americans. Beer sales accounted for more than 40 percent of liquor sales throughout the period. Beginning in the 1960s, wine became an increasingly popular choice for American families as well as individuals. With less alcohol than hard liquor and with an expanding amount of choices, both foreign and domestic, wine purchases made up around 30 percent of the market. The liquor industry had voluntarily removed their advertisements from radio in 1936 and television in 1948, unlike cigarette advertising. The 1965 Surgeon General's Report on the harmful effects of tobacco had led the FCC to place enormous pressure on television advertisers to remove cigarette ads. They did so, voluntarily, in 1971. Liquor manufacturers, however, had already done so, with the notable exception of beer advertisements. Still, the industry remained a multibillion dollar business as Americans chose between increasing varieties of drinks. In 1990, a World Health Organization study indicated that 40 percent of the American public were nondrinkers, 30 percent light drinkers (five drinks a week), 25 percent moderate drinkers (10 or more drinks a week), and 5 percent heavy drinkers or alcoholics.

Whether drinking the newest varietal wine from Napa Valley in California or mixing some rum or vodka concoction in a blender or drinking dozens of optional beer brands, the domestic expansion of brand, option, and variety continued to present the same commercial theme and practice that had developed so clearly beginning in the 1960s (World Health Organization, "Global Status Report on Alcohol," 2004; U.S. Justice Department Report, 1991).

CLOTHING AND STYLE

In 1980, Lisa Birnbach edited *The Official Preppy Handbook*, a tongue-in-cheek view of domestic habits and styles for "prep" families and their social set. The book identified the proper places to shop, what to wear, how to behave, and what to eat and drink. While humorous and irreverent in tone, many of its readers took the styles seriously, even slavishly, rushing out to buy Norwegian fisherman sweaters from the L. L. Bean catalog or lime-and-pink patterned skirts from Lilly Pulitzer resort wear. The trend and the response to it signaled a phenomenon in American domestic style. People of different backgrounds, incomes, and regions appeared to associate almost in tribal adherence to styles. In a real sense, the clothes one wore, one's hairstyle, even a person's speech and language served as forms of social and domestic identity. To a degree, that had always been true in the daily lives of most cultures. Modern American styles, however, offered a broad variety of "tribes" to join, and commercial observers sought to appeal to whatever the market would bear. Young people certainly aided the evolution of informal clothes and style in American daily life. During the 1950s, with their own allowances, jobs, and so on, teenagers began to shape their own clothing styles, and they became less and less formal. Jeans, t-shirts, and sneakers became questionable styles in public and at school, and many local institutions passed ordinances and rules restricting the so-called delinquent styles.

In the 1960s, however, those orthodox rules came tumbling down, as young people rejected the restrictive style requirements as part of a general rebellion against the stodgy 1950s. Not only did teenagers challenge the conservative rules of that decade, but many adults followed suit. By the beginning of the 1960s, women became more accustomed to wearing slacks and shorts in public rather than dresses. Men rarely wore coats and ties, let alone suits, outside of professional white-collar businesses. Blue jeans or denims became ubiquitous in the 1960s and 1970s for every age and both genders. The former alternatives of more traditional clothing existed, but a wide variety of casual clothes filled department stores and specialty shops, appealing to the new tastes. And brand-name logos that had been rare in the 1950s became commonplace in the 1960s and 1970s. Virtually every polo shirt sported a LaCoste, Ralph Lauren, or some other purveyor's identification so that their wearers could make clear whose shirt they had purchased. Style identified with stylist. Just as haute couture designers like Givenchy or Prada identified their expensive gowns, blue jean designers did the same with noticeable labels on millions of rear ends. The same demand for variety, name brands, and more casual dress also influenced domestic attitudes about hairstyles, cosmetics, and other fashion concerns. Shopping in the modern American middle-class environment became a form of consumer entertainment, and the marketplace could provide so much variety.

Certainly, alternative lifestyles emerged in the 1960s and 1970s to challenge the trends discussed above. The youth-led hippie movement, or counterculture, rejected the consumer culture in a variety of ways but specifically questioned the broad domestic framework of American life that had existed since the end of World War II. Family, suburbs, conventionalism, free market economics, and other aspects of American domestic life served as targets for a number of young critics during the era. Just as protesters questioned U.S. policy in Southeast Asia or joined a growing chorus of dissent regarding the racism and poverty they saw in the society, many of those same critics rejected how American families lived, what they ate, what they wore, and how they had made material consumption so much a part of their lives. When Timothy Leary, a Harvard professor, encouraged young people to "turn on, tune in, and drop out," his advice became a catch phrase for a generation of hippies rejecting the domestic lifestyle. Sex, drugs, love beads, and communes appeared to replace suburban living as the rebellious option. While the number of young men and women committed to the new movement always remained a small minority within the general population, their criticisms of a society infatuated with consumerism and advertising style bore some merit. Ironically, the movement became as much a parody of itself as the very conservative domestic world it criticized. It finally provided another domestic "tribe" that had access to its own goods and products and its own lifestyle.

HOUSING

Before long, changes in economic conditions, partly due to the drain caused by the war in Vietnam, meant the end of concerted efforts to eliminate poverty. But poverty persisted. A good way to comprehend the dilemmas involved in dealing with poverty is to consider a specific project that represented the hopes, failings, and ultimate destruction of a major effort supported by both parties to improve conditions for the poor. In St. Louis, in 1958, the federal government constructed housing that, on first impression, would seem to have answered the needs of families looking for a good place to live. Known as Pruitt-Igoe, the housing project consisted of 33 towers, each 11 stories high.

Pruitt-Igoe and other projects like it concentrated a large number of poor people in a small geographic area. That would have been bad enough, but design flaws made matters worse. Inadequate wiring made installation of window fans or window air conditioners impossible, causing the apartments to be miserably hot in the sweltering summers of St. Louis. Elevators stopped only on the 4th, 7th, and 10th floors. Residents on other floors had to walk up or down a level from the one where the elevator stopped. Children were not always able to judge the time it would take to make a bathroom run from the playground to their apartments, and before long the elevators were filled with wretched odors and filth. The best intentions for those involved in the project had failed to address the post-construction problems.

Perspectives of those who lived in Pruitt-Igoe differed from those who did not. To a resident, "A project ain't nothing but a slum with the kitchen furnished and an absentee landlord; except we know who the landlord is—it's the city and government." To an outsider, "Whether it is a pig pen or not isn't important. When people have done nothing to contribute to the society but make an application for welfare, a housing project is more than they deserve." Either way, Pruitt-Igoe had no future. Poor management, poor maintenance, too heavily concentrated living arrangements, and crime made the apartments uninhabitable within a decade. Judged to be beyond repair and too poorly conceived to justify salvage efforts, the buildings were imploded with dynamite in 1972 (Marty 1997, 103–4).

While the Pruitt-Igoe project construction concept points to the problems that many inner-city Great Society programs faced, it does not define the general condition of housing options in the United States during the period. The development of single-family housing availability in the suburbs continued to attract buyers. New condominium growth offered smaller and cheaper home-buying options, both urban and suburban, to homeowners. Home designers and architects played with a wide variety of new housing styles. Split level and ranches (one-story options) had remained traditional in the postwar era, but other, alternate ideas had emerged in the 1960s and 1970s to attract home buyers. Inflation and interest rates soared in the 1970s and 1980s, making home ownership a

In the 1970s, cities tried to improve the quality of available housing by destroying old, run-down apartment complexes. © CORBIS/Bettmann.

tenuous prospect, yet Americans continued to search for alternatives and methods to purchase the home of their dreams (*Daily Life Online*, "Material Life: Housing," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Clark, W. B., and M. E. Hilton, eds. *Alcohol in America: Drinking Practices and Problems*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.
Farb, P., and G. Armelagos. *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1980.
Levenstein, H. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
Martin, J. K. *Drinking in America: A History*. New York: Free Press, 1982.
Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online*, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.
Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Root, Waverly, and de Rochemont, Richard. *Eating in America*. New York: HarperCollins, 1981.
Schlosser, E. *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 2001.
U.S. Justice Department Report. 1991.
Waverly, L. R. *Eating in America: A History*. New York: Morrow, 1976.
World Health Organization. "Global Status Report on Alcohol." 2004.
Wright, G. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. New York: Pantheon, 1981.

Political Life

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–1959
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

OVERVIEW

A major shift in American political life took place between 1960 and 1990. At the beginning of the 1960s, Democrat John F. Kennedy won a narrow victory in the presidential election against his Republican opponent Richard M. Nixon. Kennedy pledged a "New Frontier" that he suggested would alter the bland conservativism of the Eisenhower administration. In domestic affairs, the new president indicated a commitment to the concerns that Michael Harrington and other critics had identified. The "other America" of poverty, racism, and injustice required, Kennedy argued, federal involvement and concern. With a Democratic Party majority in Congress, it appeared likely that programs and policies would be forthcoming. In fact, that failed to occur. Southern Democrats blocked Kennedy's efforts regarding civil rights as that issue continued to heat up in the 1960s. Additionally, major programs regarding education, poverty, and other social justice issues did not emerge as full-blown policies while President Kennedy occupied the White House. After he was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, Vice President Lyndon Johnson aggressively turned to the problems that his predecessor had been unable to attack successfully.

Results of 1960 Presidential Election

Candidate	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
John F. Kennedy (Dem.)	34,227,096 (49.7%)	303 (56%)
Richard M. Nixon (Rep.)	34,108,546 (49.5%)	218 (41%)
Harry F. Byrd (Ind.)	501,643 (.7%)	15 (3%)

Lyndon Baines Johnson, a former U.S. senator from Texas, personified the liberal tradition of New Deal and Fair Deal politics and government that Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman had championed during their administrations. With a strong belief that the federal government had a clear responsibility to "promote the general welfare," Johnson, tough, knowledgeable, and politically savvy, instituted a Great Society "War on Poverty" crusade that dominated the political debate for the remainder of the 1960s. Many of the programs and policies his administration initiated are examined below. Effectively, however, Johnson's presidency defined the quintessential liberal belief that government, specifically at the national level, could identify, address, and correct the social and economic inequities that existed in American daily life. That view has remained a key aspect of American political thinking for liberals. His critics argued that the private sector, the free market, and state and local government served as the best methods to address America's major domestic concerns. Those conservative arguments served to define the alternative ideology of government that continues to the present day.

Using every asset and ability at his command, President Johnson created the most impressive liberal social and economic agenda in American political history. His domestic policies, supported increasingly by a Democratic Congress, surpassed any of the New Deal and Fair Deal efforts of his predecessors. In civil rights, the Civil Rights Act (1964) and Voting Rights Act (1965) created a dramatic legal advance for African Americans. The variety of aid to education programs enhanced federal involvement in that arena. And the federal government, under Johnson's leadership, developed a host of poverty programs to address those concerns.

President Johnson apparently had the support of the American people in those efforts, for he easily defeated his

Jacqueline Kennedy, the President's popular and elegant First Lady, 1961. Library of Congress.

Republican rival in 1964. Senator Barry Goldwater certainly provided a conservative alternative, but his arguments appeared unpersuasive.

Results of 1964 Presidential Election

Candidate	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
Lyndon B. Johnson (Dem.)	44,127,041 (61.1%)	486 (90.3%)
Barry M. Goldwater (Rep.)	27,175,754 (38.5%)	52 (9.7%)

It proved the most lopsided presidential victory in American history; President Johnson interpreted it as a popular mandate to pursue his Great Society programs. Unfortunately, he lost his influence as America's increasing involvement in the Vietnam War overshadowed and then undercut his domestic efforts. Additionally, growing racial confrontation and issues of discord in American daily life drained his political capital. In 1968, Johnson announced that he would not run for a second term. The high point of liberal, Democratic presidential leadership had occurred.

Richard M. Nixon's election in 1968 returned a Republican president to the White House, but the former senator and vice president was no conservative ideologue. A political realist faced with the crisis of war in Southeast Asia, Nixon experienced a reasonably successful first term in office. He dramatically reduced American troop presence in Vietnam, began negotiations with the North Vietnamese government, and opened a new diplomatic dialogue with the Soviet Union and China, hoping to ease some of the Cold War tensions of the past. He and his top advisors, however, had begun a murky and illegal slide into questionable political actions against their perceived enemies. While he easily defeated his opponent for reelection in 1972, the Watergate scandal exploded during Nixon's second term. On August 9, 1974, after a long, painful period in American political history, Richard Nixon became the first president to resign his office. That scandal and the frustrating and tragic end to the war in Vietnam (1975) seemed to indicate a low point in American political life. Until 1980, a transitional era of politics offered the nation little in the way of vision or optimism, either left or right, in the political spectrum. Gerald Ford (Republican), 1974–1977, and Jimmy Carter (Democrat), 1977–1980, had to confront a nation soured and despondent with the political system and reeling from "stagflation" and uncertain

President Ronald Reagan and the First Lady Nancy Reagan, c. 1980s. Photofest.

of its place in the world. It was an unpleasant period in American politics and government that neither leader could successfully combat.

In 1980, Ronald Reagan, a California governor and former movie actor, easily defeated his incumbent opponent, Jimmy Carter. Reagan's political conservativism and optimism would alter the nature of American political life. For two terms, Reagan's views on government, foreign policy, and American exceptionalism dominated the political landscape. Even while serious critics questioned his tax cuts, heavy defense expenditures, and the rising federal deficit and debt, he remained a popular, admired leader. Reagan and his supporters also appeared to have rejected the liberal commitment to social justice that had been so much a part of the Great Society in the 1960s. During the 1980s, Republicans regained control of the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1952. Shortly, the House of Representatives would experience a similar Republican majority. A clear conservative ascendancy had led American voters to select candidates following President Reagan's lead to the forefront of day-to-day political thinking. The ideological pendulum had swung dramatically from left to right between 1960 and 1990. That shift would define America's daily political thinking during the "decades of discord."

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

In the post–World War II era, the United States is the only Western nation where capital punishment remains legal. Several cases examining the constitutionality of the death penalty came to the courts in the mid-twentieth century. In 1967, the death penalty was suspended so that federal appellate courts could decide if it was constitutional. In 1968, in the case *U.S. v. Jackson,* the U.S. Supreme Court denounced the federal kidnapping law, which stated that only a jury could prescribe the death penalty. The court ruled that the practice encouraged defendants to waive their rights to a jury trial in hopes of avoiding a death sentence. Also in 1968, the court ruled in *Witherspoon v. Illinois* that a juror could not be dismissed simply because he or she had reservations about the death penalty. Prosecutors must illustrate that the juror's beliefs would prevent him or her from making an unbiased decision on a death sentence.

Throughout the 1970s, the Supreme Court ruled on several important capital punishment cases. In *Furman v. Georgia,* the court ruled that the death penalty was unconstitutional because it amounted to "cruel and unusual punishment." However, in 1976, the Supreme Court ruled in *Gregg v. Georgia* that states could enact death penalty laws and not necessarily violate the Constitution. By 1977, the Supreme Court ruled that the only crime that constitutionally can be punished by death is murder. Executions began again in 1977.

A variety of important capital punishment cases came before the Supreme Court in the 1980s. In 1986, the court ruled that execution of persons deemed legally insane is unconstitutional. Two cases addressing the age at which a person could legally be sentenced to death were brought to the court at the end of the 1980s. In

Thompson v. Oklahoma, which made it to the Supreme Court in 1988, the court ruled that it was unconstitutional to recommend a death sentence for persons who were 15 years old or younger when they committed their crimes. In 1989, however, the court ruled that the death penalty could be considered in cases with defendants age 16 and older (*Daily Life Online*, "Capital Punishment in the United States" by Heather Stur, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

CIVIL RIGHTS AND GROUP IDENTITY: AFRICAN AMERICANS

By the late 1960s, it appeared obvious that if enacting civil rights laws remained difficult, changing practices remained even harder. Still more difficult appeared changing American attitudes. For example, despite the passage of antidiscrimination laws, job bias was still all too common. Growing impatience by blacks seemed understandable. A year after his speech at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963, when he spoke hopefully of his dream that someday freedom would ring in America, Martin Luther King Jr. published a book titled *Why We Can't Wait.* Challenges to his leadership by more radical figures—Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and the Black Panthers, among others—and changing circumstances in 1967 compelled him to become more radical too.

Television networks that year brought the nation live coverage of riots in Detroit. Scenes of looting, fires, injuries, and deaths reminded viewers of the riots in Watts two years earlier. The next year a commission appointed by President Johnson to investigate the causes of civil disorders formally reported that the United States was moving toward two societies, "one black, one white—separate and unequal."

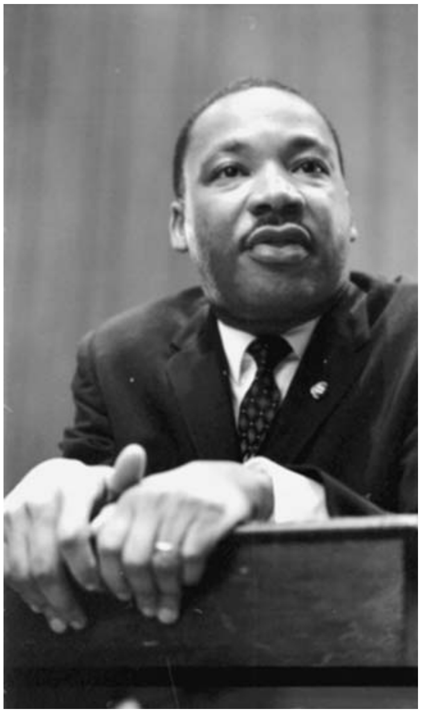
Did it have to be that way? In the year that Martin Luther King Jr. spoke passionately of his dream for America, novelist James Baldwin acknowledged that creating one nation had proved to be "a hideously difficult task." The past that blacks had endured, a past "of rope, fire, torture, castration, infanticide, rape; death and humiliation; fear by day and night, fear as deep as the marrow of the bone," had forced them each day to "snatch their manhood, their identity, out of the fire of human cruelty that rages to destroy it." In so doing, Baldwin wrote in *The Fire Next Time,* they achieved their own unshakable authority. Blacks had the advantage, he claimed, of never having believed the myths to which white Americans cling about the heroism of freedom-loving ancestors, about American invincibility, about the virility of white men and purity of white women. They were free to take on the problems they faced. But they could not do it alone.

> If we—and now I mean the relatively conscious whites and the relatively conscious blacks, who must, like lovers, insist on, or create, the consciousness of the others—do not falter in our duty now, we may be able, handful that we are, to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world. If we do not now dare everything, the fulfillment

of that prophecy, re-created from the Bible in song by a slave, is upon us: "*God gave Noah the rainbow sign, No more water, the fire next time!*" (Baldwin, quoted in Marty 1997, 88)

By 1968, it looked as though the fire was coming. The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4 led to more urban riots. Before the decade had ended, riots occurred in more than 100 cities and resulted in at least 77 deaths. Thousands suffered injuries, and property destruction was incalculable. The well-publicized purpose of a civil rights law that was passed one week after King's death was to prohibit racial discrimination in housing policies and practices. However, a provision insisted on by Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina showed the ambivalence of white politicians toward militant blacks. That legislature made it a crime to use the facilities of interstate commerce "to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot; or to commit any act of violence in furtherance of a riot." Robert Weisbrot, a historian of the civil rights movement, has observed that the bill's priorities were clear: "modest federal involvement in black efforts to flee the ghetto, but overwhelming force to curb all restiveness within it."

Before his death, Martin Luther King Jr. had planned a "poor people's march on Washington" to shift the focus of the civil rights movement from racial to economic issues, believing it might attract broader support. Leadership of the campaign fell to his successor in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Ralph David Abernathy. Even under ideal conditions, the prospects of success seemed limited, but the weather in Washington at the time of the march was miserable. The political climate the campaigners faced was even worse, and their well-intentioned efforts seemed only to call attention to the powerlessness of poor blacks and their isolation from poor whites.



Martin Luther King Jr., civil rights leader. Chaiba.

The death of King, the riots, and exhaustion took much of the impetus out of the civil rights movement. The election of Richard Nixon in November 1968 appeared an additional blow. Nixon's "southern strategy" (a policy devised by Nixon's campaign strategists in 1967) played on the resentments of whites. At the same time, supporters of civil rights turned to Congress for laws calling for affirmative action policies in hiring and protective measures of other kinds. The notion of establishing race-conscious policies and preferential treatment for blacks to remedy past injustices caused strains among supporters, both black and white. Some contended that the struggle should be for a color-blind society, with neither advantages nor disadvantages resulting from the color of one's skin. Race-conscious policies also intensified the backlash by those who thought the movement had already gone too far too fast. Pursuit of civil rights goals in the courts also encouraged the backlash, particularly on the matter of busing to achieve school desegregation. A period that had begun on a note of gloom ended on an even gloomier one.

Hoping to serve the interests of African Americans more effectively, black leaders sought to increase their representation in executive positions at the local level and in state legislatures and the Congress of the United States. By 1971, 12 African Americans held seats in the House of Representatives, and a number of cities had African American mayors, but that did not have much effect on the daily lives of

African Americans. Policy changes to achieve success would require that they hold more political power.

With that in mind, the Congressional Black Caucus, formed in 1971, cooperated tactically with more militant blacks in planning the National Black Political Assembly in Gary, Indiana, in March 1972. The assembly was the largest black political convention in U.S. history. About 3,000 official delegates attended, representing almost every faction and viewpoint. An additional 9,000 persons attended as observers. Historian Manning Marable referred to the assembly as a marriage of convenience between the aspiring and somewhat radicalized black petty bourgeoisie and the black nationalist movement. The collective vision of the convention, he says, "represented a desire to seize electoral control of America's major cities, to move the black masses from the politics of desegregation to the politics of real empowerment, ultimately to create their own independent black political party."

The fiscal, social, and demographic problems urban blacks faced were awesome, for as the affluent populations of cities had fled to the suburbs, the tax base declined sharply. Racial conflicts over dwindling job opportunities remained common. Civil service laws protected the jobs of insensitive or racist city bureaucrats. States and the federal government lost interest in coming to the cities' rescue. At the national level, President Nixon made no moves to increase the voting power of African Americans. He supported only voluntary efforts to integrate schools, did little to push integration of federal housing programs, and failed to provide adequate funding for black entrepreneurs seeking to start businesses.

The laws passed in the 1960s with the intention of making things better, or at least of offering hope that things would change, instead magnified African Americans' sense of hopelessness. Ending discrimination in the workplace provided one major test for the federal government's new commitment to civil rights.

In 1965, President Johnson, applying the principles of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, issued an executive order requiring federal contractors "to take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed . . . without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." A series of court cases followed that dealt with the barriers to affirmative action principles. In a 1971 decision involving a standard written examination for employment, *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that so-called objective criteria for hiring employees could in fact be discriminatory. Specifically, the court said that the aptitude tests being challenged were illegal, because they resulted in a relative disadvantage to minorities without at the same time having a compelling business interest. To be permissible, the knowledge and skills they evaluated had to be directly applicable to the jobs for which the employers used them. The court later extended the principles of this ruling to recruitment practices, job placement, transfers, and promotions. The court rulings made it possible for women and minorities to get jobs from which they had previously been excluded, but unequal pay remained a problem (Marty 1997, 88–91, 101–2).

Between the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the United States experienced a momentous shift in the government's position on civil rights. The successful Montgomery, Alabama, boycott in 1956, sparked by Rosa Parks's famous refusal to give up her seat on a segregated bus, gained national attention. With support from other black civil rights leaders, Martin Luther King Jr. formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957 and began a series of nonviolent protests in the South. As the 1960s began, the African American effort to address the injustice of segregation was in full swing. John Kennedy's administration had to face the issue. The new president offered verbal support for the movement, because he did not want to buck powerful white southern Democrats, but remained concerned regarding the impact his position would have with white southern Democrats. While he balanced the political dilemma, Kennedy managed to win 70 percent of the black vote in 1960. Since the Roosevelt era, African American voters had shifted their allegiance from the Republican Party to the Democrats. Lyndon Johnson not only recognized the political implications of that shift, he also legitimately supported King's movement and made civil rights a key aspect of his Great Society. The August 1963 March on Washington, highlighted by Reverend King's "I have a dream" speech, crystallized the nation's political position. Less than three months later, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, and after he took office Lyndon Johnson addressed the issue. Using every political skill and exploiting every political leverage in Congress, Johnson worked with black civil rights leaders to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964. He signed the law on July 2, 1964. The Voting Rights Act would follow a year later.

Ironically and tragically, a series of racial riots and unrest began at the same time, from Watts in Los Angeles to Detroit. For many African Americans, the civil rights movement had provided too little and come too late. The new laws had done little to change living conditions for black Americans. In Mississippi, African Americans made up more than 40 percent of the population, but only 5 percent were registered to vote. Their median family income was one-third of white income in that state. By the late 1960s it was obvious that if enacting civil rights laws was difficult, changing practices was going to be even harder. Still harder was changing attitudes. Growing impatience by blacks was understandable. A year after his speech at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963, when he spoke hopefully of his dream that "someday" freedom would ring in America, Martin Luther King, Jr. published a book entitled *Why We Can't Wait*. Challenges to his leadership by more radical figures—Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and the Black Panthers, among others—and changing circumstances in 1967 compelled him to become more radical too. Many white Americans who had supported Martin Luther King's "moderate" civil rights activism became alarmed and frightened by the changing nature of the debate. Television networks that year brought the nation live coverage of riots in Detroit. Scenes of looting, fires, injuries, and deaths reminded viewers of the riots in Watts two years earlier. The next year a commission appointed by President Johnson to investigate the causes of civil disorders formally reported that the United States was moving toward two societies, "one black, one white—separate and unequal." One political result of that concern led white voters to support Republicans candidates, and it also helped create a "white flight" to the suburbs. Ironically, the series of laws passed in the 1960s to attack de jure segregation and racism saw the evolution of de facto racism and segregation in ways that were as harmful as before (*Daily Life*

Online, "Economic Life: Discrimination," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT

In April 1983, Secretary of Education Terrell H. Bell released a report entitled *A Nation at Risk*. It was the work of an 18-member National Commission on Excellence in Education appointed to "make practical recommendations for action." The appointment had been inspired in part by concern over the nationwide decline in scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) that had begun in 1963 and continued in 17 of the next 20 years. Coincidentally, a slight improvement in the scores occurred in 1982, as well as in 1983 and 1984, but that did not alleviate concerns about the quality of the nation's schools.

A 1981 Gallup poll and a study by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation had shown that the majority of Americans wanted more demanding curricula, more control over student behavior, and more attention to ethical concerns. But the surveys also detected a growing feeling that parents were more deficient than schools in the upbringing of their children. Polls also showed a continued decline in the public's willingness to support schools financially. Rejection of proposed tax increases to support school improvements was common.

A Nation at Risk presented a comprehensive indictment of American education, citing high rates of adult illiteracy, declining SAT scores, and poor performance on 20 international academic achievement tests. On none of those tests had American children ranked first or second. The "educational foundations of our society," the report contended, "are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people." The tragedy, it continued, was that no unfriendly power was responsible for what had happened to the nation's schools, but rather that "we have allowed this to happen to ourselves."

The report made five recommendations. The first was that all students seeking a high school diploma be required to have four years of study in English, three years in mathematics, three in science, and three in social studies, as well as half a year in computer science—fields identified as "the New Basics." The second was that all educational institutions expect more of their students and that requirements for admission to four-year colleges and universities be raised. Third was that significantly more time be devoted to learning the New Basics through more effective use of the existing school day or that the school day or year be lengthened. Fourth was that the preparation of teachers be strengthened and that teaching be made a more rewarding and respected profession. Fifth was that citizens require elected officials to support those reforms and provide funds necessary to accomplish them. The report concluded by urging parents to expect much from their children and for students to put forth their best efforts in learning (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1984, 5, 69–79).

Although critics of *A Nation at Risk* insisted that many schools were doing a good job, the report struck a responsive chord in the general public. A flurry of other reports that appeared shortly after the release of *A Nation at Risk*, such as *Making the Grade; Academic Preparation for College: What Students Need to Know and Be Able to Do; Action for Excellence; A Policy Framework for Racial Justice*; and *Educating Americans for the 21st Century* also had significant influence. Each of these reports had a different theme, and each reflected the interests of a specific constituency (*Daily Life Online*, "More Discord: Education," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

GOVERNMENT AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

In the 1960s, much of what the federal government did became synonymous with the War on Poverty. Attacking poverty first became a priority in the 1960s when Michael Harrington's book *The Other America* captured President John Kennedy's attention and stirred him and other national leaders to face the issues it raised. His administration was developing proposals for action when he was assassinated. Taking up more aggressively where Kennedy left off came naturally to Lyndon Johnson. His origins in rural Texas had included few of the material advantages that had been Kennedy's from childhood. On his first full day as president, Johnson asked his advisors to come forward with specific proposals, which reached him in time to permit him to declare "unconditional war on poverty in America" in his 1964 State of the Union address. "The richest nation on earth," he said, "can win it. We cannot afford to lose it."

Circumstances were right in the mid-1960s for the nation to attack poverty through legislation and executive and other actions. Kennedy's assassination seemed to have inspired national leaders to believe that if they could not undo that wrong, they could at least right other ones. In President Johnson, who had been majority leader in the Senate until he became vice president in 1961, they had someone who knew how to pull legislative strings and mobilize public sentiment more effectively than most presidents before him. Unrest stirred by the civil rights and student movements promoted the kind of introspection that leads nations as well as individuals to change what they can while they can do so on their own terms. The space race with the Soviet Union led schools across the country to insist that teachers teach better and students learn more and learn it faster. More extensive homework assignments and more demanding instruction, particularly in the sciences, were widespread, demonstrating a national mood to not let the Soviets win. That mood made it natural for education to be a weapon in the War on Poverty as well.

Besides, these were times of economic expansion, and with no major military conflict being waged; a War on Poverty could be a war of choice. In August 1964, responding to Johnson's War on Poverty proposals, Congress enacted the comprehensive

Equal Opportunity Act. Although conservatives in both parties opposed it (185 in the House and 34 in the Senate), the opponents were largely soft-spoken, fearful that opposition might be taken as indifference to poverty. The act was a noble effort, almost a heroic one, to solve the problems Harrington and others had identified. Each of its major parts held potential for changing the daily lives of countless Americans: It provided job training for the poor, programs to teach marketable skills to unemployed youths in inner cities, arrangements for recruiting middle-class volunteers to work in programs in poverty-stricken areas, funding for public works projects in poor areas, and structures for making loans to indigent farmers and small businesses. The Head Start program gave disadvantaged preschool children training in basic skills—more than 500,000 youngsters in 2,400 communities participated in 1965, the first year of operation. The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act sought to stimulate innovation in schools and make educating America's poor children a priority. Upward Bound helped youth from poor families attend college. The Office of Economic Opportunity served as the operational center in the War on Poverty, and the Community Action Program encouraged grassroots involvement in program development. It hoped to empower the poor to better look after their own interests.

Although that seemed a boon to cities, big-city politicians and state governors did not like the Community Action Program at all. They resented what they took to be loss of control to tenant unions in public housing. They opposed organized voter registration drives and resisted other efforts by activists to give poor people the power to deal effectively with their own problems. The Community Action Program therefore became the target of hostility and attacks. That, in turn, created fear that the War on Poverty would lead to class warfare, and it neutralized the effectiveness of other programs.

But troubles in the War on Poverty failed to dampen President Johnson's enthusiasm for shaping what he called the Great Society. Proposals poured forth from the White House in 1965 and 1966, and Congress enacted laws at a pace not seen since the famous Hundred Days at the beginning of Franklin Roosevelt's first term in 1933, when Congress enacted 15 major laws between March 9 and June 16. Although the effectiveness of the Great Society legislation was mixed, the impact on daily lives of the intended beneficiaries and those who implemented the programs was considerable.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, for example, offered reduced interest rates to builders of housing for the poor and elderly, thus benefiting builders and construction workers as well as those who would live in the units they built. It also provided funds for health programs, beautification of cities, recreation centers, and rent supplements for the poor. The new cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development assumed responsibility for coordinating the creation of urban and regional planning agencies. The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1966, establishing the cabinet-level Department of Transportation, provided funds and structures for development of mass-transit systems in urban areas. The Model Cities Act of 1966 provided over $1 billion for slum clearance and urban renewal.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, passed in 1965, designated more than $1 billion for educationally deprived children. Because the funds were ultimately under the control of local school districts, however, they were frequently diverted to other purposes. The Higher Education Act of 1965 established a scholarship and low-interest loan program for financially needy college students and provided library grants to colleges and universities. The Immigration Act of 1965 eliminated the discriminatory quotas designed to exclude certain national groups, or to admit them on a restricted basis, that had been in effect for 40 years and reaffirmed just 13 years earlier.

As life expectancy increased, resulting in growth of the elderly population that continues to the present day, provisions for caring for the elderly became more critical. Elderly persons worried about that, as did their children, whose houses and urban apartments did not have space for additional dwellers and whose incomes were typically not sufficient to provide for institutional care. After the Democratic landslide in the 1964 election, sentiment for new laws providing for medical care for the elderly enabled those who backed them to surmount the opposition, including that of the American Medical Association.

The Medicare program, enacted by Congress in 1965, provided insurance to cover most hospital charges, diagnostic tests, home visits, and in some instances nursing home costs for the elderly. Participants in Medicare could volunteer to purchase supplementary coverage, subsidized by the government, to take care of other medical expenses, including visits to doctors' offices. Prescription drugs, eyeglasses, and hearing aids were not covered. At the end of Medicare's first year of operation, approximately 17.7 million elderly persons (93 percent of those eligible) enrolled in the voluntary medical insurance program. Also included in the Medicare bill were funds for nursing schools, medical schools, and medical student scholarships, all intended to train personnel to provide health care services.

The Social Security Act of 1935 was the first federal government step toward providing the elderly with means to be cared for by others if they were unable to care for themselves. Sometimes the care was given in not-for-profit nursing homes. The more extensive benefits provided through Medicaid—a companion program to Medicare that provided funding to states to pay for medical care for the poor of all ages—quickly spawned a lucrative for-profit industry. Nursing homes, one observer noted, "changed from a family enterprise to big business. Major corporations, including several hotel/motel chains, purchased large numbers of facilities and nursing home issues became the hottest item on the stock exchange." Between 1960 and 1976, nursing homes increased in number from under 10,000 to 23,000; the number of residents more than tripled, to one million. The number of employees increased during the period from 100,000 to 650,000. Impressive though those numbers were, they do not compare in magnitude with the 2,000 percent increase in revenues received by the industry. Almost 60 percent of the more than $10 billion in revenues was paid by taxpayers through Medicare and Medicaid. While those numbers were all skyrocketing, the population of senior citizens increased by only 23 percent.

Who were the elderly in nursing homes? In the mid-1960s they were moving toward the profile that existed a decade later: more than 70 percent were over 70 years of age; women outnumbered men by 3 to 1; 63 percent were widowed, 22 percent had never married, 5 percent were divorced; only 1 in 10 had a living spouse; more than 50 percent had no close relatives. More than 60 percent had no visitors at all. Fewer than 50 percent were able to walk. The average stay in nursing homes was 2.4 years, and only 20 percent of the residents ever returned to their homes. The vast majority died in the nursing homes, with a small number succumbing in hospitals.

Such a profile meant that in addition to worries over health and finances and fear of being a burden to others, many elderly people lived in dread of having to move to a place other than their own home. "It is a time of no tomorrows," wrote former senator Frank Moss in 1977, "a time of no hope. Death lurks like a mugger in a dark alley. The elderly await the inevitable, when they are reduced to the simple act of breathing and eating—and less."

An initial appropriation of $6.5 billion got Medicare started, and increased Social Security payroll deductions were to provide for its long-term funding. Medicare and Medicaid planners, however, underestimated the rate at which increases in doctors' fees and hospital charges, as well as the longer lives of the elderly, would create spiraling costs.

To celebrate the enactment of Medicare, President Johnson traveled to Independence, Missouri, where he signed the new bill into law in former president Truman's presence. Truman then became the first person to hold a Medicare card. What the two presidents celebrated, however, was a limited victory, for the American Medical Association had succeeded in restricting Medicare to bill-paying functions. The government had virtually no role in redesigning health care systems or controlling costs. By the 1990s, with expenditures for both Medicare and Medicaid having multiplied more than 10-fold, problems continued that might have been dealt with better when the programs were first created.

Programs in the War on Poverty had significant effects on the daily lives of millions of beneficiaries and benefit providers. The proportion of Americans recorded as being below the federal poverty line dropped from 20 to 13 percent between 1963 and 1968, and the ratio of African Americans living in poverty declined from 40 percent in 1960 to half that figure in 1968, but the problems of poverty remained an ongoing challenge for Americans.

In attempting to account for the bursts of optimism that inspired the War on Poverty and public confidence in it, it is useful to reflect on the words of Lyndon Johnson, the war's mastermind. Speaking to Howard University students on June 4, 1965, Johnson laid out his vision for America, and particularly for the black students he was addressing. Members of their race were disproportionately represented among the poor, and he was sensitive to their circumstances. The breakdown of the family, President Johnson said, flowing from "the long years of degradation and discrimination, which have attacked [the Negro man's] dignity and assaulted his ability to produce for his family," was the main cause. So strengthening families was essential. To accomplish that and to solve all the other problems society faced, Johnson said, there was no single easy answer. Jobs were part of it, as were decent homes, welfare and social programs, and care for the sick. But another part of the answer is what moved President Johnson: "An understanding heart by all Americans" (Marty 1997, 44–49; *Daily Life Online*, "Political Life: Government," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

REFORM

Through the 1960s, civil rights remained a paramount reform issue in America. The daily lives of most Americans may not seem to have been directly affected by what came to be known as the unrest of the 1960s, but the changes wrought by protests in those years rippled across America. The most striking changes were the fruits of the civil rights movement that, in its modern form, traced its origins to before World War II. During World War II, the cruel irony of asking African Americans to risk their lives for a country that denied them constitutionally guaranteed rights became glaringly obvious. Several Supreme Court decisions set precedents for the 1954 landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education.* In *Brown* the Court ruled that schools designed to be "separate but equal" were inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional.

Armed with the conviction that the Supreme Court's decision outlawing "separate but equal" schools extended to other aspects of their lives, and frustrated by resistance to calls for change, African American activists adopted a strategy that at first baffled those seeking to thwart them: they defied laws that denied them rights but refused to defend themselves against physical and verbal attacks.The practice of holding sit-ins at lunch counters and other whites-only establishments spread, and before the end of the year an estimated 70,000 activists put pressure on white business leaders by challenging segregation laws and practices in more than 150 cities. In 1961 came Freedom Rides, organized by James Farmer of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE). The Freedom Riders, small interracial groups who traveled by public buses into the Deep South to test whether federal court orders on integration of bus depots were being honored, encountered hostile and often brutal treatment. Again, television cameras brought the bloody scenes into homes throughout America. More important, the spreading public outrage provoked by those scenes forced the federal government to take sides, and only one side it could take made both moral and political sense.

In 1962, the nation watched the violence erupt when James Meredith, a black Mississippian, enrolled at his state's university under a court order to admit him. The next year, federal marshals led black students past Governor George Wallace as he attempted to block entrance to the University of Alabama. Television carried that, too, across the nation. With each such incident, awareness of the civil rights movement reached into the lives of viewers throughout the United States. Children, particularly, seemed impressed by what they saw. "They can do what they want to," a former principal of a southern black elementary school remarked, "but millions of little eyes are watching, and they're making plans."

Along with the Freedom Rides came protests and marches with locally organized civil rights protesters working with Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern

President Johnson signs Civil Rights bill into law. Library of Congress.

Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham and other cities in the South. Stressing nonviolence as essential in the practice of civil disobedience, efforts led by King laid the groundwork for the now-famous March on Washington in 1963. At that event, King spoke from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to a crowd of 250,000. Carried by television to millions more—perhaps the first civil rights demonstration to capture the attention of the entire nation—Dr. King departed from his prepared text to speak of his dream. "I have a dream," he said, "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal.' " Rhythmically he intoned the next seven sentences with "I have a dream." Two sentences said simply: "I have a dream today." With the audience stirred by his eloquence and passion, King urged the nation to "let freedom ring." Eight times he repeated that line, concluding with the following:

> When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!

Just a month later, the Sunday-morning bombing of a church in Birmingham in which four black girls were killed was a sobering reminder that not everyone shared King's dream.

Despite the resistance that acts like the church bombing exemplified, modern America seemed ready for some of the changes demanded by civil rights leaders. In fact, the resistance helped build momentum for enactment of a civil rights law in 1964 that, among other things, prohibited racial discrimination in public accommodations in any business engaged in interstate commerce and in most employment situations. It soon became apparent that the Democratic Party's position on civil rights would cause it to lose its dominance in what had been known as the "solid South" since the Civil War. Indeed, when Lyndon Johnson signed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, he remarked to an aide: "I think we just delivered the South to the Republican Party for a long time to come." By the time of the presidential election that year, the phenomenon known as white backlash came into evidence not only in the South but in all quarters of America. Johnson's opponent, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, had voted against the Civil Rights Act. Although he lost the election, his followers adhered to his convictions on civil rights in rebuilding the Republican Party, and Goldwater ran well in southern states.

In 1965, responding to the leadership of President Johnson (himself a southerner), Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, aimed at removing barriers that had long kept African Americans out of polling places, particularly in the South. For decades thereafter, the new voters generally supported the Democratic Party, although not in sufficient numbers to offset the loss of white voters. Through their actions on racial matters, both parties prompted ordinary citizens to ask themselves where they stood on matters of race and access to jobs, housing, and social opportunity. As voters answered these questions, both parties gained and lost supporters in regions outside the South as well as in it, although party affiliation continued to rest on much more than one's position on racial issues.

Laws and court decisions were not alone in pushing and pulling the American people one way or another on racial matters. Two other things came into play: violent behavior and increasingly militant language by blacks. The most extreme example of the former was the riot in Watts, a black ghetto in Los Angeles. On August 11, 1965, just five days after President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, a confrontation between white police and a black man stopped for a traffic violation sparked a six-day riot. When it was over, 34 people were dead, 900 were injured, 4,000 were under arrest, and property damage amounted to more than $30 million. Despite the presence of 1,500 police officers and 14,000 National Guardsmen, rioters destroyed entire city blocks. Seething black resentment of white police (in the 98 percent black Watts district, 200 of the 205 police officers were white) had set the stage for the riot, but the rioters lost whatever sympathies they might have inspired among whites, both in Watts and elsewhere, by chanting "Burn, baby, burn!" Riots in other cities, frequently sparked by confrontations between blacks and police, blurred the sense of progress that the court decisions and new laws had seemed to create.

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* helped forge a new environmental movement in the United States. Library of Congress.

The militant language of some black leaders dismayed many Americans, both white and black. Speeches by Malcolm X, a preacher formerly associated with the Nation of Islam, struck many as hateful and scornful of whites for the treatment of his people through the years. By stressing racial pride and dignity, he inspired his followers in ways whites had difficulty understanding. The assassination of Malcolm X by Black Muslims, followers of Elijah Muhammad, on February 21, 1965, failed to silence his message.

Advocates of Black Power, led by Stokely Carmichael and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, known as Snick), used language just as harsh. Working closely with the powerless and disadvantaged victims of discrimination, they understood the daily suffering of members of their race. As were the followers of Malcolm X, the activists in SNCC were driven by deep cynicism about the honesty and good faith of America's white leaders and the entire country's white population.

The division between Stokely Carmichael and those who stood with him on one side, and Martin Luther King Jr. and his followers on the other, became starkly clear in June 1966. James Meredith was again a key figure in an event that once more drew Americans to their television sets. While he marched alone across Mississippi to give blacks the confidence to register and vote, a shotgun fired by an assassin from roadside bushes cut him down, planting 60 pellets in his body. With Meredith's family's consent, civil rights groups converged on the scene to complete the march.

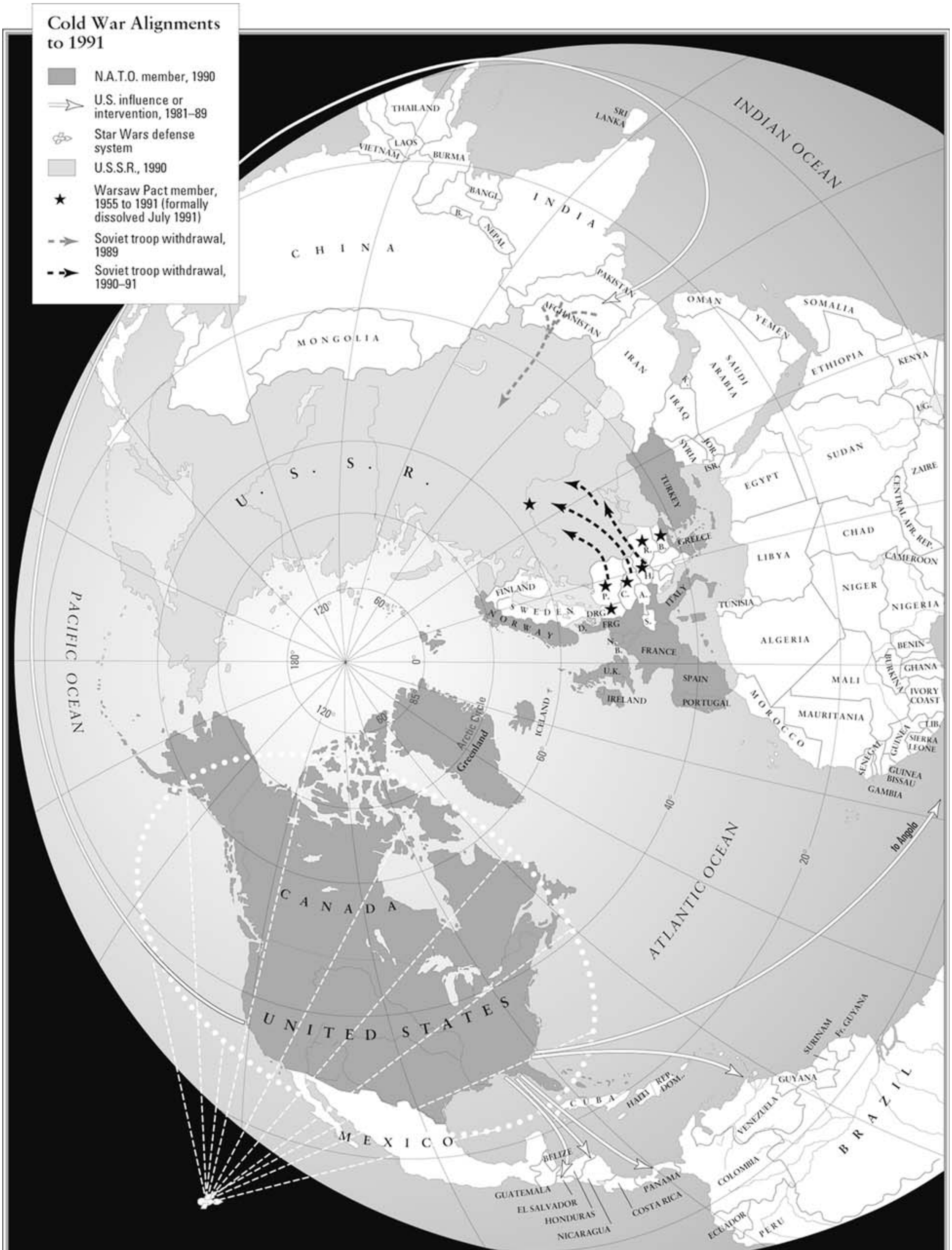
At rallies along the way, King continued to advocate nonviolence, but Carmichael spoke more militantly. Finally, in Canton, Mississippi, Carmichael exhorted his hearers as follows:

> The only way we are going to stop them from whuppin' us is to take over. We've been saying freedom for six years and we ain't got nothin'. . . . The time for running has come to an end. . . . Black Power. It's time we stand up and take over; move on over [Whitey] or we'll move on over you.

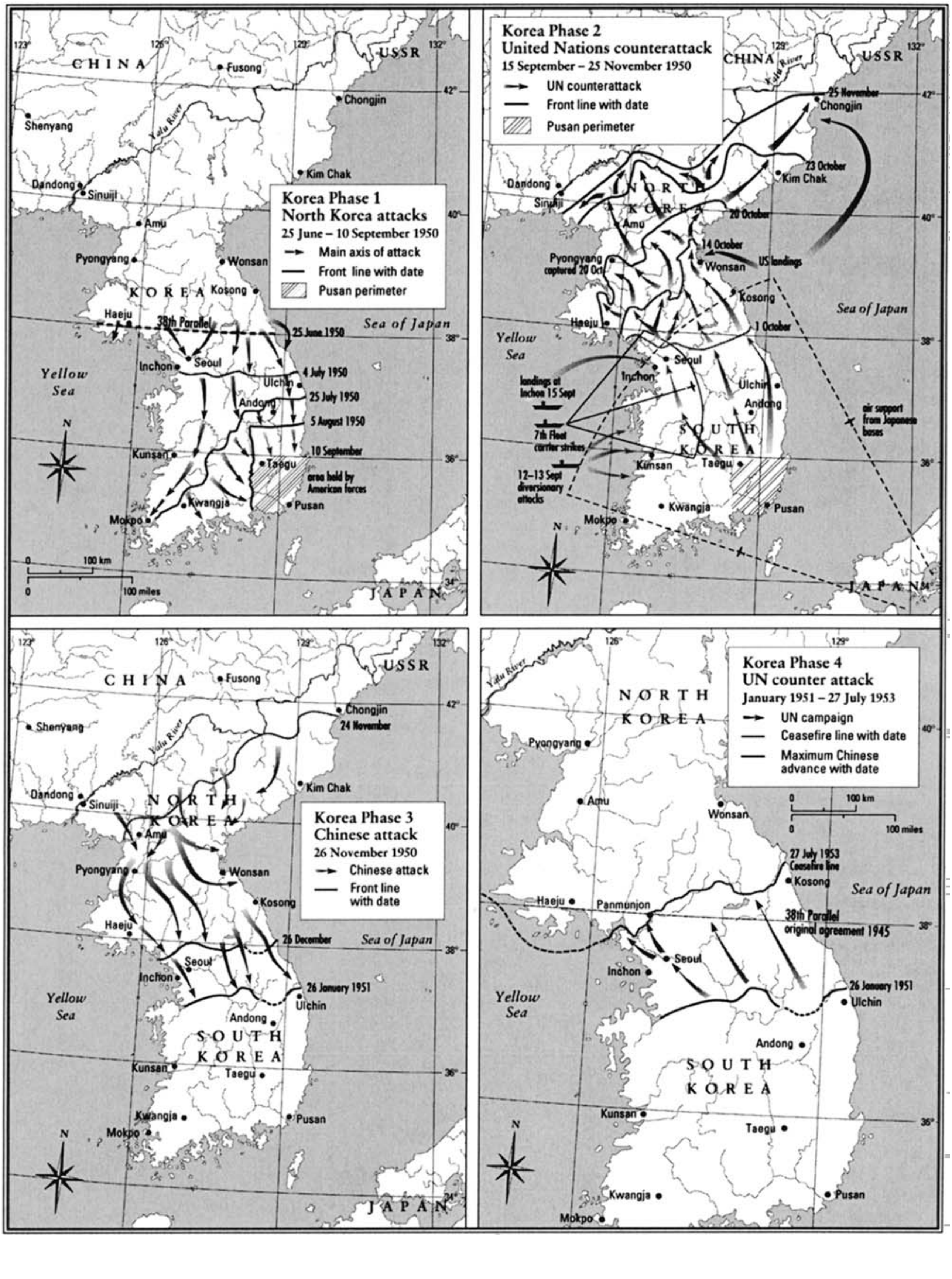
"Black Power!" chanted the crowd. "Black Power! Black Power!" The call for Black Power shattered the façade of unity among civil rights leaders and their followers. Martin Luther King Jr. still wanted to preserve a national coalition of blacks and whites committed to the cause of civil rights, but Carmichael refused to limit his efforts to stir black people to action.

By the late 1960s, it was obvious that if enacting civil rights laws appeared difficult, changing practices was going to be even harder, especially by 1968. The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4 led to more urban riots. Before the decade was over, riots occurred in more than 100 cities and resulted in at least 77 deaths. Thousands suffered injuries, and property destruction was incalculable. The well-publicized purpose of a civil rights law passed one week after King's death was to prohibit racial discrimination in housing policies and practices. However, a provision insisted on by Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina showed the ambivalence of white politicians toward militant blacks. This provision made it a crime to use the facilities of interstate commerce "to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot; or to commit any act of violence in furtherance of a riot." Robert Weisbrot, a historian of the civil rights movement, has observed that the bill's priorities were clear: "modest federal involvement in black efforts to flee the ghetto, but overwhelming force to curb all restiveness within it."

Before his death, Martin Luther King Jr. had planned a "Poor People's March on Washington" to shift the focus of the civil rights movement from racial to economic issues, believing that this might attract broader support. Leadership of the campaign fell to his successor in the SCLC, Ralph David Abernathy. Even under ideal conditions, the prospects of success were limited, but the weather in Washington at the time of the march was miserable. The political climate the campaigners faced was even worse, and their well-intentioned efforts seemed only to call attention to the powerlessness of poor blacks and their isolation from poor whites (Marty 1997,



Cold War Alignments to 1991
N.A.T.O. member, 1990
U.S. influence or intervention, 1981–89
Star Wars defense system
U.S.S.R., 1990
Warsaw Pact member, 1955 to 1991 (formally dissolved July 1991)
Soviet troop withdrawal, 1989
Soviet troop withdrawal, 1990–91
INDIAN OCEAN
THAILAND
SRI LANKA
LAOS
VIETNAM
BURMA
BANGL.
B.
NEPAL
INDIA
CHINA
PAKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
MONGOLIA
OMAN
YEMEN
SOMALIA
IRAN
SAUDI ARABIA
ETHIOPIA
KENYA
K.
IRAQ
UG.
SYRIA
JOR.
ISR.
SUDAN
ZAIRE
EGYPT
TURKEY
CENTRAL AFR. REP.
U. S. S. R.
R.
B.
GREECE
CHAD
LIBYA
CAMEROON
H.
P.
C.
A.
ITALY
NIGER
FINLAND
TUNISIA
NIGERIA
SWEDEN
NORWAY
D.
DRG
FRG
S.
N.
B.
FRANCE
ALGERIA
BENIN
GHANA
BURKINA
U.K.
SPAIN
MALI
IVORY COAST
IRELAND
PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
MAURITANIA
LIB.
SIERRA LEONE
GUINEA
SENEGAL
GUINEA BISSAU
GAMBIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
120°
60°
180°
0°
120°
60°
85
Arctic Circle
Greenland
ICELAND
60°
40°
20°
to Angola
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CANADA
UNITED STATES
SURINAM
Fr. GUYANA
GUYANA
BRAZIL
CUBA
HAITI
REP. DOM.
VENEZUELA
MEXICO
BELIZE
COLOMBIA
GUATEMALA
EL SALVADOR
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
PANAMA
COSTA RICA
ECUADOR
PERU



Korea Phase 1
North Korea attacks
25 June – 10 September 1950
Main axis of attack
Front line with date
Pusan perimeter
CHINA
USSR
Fusong
Chongjin
Shenyang
Yalu River
Kim Chak
Dandong
Sinuiji
Amu
Pyongyang
Wonsan
KOREA
Kosong
Haeju
38th Parallel
25 June 1950
Sea of Japan
Yellow Sea
Inchon
Seoul
4 July 1950
Ulchin
Andong
25 July 1950
5 August 1950
Kunsan
10 September
Taegu
area held by American forces
Kwangju
Pusan
Mokpo
100 km
100 miles
JAPAN
Korea Phase 2
United Nations counterattack
15 September – 25 November 1950
UN counterattack
Front line with date
Pusan perimeter
25 November
23 October
20 October
14 October
US landings
Pyongyang captured 20 Oct
NORTH KOREA
1 October
landings at Inchon 15 Sept
7th Fleet carrier strikes
12–13 Sept diversionary attacks
air support from Japanese bases
SOUTH KOREA
Korea Phase 3
Chinese attack
26 November 1950
Chinese attack
Front line with date
24 November
26 December
26 January 1951
Korea Phase 4
UN counter attack
January 1951 – 27 July 1953
UN campaign
Ceasefire line with date
Maximum Chinese advance with date
Panmunjon
27 July 1953 Ceasefire line
38th Parallel original agreement 1945

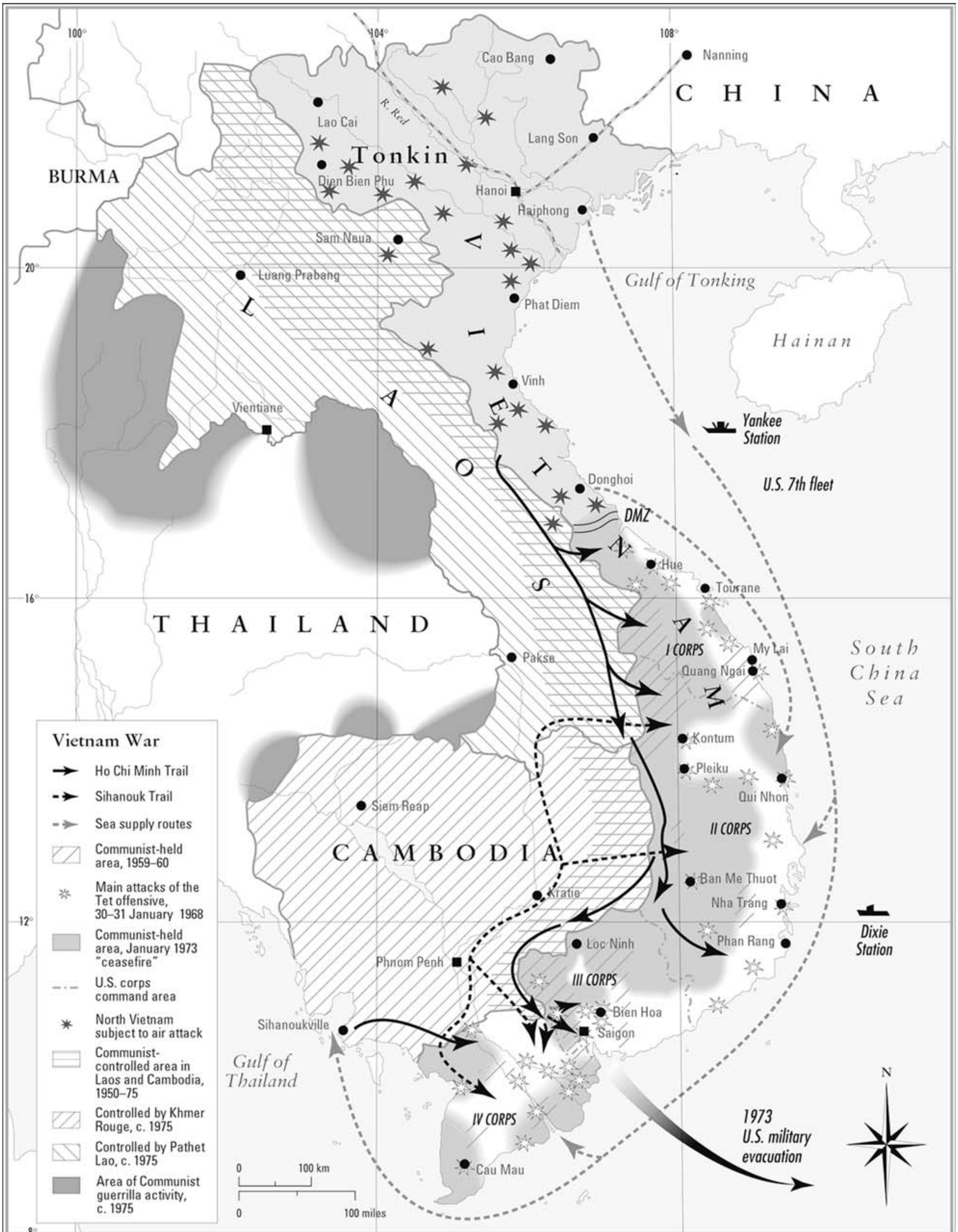
11–16, 87–89; *Daily Life Online*, "Political Life: Reform," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

WARFARE: VIETNAM

The United States engaged in several major shooting wars and in an ongoing ideological conflict with the Soviet Union known as the Cold War. The Cold War is the popular name applied to the deterioration of U.S.–Soviet relations after the end of World War II in 1945. The rivalry between the two nations was marked by a series of diplomatic and military incidents that frequently threatened but never actually led to open warfare. Each nation sought to limit the influence its rival exercised around the world. The United States sought to check the extension of Soviet power in central and eastern Europe, where Soviet-dominated communist governments came to power in the late 1940s, by economically, politically, and militarily rebuilding western Europe. Initiated in 1947 and lasting until 1951, the Marshall Plan sent more than $12 billion in economic assistance to help the countries of western Europe rebuild basic industries, increase trade, and raise basic standards of living. In Germany, which had been divided after the war into zones of occupation controlled by the Americans, French, British, and Soviets, the U.S. Air Force thwarted Soviet attempts to blockade the Allied sectors of Berlin, which were surrounded by the Soviet sector of Germany, by airlifting supplies into the city in 1948 and 1949.

The focus of the Cold War shifted to Asia in 1950, where a shooting war commenced on the Korean Peninsula. The armies of Soviet-influenced North Korea invaded South Korea, a U.S. ally, on June 25. A United States–led coalition, authorized by the United Nations, came to the defense of South Korea, while China, which had become a communist state in 1949, eventually entered the war on the side of the North Koreans, who were also supplied by the Soviets. The war ended with a cease-fire in 1953. It left the peninsula divided between the communist North and the democratic South. Over 33,000 Americans died in the Korean War. At the start of the twenty-first century, U.S. forces were still stationed in South Korea.

The Cold War continued until 1989–1990, when the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet-controlled regimes of eastern Europe left the United States without a significant rival as a world superpower. In the years since 1960, however, the United States had fought two other major wars. The first of those was the Vietnam conflict. The numbers of persons directly involved in the war in Vietnam provide a sense of the war's broad and powerful impact in America. Of the almost 27 million men of draft age during the war, 11 million were drafted or enlisted. The remaining 16 million who never served included some who enlisted in the National Guard or were granted conscientious objector status. Some were exempted for physical reasons. Others had educational, vocational, marital, or family hardship or other reasons for exemption. An estimated 250,000 men, many from urban ghettos, did not register at all. Fifty thousand evaded the draft or deserted the military by exiling themselves to Canada and other places.



CHINA
Nanning
Cao Bang
Lao Cai
R. Red
Lang Son
Tonkin
BURMA
Dien Bien Phu
Hanoi
Haiphong
Sam Neua
Luang Prabang
Gulf of Tonking
Phat Diem
Hainan
LAOS
VIETNAM
Vinh
Vientiane
Yankee Station
Donghoi
U.S. 7th fleet
DMZ
Hue
Tourane
THAILAND
I CORPS
My Lai
Quang Ngai
Pakse
South China Sea
Kontum
Pleiku
Qui Nhon
Siem Reap
II CORPS
CAMBODIA
Ban Me Thuot
Kratie
Nha Trang
Dixie Station
Phan Rang
Loc Ninh
Phnom Penh
III CORPS
Bien Hoa
Sihanoukville
Saigon
Gulf of Thailand
IV CORPS
1973 U.S. military evacuation
Cau Mau
N
Vietnam War
Ho Chi Minh Trail
Sihanouk Trail
Sea supply routes
Communist-held area, 1959–60
Main attacks of the Tet offensive, 30–31 January 1968
Communist-held area, January 1973 "ceasefire"
U.S. corps command area
North Vietnam subject to air attack
Communist-controlled area in Laos and Cambodia, 1950–75
Controlled by Khmer Rouge, c. 1975
Controlled by Pathet Lao, c. 1975
Area of Communist guerrilla activity, c. 1975
0
100 km
0
100 miles
100°
104°
108°
20°
16°
12°
8°

Of the 2.7 million persons who served in Vietnam, 300,000 were wounded and 58,000 died. For their parents, spouses, siblings, and friends, the pain caused by the loss of loved ones was indescribable. Even though the flow of daily life in the United States seemed in some respects to be undisturbed, the loved ones of those who served and returned, those who evaded service, and even those who were exempted from it endured anxiety and heartache. For the rest, the daily reports on casualties, the commentaries on the war, and the protests the war inspired meant that happenings far away were affecting the lives of everyone.

U.S. Army flamethrower in action, Vietnam, 1966. POPPERFOTO/Alamy.

Protests against U.S. involvement in the war between North and South Vietnam began in the early 1960s. As troop levels went up, so did the numbers and vehemence of the protesters. On April 15, 1967, 125,000 Americans gathered in New York to rally against the war. More than 55,000 joined in a comparable event in San Francisco. Organized by a coalition known as the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the demonstrations had the support of a broad range of groups and such prominent individuals as Martin Luther King Jr. and Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose book on baby and child care had been relied on by the parents of many of the protesters.

The efforts of antiwar protesters, many of them college-educated and middle class, initially met with indifference. As the protesters became more insistent and more vocal, however, they increasingly alienated working-class people who knew that those fighting the war came primarily from their ranks. In December 1967, a Louis Harris poll reported that more than three-fourths of American people polled believed the protests encouraged the enemy to fight harder. Seventy percent of the respondents expressed the belief that antiwar demonstrations were acts of disloyalty to the soldiers fighting the war. A poll several weeks later showed that 58 percent favored continuing the war and stepping up military pressure on the communists. Sixty-three percent

Leading the march against the Vietnamese conflict are Dr. Benjamin Spock (center, with white hair) and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (third from right), in a parade on State Street in Chicago, March 25, 1967. AP/Wide World Photos.

opposed halting the bombing of North Vietnam as a tactic to see if the communists would be willing to negotiate a peace settlement.

Yet, the demonstrations showed that opposition to the war could not be taken lightly. The antiwar sentiment of some demonstrators sprang from moral outrage over the loss of American lives in what seemed to be a lost cause, of others from long-standing pacifist commitments. Still other demonstrators believed it made sense to cut losses in a war that was simply an imprudent endeavor.

Even though the antiwar movement failed to attract multitudes of followers, televised reports on marches and acts of civil disobedience created widespread uneasiness about the war. Critics of the news media, particularly Presidents Johnson and Nixon, were outraged by what they considered to be antiwar bias. Since then, other critics have claimed (contrary to persuasive evidence) that the United States could have won the war if the media had reported more fully and accurately the U.S. military successes in Vietnam, rather than embracing the antiwar arguments.

Careful analyses show that most of the media, at least until 1968, held positions sympathetic to President Johnson's policies. Most continued to support the government's actions well into the Nixon presidency. On the other hand, the media's reports on antiwar activities tended to focus on violent or bizarre behavior by the protesters. *Time* magazine, for example, dismissed the April 1967 protests as a "gargantuan 'demo'" that was "as peaceful as its pacifist philosophy, as colorful as the kooky costumes and painted faces of its psychedelic 'pot left' participants, and about as damaging to the U.S. image throughout the world as a blow from the daffodils and roses that the marchers carried in gaudy abundance."

By failing to give serious attention to the arguments advanced by the protesters—admittedly difficult to do in collages of short clips and sound bites—the media failed to give viewers and readers insights into the ideas and ideals of those who genuinely thought the war wrong.

The agony caused by an offensive launched by the Vietnamese communists in January 1968 did more to turn sentiment against continuing U.S. involvement in Vietnam than anything the antiwar movement might have done. The media provided uncensored coverage of that offensive, named for Tet, the Vietnamese New Year. The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong attacked at many points, but the focus of American news coverage was on a siege at the combat base known as Khe Sanh. The siege lasted from January 21 until April 14 and included fierce battles, reported daily. At one extreme, television viewers saw hand-to-hand combat with knives, rifles, and grenades. At the other, they saw the dropping of 100,000 tons of bombs by American planes in the area. By the time the siege ended, about 300 U.S. Marines had been killed and 2,200 wounded, but estimates of enemy casualties ranged from 2,500 to 15,000.

Military and political leaders in the United States claimed that the Tet Offensive had failed. Tactically, they were correct. Even North Vietnamese political and military leaders saw their offensive as a failure in military terms. Yet, Tet served as a turning point in the minds of

Henry Kissinger. Library of Congress.

many Americans who had previously supported the war effort or were neutral about it. Savagely fought contests struck raw nerves. Perhaps even more so did a photograph showing South Vietnam's police chief shooting a Viet Cong suspect in the head on a Saigon sidewalk, or hearing a U.S. major say about the fighting at Ben Tre, a city of 35,000, "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it." When CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite, in his "Report from Vietnam" on February 27, 1968, expressed doubts about prospects for U.S. success, those doubts spread. They spread further when the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace, which claimed 1,600 members, said that "as businessmen we feel that when a policy hasn't proved productive after a reasonable trial it's sheer nonsense not to change it." Even the *Wall Street Journal,* always a spirited antagonist of the antiwar movement, published an editorial on February 23, 1968, stating that "everyone had better be prepared for the bitter taste of a defeat beyond America's power to prevent."

In subsequent months, more and more people expressed opposition to the war. They wrote letters to members of Congress and the president, placed advertisements in newspapers, signed petitions, and joined in vigils in public places, including military installations. They supported candidates who took antiwar positions, most notably presidential candidates Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972. A few refused to pay taxes, register for the draft, or be inducted. A few burned draft cards and participated in strikes on campus and occasionally in workplaces. By engaging in nonviolent civil disobedience, they became subject to arrest, jailing, and court trials. More extreme actions included raids on offices of draft boards to destroy records by burning or pouring blood on them, as well as trashing, burning, or setting off bombs in buildings and, in several instances, committing suicide.

In the aftermath of the Tet Offensive, and two weeks after a weak showing in the New Hampshire primary, President Lyndon Johnson announced, on March 31, that he would not seek reelection. Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who hoped to be Johnson's successor, had been reluctant to question Johnson's policies, thus making himself the object of bitter and ferocious criticism by the war's opponents. The assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, Humphrey's leading rival for the nomination, added to the Democratic Party's turmoil. The Democratic National Convention in Chicago was a nasty affair. Protesters made the conventioneers angry, and Chicago police officers attacked the protesters, resulting in what came to be called a police riot.

As opposition to the U.S. role in Vietnam increased, Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon implied that he had a secret plan for ending the war. Humphrey gradually let his opposition to the war be known, and his strong campaign finish made the results of the election surprisingly close: Nixon received 43.4 percent of the popular vote, Humphrey 42.7 percent, and George Wallace 13.5 percent.

After the election, the antiwar movement lost whatever coherence it had had and fell into general public disfavor. The Nixon administration's questionable statements about its intentions and its denunciations of the movement's leaders, along with divisions within the movement, were partly responsible. Probably more important were the excesses displayed by radical campus groups, such as the Weathermen, and the news media's willingness to be influenced by Nixon's foreign policy advisor, Henry Kissinger. Still, opponents of the war mobilized for a Vietnam Moratorium Day on October 15, 1969. An organization of Republicans known as the Ripon Society, the liberal Americans for a Democratic Society, the United Auto Workers, and the Teamsters union, along with many political and religious leaders, endorsed the moratorium. A number of Vietnam War veterans were among the millions of participants in local protests across the nation.

Conflicts between supporters and opponents of the war continued into 1970, most notably on university campuses. During the academic year ending in the spring of 1970, there were nearly 250 bombings and about the same number of cases of arson, resulting in at least six deaths. The event that brought into sharp focus the conflict between those who opposed the war and those who defended U.S. policies and actions occurred on May 4, 1970. Five days earlier Nixon had shocked the nation by announcing that U.S. troops had invaded neutral Cambodia to wipe out enemy strongholds there. Ohio National Guardsmen, apparently in panic as they faced protesters of this action at Kent State University, fired 61 shots into a crowd of students, killing four and wounding nine. Students around the nation, reacting to what they had seen on television, threw their own campuses into turmoil, forcing some 400 colleges and universities to end the semester prematurely.

By mid-1970, the lines between opposing sides in the conflict over the war in Vietnam seemed fixed. While casualties mounted, protests continued. In April 1971, Vietnam War veterans marched in Washington, D.C.; some came on crutches, and others rode in wheelchairs. Thousands of veterans gathered at the U.S. Capitol, removed medals awarded them for bravery, and threw them away.

The demonstrations changed few minds. The imposition of a draft lottery system defused some of the antiwar protesters' charges about class and racial biases in calling Americans to serve. More importantly, Nixon's policy of Vietnamization—that is, of turning the fighting of the war over to the Army of the Republic of Vietnam—meant that more U.S. troops returned home. The number of U.S. troops in Vietnam dropped from 536,000 in 1968 to 156,800 by the end of 1971. By March 1972, troop strength was down to 95,000, including only 6,000 combat troops. Those coming home made difficult reentries into the routines of everyday life, and the lives of those who remained in Vietnam changed. Estimates of drug use by troops in 1970 stood at about 50 percent. By March 1972, nearly 250 underground antiwar papers were circulating among U.S. troops. Reenlistment rates dropped sharply, and desertions spiraled upward, as did combat refusal incidents. Officers feared rebellion in their ranks, and some found their very lives in jeopardy.

Many Americans greeted skeptically Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's announcement on October 26, 1972, that "peace is at hand." Even so, the nation was not ready to oust Richard Nixon from the presidency. His bold moves in pushing détente with the Soviet Union and opening talks with communist China won him many supporters who otherwise criticized his Vietnam policy. Similarly, Nixon's southern strategy on civil rights issues and willingness, at the same time, to endorse new federal programs to relieve problems of urban decay and joblessness made him seem a moderate able to appeal to middle-class, white, suburban voters. He easily defeated Democrat George McGovern, a staunch antiwar opponent, in the presidential election the following month. The next month, December 1972, peace talks made no progress, and Nixon again ordered bombing of North Vietnam. That prompted some who had not previously joined in protests to attend services of prayer and repentance, believing that as citizens they were party to morally indefensible actions. One such service, attended by persons of all ages, was led by Francis B. Sayre Jr., who had been dean of the Washington National Cathedral for 21 years. He was the son of a diplomat, the grandson of Woodrow Wilson, and the last then-living person to have been born in the White House. After the service, most in attendance marched silently with Dean Sayre to the White House, where they were ignored.

Despite the strength of their feelings, protesters found it hard to sustain the momentum of protests against the war. When Richard Nixon was inaugurated for a second term on January 20, 1973, a counter-inaugural demonstration drew a crowd of more than 60,000 persons at the Washington monument. The mood there, write Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, was "one of witness. Most were there because they were unable not to be. They had come to manifest silent concern for a war in which, as Lincoln's [second inaugural address] had put it, 'Neither party expected . . . the magnitude or the duration which it had already attained.' " But "the stale rhetoric from the monument platform on a day when little remained to be spoken that had not already been said many times before could not hold the audience. Most wandered off in the direction of Pennsylvania Avenue to watch, unbelieving, the inaugural parade and its anticipatory bicentennial theme of 1776." (No one knew then, of course, that by 1974 both President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew would have resigned in disgrace.)

Two days later Nixon announced in a televised statement that representatives of the United States and North Vietnam had initialed the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. "Peace with honor," he declared, had at last been achieved. A cease-fire began several days later. Withdrawal of the remaining 23,700 troops was to be accomplished in 60 days, and all American prisoners of war were to be released. The agreement left South Vietnam, known as the Republic of Vietnam, at the mercy of North Vietnam. The South Vietnamese managed to continue their struggle for two more years, but as American aid dwindled, they saw their capital, Saigon, fall on April 30, 1975. It was left to President Gerald Ford to issue a proclamation stating that May 7, 1975, was the last day of the "Vietnam era."

Whether any actions on the part of war protesters through the years accomplished the results they sought was debatable then and remains so. Attempts, then as well as more recently, to portray those opposed to the war as irresponsible anti-Americans who committed treasonous acts under orders from communist leaders run contrary to facts. Like every mass movement, the one opposing the war in Vietnam included some radicals, and the radicals engaged in bizarre, violent, destructive acts. But the movement was homegrown and eventually included persons of all ages from across the political spectrum. Leaders and followers in the movement, with rare exceptions, believed deeply in their American heritage as defined in the Constitution and built into their political traditions.

The second significant American military action (smaller U.S. armed intervention took place in Granada in 1983 and Panama in 1990) was the liberation of Kuwait. In

August 1990, the United States began a massive deployment of troops in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. By January 1991, the total number of American personnel in Iraq had reached 540,000. For troops already on active duty, being sent to a possible combat zone in a desert in the Middle East was not exactly all in a day's work, but they were expected to be prepared for such a contingency. For the more than 125,000 reservists and members of the National Guard who were called to active duty by the Pentagon, readiness for war was another matter. Among them were men and women from all walks of now-disrupted lives. Not all were sent overseas, because some were needed to fill positions vacated by the full-time troops who had been deployed, but the abrupt changes in their lives and the lives of those they left behind were considerable.

The effects on most Americans of preparation for war had little to do with strategies or ethics, or even with disruption of their personal lives by calls to service. Rather, their concerns were with what it cost to fill the tanks of their cars with gasoline. Before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, the price of gasoline in the United States averaged $1.09 per gallon. By mid-October it had risen to $1.40, even though only about 9 percent of imported oil had come from Kuwait. Various maneuvers by the government brought the price down again, but the episode brought three reminders: First, the reliance of Americans on automobiles was enormous. Second, the vulnerability of the nation's oil supply was something Americans would rather not think about. Third, oil and automobiles are so central to the American economy that anything threatening their place shakes the stock market badly. Worries about the war and its implications caused investors to be so jittery that the market lost 20 percent of its value from August to mid-October (Marty 1997, 105–12, 265–66; *Daily Life Online*, "Political Life: War," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1945–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Baldwin, James. *The Fire Next Time*. New York: Dial Press, 1963.

Banner, Stuart. *Death Penalty: An American Story*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Brandon, Craig. *Electric Chair: An Unnatural American History*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1999.

Cremin, Lawrence A. "Grading America's Public Schools." *The 1984 World Book Year Book*. Chicago: World Book, Inc., 1984.

Hering, G. C. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*. New York: Wiley, 1979.

Karnow, S. *Vietnam: A History*. New York: Viking, 1983.

Lemann, N. *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America*. New York: Vintage Books/Knopf, 1991.

Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online*, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

Matusow, A. J. *The Unraveling of America: A History of American Liberalism in the 1960s*. New York: Harper and Row, 1984.

National Commission on Excellence in Education, USA Research, ed. *A Nation at Risk: The Full Account*. Cambridge, MA: USA Research, 1984.
Pakula, D., dir. *All the President's Men*. 1976.
Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Sitkoff, H. *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1992*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.
Steelwater, Eliza. *Hangman's Knot: Lynching, Legal Execution, and America's Struggle with the Death Penalty*. New York: Basic Books, 2003.
Williamson, J. *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
Zaroulis, N. L. *Who Spoke Up? Americans Protest the War in Vietnam, 1963–1975*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984.

Recreational Life

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1991–2005
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

OVERVIEW

By the beginning of the 1960s, American interest in and commercial development of recreational options in the nation had begun to result in previously unimagined choices. An evolving form of popular culture, egalitarian and commercial, provided Americans with a broad selection of entertainment, both as spectators and participants. Television dominated the domestic landscape, with nearly 90 percent of American homes owning sets by 1960, and other types of recreation expanded as well. If radio lost its monopoly on household entertainment, more than 50 million families still had radios in their cars or kitchens. New stereo record players and tape decks replaced earlier forms of home musical entertainment. Those components would become commonplace in American homes. Hollywood and the film industry continued to draw audiences into theaters, and a new rating system sought to respond to a growing concern regarding appropriate standards. Youth sports grew increasingly organized and directed, and Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 finally drew attention to the issue of women's participation in interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics. At the same time, professional sports, both their expansion and commercial ties with television, changed the nature of all the major sports franchises and their players. As an example, the National Football League (NFL) became a billion dollar industry, and its unique relationship with television broadcasting made professional football the new darling of spectator sports in America.

Variety appeared the key concept in popular culture, from amusement parks to ballparks. American popular culture continued to search for new forms of entertainment, and the commercial nature of the various options in recreation responded in classic supply-and-demand profitability. In journalism and periodical literature, Americans saw the same move toward variety. The traditional weekly or monthly magazines like

The first issue of *Playboy* magazine featuring Marilyn Monroe, left, and a boxed DVD set of *Playboy* magazines from the 1950s are shown in New York, 2007. AP/Wide World Photos.

Look and *Life* began to lose audiences and advertisers after 1960. Magazines became more focused, appealing to specific audiences with specific interests. The era also witnessed an increase in participation in sports and recreation in American daily life. Youngsters had always played games; now adults began to join them. From bowling to skiing, and from golf and tennis to jogging and health clubs, there was a surge in adult participation in recreational activity. If the term "couch potato" defined Americans sitting in recliners watching prime-time television and weekend sports, millions of Americans had added exercise and recreation to their daily lives to challenge that stereotype.

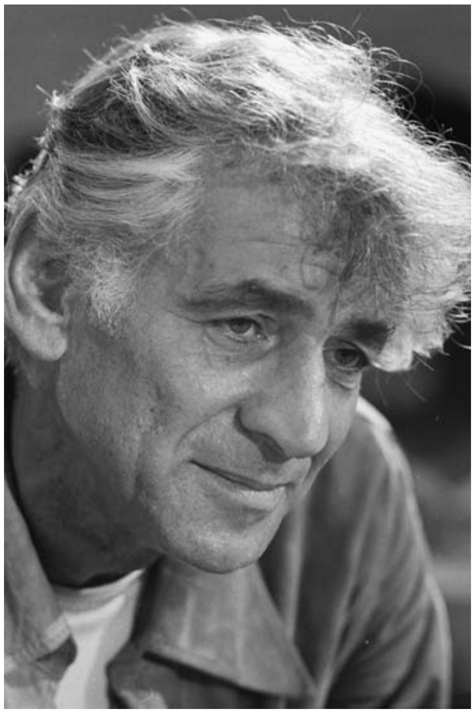
Critics of popular culture complained that its lowbrow quality had created a lowest common denominator in American cultural life, and they certainly had numerous examples to support their charge. On the other hand, every major city in the nation offered symphony orchestras, ballet, opera, art museums, and sophisticated magazines and journals to counter these concerns. Important and serious films still came to movie screens for discerning audiences, and a generation of new writers like Joseph Heller, Norman Mailer, Kurt Vonnegut, William Styron, and others created novels that rivaled an earlier generation of novelists who spoke to their times and their issues. To be sure, Harlequin romances, detective and spy novels, science fiction, and other popular fare commanded the largest readership, but Americans made their daily choices and did so with little or no interference from political or social institutions seeking to guide those choices. Whether they chose to buy *Catch-22* or *Peyton Place*, the option remained theirs.

DANCE, MUSIC, AND THEATER

Changes in sexual mores and practices were just one part of the interwoven forces that created an American culture quite different from that of a generation earlier. Rock music, with its increasingly explicit sexual themes, was another. Herbert London contended that "like the inscriptions on the Rosetta stone that solved the mystery of hieroglyphics, rock music provides a key record of the Second American Revolution that may unlock its inner logic." Not wishing to overstate the case, he added that "rock is a spectator at the cultural storm, not its ruler. It may rekindle the ashes with a spark, but it cannot make the original fire" (*Closing the Circle: A Cultural History of the Rock Revolution*).


The Beatles, 1964. Library of Congress.

Historians trace the origins of rock music to several sources. One was the rock and roll craze of the 1950s, featuring black musicians like Chuck Berry and Little Richard as well as white ones, including Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Buddy Holly. The new phenomenon, wrote historian Edward P. Morgan, "represented a merging of such traditional strains as black blues, jazz, gospel, and white country music." A second source, Morgan (1991) said, lay in "traditional folk music—protest songs from the labor movement, antiwar tradition, ballads, and folk-blues." By the mid-1960s, a gentler phase of folk music, with Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and Peter, Paul, and Mary as leading artists, yielded to more critical variations. Those variations reflected the alienated perspectives of the Beat movement characterized by the poetry of Allen Ginsberg and musings of Jack Kerouac and the countercultural lifestyle of the 1950s that was called Beatnik.


Leonard Bernstein. Library of Congress.

As rock music evolved with its merged traditions, some of it expressed the political sensitivities of the civil rights movement and antipathy to the arms race with the Soviet Union. Performers also attacked what they regarded as repressive social mores. In other words, like music of earlier eras, it reflected the times. The lifestyles of the rock musicians and their most devoted followers were countercultural, at least in style, but the ingredients of rock music gradually infiltrated the larger culture. That may explain why it became the subject of so much scholarly analysis, such as that provided by James Haskins and Kathleen Benson, who, in *The 60s Reader* (1988), outline three distinctive characteristics of rock music.

First, rock's sexually explicit lyrics revealed society's new sexual permissiveness. Those who found it offensive contended that its sexual themes also fed that permissiveness, something those who "dug it" could hardly deny. *Second,* not only did rock music belong to the youth culture, but youth's elders could scarcely tolerate it. To them, it seemed raucous and incoherent, its lyrics unintelligible. Television shows like *Hit Parade*, starring Rosemary Clooney and appealing to audiences across generation lines, disappeared. *Third,* rock broke down the barriers between white musicians and their black counterparts. By the 1960s, the new music, aimed at both blacks and whites, was well established, and a distinctive, affluent teenage market wanted more.

A generation gap, encouraged if not created by the sound, lyrics, and staging of rock music, soon became a matter of concern to older generations. Indeed, Haskins and Benson wrote that "nowhere did that gap present itself more clearly

The Woodstock Music Festival and Art Fair had about 450,000 participants in August 1969. Photofest.

than in the controversy over rock 'n' roll and over its most popular purveyor at the turn of the decade, Elvis Presley. He rode in a gold Cadillac, he dressed in gold lamé suits, he gyrated his hips so sensuously that when he appeared on television the cameras never showed him below the waist. Parents were enraged; young people were delighted. A generational tug-of-war resulted." Attempts at censoring rock music on the radio and banning rock stage shows failed to reduce its seemingly inevitable appeal to the younger generation.

Three developments of the 1960s proved wrong any thoughts that American performers would be unable to sustain enthusiasm for rock and roll or that the appeal of its performers might wear thin. One was the enduring strength and adaptability of folk music. Continuing the tradition of Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger (whose music had been inspired by social conditions of the 1930s and 1940s), Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Judy Collins, and others, as well as groups like the Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul, and Mary, now appealed to millions with their songs of alienation and protest.

British pop singers Phil Collins, left, and Sting are shown onstage during the Live Aid concert held at London's Wembley Stadium, England, July 13, 1985. AP/Wide World Photos.

The second was the arrival of groups from England, particularly the Beatles in 1964 and the Rolling Stones a year later, to be followed by others such as The Who. Those performers, Morgan says, bypassed "the more tepid rock and roll imitations" and "reached back to the blues roots of rock and roll and figures like Chuck Berry. Together with a kind of working-class stance and each group's distinctive signature—the Beatles's pathbreaking chord combinations and harmonies, the Rolling Stones' swaggering alienation—resulted in a burst of new energy in popular music." David Chalmers described the appearance of the Beatles on *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1964 as "electrifying" and said that their "well-scrubbed look, their Teddy Boy dress and the hair down over their ears, their wit, their ensemble performance that did not submerge the individual personalities, their compelling but not overwhelming acoustical beat, and their lyrics of love and holding hands created a powerful personal chemistry. They came across as real."

The very power of the Beatles, Jeff Greenfield observed in 1987, "guarantees that an excursion into analysis cannot fully succeed." Even so, he writes, "they helped make rock music a battering ram for the youth culture's assault on the mainstream, and that assault in turn changed our culture permanently."

The third was the success of Motown Productions, a Detroit-based music empire closely tied to the civil rights movement of the mid-1960s. Its success lay in grooming, packaging, marketing, and selling the music of black performers, such as the Supremes, to masses of white Americans. Using methods practiced by the Detroit automobile factories in which he had worked, its founder, Barry Gordy, according to David P. Szatmary (1991), "ensured the success of the Supremes by assembling the parts of a hit-making machine that included standardized songwriting, an in-house rhythm section, a quality-control process, selective promotion, and a family atmosphere reminiscent of the camaraderie fostered by Henry Ford in his auto plant during the early twentieth century." The Temptations and other groups assembled later were all part of the Motown machine. The machine itself enjoyed success from 1964 until things came apart in 1967, but the sounds and the stars it got started continued.

The sudden burst in popularity of rock music should not obscure the fact that other forms of popular music—jazz, country, and traditional folk music, for example—also thrived. As rock and roll evolved in the later 1960s, many groups of performers sprang up, some of them attracting huge followings. Listing and describing those groups in any detail is unnecessary, but several happenings in the world of rock music demonstrate what an important part the performers played in the cultural transitions of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Among the most striking was that a number of rock and roll superstars—leaders of protests against the establishment—became big moneymakers. According to *Forbes* magazine, in 1973 at least 50 superstars earned an estimated $2 million to $6 million annually. Overlooked in that report were the sums earned by mainstream American businesses through production and sale of the superstars' records and promotion of their concerts. By the early 1970s, seven corporations accounted for 80 percent of all sales, and those sales were enormous. In 1950, record companies' sales totaled $189 million. Five years later they reached $277 million. By 1971, sales of records and tapes amounted to $1.7 billion in the United States alone. In two more years, sales stood at $2 billion (compared with $1 billion in network television and $1.3 billion in the film industry). That was only part of the story: In 1973, sales of records and tapes reached $555 million in Japan, $454 million in West Germany, $441 million in the Soviet Union, and $384 million in the United Kingdom.

The stars and superstars may have paid a high price for the money and adulation they enjoyed. Heavy performance and recording schedules and frenetic lifestyles, saturated with drugs and alcohol, sometimes ruined them. Janis Joplin, whose intense performances were laced with obscenities, died of an overdose of heroin in 1970. Jimi Hendrix, one of the most talented and extreme acid-rock guitarists, died of an overdose of sleeping pills in the same year. And Jim Morrison, whose dialogues with the audience were filled with raw sexuality, died of a heart attack in 1971, his body ravaged by the excesses of his lifestyle. Joplin, Hendrix, and Morrison were all 27 years old when they died. Elvis Presley died at age 42, in 1977, the victim of a dissipated life.

As rock music gained wider acceptance, not by moving closer to mainstream America, but by drawing mainstream America closer to it, some performers gained critical acceptance with their distinctive styles and sounds. The lyrics of Bob Dylan, set to folk melodies, were ambiguous enough to express the protests of almost anyone. Mostly, though, the performances of his touring group, the Band, reflected the outlook of his own Baby-Boom generation. Some consider Dylan's style as marking the beginning of the use of the term *rock* instead of *rock and roll*.

Other performers helped extend the influence of rock music. As young people played the record albums of Simon and Garfunkel, for example, their parents picked up both the lyrics and the tunes. Perhaps they shared the performers' concern over the "sounds of silence," of "people talking without listening"; or perhaps they too hoped to find a "bridge over troubled waters." The Beatles had caught on quickly with youth in the United States, and they attracted older listeners by experimenting with exotic instruments, melodies from classical music, and sophisticated recording techniques, creating something called studio rock. Although the Beatles disbanded in 1970, their records continued to gain in popularity. Until the death of John Lennon in 1980, and even thereafter, rumors of a comeback persisted.

The wider acceptance gained by Bob Dylan, Simon and Garfunkel, and the Beatles, among others, displayed the adaptability of rock music and the swiftness with which it changed. The folk-based performers' style came to be known as soft rock. Some groups, such as the Rolling Stones, drew fans with a blues-based, hard rock style. In the late 1960s, as experimentation with drugs moved through the counterculture and permeated the youth culture, acid rock gained popularity with its dissonant, glass-shattering sounds. Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead were the two best-known acid-rock groups. Also gaining fans in those years were groups modeled on Led Zeppelin, whose loud, blues-based music combined with a macho stage show was called heavy metal.

Consciousness-raising, a popular term in the late 1960s, was applied to almost anything that enabled people to see things in different ways. Rock music's main consciousness-raising events were the festivals staged by promoters in various parts of the country. Although those who attended—perhaps as many as 2.5 million fans between 1967 and 1969—often displayed boundless enthusiasm, media coverage of the biggest festivals attracted much unfavorable attention to the music, the performers, and the fans.

The Monterey International Pop Festival in 1967 was the first large gathering of rock bands and superstars. The event that let the whole nation know that a new phenomenon had arrived, however, was the Woodstock Music and Art Fair. Held in a large pasture in the Catskill Mountains at Bethel, New York, for four days in August 1969, it appeared to be an event of young people simply coming together for a good time. But it was not a spontaneous happening. Rather, like other rock festivals, it was a well-calculated business venture. It was planned by John Roberts, a young millionaire who had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, and his partner, Joel Rosenman, a Yale Law School graduate. Working with Michael Lang and others who gave the event stronger connections with the counterculture, they intended to make money from the performances by rock stars but also from the sale of food and souvenirs (such as posters of the late Che Guevera, the revolutionary ally of Cuba's Fidel Castro, who had been killed in 1967). They also sold movie and recording rights to the festival. One of the promoters observed that although those who came "fancied themselves as street people and flower children," he and his partners were in fact "a New York corporation capitalized at $500,000 and accounted for by Brout Issacs and Company, tenth largest body of CPAs in New York City."

Despite careful planning, events at Woodstock were so chaotic that no one was certain how many people were there. Estimates ranged between 300,000 and 460,000. They came from all over America to hear Jimi Hendrix, Joan Baez, Jefferson Airplane, The Who, the Grateful Dead, and other rock stars and groups. Traffic jams were horrendous. Torrential rains, accompanied by intense heat, made mud bathing and nude parading a natural pastime. Shortages of food, water, and medical facilities contributed further to making Woodstock a mess. In the midst of the mess, loving and sharing went on everywhere, and everywhere folks were using marijuana, LSD, barbiturates, and amphetamines. Yet, round-the-clock entertainment helped maintain a measure of orderliness—and even peacefulness. Supporters of Woodstock hailed it as an example of the better world to come. There were no signs of violence. Looking at it from a distance, mainstream America could not imagine a place for such things in their everyday lives. The generation of youth that thrived on such events wore the term *Woodstock* proudly. Others regarded it with contempt.

Four months after Woodstock, a rock festival at a stock-car racetrack near Altamont, California, was the climax to an American tour by the Rolling Stones. With about 300,000 in attendance, promoters hired members of a motorcycle gang known as Hell's Angels to keep order. From the outset the crowd appeared rough and rude. When a naked, obese man climbed on the stage and began to dance, the cyclists triggered a melee by beating him to the ground. By the end of the festival, an 18-year-old black youth had been stabbed to death, and three other people died from accidents, drug overdoses, and beatings. If that, too, was the wave of the future, a sign of cultural transitions in the making, it seemed an unsettling one.

Nonetheless, the back-to-nature notions of rock music conveyed by the festivals continued to strike a responsive chord in urban youth. At the same time, a brief turn to a gentler, more reflective style enabled rock music to continue its progress across generational lines and into the American mainstream. The evolution of rock was not over, however, as it continued to blend with folk, blues, and country music.

The big names in rock music in the mid-1970s included Elton John (the first performer to fill Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles since the Beatles had done so in 1966);

Billy Joel; and Stevie Wonder, to whom Motown Records offered contracts guaranteeing $13 million over seven years. New performers occasionally hit it big. Critics compared one of them, Bruce Springsteen, to Bob Dylan, Elvis Presley, and Buddy Holly, claiming that his style demonstrated the power that had characterized rock music in the 1960s. Springsteen's appearance on the cover of both *Time* and *Newsweek* showed the mainstreaming of rock music. So did the sale of two million Elvis Presley records within a day of Presley's death in 1977.

The evolution of rock continued, with blues-based hard rock and heavy metal increasing in popularity. Punk rockers, most notably the Sex Pistols, took things in another direction, emphasizing rebellion and featuring such things as screaming obscenities and hair dyed orange. Pop rock offered a softer sound that was more appealing to middle-of-the-road audiences. Art rock attempted to mix classical sounds with rock and jazz.

Disco was another music phenomenon of these years. Regarded initially as dance music by black singers, it captured attention with *Saturday Night Fever,* a 1978 movie starring John Travolta. The Bee Gees' album of its soundtrack sold 30 million copies worldwide. Disco blended pop, rock, and black styles, accompanied by repetitive rhythms and dance beats. Discotheques attracted dancing revelers of all ages. Disco garb, including skintight Lycra jeans and dresses slit thigh-high, appeared everywhere. The disco beat filled the airwaves. Disco record sales zoomed upward. *Newsweek* described disco as "rhythm without blues; a body trip, not a head trip. It is relentlessly upbeat and unabashedly embraces the consumer society's latest trendy goods." Disco's popularity soon faded, but for a time it was all the rage.

Popular music—rock, jazz, soul, traditional pop, country, and disco—was big business getting bigger. In 23 countries, sales of recordings totaled $8.6 billion in 1977; the U.S. share, $3.5 billion, was 28 percent higher than the previous year. Sales increased by 18 percent in the next year. Revenues surpassed the receipts of movies, the theater, and professional sports, sometimes several times over. In 1979, however, sales spiraled downward by as much as 40 percent. One reason, the Recording Industry Association of America complained, was radio's growing practice of playing record albums without commercial breaks; that encouraged listeners to tape-record new releases on their units at home.

Contemporary music accounted for nearly two-thirds of the records sold. Who bought them? Not just teenagers. Teenagers from earlier times had grown up and kept on buying. Three studies reported that in the late 1970s about 40 percent of the buyers were in their 30s and another 36 percent in their 20s; teenagers accounted for less than 25 percent of sales. Buyers of records spent large sums attending concerts, too, as big-name performers drew large, enthusiastic, and often boisterous crowds. The Rolling Stones, for example, grossed $13 million on their 1975 tour.

Stressing the moneymaking aspects of popular music obscures the fact that bands across the country were playing in clubs and bars, and sometimes just for themselves, simply because they liked the music and they liked to play. Their musical energy found a good partner in the energy of the music.

Classical music offered another creative leisure activity, and concertgoing was popular, at least among older persons. Most symphony orchestras and opera companies, however, faced annual deficits, caused not by poor attendance but by high labor and production costs. In their 1976–1977 season, the 200 largest performing arts organizations had deficits totaling an estimated $125 million. Some, such as the New York City Opera Association, were threatened with bankruptcy. After failing to reach agreements with its various unions, the association canceled its 1980–1981 season, but two months of mediation and compromise made it possible to salvage part of the season. Similar problems shortened the seasons for the North Carolina, New Jersey, Denver, and Kansas City symphonies. Because admission receipts covered only a small part of arts organizations' costs, the more performances they gave, the greater their losses. These woes extended to the lives of individual artists, for whom chronically low pay alternated with unemployment. As performers sought to better their individual lots by demanding higher wages, they put in jeopardy the organizations with which they performed.

By the 1980s, the rock music young people had found so appealing and their elders so appalling in earlier decades enjoyed a large measure of acceptance in mainstream America. Indeed, it became a standard feature of mainstream advertising. One reason was that the teenagers of the 1960s did not forsake their earlier tastes in music when they reached their thirties. Another reason is that rock music lost much of its shock quality. A third is that the varieties of rock music were so plentiful that persons who did not like one variety had plenty of other choices. The same was true of performing groups. Fans could love one and detest another. Consequently, variations of rock music thrived alongside country music, surf music, jazz, disco, and a new arrival, Jamaican reggae.

Music continued to be big business. Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the USA* sold more than 13 million copies within 18 months of its 1984 production, and his concert tour, lasting from July 1984 to October 1985, attracted some five million fans. Respondents to a *Rolling Stone* poll placed him first in six categories, and one of his singles, "Dancing in the Dark," earned him American Music Awards and Grammys. He was not alone among rock stars, as many others also enjoyed large followings.

On occasion, rock music became more than big business. It joined the big business of fund-raising. In the mid-1980s, Live Aid concerts featuring many of the most prominent stars and bands were broadcast by satellite to raise money through telethons in some 30 nations. People in need around the world benefited from millions of dollars raised by these events. In the United States, some Live Aid concerts were held for the benefit of farmers facing hard times.

Rock music's lyrics, with themes of sex and violence, worried many. The National PTA and the Parents' Music Resource Center (a group based in Washington, D.C.) urged the Recording Industry Association of America to rate its records in a system similar to the one used for motion pictures. The association refused to do so, but it recommended that its members label some of their records "Explicit Lyrics—Parental Advisory." Such measures did not appease rock music's harshest critics. Allan Bloom, a professor at the University of Chicago, seemed to reflect their sentiments in his attack on rock music in his best-selling *The Closing of the American Mind*. He contended that rock music "has one appeal only, a barbaric appeal, to sexual desire—not love, not *eros*, but sexual desire undeveloped and untutored. . . . Rock gives children, on a silver platter, with all the public authority of the entertainment industry, everything parents always used to tell them they had to wait for until they grew up and would understand later."

Those who worried about rock music had more to worry about when rap became popular in the late 1980s. Initially rappers mixed bits of songs, repeated passages, and added rhythmic scratching sounds as background for recited lyrics, or raps. At first rap was a street phenomenon accompanied by acrobatic displays in break dancing and a hip-hop look featuring, among other things, fancy sneakers, caps turned backward, and heavy gold jewelry. Soon it made its way into recording studios, and by the 1980s it gained considerable popularity for its protests (typically as insults) against poverty, violence, and racism. Sales surveys found that the biggest market for rap was among suburban white youth.

Before the end of the decade the lyrics of several rap groups, such as Slick Rick and 2 Live Crew, drew sharp criticism for their explicit description of sexual organs and activities and for seeming to encourage violence against women. To many, the lyrics were offensive or unintelligible. When a sheriff in Florida brought an obscenity complaint against a store owner for selling records of 2 Live Crew, a U.S. district judge convicted the owner after months of hearings. The leader of 2 Live Crew and two band members were arrested and brought to trial too, but a jury found them not guilty of obscenity charges. The jury foreman acknowledged that members of the jury found it difficult to understand the key piece of evidence, a tape recording of the performance that had led to the defendants' arrest.

The difficulties faced by symphony orchestras, opera companies, and composers suggested that classical music was no longer a central feature of American culture. Operating deficits were common. Listening audiences had never been diverse, but in the words of an anonymous administrator quoted by the *New York Times*, they were now "white, rich, and almost dead." Portions of their audiences were tired of the standby classical pieces by great composers of the past; other portions had no use for the avant-garde works of contemporary composers. Imitations of classical forms by contemporary composers did not work either.

Moreover, as younger generations matured they generally failed to replace their popular tastes, which were so different from those of previous generations of youth, with classical ones. Linda Sanders explained it as follows in her 1996 article in *Civilization:*

> It was one thing for educated adults to tell hormone-crazed teenagers back in the 1950s that "Blue Suede Shoes" was worthless trash. It was quite another for educated adults to try to tell other educated adults in the 1980s that blues, reggae, and minimalism (or, for that matter, the Beatles, Bruce Springsteen, and Prince) were either musically or spiritually inferior to Bach and Beethoven.

Add to that the maturing generations' opinion that classical music was for the intellectual and social elite, and it is easy to see why classical music was losing its appeal and its audiences.

Technology also caused problems for performers of classical music. The intensity and spontaneity of live performances were unmatched, but if precision and purity were what mattered, these could be found by listening to compact disks through high-quality sound systems. For the price of a ticket, a music lover could purchase a couple of choice compact discs and listen to them repeatedly, without the hassle of attending a concert.

Performing groups therefore had to change their programming, the staging of performances, promotion methods, and general understandings of themselves. They had to find the balance between perpetuating a sacred classical canon and being a community center for the enjoyment of music and advancement of musical knowledge (Marty 1997, 67–70, 120–21, 210–12, 283–86; *Daily Life Online*, "Recreational Life: Music," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

SPORTS AND ATHLETICS

In keeping with his image as a young and vigorous president, John F. Kennedy urged the American people to get out of their armchairs and do something to get in shape. In fact, he charged the President's Council on Youth Fitness with developing a program to improve the physical condition of the nation's schoolchildren. The council proposed standards for measuring fitness and urged schools to provide children with at least 15 minutes of vigorous activity daily. Running became a popular activity, even an obsession, for many people, and the commercial world encouraged a running craze. German shoes imported to meet new demands included Adidas, designed by Adi Dassler, and Puma, the product of his brother Rudi. From Japan came Tiger Marathons. New Balance, a Boston manufacturer of orthopedic footwear, designed a new type of shoe for runners. Before long other companies produced their own versions. Reports on testing and rating of shoes appeared as regular features in magazines on running, and shoes became status symbols.

Other sports such as tennis and golf also flourished, as did spectator sports. Major League Baseball gained fans in cities through the expansion or relocation of franchises. In the process, other fans were left behind or left out. The process began in 1953, when the Boston Braves moved to Milwaukee; the St. Louis Browns to Baltimore in 1954, becoming the Orioles; and the Philadelphia Athletics to Kansas City in 1955. The bigger news came in 1958, when the Brooklyn Dodgers moved to Los Angeles and the New York Giants to San Francisco, reflecting the westward shift of the population in general. Over the next dozen years, a fan-boggling shuffling of franchises occurred. Three more existing franchises moved: the Kansas City As to Oakland, the Milwaukee Braves to Atlanta, and the Washington Senators to Minneapolis–St. Paul, becoming the Minnesota Twins. Eight new ones were created: the Los Angeles/Anaheim Angels; the Washington Senators, becoming the Rangers when the team moved to Dallas–Fort Worth; the Houston Astros; the New

York Mets; the Montreal Expos; the San Diego Padres; the Kansas City Royals; and the Seattle Pilots, which became the Milwaukee Brewers. The expansion prompted the American and National Leagues to form two divisions each in 1969, with league playoffs determining competitors in the World Series.

Baseball fans had new records to talk about during those years: The Yankee's Roger Maris hit 61 home runs in 1961, breaking Babe Ruth's 34-year-old record. The fact that his teammate, Mickey Mantle, was close on his heels made the race for the record all the more exciting. The next year Maury Wills stole 104 bases for the Los Angeles Dodgers, breaking Ty Cobb's previous record of 96. His teammate, Sandy Koufax, struck out 18 batters in a nine-inning game. In 1965, Koufax struck out a record 382 in the season and pitched a perfect game, his third no-hitter. Television's coverage of such feats made them nationally celebrated events.

Developments in football made it possible for that sport to challenge baseball's dominance as the national pastime. The National Football League (NFL) and the American Football League (AFL) merged in 1966 and agreed to a playoff game between the leagues. Thus, in 1967, the Super Bowl was born. At first the NFL dominated, with the Green Bay Packers winning the first two Super Bowls. In 1969, however, Joe Namath, the charismatic quarterback of the New York Jets, led his AFL team to victory over the Baltimore Colts.

These were interesting years in boxing, too, as much outside the ring as inside it. A young athlete from Louisville gained fame by his actions in the ring and notoriety by his words outside of it. Cassius Marcellus Clay, the 1960 light-heavyweight gold medal winner in the Olympics, came into his heavyweight title match with Sonny Liston four years later as an 8-to-1 underdog, but he won. Then, he announced that he had joined the Nation of Islam, renounced his "slave name," and, following the lead of another black Muslim, assumed the name of Cassius X. A few weeks later he said that henceforth he would be known as Muhammad Ali, adding another dimension to controversies about him. More than any other heavyweight champion, except possibly Joe Louis in the 1940s, Ali became the subject of conversations across the land, and controversies involving him would become more intense later in the decade.

The popularity of bicycling increased tremendously during the 20th century. Lionandblue|Dreamstime.com.

Despite Kennedy's push for fitness and the importance of professional sporting evenings in the daily lives of many Americans, it is hardly accurate to say the nation was immersed in a fitness craze by the late 1960s. Many Americans continued to lead sedentary lives. Still, running claimed the interest and time of millions of Americans. Many runners became insatiable consumers of running gear, causing rapid growth of new companies. Nike, a company founded in 1972, soon gained a dominant role in many sports.

Bicycling reached new levels of popularity in the early 1970s, when for the first time since 1897 Americans purchased more bicycles annually than automobiles; 60 percent of the bicycles were purchased by adults. Other nonteam sports such as golf and tennis held their appeal, and multitudes were hooked on team sports made for the occasional athlete, such as slow-pitch softball.

Spectator sports, however, particularly as they were carried into homes on television, consumed far more of the ordinary American's time. Regular-season games drew substantial audiences, but playoff games hooked viewers to a much greater extent. The playoffs that gained enormous popularity in the 1960s and 1970s were the NCAA men's basketball tournaments played each March and April. The astonishing success of the UCLA teams, coached by John Wooden, was particularly intriguing. After winning the championships in 1964 and 1965, UCLA missed the next year, but, then, for seven consecutive years, 1967 to 1974, they were the big winners.

Other records, especially those established over long periods, gripped sports fans—especially if they contained an element of controversy. When Hank Aaron broke Babe Ruth's career home run record by hitting his 715th on April 8, 1974, some wondered if he could have done it if he had not played about 25 additional games as a result of the lengthening of the Major League Baseball season from 154 games to 162 in 1962. Denny McLain's 31-victory season for the Detroit Tigers in 1968 was made more interesting by McLain's reckless lifestyle, which ultimately cut short his career and landed him in jail. Other events in sports proved controversial, such as the decision of the American League to install a gimmick advocated by the unconventional owner of the Oakland Athletics, Charles Finley: The designated hitter, known as the DH, became the regular pinch hitter for pitchers in 1973. The National League refused to use the DH, creating odd situations when teams from the two leagues met annually in the World Series and All-Star games.

Most controversial among sports fans was heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali, whose request for conscientious objector status on the basis of his adherence to Muslim teachings was denied. For refusing to be inducted into the military, Ali was arrested on April 28, 1967, given a five-year prison sentence, and fined $10,000. Boxing authorities had earlier stripped him of his title. An outrage, said some. Just what he deserved, said others. Ali, always a fountain of words on any subject, had his own say.

> The power structure seems to want to starve me out. I mean, the punishment, five years in jail, ten-thousand-dollar fine, ain't enough. They want to stop me from working. Not only in this country but out of it. Not even a license to fight for charity. And that's in this twentieth century. You read about these things in dictatorship countries where a man don't go along with this or that and he is completely not allowed to work or to earn a decent living. (Ali, press conference in May 1967)

By the 1970s and early 1980s, physical fitness had taken a more important place in American lives. In particular, running continued to be a popular activity, so much so that Jim Fixx's *The Complete Book of Running* found 620,000 buyers in 1978. Health clubs, with their elaborate exercise equipment, prospered by attracting men and women who spent their days behind desks. Stock-car racing, widely regarded as a blue-collar sport, attracted many participants and fans, particularly in the South.

Around home, skateboarding gained in popularity, particularly among teenagers. Sometimes skateboards were used for stunts, sometimes simply as a sporting way to get to school. Before long skateboarding became competitive, with cash prizes awarded in regional events. Parents who held their breath or turned away as their offspring performed daring stunts must have been surprised when a study by the Consumer Product Safety Commission in 1975 showed that skateboarding ranked 25th in danger among activities measured, whereas bicycling was rated the most dangerous. An alternative to skateboards made a quiet arrival in 1980 when Rollerblade, Inc., a Minneapolis firm founded by a 20-year-old Canadian hockey player, perfected the design for in-line roller skates with "blades" of polyurethane wheels and molded boots like those worn by skiers.

Sporting events, such as Muhammad Ali's regaining the heavyweight title by beating Joe Frazier in 1975 and losing it to Leon Spinks three years later, gave sports fans something to talk about, even if these matches were carried only on closed-circuit television. Other subjects of conversation were the skyrocketing salaries of athletes made possible when they gained free agency rights. Fans began to get a taste of things to come when O. J. Simpson agreed to a three-year, $2.9 million deal to complete his football career with the Buffalo Bills and when baseball player Jim "Catfish" Hunter left the Oakland As to sign a contract with the New York Yankees in 1975 for $2.85 million. Hunter led the Yankees to championships in 1977 and 1978.

A different kind of conversation began at the 1976 Super Bowl, when television cameras panning the sidelines focused on the Dallas Cowboys cheerleaders. Dressed in tight-fitting, low-cut, skimpy outfits, they drew oohs and ahhs from male television viewers and complaints from those who considered this another instance of sexual exploitation for commercial purposes. But then, everything done in professional sports—and much of what occurred in college sports, too—was designed to have consumer appeal. Highly paid stars in professional sports played the same role as did the stars in the movie industry: their success at the box office mattered more than their success on the field, although the two were usually inseparable.

Major League Baseball tested its place in the hearts of many Americans when a seven-week players' strike interrupted the 1981 season. The strike caused the middle third of the schedule to be canceled, resulting in the Major Leagues' first split season. The origins of the discord between players and management lay in legal actions taken by players in the mid-1970s to gain the right for veteran players to sign with other teams as free agents. When the owners' absolute power over players was broken, they established a system that required the loss of a free agent to be compensated in the form of a player from the team with which the free agent had signed. In the impasse that followed, fans were caught in the middle and left with a gameless midsummer.

In 1982, the National Football League (NFL) faced a similar situation. No games were played during a 57-day strike. In 1987, though, when the season was interrupted by a 24-day strike by players over rules surrounding free agency, management canceled games on the first weekend but then fielded teams made up of replacement players and regulars who drifted back. When the players decided to go back to work, the owners told them they could not play immediately and would not be paid. The National Labor Relations Board ruled in the players' favor and ordered the NFL to pay striking players more than $20 million in lost wages and incentive bonuses for the game they had missed. As with baseball, the fans were on the sidelines—mostly disgusted with both players and management.

The United States hosted the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles. Broadcast by ABC, the event's 168 hours on the air drew ratings higher than expected, and it produced several heroes: Carl Lewis won gold medals in the 100-meter dash, the 200-meter dash, the 400-meter relay, and the long jump, duplicating what Jesse Owens had done in 1936 in Berlin. In contrast to earlier times, the rules of the Olympics allowed Lewis to earn about $1 million yearly and still compete as an amateur. Another hero was the Olympics' real crowd-pleaser, Mary Lou Retton, a 16-year-old whose five medals included a gold in all-around gymnastics. Her feat gained her many commercial endorsements.

By 1988, the Olympics were greeted as welcome television fare by millions of viewers. To accommodate their interests, the Winter Games, held in Calgary, Canada, were extended to 16 days. But ratings were disappointing, partly because the United States won only 2 of the 46 gold medals, in addition to silver and three bronzes. The Summer Games, held in Seoul, Korea, also lasted 16 days. Although the competition provided enjoyable viewing, much of the attention went to controversies concerning the use of drugs that had been banned—particularly anabolic steroids. Taking steroids makes athletes stronger and enables them to train harder, putting them at a competitive advantage, but it also has harmful side effects. Altogether, 18 athletes were disqualified before or during the games, including Canada's Ben Johnson, who had defeated Carl Lewis in the 100-meter dash.

Physical fitness participants in this decade wanted to look good, feel good, lose weight, have fun, make friends, develop personal discipline, and, above all, stay well. Avid runners claimed that running gave them more daily energy, sharpened their mental edge, kept them in good physical condition, and increased their resistance to illness. Tennis players were just as avid about their sport, although they made fewer claims for its benefits. Bowlers, golfers, skiers, bikers, and participants in other sports were avid, too, but their fitness claims were less audible. Many of them considered their participation as recreational rather than fitness-driven.

Private health clubs eagerly exploited the fitness interests of many Americans. The number of clubs increased from 7,500 in 1980 (not including YMCAs or golf, tennis, and other sport-specific clubs) to more than 20,000 by the end of the decade. Membership in health and fitness clubs reached about 40 million before the end of the decade. The quest for fitness could be satisfied in one's home, too, as the popularity of *Jane Fonda's Workout Book* (1981) bears witness. In addition to providing an exercise regimen, this book by an actress turned political activist and now fitness promoter included dietary advice and musings on ways for women to maintain good health. A best-seller, it opened the way for Fonda's further commercial ventures—exercise studios, cassette tapes with music to accompany workouts, and an exercise video. Other exercise promoters, such as Richard Simmons, also produced videos for use at home, and sales of home exercise equipment by Nordic Track, Nautilus, and other companies boomed. So did sales of improved equipment for outdoor sports (Marty 1997, 38–40, 123–25, 213–14, 286–89; *Daily Life Online*, "Recreational Life: Sports," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

TELEVISION, MOVIES, AND MORE

On May 9, 1961, Newton Minnow, the new head of the Federal Communication Commission, spoke at the National Association of Broadcasters. As the following excerpt indicates, he stunned the audience of television executives, advertisers, and producers with a devastating attack on the medium and its impact on American daily life:

> But, when television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper, profit-and-loss sheet, or rating book to distract you—and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.
>
> You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience-participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western bad men, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence, and cartoons. And, endlessly, commercials—many screaming, cajoling, and offending. And most of all boredom. (*Chicago Tribune*, April 24, 2001, 17; a reprint of Minnow's 1961 address)

Minnow threatened to review station licenses when they came up for renewal unless the broadcasters and advertisers took a serious look at their programming. Although little ultimately changed in broadcast options, primarily because of public demand for the shows, television producers did begin to offer other forms of programming and actually aired shows with more appeal and substance. Some of the best, most provocative shows did appear in the decades that followed.

A more ominous challenge to the major broadcast corporations and their subsidiaries than Minnow's threats, however, emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. Cable television existed as early as the 1940s but did not become a successful alternative to the major networks until Home Box Office (HBO) sold viewing options to subscribers in 1972. By 1975, local cable operators had begun to provide services to an expanding audience of viewers. Coaxial cables could now feed directly into individual homes and connect potential audiences to a whole new set of viewing options. By the 1990s, close to 150 channels became available and millions of Americans had added the option to their television sets. The impact of cable television affected everything from news programs to specialty shows.

Although Americans in the 1980s enjoyed a cafeteria of entertainment possibilities, the main fare for most remained television. Thanks to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), what they watched on TV underwent certain changes. Mark Fowler, appointed by President Reagan to head the FCC, regarded television as just another appliance, "a toaster with pictures," that should be treated like a business, nothing more nor less. Under Fowler's leadership, the FCC in 1981 discontinued rules limiting the number of minutes per hour that could be devoted to advertising and stopped requiring television stations to play a public service role.

A 1990 Gallup poll showed that the percentage of persons who considered watching television as their favorite way to spend an evening declined from 46 percent in 1974 to 24 percent in 1990, no doubt reflecting their complaints about the quality of programming. During those years, dining out, going to movies or the theater, playing cards and other games, dancing, and listening to music showed comparably sharp declines in popularity. Taking their places were activities not included in the 1974 survey, such as jogging, working in crafts, and gardening. Reading and spending time at home with the family showed slight increases. Nonetheless, the average American spent some 28 hours in front of a television set each week. Many of those were daytime hours, as soap operas and talk shows remained popular (*Daily Life Online*, "Diversions: Television," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

By the mid-1970s about half of American households had two or more television sets. The sets had become, in historian Cecelia Tichi's words, the home's "electronic hearth," the focal point in a room. Viewers absorbed their radiating warmth and flickering images. They were also a home's window to the world, as the programs and commercials shaped viewers' needs, interests, habits, and values. Television's manipulated portrayals of reality became indistinguishable from reality itself (Tichi 1991, 8–9). "As seen on TV . . ." validated claims and opinions.

Given television's dominant role in American life, it is not surprising that its images altered viewers' ways of apprehending the world. In contrast to the way one reads—from left to right across a line, top of the page to the bottom, page after page—television follows no predictable or essential lines. Viewers move quickly, not necessarily randomly but seemingly so, from one scene to another with subtle transitions or no transitions at all. Reading is another matter: One *learns* to read books, magazines, and newspapers, typically going through "reading-readiness" exercises and then moving from elementary to more complex material.

No one *learns* to watch television. Many programs, and particularly commercials, are designed to simultaneously hold the attention of 6-year-olds, 16-year-olds, and 60-year-olds. As television holds viewers' attention hour after hour it becomes what Marie Winn has labeled "the plug-in drug." Viewers may not be in a perpetual state of stupor—perhaps they cheer about what they see or talk back to those they hear—but they are addicted to viewing nonetheless. In her book *The Plug-In Drug* (1977) Winn described how the addiction changes viewers' ways of learning, thinking, and being, as well as their relationships with others and their environment. She focused particularly on television's narcotic effects on children, but adults suffered from them as well. These effects were by now widespread (Winn; *Daily Life Online*, "Television, Movies, and More: Television," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bloom, Allen. *The Closing of the American Mind*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987.

Deardorff, D. L. *Sports: A Reference Guide and Critical Commentary, 1980–1999*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

DeCurtis, A., and J. Henke, eds. *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll: The Definitive History of the Most Important Artists and Their Music*. New York: Random House, 1992.
Greenfield, J. "They Changed Rock, Which Changed the Culture, Which Changed the US." In *Rock Music in America*, ed. J. Podell. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1987.
Haskins, J., and K. Benson. *The 60s Reader*. New York: Viking Kestrel, 1988.
Kenney, W. H. *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
London, H. *Closing the Circle: A Cultural History of the Rock Revolution*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1984.
Marcus, G. *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1982.
Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online*, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).
Morgan, E. P. *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.
Rader, B. C. *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators*. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.
Sanders, L. "Facing the Music." *Civilization* (May/June 1996): 38–39.
Szatmary, D. P. *Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991.
Tichi, Cecelia. *Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Winn, Marie. *The Plug-In Drug*. New York: Viking Press, 1977.

Religious Life

OVERVIEW

Matters of faith and religious practice cannot be ignored if we wish to understand everyday life in America. Jewish children had *bar mitzvahs* and *bas mitzvahs*, Christian children celebrated first communion and confirmation, and Muslims learned early in life the place of prayer in their daily routines. Dozens of religious denominations and sects flourished. Leaders continued to strive for church unity, even though their efforts had few discernible effects on individual lives. Similarly, they advocated positions on social issues of war and peace, racial and civil strife, economic justice, and world hunger. Issues of social activism, theology, and missionary efforts gave religions increased visibility and new congregants. They also divided religious bodies.

Many Americans found inspiration, guidance, and fellowship in their churches, synagogues, mosques, and meetinghouses; but because those were human institutions, they were also places for contests over doctrine and practice, and disputes over budgets, programs, personnel, and facilities. Many longtime church members could recount strife with fellow members in their congregations, and official and unofficial schisms within denominations remained common. That may explain why many who claimed to have religious convictions had no formal religious affiliations and why polling data on church membership and attendance fluctuated (*Daily Life Online*, "Spiritual Matters: Religion in Everyday Life," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

BY THE NUMBERS, 1960s

A revival of interest in religion as the 1960s approached was another sign that many had come to regard religion as important to the needs of their daily lives. Church membership and participation seemed less likely than in the past to be traditions continued from generation to generation. In the later 1950s, church membership increased at a rate slightly higher than the growth of the population, reaching an all-time high in 1960. Nearly two-thirds of the U.S. population claimed church membership.

Did increases in membership mean that church-related activities were a part of the daily life of large numbers of Americans? Polls taken in the 1960s revealed a relatively high measure of participation, but the picture was mixed. A Louis Harris poll in 1965, for example, showed that roughly half the U.S. population claimed to attend church weekly. The numbers for Protestants were substantially lower than for Catholics. Another poll reported that regular weekly church attendance declined from 49 percent in 1958 to 45 percent in 1965. A third poll indicated that in 1957, 69 percent of those polled believed the influence of religion was growing, but that figure dropped to 33 percent in 1965. In fact, 45 percent thought religion's influence had declined.

Numbers aside, religious ferment in those years was noteworthy. A spirit of ecumenism (promoting unity among religions) became evident. At the very least, interdenominational rivalries cooled. The editor of a Lutheran periodical probably spoke for many when he wrote near the end of 1963 that "some of the expressions Protestants have long been using about Roman Catholics will necessarily and in all fairness have to be drastically qualified. Wince though we might at first, we won't be able to escape thinking and speaking of Romans in much more deliberate and 'defrosted' tones."

Nonetheless, although desires for unity led to discussion of mergers and collaborative efforts, church denominations maintained their identities and distinctive practices. Individual members did not witness sweeping changes in their own places of worship. To a greater extent than their churches' leaders, they had probably always been more open to acceptance of religious pluralism—that is, to the sense that rivalries between denominations were self-defeating. Supporters of pluralism believed that allowing the free practice of religion and avoiding the concentration of power and authority in one church was in accord with American ideals and preserved the freedom of all.

Members of the Christian group "Children of God" sing before sitting down for lunch at their headquarters in Los Angeles. AP/Wide World Photos.

Sometimes powerful forces caused church members to ignore denominational lines. Protestants, no matter what their formal affiliations were or their views on evangelist Billy Graham's methods or message, could not ignore him or the movement he represented. In the years following his huge rally in Madison Square Garden in New York in 1957, Graham intertwined his message of the Christian Gospel with expressions of faith in American progress. The fact that he became a favorite of presidents and the news media helped to establish him as an important public figure. At the same time, his rallies broadcast over television brought him into the private lives of millions of Americans. Other evangelists built followings by emulating Graham. Going further, adapting their preaching styles to the settings of show business, these televangelists carried on lucrative ministries (*Daily Life Online*, "Religious Life: Religion," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990,* http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

BY THE NUMBERS, 1970s

In 1967, Gallup polls showed that 98 out of every 100 Americans had a preference for some church. About two-thirds called themselves Protestants and one-fourth said they were Catholics. Jews accounted for 3 percent, and "all others" the same. The slight changes in the next eight years might lead one to believe that not much changed in the world of religion, in that the total expressing some preference dropped by only four percentage points. The numbers claiming to be Protestant or Jewish declined slightly, and Catholic and "all other" preferences showed slight increases.

But, as early as 1968, evidence began to grow that the American people were pessimistic about the state of religion and morality. A Gallup poll that year showed that 50 percent of those polled believed life was worse as far as religion was concerned, and 78 percent said morals had declined. A series of five polls conducted over a period of 11 years showed a decided increase in the number of persons who saw religion's influence as waning. The 67 percent in the polling sample who believed religious influence was diminishing matched almost exactly the 69 percent in 1957 who saw it as increasing. Between 1968 and 1970, the respondents believing religious influence was being lost increased from 67 to 75 percent. By 1974, however, that figure had dropped to 56 percent, confirming notions that those were years of real uncertainty about the status of religion.

There were other signs of an uncertain future for mainstream religions. Total attendance in churches and synagogues declined, reaching the point where only 4 in 10 claimed to be regular members. Whereas regular church attendance reported by Protestants declined from 39 to 37 percent during these years, among Catholics the decline was from 66 to 55 percent. Financial contributions also declined, and, measured in constant dollars, money spent on church construction decreased in five years by more than one-third from the $1 billion spent on it in 1970. Yet another worrisome matter was a sharp decline in the numbers of persons studying in seminaries to be pastors and priests.

One explanation for the uncertain state of church membership lay in changes in the age distribution within the population. The disproportionately youthful population apparently felt less need for religious affiliations, or perhaps they believed churches failed to serve their needs. Changes in family structures and commitments and increased demands on family time also had affected involvement in religious activities. Some individuals probably became dropouts to protest against their churches and denominations for positions taken on social issues, whether too liberal or too conservative.

Perceptions of decline must also take into account the search by many for alternatives to the religions they had come to question. In almost all denominations, there were underground movements of individuals who believed that traditional places of worship had become stagnant and unresponsive. They sought to create a different kind of worshipping community, simpler in structure and free of trappings and traditions. Often those communities were simply groups of men and women who gathered in the homes of their members. Few lasted more than a year or two (*Daily Life Online*, "Religious Life: Religion," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

BY THE NUMBERS, 1980s

Polls showed that the religious involvement of the American people remained relatively constant throughout the 1980s. About 92 percent of the American people had a religious preference, 68 percent said they were members of a church or synagogue, 40 percent said they attended church or synagogue in a given week, and 56 percent claimed religion to be very important in their lives. Mainstream denominations suffered general declines in membership, however, whereas more conservative ones held their own or gained.

Alongside traditional religious commitments, something described loosely as New Age gave expression to spiritual sentiments. Its basic doctrine, according to *Time* magazine, was "you can be whatever you want to be."

Defining New Age, though, is difficult. It includes, says *Time*, "a whole cornucopia of beliefs, fads, rituals; some subscribe to some parts, some to others. All in all, the New Age does express a cloudy sort of religion, claiming vague connections with both Christianity and the major faiths of the East, plus an occasional dab of pantheism and sorcery. The underlying faith is a lack of faith in the orthodoxies of rationalism, high technology, routine living, spiritual law and order."

It is not surprising that in the postmodern 1980s there were organizations, publications, radio stations, and some 2,500 bookstores to serve the growing number of persons attracted to the sort of spirituality New Age offered.

Conflict was common within religious denominations. In some instances, as in the Southern Baptist Convention, conservatives faced off with moderates over interpretation of the Bible. Year after year, the conservatives consolidated their power and began to place limits on what seminary professors could teach. Some, whose teaching did not meet their standards, were removed. Here and there, and from time to time, moderates made modest gains in efforts to keep the conservatives from controlling everything in the church body, but before the decade ended, it was apparent that moderates would soon have little power.

In other denominations—the United Presbyterian Church in the United States, for example, and the Episcopal Church—differences over policies and practices created discord. As earlier, ordination of women and the churches' positions on Latter-Day Saints (LDS), whose members are known as Mormons, found itself at sharper-than-usual odds with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) over a document purporting to show that Joseph Smith, founder of the LDS, had wanted his son to be his successor. Joseph Smith III had led his followers to Missouri and formed the RLDS, whereas Brigham Young had persuaded many Mormons to go with him to Utah and establish a new kingdom there. The document, "discovered" by an accomplished forger, did nothing to keep the LDS from being the fastest-growing denomination in the United States.

Despite long-standing opposition by Protestant denominations to diplomatic recognition of the Vatican, President Ronald Reagan appointed an ambassador to that political state and ecclesiastical entity in 1984. A coalition of Protestant groups responded by filing a lawsuit to nullify the new relationship, claiming it violated guarantees of separation of church and state.

In the United States, discord existed within the Roman Catholic Church, too, providing further evidence that the church once run with unquestioned authority now had to cope with dissent and disobedience. In 1986, the Vatican ordered Father Charles E. Curran, who taught moral theology at the Catholic University of America, to retract his statements on the moral authority of the church on such matters as birth control, abortion, homosexuality, premarital sex, and divorce. When Curran said that for reasons of conscience he could not change his positions, the Vatican withdrew his credentials for teaching as a Catholic theologian. Around the same time, the Vatican reassigned some of the authority of Seattle's Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen. It considered his teachings on birth control, homosexuality, and nuclear arms to be too liberal.

Though the discord in those instances involved a scholar and an archbishop, there was little doubt that the views of Curran and Hunthausen were shared widely among Catholic laity. Perhaps that was why the Vatican felt it necessary to censure them, hoping its action would keep discord from spreading. To reinforce the church's position on its authority—as well as on such matters as birth control, medical procedures using artificial means in human reproduction (in vitro fertilization), and abortion—Pope John Paul II undertook a highly publicized tour of the United States in September 1987. His reception appeared enthusiastic in the nine cities he visited.

Around the same time, however, charges of sexual misconduct made against prominent members of the clergy brought Catholicism unfavorable attention. Most prominent among those charged was the archbishop of Atlanta; revelations of his intimate relationship with a woman led him to resign. Accusations against parish priests, popular in their own communities, caused greater concern. Accusations of misconduct gained credibility by reports of a 25-year celibacy study done by a former priest, now a psychotherapist, that reported significant degrees of heterosexual and homosexual involvement among priests. Church officials claimed that because the study was based on interviews with persons who were in treatment for sexual misconduct or who had been touched by such misconduct, it was distorted. The issue of sexual abuses by clergy, however, refused to go away. The church faced lawsuits and clergy were indicted in the 1990s (see the section on Religion in Daily Life in Chapter 4) and after on sexual abuse charges. Various dioceses paid out millions of dollars to settle lawsuits and claims.

For television evangelists, 1987 was a bad year. It started when Oral Roberts, one of the best known among them, announced that God would call him "home" unless his followers contributed $8 million to a medical fund he had started. The money arrived, but Roberts's fellow evangelists thought his announcement had tarnished fund-raising practices for all of them. They all depended on contributions from viewers and could not afford to have their lifelines jeopardized.

The more widely publicized scandal occurred in 1987 when other televangelists accused Jim Bakker, the leading public figure in an organization known as PTL (Praise the Lord, or People That Love), of an extramarital sexual encounter. In addition, they claimed, Bakker had paid more than $250,000 to silence the person with whom it occurred. One of the accusers, the Reverend Jimmy Swaggart, remarked that "the gospel of Jesus Christ has never sunk to such a level as it has today." When the scandal forced Bakker to resign, PTL leaders asked televangelist Jerry Falwell to rescue the organization. Despite strenuous fund-raising efforts, PTL soon declared bankruptcy. The entire scandal placed under further scrutiny the practices televangelists used to raise funds and called into question their high incomes and lavish lifestyles. Eventually Bakker was convicted of 24 counts of fraud, sentenced to a prison term of 45 years, and fined $500,000. In the next year, Jimmy Swaggart himself was forced to confess to his Baton Rouge, Louisiana, congregation that he had committed a "sin," later reported as involving sexual misconduct. His denomination, the Assemblies of God, suspended him from preaching for a year, and when he refused to comply, it removed him from the ministry. Before long he was preaching again as an independent minister.

Attempts continued by what came to be known as the New Christian Right to change American institutions. For example, it sought to have public schools teach theories concerning the origins of the universe and humankind based on a literal interpretation of the Bible. Advocating what it called scientific creationism, the New Christian Right argued that schools taught theories of evolution as though they were a religion and that their own theories merited equal time. Laws in Arkansas and Louisiana requiring schools to teach "creation science" were ruled unconstitutional in both instances, but that did not deter leaders of the New Christian Right from trying to find new ways to accomplish their goals—ways that usually met the same fate in the courts.

The New Christian Right also pushed for a constitutional amendment that would have allowed voluntary individual or group prayer in public schools, overturning the 1962 Supreme Court decision it judged objectionable. President Reagan sent a proposed amendment to Congress in 1982, but it died in committee. The intensity of the Christian Right's commitment to an amendment increased when a Supreme Court ruling in 1985 seemed to put more mortar in the wall of separation between church and state by invalidating an Alabama law that permitted a one-minute period of silence daily "for meditation or voluntary prayer" in public schools (Marty 1997, 52–56, 169–73, 230–34, 317–20; *Daily Life Online*, "Religious Life: Religion," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

CHRISTIANITY REVITALIZED AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Some who sought alternatives to traditional forms of religious practice found it in the Jesus movement that sprang up in California in the late 1960s. The first ones in the movement were known to the bemused public as "Jesus freaks," young persons claiming to be born again. Their lives had lost meaning and purpose, they said, and finding it neither in drugs nor in the counterculture, they responded emotionally to calls to focus everything on Jesus. Their ecstatic version of faith resembled that displayed in earlier Christian revivals. For many, it was the "ultimate trip." The apparent innocence, simplicity, and spirit of community displayed by the Jesus people helped the movement to spread rapidly, often through campus networks. In 1971, the Religious News Writers Association called the Jesus movement the news event of the year in religion.

The most radical members in the Jesus movement formed highly disciplined "families" and repudiated everything they regarded as "establishment." Typically living communally, sharing everything, they required their members to renounce their biological families and the churches where they had been raised. Distraught parents, believing their offspring to be the victims of mind control, sometimes tried to retrieve them with the aid of deprogrammers. In less radical ways, the Jesus movement broadened its boundaries. The emotions of the movement drew favorable responses from persons in established Christian churches who would not have considered joining it in its informal communal or coffeehouse days. Just as effects of the counterculture had seeped into the lives of people in mainstream America at the very time when it was itself vanishing from the scene, so it happened with the Jesus movement. Its effects, particularly its born-again themes, continued after the movement itself was gone.

The continuation resulted in part from the work of musicians such as Pat Boone and Johnny Cash, who fused Christian lyrics with rock music to reach vast numbers with the Jesus movement's message of sin and salvation. Families playing the musicians' tapes learned the words and tunes without connecting them to their origins. Church youth groups that went to see *Godspell,* which opened a long run on May 17, 1971, had, by then, no reason to connect the lyrics to the movement that inspired it. Nor, as moms and dads sang along with their records of Andrew Lloyd Webber's popular musical *Jesus Christ Superstar,* which opened on October 10 of the same year, did they think about the emotion-filled movement that had popularized the message it carried.

The spirit and practice of the Jesus movement had counterparts among Pentecostalists, who believed they were restoring and maintaining practices neglected since Christianity's early days. Prophesying, interpreting prophecy, speaking in tongues, and performing miraculous acts of healing played an important part in Pentecostal ministries. Their distinctiveness did not prevent Pentecostalists from finding a place in the American religious scene, alongside the growing evangelical and fundamentalist churches. Regarded as either evangelical or fundamentalist or both were Baptists, Assemblies of God, Seventh-Day Adventists, Nazarenes, and various churches known simply as Christian. At the same time, mainline Protestant churches suffered declining membership, among them the Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian churches; the Disciples of Christ; and the United Church of Christ.

Although people identifying themselves as fundamentalists and evangelicals have much in common (indeed, many claim to be both), it is useful to draw distinctions. Fundamentalists stress a belief in the inerrancy of the Bible, meaning that the Bible is free of error. They regard the Bible as the absolute authority on religious matters. Many fundamentalists apply biblical authority to secular matters as well. Evangelicals stress their born-again conversions, their acceptance of Jesus as their personal savior and the Bible as the authority for all doctrine, and their obligation to spread the faith through personal witness and by supporting missionaries. Billy Graham, the best known of the evangelicals, embodied these convictions. Graham's eloquence as an evangelist and the efficiency of his organization enabled him to maintain national prominence and respect throughout the 1960s and 1970s and into the 1980s and 1990s (*Daily Life Online*, "Religious Life: Religion," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States*, *1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

CONTENTIOUS RELIGIOUS ISSUES

The fact that churches could no longer ignore or evade questions of homosexuality was not surprising, for homosexuals would not allow them to do so. Most of the major denominations experienced turmoil as they grappled with the issue of homosexuals in their churches. Some sought ways to minister to them without condoning homosexuality, but militant conservatives, who regarded gays as blatant sinners, opposed openness and efforts to support them. Whether gay men and lesbians could be ordained into the ministry, even in churches less antagonistic toward them, was a particular source of discord. Indeed, homosexuality was potentially the single most divisive issue facing churches since the time of slavery. Religious denominations in the United States also considered and debated the question of the ordination of women as ministers, priests, and rabbis.

A decade earlier, religious conservatives had criticized the political actions of mainstream religious leaders on behalf of civil rights or against the Vietnam War. Now, reacting to changes in society that they found objectionable, they became politically active themselves. Besides opposing protection of rights and opportunities for homosexuals, they called for legislation against pornography, worked to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment, and demanded laws to counter the effects of the 1973 Supreme Court decision allowing abortion.

A large part of evangelicals' and fundamentalists' success in political action resulted from their use of radio and television to raise money for promoting their causes. Evangelist Oral Roberts, broadcasting from Tulsa, Oklahoma, showed that it was possible to build an expansive television ministry by combining evangelical preaching with faith healing—healing by placing the healer's hands on the believer and praying fervently. Based in Louisiana, Jimmy Swaggart reached huge audiences, as did Jim and Tammy Bakker's PTL (Praise the Lord; later People That Love) broadcast from South Carolina. Pat Robertson's *700 Club,* featuring interviews with evangelical leaders and carried on the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) he founded in 1961, became a powerful force in conservative political causes.

In 1979, televangelist Jerry Falwell used his *Old Time Gospel Hour,* broadcast on more than 300 television stations, to launch an explicit political movement, the Moral Majority. Falwell, pastor of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, claimed that the moral ills of society—reflected in such things as sex education in the schools, the Equal Rights Amendment, and abortion—could be corrected through the political mobilization of moral people. Joining forces with other well-funded conservative organizations, he aimed to register millions of new conservative voters for the 1980 election. Success gave him reason to say, "We have enough votes to run the country. And when the people say, 'We've had enough,' we are going to take over."

Conflict within denominations also affected church members. The Southern Baptist Convention, the largest Protestant body in the United States, came under the control of organized conservative forces in 1979. Much the same thing had happened in the two-million-member Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod a decade earlier, resulting in strife and schisms. The principal issue dividing Baptists was inerrancy, the teaching that the Bible was without error in all respects. Conservatives claimed that students in Baptist seminaries were taught that the Bible may not be completely accurate in scientific, historical, and geographic details. Further, they charged, this doubting of scriptural inerrancy had made its way into pulpits in Baptist churches and was threatening the purity of Baptist teachings. Their opponents held diverse views of biblical authority. Although they also regarded the Bible as the inspired Word of God, they were willing to apply scholarly interpretive methods to discover its meaning. The division over this and other issues continued throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s (*Daily Life Online*, "Religious Life: Religion," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

CROSS-DENOMINATIONAL ISSUES

The Roman Catholic Church maintained its vitality as its members adapted to changes initiated by the Second Vatican Council. The aggressive mission practices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) resulted in its rapid growth.

The astonishingly swift triumph of Israel in the Six-Day War with Arab states in 1967 revitalized Jewish communities in the United States, but problems resulting from assimilation and dispersal of Jewish people in America continued to threaten Jewish identities.

Also during these years, groups sometimes described as cults claimed a share of public attention. Hare Krishna followers, for example, handed out literature, tried to sell books, and begged for contributions in major airports. The Unification Church of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon was an aggressive recruiter of new members (known as Moonies for their absolute subservience to the leader). Various Eastern religions, transcendental meditation, and quasi-religious "technologies of the spirit" also attracted followers, but they represented such minute slivers of the population that their impact on mainstream America was negligible.

Religious bodies also found themselves in unsettled circumstances. Although the Jesus movement described earlier faded away rather quickly, a new one just as quickly succeeded it. Focusing on a new birth through faith in Jesus, those swept up in the born-again movement sought to convert others to beliefs in personal salvation. "I found it!"—a catchy phrase displayed on bumper stickers and billboards—provided a theme for sermons, particularly by televangelists, as well as for pamphlets and person-to-person testimonies. Christians critical of the "I found it!" theme claimed that those using it got it wrong. The message, they said, should be, "He found me"; in other words, it was God who did the finding. Such criticism did not slow the movement. The aggressive bearers of the born-again message, particularly those in the Campus Crusade organization led by evangelist Bill Bright, gained many converts. Complaints that the movement used high-pressure tactics did not faze its followers.

The born-again movement represented part of the upsurge of evangelicalism in the 1970s. Between 1963 and 1978, the percentage of Americans claiming to have been born again and personally experienced salvation rose from 24 to 40. By the end of the 1970s, more than 50 million Americans claimed to be evangelicals. Local congregations played a part in evangelicalism's growing strength, as did church-related colleges, publishing firms, and the denominations sponsoring or supporting them. Evangelicals regarded their gospel-centered emphasis and clear-cut moral codes, along with their belief in conversion experiences, as standing in sharp contrast to what they perceived to be the consequences of secular humanism. Evangelicals and fundamentalists, who were more rigid in their biblical literalism than other Christians and harsher in their criticisms of societal changes, blamed secular humanism for increases in teenage sexual activity, alcohol and drug abuse, and discipline problems in public schools.

CULTS

A phenomenon that worried members of all mainline, evangelical, and fundamentalist churches was the appearance of religious groups labeled cults by their critics and the media. Typically, those groups sprang up around leaders who based their teachings on claims of revelation beyond traditional religious teachings and scriptures. They guaranteed salvation and satisfying lives to all who submitted to their absolute authority and severed all ties with families, jobs, schools, and friends. Indoctrination and repetitive rituals, some of them emotionally and physically dangerous, played important parts in the leaders' tactics, designed to break down followers' loyalties to and habits from their families and communities before joining a particular group.

Willingness of a group's followers to surrender unquestioningly to their leaders was demonstrated most dramatically in November 1978, when the People's Temple, founded in California by Jim Jones, came to a tragic end. By then, Jones had led his followers to Jonestown, Guyana, where they engaged in a mass murder and suicide. The deaths of more than 900 People's Temple members made headline news as television networks carried the story into homes across the nation.

Although members of such groups claimed to belong to them voluntarily, many former members contended that they had been converted by deception and subsequently compelled to endure treatment designed to destroy their egos. In addition to indoctrination, tactics included limiting members' sleep, changing their diet, controlling all conversations, and doing other things to disorient them and make their alienation from society complete. Although the number of people who joined groups with such practices was small, the lives affected by them—the members and the families of members—remained profound. Consequently, discussions were widespread about ways of protecting particularly the young from such groups' advances.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND PAPAL IMPACT

Catholics around the world mourned the death in 1978 of Pope Paul VI, who had had the task of dealing with the changes brought by the Second Vatican Council called by Pope John XXIII. Those changes affected church members in many ways.

Liturgical practices continued to evolve, moving farther away from the rituals of the traditional Latin Mass. Traditionalists regretted the abandonment of the distinctive black habits nuns had worn and objected to seeing priests without clerical collars. Vatican II encouraged greater lay involvement in religious, managerial, and pastoral roles within the church. Particularly disturbing to Catholic parishioners was the departure in unprecedented numbers of priests, brothers, and sisters who sought dispensation from their sacred vows and left their religious orders or diocesan positions. Men and women entering the orders were far too few in number to replace them. Perhaps more serious for the church's future, the Catholic parochial schools that had long been an important instrument in carrying out the church's mission faced cutbacks and closings. For the hierarchy, managing church affairs became more difficult. Although the pope remained supreme and bishops wielded considerable authority, grassroots assertiveness and practical necessity meant that power was decentralized. In other words, the people in the church had greater influence in church matters than ever before.

Upon the death of Pope Paul VI, his successor honored the two preceding popes by taking the names of both, becoming Pope John Paul I. However, he died just 34 days after his election. His successor, Karol Cardinal Wojtyla from Poland, took the name John Paul II. When the new pope traveled to the United States in October 1979, he was greeted by huge, enthusiastic crowds in New York City, Philadelphia, Des Moines, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. His warm and gentle manner pleased the throngs who came to see and hear him. The pope's pilgrimage had more than creating goodwill as its purpose, however, for he used the occasion to stress human rights and speak on behalf of the poor. If this meant opposing abortion and criticizing the consumerist culture of the United States, the pope was not reluctant to be candid. One effect of his visit was to give a boost to the claims of religion to a legitimate place in American life.

Certain changes in organized religion begun in the 1960s, such as allowing the ordination of women into the ministry in several Protestant churches, proved to be deeply divisive. Although women were ordained with little or no controversy in some denominations, the ordination of 15 women in the Episcopal Church created fierce controversy among Episcopalians. Because the church officially opposed the ordination of women, those who participated in ordination ceremonies were censured or admonished and sometimes subjected to formal canonical trials. Some Episcopal priests and members of that denomination were so antagonistic to allowing women to be ordained that they led their local parishes into a separate, conservative Episcopal body. Opposition to changes in emphasis and language, along with alternative versions of central rites in the updated version of the *Book of Common Prayer,* added to the resentments of dissenters and gave them another reason for separation.

The Roman Catholic Church continued to take strong positions against the ordination of women, with Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II speaking forcefully against it. Nonetheless, stirrings for change were evident among lay Catholics and some clergy, who claimed that there were no substantial theological reasons to deny women ordination. The role of women also became a point of controversy in the three strands of Judaism. Several were ordained as rabbis in Reform Judaism, and one became a presiding rabbi in Pennsylvania in 1979. A survey among Conservative rabbis showed that a majority favored ordination of women. Orthodox Jews called for expanded roles for women but only in keeping with their understandings of religious law.

The work of Father John Courtney Murray, the principal figure in leading American Catholics to understand the meaning of religious freedom, prepared them for the changes in church practices that came from the Second Vatican Council. The council, held in Rome in four sessions between 1962 and 1965, was convened by Pope John XXIII to reassess the role of the church in the modern world. Continued by his successor, Pope Paul VI, the council issued a number of documents, the most important for American Catholics being the Declaration of Religious Liberty. That document asserted one's right not to be coerced by individuals or society into acting contrary to one's conscience or into not following one's conscience in religious matters. By that time, the election of a Roman Catholic to the presidency of the United States and the conduct in office by John F. Kennedy had persuaded many Americans that Catholicism posed no threat to American democracy.

As Pope John XXIII intended, the council "threw open the windows" of the church. Changes in practices among American Catholics resulting from the council were striking. Regular attendance at Mass remained an integral part of life for many Catholics, but after November 29, 1964, priests offered the liturgy in English rather than Latin. Removal of restrictions in everyday life, such as one prohibiting the eating of meat on Fridays, gave Catholics a greater sense of being in mainstream America. So did the church's softened opposition to easing civil divorce laws. At the same time, the church's official opposition to the use of contraceptives of any kind—affirmed formally by Pope Paul VI in 1968 in the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*—kept it at odds with Catholics and non-Catholics who accepted birth control as morally right. Also at odds with the church were those who advocated birth control because of fears that a "population bomb" would explode if growth was not kept under control.

The Vatican Council's Declaration on the Church's Relations with Non-Christian Religions had considerable significance for Jews as well as Catholics. It condemned displays of anti-Semitism and denounced all prejudice and discrimination on the basis of race, religion, nationality, or tribe.

JUDAISM IN AMERICAN LIFE

Will Herberg, author of *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (1960), helped Jews come to understand and strengthen their place in the religious scene in America. At the same time, their assimilation into the cultural mainstream posed a threat to their distinctive identity, as wartime and postwar Jewish immigrants established themselves in America and joined migrations to suburbs, leaving behind their enclaves in the city. So, too, did the growing frequency of interfaith marriages. Jewish leaders recognized that even though the practice of religion among Jews as measured by synagogue attendance and religious observances in their homes was minimal, their identity was inherently associated with religion. Consequently, they encouraged establishment of Hebrew day schools and after-school religious studies programs. Nearly two-thirds of the nation's one million Jewish children engaged in formal study of religion. Jewish leaders also supported efforts to increase the number of programs in Jewish studies in American colleges and universities. The number of such programs increased from 10 to 70 in the 20 years preceding 1965.

Jewish leaders also participated in interfaith conferences aimed at combating prejudice and implementing the Vatican Council's Declaration on the Church's Relations with Non-Christian Religions. These conferences affirmed the acceptance of Jews in the trio of faiths Herberg had described in *Protestant-Catholic-Jew.* Mainstream Protestants began to purge their Sunday school materials of portions that seemed to justify anti-Semitism. As Protestants, Catholics, and Jews gradually felt more secure in the pluralistic religious scene, they were more ready to accept into it believers in Islam, Buddhism, and other religions.

Perhaps religious denominations lowered their voices in speaking of one another because they recognized the need to work together against forces in American life that ran contrary to beliefs they shared. The leadership that black churches in the South provided in civil rights struggles compelled their white counterparts to examine their own teachings and practices. Such self-examination almost always led to formal and informal support of those seeking an end to racial segregation.

Some church members believed that decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962 *(Engel v. Vitale)* and 1963 *(School District of Abington Township v. Schemp)* finding school-sponsored prayer and devotional Bible reading in public schools to be unconstitutional were signs of the power of antireligious forces. In the first case (involving the recitation of a prayer composed by the New York Board of Regents) Justice Hugo Black, writing the opinion for the majority, observed that the daily classroom invocation of God's blessings as prescribed in the prayer was a religious activity. The opinion stated the following:

> [W]e think that the Constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of the government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government.... When the power, prestige and financial support of government is placed behind a particular religious belief, the indirect coercive pressure upon religious minorities to conform to the prevailing officially approved religion is plain.

So intense in some quarters was the reaction that the U.S. Congress held hearings on a proposed amendment to the Constitution that would permit such religious activities. In these hearings and in additional statements by church leaders, it became clear that there were good reasons for drawing a line between private and public devotional practices. Mainly, it protected children from having imposed on them teachings that were at odds with their own beliefs. Besides, the greater forces in the secularization of America were found in the commercial and entertainment worlds, and they were not likely to be turned back by reinstatement of school-sponsored prayers and devotional Bible readings in the schools (*Daily Life Online*, "Religious Life: Religion," in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Herberg, W. *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology.* Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1960.

Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online as *Daily Life Online*, in Marty, *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990*, http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Marty, M. E. *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America.* Boston: Little Brown, 1984.

Marty, M. E., and R. Scott Appleby. *The Glory and the Power: The Fundamentalist Challenge to the Modern World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

4

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1991–2005

Timeline

1991 January 12: The U.S. Congress votes to use force to remove Iraq from Kuwait.

January 16: The Persian Gulf War begins.

February 4: Baseball Hall of Fame votes to ban Pete Rose because he gambled on baseball games as a player and coach.

March 31: Warsaw Pact is dissolved.

April 6: Iraq accepts UN resolution ending Persian Gulf War.

April 17: Dow Jones Industrial Average goes above 3,000 for the first time.

July 31: The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I), further limiting strategic nuclear arms.

November 7: Basketball star "Magic" Johnson announces that he has tested positive for HIV and is retiring.

December 2: First version of QuickTime is released.

December 25: Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as president of the Soviet Union; the USSR dissolves the next day.

1992 February 1: President George H. W. Bush and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia meet at Camp David and formally end the Cold War.

April 29: Rioting takes place in Los Angeles following the acquittal of four police officers involved in the Rodney King beating incident.

April 30: Last episode of *The Cosby Show* airs.

May 22: Johnny Carson signs off as the host of the *Tonight Show* and is replaced by Jay Leno.

August 24: Hurricane Andrew devastates South Florida.

November 3: Democratic challenger Bill Clinton defeats incumbent Republican President George H. W. Bush in a three-way race that saw independent candidate Ross Perot win almost 19 percent of the popular vote.

December 4: President George H. W. Bush orders 28,000 troops to Somalia.

1993 January 3: President George H. W. Bush signs the second START treaty to further limit nuclear arsenals.

January 14: David Letterman announces his move from NBC to CBS.

February 26: Terrorists explode bomb in the basement garage of the World Trade Center.

March 13: The "great blizzard" hits, leaving record snowfall across the East Coast.

April 19: Almost 80 cult members, 21 of them children, die in a fire that ends an FBI and ATF siege of the Branch Davidian headquarters outside Waco, Texas.

May 20: TV show *Cheers* ends an 11-year run on NBC.

December 8: President Bill Clinton signs the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

1994 January 1: North Atlantic Free Trade Organization is formed.

January 6: Nancy Kerrigan is clubbed on the leg by men acting on behalf of rival figure skater Tonya Harding.

June 7: After a highway chase and an attempt at suicide, O. J. Simpson is arrested for the murders of his wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman.

September 19: The pilot episode of *ER* airs on NBC.

November 8: As a result of a 54-seat swing, the Republicans win control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1954.

December 8: President Bill Clinton signs a bill enabling the United States to participate in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

1995 January 24: Opening statement is delivered by prosecution in the O. J. Simpson murder trial.

February 23: Dow Jones Industrial average peaks at 4,000.

April 19: The Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City is bombed; 168 people are killed.

September 2: The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum opens in Cleveland, Ohio.

September 6: Cal Ripken Jr. of the Baltimore Orioles breaks Lou Gehrig's record of playing in 2,131 consecutive games.

September 9: Sony Playstation is released in the United States.

October 3: O. J. Simpson is found not guilty on murder charges.

October 16: The Million Man March takes place in Washington, D.C.

November 21: The Dow Jones Industrial Average climbs above 5,000.

1996 January 7: One of the worst blizzards in American history hits the East Coast, killing more than 100 people.

July 27: A pipe bomb in the Centennial Olympic Park kills one person and injures 111, but the Olympic games continue in Atlanta, Georgia.

August 1: Michael Johnson breaks the world record in the 200 meter at 19.66 seconds.

September 13: Rap entertainer Tupac Shakur dies after being shot six days earlier in Las Vegas, Nevada.

October 2: Biker Lance Armstrong is diagnosed with testicular cancer.

November 5: Democratic President Bill Clinton is reelected, defeating Republican challenger Bob Dole; third-party candidate Ross Perot wins just over 8 percent of the vote.

November 16: Mother Teresa receives an honorary American citizenship.

1997 March 13: Golfer Tiger Woods becomes the youngest player to win the Masters.

June 2: Timothy McVeigh is convicted of 15 counts of murder in his involvement with the Oklahoma City bombing.

June 26: J. K. Rowling releases *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, the first book in the Harry Potter series.

December 19: *Titanic* is released in movie theaters across the United States, on its way to becoming the highest-grossing movie of all time at over $600 million.

1998 March 24: Jonesboro Massacre takes place in Jonesboro, Arkansas, when two boys fire on students at Westside Middle School, killing 4 students and 1 teacher, leaving another 11 wounded.

May 14: An estimated 76 million viewers watch the last episode of *Seinfeld*.

August 19: President Bill Clinton admits to an "improper physical relationship" with White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

September 8: Mark McGwire hits home run number 62, passing Roger Maris's single-season home run record.

September 27: Google is launched.

October 7: University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard dies after being attacked by two assailants for being homosexual.

December 19: President Clinton is impeached by the House of Representatives for perjury and obstruction of justice.

1999 February 12: President Bill Clinton is acquitted of impeachment charges.

April 20: A school shooting at Columbine High School in Colorado leaves 14 students and 1 teacher dead, and 23 others wounded.

July 25: Lance Armstrong wins his first Tour de France.

November 5: The U.S. Supreme Court rules that Microsoft is a monopoly.

December 31: The Panama Canal is transferred to the control of the Panamanians.

2000 January 3: The last *Peanuts* comic strip is written by Charles Schulz.

January 10: America Online announces an agreement to buy Time Warner for $162 billion, the largest corporate merger to date.

May 31: *Survivor* is first aired on television.

October 26: Playstation 2 is released in the United States by Sony.

November 7: The extremely close presidential election contest between Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore ends in controversy as both candidates claim victory in Florida and thus in the election.

December 12: The U.S. Supreme Court rules against a manual recount of ballots from Florida, effectively awarding George W. Bush the presidency.

2001 April 21: Dennis Tito becomes the first space tourist.

September 11: Two hijacked jetliners fly into the World Trade Center, one flies into the Pentagon, and one crashes in rural Pennsylvania; carried out by Islamic extremists, the terrorist attacks leave over 3,000 dead.

October 7: The United States invades Afghanistan, launching a campaign that leads to the overthrow of the extremist Taliban regime.

October 26: President George W. Bush signs the U.S. PATRIOT Act.

November 2: *Monsters Inc.* debuts with the biggest tickets sales ever for an animated film.

November 11: Microsoft releases Xbox to compete with Sony's Playstation 2.

November 14: Afghan Northern Alliance troops take the capital of Kabul.

December 11: People's Republic of China joins the World Trade Organization (WTO).

2002 January 22: Kmart Corp. becomes the largest retailer in American history to file for chapter 11 bankruptcy.

February 19: NASA's Mars Odyssey probe begins to map the surface of Mars.

May 12: Former president Jimmy Carter arrives in Cuba to meet Fidel Castro, becoming the first American president to visit the island since the 1959 Revolution.

June 4: The planetoid Quaoar is discovered orbiting the sun in the Kuiper Belt.

2003 January 24: U.S. Department of Homeland Security begins operations.

March 20: The United States and allied forces invade Iraq.

April 28: iTunes Music Store launches, selling one million songs in the first week.

May 22: Annika Sorenstam becomes the first woman golfer to play in a PGA event in 58 years.

November 5: The final installment of the *Matrix* movie series is released worldwide.

December 17: The final installment of *Lord of the Rings* trilogy is released in movie theaters.

2004 May 6: The final episode of *Friends* airs on NBC.

June 5: Former President Ronald Reagan dies in California.

June 11: Ronald Reagan's funeral is held at Washington National Cathedral.

July 25: Lance Armstrong wins his sixth consecutive Tour de France.

November 2: Republican President George W. Bush defeats Democratic challenger John Kerry.

December 2: Brian Williams succeeds Tom Brokaw as host of *NBC Nightly News*.

December 26: A massive tsunami strikes Indonesia, Thailand, and other Indian Ocean coastal regions, leaving upwards of 219,000 dead.

2005 February 16: The National Hockey League (NHL) decides to cancel the entire 2005–2006 season after a prolonged labor dispute.

March 23: The 11th Circuit Court of Appeals, in a 2–1 decision, refuses to order the reinsertion of coma patient Terri Schiavo's feeding tube.

April 2: Death of Pope John Paul II.

April 19: German Cardinal Joseph Alois Ratzinger is elected pope, taking the name Benedict XVI.

July 29: Astronomers discover a 10th planet in the Solar System.

November 22: Xbox 360 debuts in the United States.

Overview

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1991–2005
|
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Francis Fukuyama published *The End of History and the Last Man* in 1992. Printed in 22 languages, the book hinted that the end of the Cold War and the rise of the United States to the position of a lone superpower had changed the global society and the future of America. While positive in its intent, the author neglected to foresee, as did many others, the complex issues that would continue to confront the daily lives of Americans in every aspect of their existence.

Politics and government, always a contentious factor in American life, witnessed a growing gap between liberals and conservatives over every aspect of life, from foreign policy to social values. The division of so-called blue states and red states into divisive electoral votes and voters led to the 2000 presidential election that ended with the U.S. Supreme Court intervening to settle issues of recounting votes. Political rancor regarding U.S. foreign policy from Bosnia to Somalia to Iraq divided political loyalties and saw an increasing harshness to the rhetoric of political opponents. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, drew the nation together for a brief period, but the serious debate about how to fight the new war on terror shortly divided the two main political parties, and the 2003 war that began in Iraq sharply split the nation over its purpose and prolonged nature.

Homes in Chester, Pennsylvania. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

Domestic issues also divided American political opinion and fired serious partisan debates. Along with the longstanding concerns regarding education, crime, poverty, and health care, newer forms of social and cultural concerns have joined the mosaic of American domestic debate. Gay rights, stem cell research, church-and-state relationships, pornography, violence in the media, and other adroitly named "family values" often dominated the campaign trail as candidates vied for votes.

Television pundits and political observers tended to focus on the deep divisions that existed between the extreme wings of the Democratic and Republican Parties, and the tone of political discourse in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere, seemed more shrill and caustic than ever. AM radio talk show hosts, mostly conservative, vied with what Rush Limbaugh, one of the more popular conservative hosts, called the "drive-by" or mainstream media, with the clear implication that they pursued a liberal agenda. Computer bloggers have joined the battle with both liberal and conservative sites. Scholarly analyses and even many public opinion polls, however, continued to suggest that there was a "middle American political view" that saw neither left nor right extreme as acceptable or desirable. By 2004, a Republican president, George W. Bush, had been reelected to a second term in an election less dramatic than in 2000. At the same time, the Republican Party controlled both houses of Congress. In Washington and around the nation, the battle for votes and voters continued.

The American economy saw clear and positive economic growth in the 1990s. The standard barometers of economic health: unemployment, inflation, interest rates, stock market numbers, gross domestic product (GDP), trade balance, and the national debt all impressed economists and the business community. Between 1992 and 2000, the nation created 12 million jobs as unemployment fell to 4 percent. Inflation stayed in low single digits, as did interest rates. The GDP grew reasonably, and the national debt began to decline as new taxes and increased revenues, as well as low interest rates, fueled the federal government's effort to reduce the debt and deficit. Revamped businesses, new technology, and other corporate and labor rethinking made American commerce more competitive in the global economy. There was much to applaud.

At the same time, problems also continued to demand attention and consideration. In 2001–2003, the stock markets crashed in a style reminiscent of, if not so tragic as, the Great Depression of 1929. The major investment markets, like the Dow Jones Industrial Average, dropped significantly, while the new tech-stock markets, like NASDAQ (National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotations), felt even more intense declines. By 2005, the investment picture had returned to pre-2001 numbers and the market looked healthy. The 2001–2003 crash, however, had harmed many investors. Group retirement funds, individual programs like 401k accounts, and other forms of savings were severely weakened. Coupled with a series of business scandals—Enron, WorldCom—the period produced a mixed set of emotions for Americans looking for economic security. The nation's continued dependence, in fact, growing dependence on foreign goods and products, also presented an economic issue for Americans as they went about their daily lives. If the nation was becoming increasingly a service economy, and if the traditional industrial power of the United States, so much a part of the postwar society, had declined, what did that shift mean? Americans bought their cotton clothes, "the fabric of our lives," in stores nationwide, but they were mostly produced in foreign countries. Were Americans losing jobs because of that? The price of petroleum seemed the classic example of U.S. dependence on foreign products, and that


Condominiums in the Philadelphia suburbs. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

price continued to rise, as did American consumption. Statistics would show that the price of a gallon of gasoline in 2005 was actually cheaper than 1959, adjusted for inflation, but most car owners had little interest in the comparison.

Housing prices rose steadily, even dramatically, from 2003 to 2005, so that the "paper wealth" of homeowners grew. A housing boom fueled economic growth, and easy and abundant credit encouraged many people to enter the housing market—upgrading or downsizing, moving further into new suburban developments or heading to center city areas to take up condo living and enjoy urban amenities in culture and entertainment. Despite the highest levels of personal indebtedness in American history, the middle class felt rich as they tallied up the worth of their home and possessions.

Domestic Life

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1991–2005
TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

OVERVIEW

Family life in the United States during the past 15 years has both experienced noteworthy changes and, at the same time, retained many of the traditional values, concerns, and interests of earlier generations in American daily life. Parents, whether single parents, or gay couples, or married men and women, worried about their children's education and safety. They remained concerned with the security of their homes and neighborhoods. They sought to enhance the quality of their lives, and they wanted to do so in +safety and comfort. As recent national elections suggested clearly, Americans often expressed significant interest in so-called family values. While definitions of the meaning of family values differed broadly in the United States, domestic life remained a critical concern, not only at the ballot box, but in day-to-day living. Did Americans have a better lifestyle than their parents or grandparents? How did one define that phrase? Were Americans healthier, wealthier, and wiser? With significant alterations in regional life, ethnic diversity, and other recent trends, was it possible to reach a clear and broad conclusion concerning domestic life in the United States? For years, concern about the "other America" tended to focus on the failure of America to confront the racism

Rural America contemporary barn in Lancaster County, PA. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

and poverty that impacted the domestic life of African Americans. At the same time, however, the substantial increase in the Latino population in the United States (now the largest minority) required another subject to evaluate and consider.

As the nation became more aware of its cultural diversity, an examination of domestic life in the United States demanded that one look at all of the people who live in the country. While white Americans of European heritage remain the majority and require the broadest attention, it is important to consider other people living in the nation. In a similar fashion, suburban, domestic life has tended to define an emerging postwar domesticity that occupies the attention of scholars and general observers. Since 1945, American domestic life was often viewed in the template of split-level suburbia. Yet, urban and rural life also offered a picture of life in the United States that was different in many ways.

Snapshot

Average Daily Cost of Living

	1990	**1995**
New House	$123,000	$113,000
Annual Income	$29,000	$36,000
Gasoline	$1.34/gal.	$1.12/gal.
New Car	$16,000	$15,500
Movie Tickets	$4.00	$4.35
Milk	$2.78/gal.	$2.55/gal.

Source: Remember When (Millersville, TN: Seek Publishing).

The population of the United States approached 300 million as the century came to its conclusion. While many of the domestic aspects of American daily life remained the same, significant alterations took place within the 15-year period. Census numbers indicated that Hispanic Americans had become the largest minority in the United States. (The term *Hispanic* is a government or popular catch-all for persons of Spanish-speaking cultures in the Western Hemisphere. It suggests a greater unity of identity and interest than the diverse Hispanic people have.) Even as immigration and ethnic diversity continued in the nation, the growth of the Latino population prompted renewed interest and controversy. The following overview of immigrant or minority numbers suggests the importance of the changes.

	1960	**1990**
Native Americans	0.5 million (.3%)	2.5 million (.9%)
Asian-Pacific Islanders	1.1 million (.6%)	3.7 million (3.7%)
African Americans	18.9 million (10.5%)	34.7 million (12.3%)
Hispanic Americans	No data	35.3 million (12.5%)

Source: Goldfield et al. 2001, 900.

CHILDREN

As of 2002–2003, 21.4 percent of Americans were younger than 15 years. Since Benjamin Spock wrote his famous book on child care, Americans have devoted significant time and effort to understanding and responding to the lives of children. A recent attempt to understand and analyze how American children have developed occupied a broad spectrum of views. Many critical observers see today's young people as spoiled, dependent, and ill-informed. In a 2006 article in *Philadelphia* magazine, Amy Donohue Korman, a local social pundit, suggested that parents had lost control of their children. "It's as if an entire generation has overreacted to what felt like too-controlling parents and ended up with a society-wide inability to serve as authority figures in the home." She continued, "At one time, kids were beloved extensions of the parent, but now [parents are] the satellites revolving around the sun that is our children" (Korman 2006, 68–69). Korman's contentions focused on a middle-class absorption with today's children that has failed to teach them responsibility, so-called helicopter parents who indulged every child's whim without consideration for their need to learn life's demands and considerations. Child psychologists, educators, and other experts have chimed in with similar evaluations of America's young people, citing a variety of statistics and anecdotal evidence to support their conclusions. Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores were down. Both major and minor crime statistics showed an increase in violence and vandalism among young people. A recent piece on CBS's *Sixty Minutes* highlighted the rising incidence of young people assaulting homeless men. Korman finished her article with the warning, "Worried yet?" Other observers, however, challenge the pessimistic conclusions regarding today's children.

In his study, "*Why Do I Love These People?*" *Understanding, Surviving, and Creating Your Own Family* (2005), Po Bronson, a national author and critic on American social issues, suggests a quite different idea. Bronson maintained that coddling of contemporary children was not the epidemic the society had been led to believe in a host of books, articles, and television reports. Additionally, she believed that the protective "supermom" syndrome was an affectation of the upper middle class. Nearly a third of 16-year-old youngsters had jobs. Most college students worked to support their tuition costs. The intense drive on the part of upper-middle-class American parents to place their children in "the right schools," often starting as early as kindergarten, was, in Bronson's view, abnormal in the society. He argued that access to education, at every level, remained readily available for most children. Only a very few, high-profile colleges and universities rejected student applications for admission. Children did not move home after college in the numbers critics suggested. In fact, evidence indicated that more 18-year-olds lived at home in the 1980s than in 2005.

Bronson interviewed 700 families across the United States to obtain evidence for his book and concluded that the "hyperachieving, supermom" protective interpretation of American children remained inaccurate and inappropriate. Most popular analysis of recent trends in the behavior and issues surrounding American children seemed to focus on upper-middle-class white children, often in suburban environments. It has failed to account for the lives of young people who live in rural or urban areas. A stereotypical image sees children as frozen in front of their X-Boxes or Play Station video games, oblivious to anything else but the most recent sports or adventure option. That picture overlooks the more complex quality of American daily life that took place throughout a nation with 300 million people. And, as Bronson suggested, many American children practiced a different lifestyle than that portrayed by the "couch-potato" image.

DRUGS, LEGAL AND ILLEGAL

Americans in the past 15 years have increased significantly the amount of prescription drugs they purchase and consume. In 2002, Americans filled 3,340,000,000 outpatient prescriptions for drugs, 12 drugs for every man, women, and child in the United States. Drug sales in America amounted to $219 billion, an average 12–18 percent increase each year since 1995. Drug costs have doubled since 1999, and volume in purchases has increased by 25 percent. Cholesterol-lowering, ulcer, reflux-corrective, and antidepressant drugs remain the leading prescriptions. Both the medical establishment and social observers remain divided on the growth of drug use in America. Many believe it provides a beneficial solution to a variety of medical problems people face. Critics argue that the United States has become a drug-dependent society. The debate continues (http://www.MedicationSense.com).

A debate even rages regarding illegal drug use. Should drug policy focus on the source of drugs and try to eliminate where they are made and imported into the United States? Or should the nation concentrate on eliminating the use of drugs domestically? Some observers argue that drugs should be legal to purchase in order to reduce the criminal and violent drug culture that permeates much of the inner cities in the United States. Recent surveys indicate that more than 50 percent of teenagers have smoked marijuana, 10 percent have taken stimulant drugs, 8 percent try inhalants, 2 percent have used crack cocaine, and 1 percent have used heroin. Those percentages are slightly less than drug consumption in the late 1980s. At the same time Americans in 2000 spent an estimated $36 billion on cocaine, $12 billion on heroin, and $11 billion on marijuana (Office of National Drug Control Policy). The continued plague of illegal drug use, particularly the insidious rise of crack cocaine consumption, has added to the crisis that confronts urban and suburban America and has reached into rural areas, even among the Amish. Beyond the health and safety issues involved with the use of illegal drugs, evidence suggests clearly that illegal drugs have created a major crime problem, particularly in urban society. Most criminal offenses in the inner city revolve around the drug culture. The large percentage of young African American males in prison or awaiting trial were involved in some aspect of drug trafficking. Domestic life in the United States, in every area of the society, is tragically affected by the insidious underworld of the illegal drug culture.

MEN

Domestic life for American men has changed as well in the modern era. No longer simply perceived as father and breadwinner, men have adapted to the broad changes in the society that impacted on American daily life in the 1990s. While some studies evaluate the role of men in society in less-than-flattering terms, the broad evidence indicates that they have adapted well to new perspectives and responsibilities in the new century.

A negative image of American males portrays them as irresponsible, often violent, and less social than women. Recent academic studies suggest that the performance of male students in colleges falls below the accomplishments of their female colleagues. Violence among young males in America continues to draw analysis and concern. Television sitcoms often portray men as silly and self-indulgent, a popular cultural image that has existed for years in that medium. Yet, men continue to exercise a major and contributive impact on American daily life, from the boardrooms of businesses, to the emergency rooms in hospitals, to the battlefield in the nation's conflicts. All 18-year-old men are required to register for the draft, even while the United States maintains an all-volunteer military. At the same time, men have also adjusted to the demands of married life and parenthood in America. Little statistical information exists to indicate that American males, in general terms, have failed to respond to their traditional domestic roles as husbands, fathers, and breadwinners. Men have tended to assume more domestic responsibilities within the family structure. Just as women have expanded their options, opportunities, and responsibilities in American domestic life, so, too, have men. Men also adjusted to new forms of households and even living alone as adults for long periods.

The Home Depot. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

PETS

Pets have been a part of American domestic life since colonial times. But in contemporary domestic life, Americans devote more time, attention, and money to animal companions than ever before. In 2005, more than 60 percent of households in the United States owned pets—64 million households. Americans spend between $31 billion and $34 billion annually on their pets; $14 billion for veterinary care, $13 billion for food, $1.3 billion for toys, gadgets, and so on, and $2.3 billion for grooming and boarding their animals. Cats and dogs dominate numbers. In 2005, Americans owned 77 million cats and 65 million dogs. Other animal pets, however, also draw attention and affection. A variety of birds, hamsters, gerbils, and other small animals join the list. The United States imported more than two million reptiles as pets in 2004–2005. Polls on the subject suggest that 92 percent of pet owners consider their animals part of the family. Seventy-eight percent say their pets greet them at the door when they come home in the evening (one presumes those are not pet lizards). And 43 percent of pet owners have their pets sleep with them (one presumes not snakes).

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA), founded in 1866, and the Humane Society have worked diligently to create an atmosphere of care and consideration for animals. Animal cruelty is against the law in all 50 states, and it is a felony in 34 states. The humane treatment of animals in the United States remains a major issue and concern, and although the details cited tend to suggest that Americans sincerely love and care for their pets, some people are not doing so (Grier 2006).

THE "OTHER AMERICA"

The United States has made significant strides since the 1940s to attack the overt issue of racism in American society. Supreme Court and federal court judicial decisions, presidential policies, and congressional legislation have basically removed the de jure (legal) aspects of racism that marked previous history. It would be foolish, however, to suggest that de facto (factual) forms of racism do not continue to divide American daily life. In some ways, things may have actually gotten worse. In 1890, 80 percent of African American families had two parents. By 1990, that percentage had dropped to 39 percent. The largest drop took place between 1980 and 1990. By 1994, 57 percent of all black children lived in single-parent homes, mostly female-headed. Sixty-eight percent of all African American children born in 1994 were born to single women.

The numbers continue to warrant concern. In 2000, according to U.S. census data, 12 percent of African American children lived in homes under the supervision of grandparents. That compares to 6 percent for Hispanic Americans and 4 percent for white children. Thirty percent of poor families, defined by the Census Bureau as living on income below the poverty level, are headed by African American women. Crime statistics paint an equally bleak picture of the "other America" for black children and families.

During the 1990s and early 2000, the crime rate for African Americans as victims was 20 percent higher than for the general population. Homicide remained the leading cause of death for young black males between the ages of 15 and 34. In 2002, 10.4 percent of African American males between the ages of 15 and 29 were incarcerated in state or federal prisons. Specialists in the area of criminology have predicted that close to 30 percent of black men in the United States will be jailed before they reach their 30th birthday. Compared to Hispanic and white statistics, the numbers are higher in virtually every category. Concerns regarding unemployment, single families, drugs, and the decline of both urban and rural opportunity suggest clear reasons for the staggering statistics and problems that confront many black Americans. The society has addressed many of those concerns but clearly not resolved them.

While news media and other pundits often focus on the problems that confront African Americans, other data suggest that a black middle class has also evolved in the United States. Those families are not part of the statistical tragedy discussed above. In 1960, only 20 percent of African Americans graduated from high school, and 3 percent graduated from college. By 2005, 86 percent graduated from high school and 13 percent graduated from college. The median income of African Americans in 1997 amounted to $25,050, placing 40 percent of black families in the middle class by general income standards. Although those numbers and statistics remain lower than comparable white percentages and figures, the information suggests that a sizable black middle class has emerged since the beginning of the 1960s (Harris 1999; http://www.worldandi.com; Billingsley 1992).

The 1990 U.S. Census listed the population of Native Americans as just fewer than 1,900,000 people. Although Native Americans make up a small percentage of the total population in the United States, they confront many similar issues and problems. Poverty, alcoholism, higher incidences of disease, unemployment, and racism also play a major role in Indian daily life in America. At the same time, a variety of Indian tribal councils, reservations, and individual families have managed to advance the domestic world of Native Americans. The development of gambling casinos on some reservations has added income for tribes. In 1991, a Wisconsin reservation opened the first gaming casino in the United States. By 1993, 17 more casinos had opened in the state. The federal government has recognized 557 Native American reservations in the United States. By 2005, more than 33 percent had opened some form of gaming operation, and others are in the process of developing the option. While critics have questions about where the profits from the gambling casinos go, most tribal governments contend that the resources from casino gambling have provided a new source of income for their people (Fixico 2006).

WOMEN

In and out of the home, American women have continued to make positive strides since the modern feminist movement began in the 1960s (see Chapter 3, Daily Life in the United States: 1960–1990). Both public policy and changing social and cultural awareness have helped American women pursue careers, families, and recreational options in ways not possible in the first 20 years following World War II. Many observers believe that middle-class, educated, white women have benefited most directly and clearly as a result of the civil rights movements of the 1960s. The median age for women in America has increased slightly since the 1980s. In 1997 it was 34.1. In 2003, the median age was 36.5, the highest in 100 years. Women still outnumber men in the United States by a ratio of 100–96.3. In the workforce, women currently make up 46.5 percent of employed Americans (U.S. Department of Labor Report). The statistical factors that look at education and careers indicate that American women have gained access to a broad variety of opportunities. Since 1980, they make up a majority of the students enrolled in undergraduate education.

As of 2005, 40 to 52 percent of law school students are women and 33,445 women attend medical school, an increase of more than 5,000 since 1996. In 1980, only 11.6 percent of licensed doctors were women. By 2004, that percentage increased to almost 27 percent (American Bar Association and American Medical Association).

Since the government changed to an all-volunteer military, the role of women in that profession has also increased and shifted even to combat duty. In 2004–2005, 212,000 women served on active duty, and 149,000 served in the National Guard, 20 percent of the American military. Fifteen percent of the women are commissioned officers, roughly the same percentage as men. Women also find assignments in a greater variety of positions. Short of some limited combat assignments in the infantry and armor units, women are assigned to virtually every other option (U.S. Department of Defense).

The role of women as wives and mothers has changed little in modern American domestic life. Marriage rates have dropped by almost 50 percent since 1970, from 76.5 per thousand unmarried women to 39.9 percent. The divorce rate, however, has also declined from 22.6 per thousand married women in 1980 to 17.7 in 2005 (U.S. Census Report 2000). In 2005, 2,230,000 marriages took place between men and women in the United States. What do the data suggest? More couples, both heterosexual and homosexual, may be living together without being married, perhaps a majority, with 8.1 percent of heterosexual couples living together without marrying. While statistics regarding gay and lesbian numbers vary widely, some sources indicate that 10 percent of the adult gay population lives together as couples. Given the data, women still remain principally responsible in heterosexual marriages as homemakers and child care providers even while their work outside the home has expanded. That dual responsibility has created both ambivalence and concern for many American women. Managing both a career and marriage and family can become a complicated juggling act, and recent studies indicate that many women have found it a troublesome consideration.

An interesting offshoot of domestic life in the United States, and the role of women, has emerged in the growth of direct marketing and home sales of household products and cosmetics. Avon, founded as the California Perfume Company in 1886, had become, by 2005, an $8.1 billion business with more than 2.5 million sales people, almost all of them women. Selling more than 800 cosmetic products, the self-designated "Company for Women" has pursued a direct marketing business that dominates the field. Mary Kay Ash (1915–2001) founded her company, Mary Kay Cosmetics, in 1963 in Dallas, Texas, with nine sales people selling door to door. By 2005, 1.6 million sales consultants generated sales over $1 billion with 200 products ranging from perfume to suntan lotion. The owner became famous for awarding pink Cadillacs to top sales personnel.

Earl Tupper sold airtight, plastic sealed containers beginning in 1946. In 1948, he initiated Tupperware Home Parties to sell his products in a direct marketing scheme. By 1951, Tupperware removed its items from retail stores and sold only at Tupperware parties in homes throughout America. Revenues reached $1.2 billion in 2005. Most of the employees held full-time jobs elsewhere but added income by hosting those gatherings. Millions of women in the United States enhanced their incomes working for one of the three businesses (Bailey and Ulman 2005).

Given many of the career changes and opportunities, women are still subject to overt displays of sexism in the society. Again, de jure legislation, like Title IX in the field of education and sports, does not always eliminate de facto disregard for equal treatment. The National Organization for Women (NOW) and other organizations continue to document violence perpetrated against women, spousal abuse, rape, and other assaults. Critics still argue about fair salaries and wages for women, "glass ceilings" that block executive promotions, and other forms of subtle or often blatant sexism. Minority women in American society may confront even greater examples of sexism in their daily lives. The factors often examined in an encyclopedia tend to look at generational change. Is it better now than it was 10, 20, or 50 years ago? In most instances, the answer regarding women in American domestic life is yes. In some instances, clearly there remains a long way to go.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bailey, Maria, and Bonnie Ulman. *Trillion Dollar Moms: Marketing to a New Generation*. Chicago: Kaplan, 2005.

Billingsley, A. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacy of African-American Families*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

The Endocrine Society Weighs In: A Handbook on Obesity in America. http://obesityinAmerica.org/endoedge/archive/2005_apr_endoedge.html.

Faragher, John Mack, Susan Armitage, Mari Jo Buhle, and Daniel Czitrom. *Out of Many: A History of the American People*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006.

Fixico, Donald. *Native Americans in the Twentieth Century*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Goldfield, David, et al. *The American Journey*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History*. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Harris, Robert L. Jr. "The Rise of the Black Middle Class." *The World and I Online* 14:2 (February 1999): 40. http://www.worldandi.com.

Korman, Amy Donohue. "The Death of the Chore." *Philadelphia* 97, no. 10 (2006): 68–69.

Office of National Drug Control Policy. http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/.

U.S. Department of Defense. http://www.defenselink.mil/.

Economic Life

OVERVIEW

From 1992 through 2000, Americans experienced almost a decade of economic growth and broad prosperity. Unemployment dipped from 7.2 percent in 1992 to

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1991–2005

TIMELINE
OVERVIEW
DOMESTIC LIFE
ECONOMIC LIFE
INTELLECTUAL LIFE
MATERIAL LIFE
POLITICAL LIFE
RECREATIONAL LIFE
RELIGIOUS LIFE

4.0 percent at the beginning of 2000. Business enterprise and expansion helped to create more than 12 million new jobs. At the same time, the stock market and financial investments also indicated signs of a healthy and expanding economy. Retirement funds, pensions, and other forms of personal investment swelled during the decade of the 1990s as the percentage of middle-class families with a financial stake in the stock market grew significantly. Statistics and government estimates on Americans living in poverty showed a decline to less than 12 percent by the end of the 1990s. Disparity between wealthy Americans and the poor also narrowed slightly in the 1990s, and more American middle-class families experienced an expansion of their personal income. Inflation and interest rates remained in manageable single digits, as the Federal Reserve Board, under the cautious leadership of Alan Greenspan, monitored the nation's economy with careful attention. Greenspan and others took particular pains to watch inflation trends in the American economy. So long as the rate of inflation remained low, between 2 and 4 percent annually, interest rates could also remain low, and both those conditions fueled a prosperous economy.

The statistical evidence of a growing economy defined a free market system that had become more efficient and productive, particularly in smaller businesses, throughout the nation. During the 1970s and 1980s, critics of the American economy heralded Japanese and European models of industry and commerce as more proficient. From their new technologies to their labor and management styles, Japan and Europe appeared to produce, and market, better goods. Observers argued that labor unions in the United States cost owners too much in salaries and benefits for what their employees produced. At the same time, management, particularly large corporation boards of directors and CEOs, received astronomical salaries, benefits, and stock options that went well beyond their value. Middle management also seemed bloated, underutilized, and inefficient. The business infrastructure, both in manufacturing and planning, had become lax and old-fashioned and appeared to lack the competitive edge to challenge the new products and innovative labor-management methods of America's foreign competitors.

Business leaders at all levels in the United States responded to the criticism and flaws that observers of the economy had noted. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a tough, perceptive restructuring and downsizing of businesses took place. Labor unions agreed to contracts that provided lower salaries and fewer benefits. Management streamlined its white-collar payrolls and cut jobs. Businesses also updated and upgraded their use of computers, new production design and equipment, high-tech electronic communication systems, and other innovative and efficient tools to replace the aging technology of the previous generation. That robust response to the perceived problems of the 1970s and 1980s helped create the 7.2 percent unemployment figure in 1992 as corporations and businesses downsized their workforce. It set the stage, however, for the revived, expanding economy of the 1990s, and, as people found new jobs in a more competitive and flexible free market system, unemployment numbers dropped, although individual income for many people declined or did not keep pace with inflation.

GLOBALIZATION

The influence of the new electronic world of economics and commerce also impacted directly the growth of a global economy and America's role in that development. The interconnection of world business—globalization—has had a lasting effect on American economic life. In 1965, the worth of U.S. imports and exports accounted for 7 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). By the 1990s, that number had climbed to 16 percent. Americans saw a major shift in the balance of trade as the nation imported far more goods and products than it exported. The issues concerning globalization have a number of facets, both economic and cultural. Critics maintain that global corporations and managers have created a commercial world that exploits the developing world's population for profit. They argue that the low wages paid in those countries, even in exploding economies like China's, are a key aspect of that exploitation. At the same, critics of globalization believe that the evolving high-tech, commercial Western economy stifles independent growth and even cultural traditions, as developing societies succumb to Western (U.S.) commercial influence. Those who defend global markets maintain that a cooperative, interconnected global economy makes goods and services available to more people worldwide. They suggest that even though the United States consumes a huge portion of global products, without American demands for those goods, people in the developing world would have no jobs, nor would their economies have products to sell. One example of that position emerged clearly when the United States negotiated two commercial treaties in the 1990s. In 1993, America signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that created an open commercial border with Mexico and Canada. A year later, the government signed a worldwide treaty, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The two agreements sparked a heated political and economic debate in the United States regarding free trade and protectionism, the support of American jobs, and the export of those positions to other countries. Labor unions, environmentalists, and other critics gained support from the Democratic Party as NAFTA went into effect. GATT provoked a similar debate. In 1996, GATT became the World Trade Organization (WTO). A wave of protests in Europe and the United States believed that the WTO was controlled by international business conglomerates that showed no interest in poor countries, the people who lived there, or the environment that protestors believed globalization threatened. When the WTO held its annual meeting in Seattle, Washington (November 30–December 4, 1999), close to 50,000 people arrived to protest the meeting. A small number of activists became violent and vandalized portions of downtown Seattle. The police responded, and the expected CNN and Fox coverage followed with divergent views of the protests. Those who supported the protestors claimed that the police overreacted. Others thought the activists epitomized the spoiled generation of "Birkenstock" young people with no serious concerns to confront. The debate continues, as do the protests, now a standard, expected event at WTO meetings.

INVESTING

American families invest billions of dollars annually in the stock market. Personal investments have grown dramatically in the past 20 years, as have the variety of options for investors. Traditionally, the Dow Jones Industrial Average listed leading industrial, utility, and transportation stocks as a barometer of the nation's investment trend. Founded in 1882, the Dow Jones became the bellwether indicator of the nation's financial health. To compete with Dow Jones stocks options, Standard and Poors 500 (S&P 500) opened for business in 1963 as an alternative list of companies for investment. In 1971, NASDAQ provided an investment resource in the rapidly expanding electronics and Internet businesses. NASDAQ became so popular in the 1980s and 1990s, as the Internet market exploded, that it merged with AMEX.

Throughout the twentieth century, banks, businesses, and individuals in the United States purchased stocks on the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) and the American Stock Exchange (AMEX), hoping to see those investments grow as the general prosperity of the economy expanded. Most Americans, however, had little direct involvement in the stock market except through their bank savings (banks invested savings to enhance their profits and help pay interest to individuals with money in savings accounts). That changed with the rapid expansion of the American economy in the last decades of the twentieth century. The development of 401k retirement funds encouraged employees to create private retirement accounts, and money set aside in 401k accounts was invested in stock markets. Large mutual funds, like TIAA-CREF, Fidelity Investments, and the Vanguard Group, invested billions of dollars in the stock market for millions of American employees who directed a portion of their salaries to company-supported retirement programs.

By the 1990s, more than 45 percent of American families had some form of financial investment in stocks. The buying and selling of stocks no longer remained an economic option only for wealthy and upper-middle-class Americans; it had become a standard means for people in the country to invest their life savings in hopes of a growing return on their savings (*The Wall Street Journal*).

During the 1990s, the faith in the stock market bore profitable fruit. The Dow Jones Industrial Average jumped from 3,000 in 1991 to 5,000 in 1995, to 8,000 in 1997, to 11,000 by 1999. On January 14, 2000, the NYSE listed the Dow Jones at 11,722.98, almost four times the value of stock a decade earlier. It was the largest decade gain in history. The NASDAQ saw a similar growth in investment profits. In 1994, the NASDAQ was less than 1,000 points. By 2000, it had climbed to 5,000. Effectively, the value of investments had quadrupled. In simple terms, an American family that had invested $10,000 in the variety of stock types available would have increased the worth of their money to over $40,000; factoring in inflation, that suggested a huge financial gain. Americans studied the financial news nightly on their television sets to witness the growing value of their retirement funds. In an earlier 1987 movie, *Wall Street*, its star Michael Douglas proclaimed, at a stockholders meeting, "greed for the lack of a better word is good" to advance the broad national faith in market investment.

The rapid growth of the stock markets, however, concealed a potential problem. In some degree, similar to the 1929 stock market crash, the value of financial investments exceeded the pragmatic value of companies and businesses. The market reflection of economic health had increased far beyond the actual strength and real growth of the institutions where that money was invested. A "bubble" had developed, and, in 2000, that bubble popped. Large mutual funds and investment firms sold their stocks, and the markets plunged. The Dow Jones dropped to 10,305 in April 2000, and it reached a low point of 7,702 by July 2002, a 34 percent decline. The NASDAQ collapsed as well. Its stock fell from 5,000 to 1,500 by 2001. Between 2000 and 2002, the markets lost more than $8.5 trillion in investments. American families saw their retirement savings eliminated or drastically reduced, and the nation witnessed a financial crisis, the "Crash of 2000–2002" seeming like a repeat of the stock market collapse during the Great Depression (Securities and Exchange Commission Report 2003).

During the same period, the revelation of a series of investment and accounting scandals became public knowledge. In 1989, Charles Keating, the Chief Executive Officer of Lincoln Savings and Loan Company, a California-based business, came under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) for illegal securities acts. In a $200 million fraud case that took a decade to unfold, Keating was convicted of securities fraud and sentenced to four years in prison. In 2001, the Enron Corporation, a large Houston, Texas, energy company, also came under SEC scrutiny. Ken Lay, its founder, his key executives, and the company's accounting firm Arthur Anderson were also accused of falsifying over $100 billion in revenues. The firm declared bankruptcy in December 2001, 21,000 employees lost their jobs, and a series of trials to uncover the facts resulted in convictions and prison terms for top executives. WorldCom, a telecommunications corporation, also filed for the largest bankruptcy in American history in June 2001, another case of securities fraud. Again, the SEC began an investigation in March 2002.

Coupled with the stock market crash, a rise in unemployment, a negative trade balance, and the outsourcing of jobs to foreign countries, the crisis in the American economy in the early twenty-first century created a serious loss of faith for millions of families who had seen the 1990s as a decade of prosperity and security. Just as millions of Americans had lived in the 1920s with a positive view of the economy and seen that faith destroyed in 1929, many Americans reacted to the economic news in 2000 and 2001 with the same anger, frustration, fear, and cynicism about the integrity of the business establishment.

The situation had a key political impact on the 2004 presidential election and the 2002 and 2004 congressional elections. Democrats accused President George W. Bush and the Republican Congress of being too cozy with unscrupulous business owners. They attacked their opponents for creating the worst economic crisis since the Depression. John Kerry, the Democratic presidential candidate, accused George Bush of stewarding the worst economy since 1929 and announced that more Americans were unemployed than in 1932. His attack was clear. The incumbent president cared more about CEOs than he did their employees.

It seemed an odd charge for anyone interested in statistics, since the American population had more than doubled since the 1930s, making the comparison questionable.

At the same time, unemployment numbers amounted to 5.4 percent, far fewer than the numbers in 1932. In real numbers, Senator Kerry was correct; as a percentage, he was not (United States Department of Labor Report 2006). The political/economic debate also centered on President Bush's initiative to allow Americans the option to invest some portion of their Social Security payments in the stock market. Had that idea been forwarded in the mid-1990s, while the stock markets soared, it might have appeared more appealing to American families. In the early years of the new century, however, given the crisis in the market and the additional fraud cases, it provoked a heated debate and won few supporters.

MADE IN AMERICA

America's traditional economic strength in the twentieth century had resided in the growth and expansion of its industrial economy. During and immediately following World War II, the industrial capacity of the United States had defined its economic character, both as a domestic force and in the world marketplace. That basic industrial strength, however, changed in the last half of the century. By 1965, half the jobs in the United States were in the service economy. By 2000, 75 percent of employed Americans worked in service-related jobs. Service employment includes a wide variety of positions, some high paid, others low wage and tenuous. A gas station attendant or fast-food employee provides a service. Those positions tend to be low-wage or minimum-wage jobs. At the same time, teachers, government employees, lawyers, doctors, and research specialists often enjoy well-paid and secure positions in the service economy. At the high end, professional athletes, rock stars, and movie idols derive enormous salaries from their service-related professions. The service economy has expanded in the United States as American society demands more of those services and has the ability to pay for them. One clear example of that growth exists in the health care economy. In 1960, health care costs accounted for only 5 percent of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP). In 2000, that number had increased to 15 percent (Goldfield et al. 2001, 922–24).

As industrial production provided a smaller percentage of the U.S. GDP, Americans imported more industrial goods and products. In 1979, the U.S. workforce employed 21 million industrial employees. By 1990, that number had dropped to 19 million. Economists continue to debate the positive and negative aspects of an economy that has shifted so clearly to a service system. It remains important to remember, however, that Detroit still manufactures millions of cars, and while the American industrial workforce lost two million jobs between 1979 and 1990, the actual production of industrial goods increased. American agriculture, a form of production, continues to harvest the greatest food supply of any nation. While agriculture accounted for less than 8 percent of the GDP throughout the 1990s and into 2000, U.S. food production continues to provide a powerful economic sector of the economy.

Thousands of small businesses nationwide also manufacture a variety of goods and products that bear the mark, "Made in America." More often, however, one sees that the clothes and products Americans purchase on a regular basis are made outside the United States. Those imported goods are generally cheaper than similar items manufactured in America. From a consumer's perspective, that has an obvious appeal. A pair of sneakers made in China has labor costs far below what one would pay similar workers in the United States, thus reducing the price of the product in a retail store. Critics maintain that it fosters slave labor wages for the foreign workers, often as little as the equivalent of 25 cents an hour (United States Department of Labor Report 2006). At the same time, it eliminates American jobs, as they are outsourced to other countries.

Outsourcing has become both an economic and political issue in the United States. During presidential debates in 2004, John Kerry accused President Bush and his administration of allowing the outsourcing of thousands, if not millions, of American jobs overseas, from high-tech computer work to low-wage positions. What he failed to mention was the "insourcing" of thousands of employment opportunities for Americans as foreign companies built plants and businesses in the United States and hired Americans to work in those businesses. The Japanese car manufacturer Toyota builds many of its high-end Avalon models in Alabama. Hyundai, the Korean automobile maker, has a production facility in Tennessee. Statistics indicate that Americans have seen more insourcing of jobs than outsourcing in the first decade of the twenty-first century (United States Department of Labor Report 2006). The debate, however, remains a key economic issue.

PAPER VS. PLASTIC

Credit and debit cards have emerged, in the last two decades, as a major factor in the economic structure of daily life in America. Currently, Americans possess 641 million cards, and the use of the cards to purchase goods and services amounted to $1.5 trillion in 2005. The average American family owes $8,000 on credit accounts. The use of "plastic money" has exploded in the modern age. In 1950, the Diners Club issued a small number of cards that people could use to eat in 27 restaurants. American Express also began to issue charge cards in the 1950s to a limited number of users. In 1958, the Bank of America mailed 60,000 cards to residents in Fresno, California. Less then twenty years later, after some title changes in the name of the credit cards, Visa and MasterCard entered the market. Gas stations issued cards, and retail stores provided their own options. American consumers had access to a variety of credit systems that banks and credit companies made available to eager customers. Americans could purchase any number of products with their credit cards (the amount of purchase generally limited to a certain dollar figure). They, or their bank accounts, would pay for that charge at a later date based on a statement of account. In 1980, the government deregulated the amount of interest credit card companies could charge and rates reached as high as 20 percent. In that same year, credit companies also began to charge a fee of $20 or more to own a credit card. Between 1980 and 1990, the use of "plastic money" doubled, and spending per person increased fivefold, from $518 to $2,700 annually.

If credit card users paid their monthly bills on schedule, the system worked well for consumers and retailers. Deferred payment provided a simple and easy way for American families to make basic purchases without using cash. Problems arose, however, when card users chose to pay only a portion of their debts and fell victim to late fee or penalty fee charges. Charging interest and penalty rates as high as 18 and 20 percent, credit card companies earned $30 billion in profits in 2005. And, since 1990, credit card debt for American families has risen from $2,700 to $8,000.

The expansive use of credit cards has created a subindustry in credit reporting companies. Currently, three major credit firms evaluate the credit rating of American families. Equifax, Experian, and TransUnion study millions of credit accounts to determine the credit rating of Americans who use the service. Using a system termed FICO (Fair Isaac Corporation) they use a point system, from 300 to 850, to indicate a credit user's rating—the higher the number, the better the rating. The number 700 signals a moderate approval rating; 750 and above is excellent. Credit card companies, banks, and other lending agencies can track credit ratings to determine the risk regarding loan applications for everything from credit cards to automobile purchases. A recent survey indicated that only 2 percent of Americans knew about the credit rating system or what their status indicated (http://www.shoppbs.org).

American consumers in the twenty-first century depend on the use of credit cards for a large portion of their purchases. The option presents both benefits and dangers. If users pay their account bills promptly and avoid late and penalty fees, plastic money is a much safer and easier way for families to use their finances to obtain the necessary and enjoyable goods and services that are part of economic satisfaction. While a surge in credit card fraud and criminal abuse of the options remains an issue of concern, credit cards are still safer and easier than cash. When users, however, fall victim to late fees and penalty fees, the financial impact can become devastating to family incomes and finances. If credit card companies made $30 billion in interest profits in 2005, that excess came out of the pockets of Americans. When the personal debt of American families rises to almost five figures on average, most of it credit card debt, this generates an unstable financial situation, both to the families themselves and to the general health of the economy. Specialists conclude that the answer to the problem lies in credit card users paying their balances promptly. Yet, the seductive ability in a consumer-driven, material-demand society encourages many Americans to continue the process of buying now and paying later even if later draws them into severe debt.

POVERTY

While problems with the American economy continued to concern observers, the investment market rebounded from the 2000–2002 recession. By the end of 2005, the Dow Jones Industrial Average regained its 11,000 number and the NASDAQ responded accordingly. Unemployment numbers dropped below 5 percent, and the

Federal Reserve kept a careful eye on inflation and interest rates, which remained in the low single digits. Consumer confidence indexes also showed a positive trend, and the economy continued to grow at a steady rate. Problems, however, persisted. Public and personal debt soared in the 1990s and early years of the new century. The American trade balance also continued to show that the nation, once the most powerful creditor in world commerce, had become the globe's largest debtor. And the continual concern of poverty in the wealthiest society on earth drew stark attention to unresolved problems in the economy.

Poverty remains a most persistent and serious concern in the United States. The nation spends more than $500 billion a year, a bit less than 12 percent of its GDP, on public assistance and social insurance projects. Those include Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps (which ended in 1997), and other projects. That commitment, however, has failed to eliminate the severe economic and social tragedy of poverty, the fundamental focus of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program in the 1960s. Fixing a family income for four at $13,359+ per year as at the poverty line, census figures indicated that 14 percent of the population (33.6 million people) fell below the poverty line in 1990. By 2000, the poverty line number was raised to $20,000+, altered for inflation. The percentage number dropped to 11.3 percent. In 2004, the percentage climbed slightly to 12.7 percent (37 million people) (United States Health and Human Services Department Report 2005).

Some analysts argue that looking at wages alone creates an imprecise view of poverty. Net worth includes additional measures of economic substance. As an example, 31 percent of those listed as poor, by wage standards, own their homes. Forty-eight percent own cars and other high-end durable goods, such as televisions, refrigerators, washers, and dryers. When those net worth values enter the equation, the poverty rate drops by as much as 3 percent. Comparisons with previous time periods in America also create divergent viewpoints. Using the standards of 2000 to judge poverty, even given inflation as a factor, 67 percent of the American population in 1939 would be considered poor by today's standards. Numbers and comparisons, however, fail to fully confront the issue. Many researchers conclude that poverty will always exist in some form in a free market, democratic economy, particularly one as large and diverse as that of the United States. Relative deprivation remains a key consideration in any analysis of poverty in the United States.

> Some argue that poverty is a state of relative economic deprivation, that it depends not on whether income is lower than some arbitrary level, but whether it falls far below the income of others in the same society. (Isabell Sawhill, Brookings Institute, "Domestic Entitlements and the Federal Budget," February 15, 2006, 1)

If that defines the essence of poverty in the United States, then no matter how wealthy the society becomes, some portion of the society will perceive itself as poor.

Given those issues, poverty as a factor in American economic life also has demographic characteristics. Poverty among young people under the age of 18 fluctuated from 16.2 to 17.8 percent between 1990 and 2004. Elderly Americans aged 65 and over saw their percentage numbers decline from 35.2 percent in 1959 to a little more than 12 percent by 1990. The impact of retirement accounts, Social Security, Medicare, and other benefits has played a significant role in that shift. The poverty rate among African American families has also declined during the past 30 years. At 32 percent, however, in 1990, it remained three times higher than for white families.

Inner-city poverty in large urban centers occupies the current attention of those who study the issue of poverty in America. The concept of an underclass of families or individuals living in urban ghettos continues to suggest a demographic and racial component to the complex problem. Critics, both for and against government or social responses to the problem, cite symptoms of poverty: welfare dependence, joblessness, crime, out-of-wedlock pregnancy, and other issues as causal factors. In a number of urban areas, poverty levels exceed 40 percent, a significant growth when compared to the 1950s and 1960s. Statistically, however, those numbers account for only 7 percent of Americans families defined as living in poverty (Sawhill, 5).

Any review of the American economic condition and its impact on daily life centers on how observers interpret economic data. So many issues determine the fundamental health of an economy that it becomes a matter of continual debate. Those concerned with modern economic conditions in the United States can certainly point to a host of problems. The significant rise of personal and public debt remains a major concern. The trade balance provides another problem, particularly America's dependence on foreign oil resources. The slow and steady decline of industrial production adds another element to the equation, and that combines with the outsourcing of much of that production to other countries. At the same time, however, the traditional barometers of national economic health appear positive. Unemployment, inflation, and interest rates, the noted "misery index" criteria that politicians have used since Jimmy Carter and George H. W. Bush campaigned, have remained historically low. GDP figures also suggest moderate but steady growth. Consumer confidence in the economy is also high. The stock market indicators, from the Dow Jones to NASDAQ, have seemingly recovered from the crisis of 2001–2002. Yet, in a broad, volatile global market, often influenced by economic forces beyond the nation's control, the world's largest economy still faces any number of issues related to access to vital resources, energy, costs of pollution and environmental degradation, technological innovation, protection of intellectual property, productivity, education, uneven distribution of wealth, and complicated and contradictory public policy on taxation, debt, and support for research and development.

RECHARGED ECONOMY

The economic boom of the 1990s also helped to influence the federal budget. The huge federal budget deficit that had developed in the 1980s disappeared in the 1990s. Higher taxes brought more revenue into the treasury, and government expenditures dropped as well. As the economy grew, personal and corporate income generated increased tax revenues and the deficit disappeared. President Clinton signed a deficit-reduction bill in 1997 that aimed to stabilize the federal budget and reduce the debt and deficit. For the next three years, the effort produced positive results as the federal government's annual deficits turned to surpluses. As interest rates lowered, the Treasury Department had to devote less of the federal budget to account for interest paid on the federal debt.

A look at the federal budget between 1991 and 2005 indicated key trends in federal spending and the impact of that spending on the economy. With the exception of 1967, the federal government spent more money than it collected until 1998. Between 1998 and 2001, the government collected a surplus in revenue. Since federal spending accounted for 18 percent of the nation's GDP, government finances played a major role in the nation's economic health. In 1991, the government spent 1,324 billion dollars and collected 1,055 billion in tax revenues. It ran a deficit of 269 billion dollars. In 1995, it collected 1,352 billion in taxes and spent 1,516, adding 164 billion dollars to the deficit. Then, between 1998 and 2001, the federal budget saw more revenue than expenditures. As an example, in 2000, federal expenditures amounted to 1.8 trillion dollars while the government had 2,025 trillion in revenue, a surplus of 236 billion dollars. In basic terms, throughout the early 1990s, the federal government expended around $20,000 per family in the United States. Then, as surpluses increased in the mid-1990s and into early 2001, spending per family dropped to under $19,000. As of 2005 that number has climbed to $22,000 per family (U.S. Office of Management and Budget [OMB] Report 2006).

TAXES

Federal income taxes remain the subject of intense discussion and debate, and they serve as a major factor in examining the impact of the American economy on the daily lives of families. In 2004 the Internal Revenue Service established the following tax rates for married couples filing a joint return. The statistics do not take into account a variety of deductions, such as dependents, medical expenses, and so on.

Income	**Tax Rate**
Up to $14,300	10%
$14,300–$58,100	15%
$58,100–$117,250	25%
$117,250–$178,000	28%
$178,000–$319,000	33%
Over $319,000	35%

Those figures changed only slightly between 1993 and 2004, even considering the tax reduction bill that the administration of George W. Bush and the Republican Congress legislated in 2003. In 1990, the tax rate for the highest 20 percent of earners was 28 percent. It climbed to 39.6 percent in 1993, dropped to 38.6 percent in 2002, and settled at 35 percent in 2003.

FICA (Federal Insurance Contribution Act, or Social Security) and Medicare payments create additional revenue for the government and increase costs to American employees, employers, and families. The FICA tax adds 12.4 percent of income, and Medicare an additional 2.9 percent. Employees pay half those amounts from their wages, while their employers pay the other half.

Distribution of tax responsibility and revenue collection based on income indicates that the wealthiest 20 percent contribute the largest percentage of revenue to the federal government. The following 1995 sample of revenue collection, by income, indicates the figures.

Highest 20% of earners	78% of revenue
Second highest 20%	16%
Middle 20%	7%
Second lowest 20%	1%
Lowest 20%	–2%

The Internal Revenue Service also evaluates the number of American families who file their tax returns in those five income brackets: 22.2 million in the highest bracket, 21.2 in the second, 21.2 in the third, 21.8 in the fourth, and 21.2 in the bottom 20 percent. While wealthy earners have access to a variety of tax deductions and tax laws that help protect their earnings, the data suggests clearly that the central object of a graduated income tax works. The wealthiest Americans pay the most revenue. At the same time, the numbers indicate that almost two-thirds of American families had earned incomes that defined middle- and upper-middle-class financial status (U.S. Internal Revenue Service).

While politicians and economists debate the various statistics and their day-to-day impact on Americans, the numbers remain an interesting factor to ponder. Free market defenders believe that tax reduction, even for the wealthy, places more money in the hands of individuals and families, encourages them to save or spend their own money, ultimately generates more jobs and income, and therefore creates more income that can be taxed. Critics believe that the tax reduction legislation in 2003 provided a special benefit for the wealthiest Americans and harmed the middle- and lower-income earners. In simple terms, the rich got richer, while other Americans saw little or no benefit. At the end of 2005, the impact of the pro-growth supply side tax reduction created a new debate. Because the economy expanded and personal income rose, tax revenue increased by almost 15 percent and federal revenues jumped to $249 billion. The federal deficit dropped from $318 billion to $260 billion.

Besides federal income taxes, FICA, and Medicare payments, Americans are also subject to a variety of state and local taxes. Forty-one states impose income taxes on their residents. New Hampshire and Tennessee tax only dividends and stock earnings. Alabama, Florida, Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming have no state income taxes. Thirty-five states base their taxes on federal income returns and charge a smaller percentage than the central government to taxpayers. Maine and New York have the highest state tax rates. Alabama and New Hampshire require the lowest taxes based on income. Besides income taxes, states also have sales taxes to enhance their revenues. Only five states have no sales tax: Alaska, Delaware, Montana, New Hampshire, and Oregon. In most states with sales taxes, which range from 4 to 7 percent, food, clothing, and medicines are exempted. Both states and the federal government derive additional revenue from liquor, cigarettes, and gasoline. The federal government taxes on gasoline amount to 18.4 cents a gallon. Each state imposes its own tax on gasoline, diesel, and other fuels. "Sin taxes," on liquor and cigarettes, also enhance state revenues. Minnesota, as an example, has added a tax of 75 cents to each pack of cigarettes Americans purchase. While supporters of the tax increase applaud the higher sin taxes as a method to reduce consumption, critics charge that the fewer people who purchase the products, as a result of increased costs, the fewer dollars states will derive to respond to health care costs and other necessary social services (http://www.retirementliving.com).

Local property taxes make up a third part of American taxation for families. Real estate taxes account for almost all of local taxation. Most of that revenue, more than 50 percent, goes to public education. The rest supports a variety of services, including police, firefighters, emergency medical response, trash collection, and other essential local demands. On average, Americans pay about 35 percent of their gross incomes, annually, to the three areas of government, federal, state, and local, that require those revenues. Certainly, the amount of income that individuals derive, the amount of consumer purchases they make, and the states where they live alter the percentage. If Americans complain about being over-taxed—"I must work from January to May to pay the government, then from June to December for my own and my family's benefit"—total tax demands are much less than in European countries. Recent figures compiled in the European Union estimate that European families pay tax revenues in excess of 40 percent at the national level (http://www.finfacts.com/Private/tax/taxationeuropeanunion25.htm).

Increased taxes alone did not create the budget surpluses of the late 1990s. An expanded economy, lower interest rates, and reduced inflation also impacted on federal revenues and expenditures. A look at the federal budget indicates the significance of interest rates and the general influence those rates have on the nation's finances.

Federal Budget: Example from 1997 Budget

Medicare/Medicaid—23.25%	Interest on debt—15.2%
Social Security—22.45%	Discretionary—17.3%
Defense—16.8%	Other programs—9.3%

As the interest rates in the nation declined as a whole, the amount of money the government had to allocate to pay the interest on the federal debt declined accordingly. That one factor alone reduced the federal budget by billions of dollars. At the end of the 1990s, the government seemed to have gained control of its expenditures and eliminated the massive deficit that had weakened the economy in the previous decade.

TECHNOLOGY

The evolution and growth of high-tech electronics and computer businesses developed after World War II, partly tied to the defense industry. Early computers were used as code-breaking machines during the war. International Business Machines (IBM) developed computer guidance systems and other sophisticated military hardware for the air force. During the 1950s, half of IBM's revenues came from defense contracts. As scientists and technical specialists looked for ways to bring computer technology into the civilian marketplace, the impact on the American economy grew dramatically. In 1971, scientists created the first microprocessors (microchips) for computers that reduced the size, enhanced the capacity, and lowered the cost of the machines. Just north of San Jose, California, computer businesses established offices in what came to be called Silicon Valley. By the beginning of the 1980s, more than a quarter of a million people worked in the area, and 3,000 businesses dealing in electronics and computers had offices there. Related businesses spread throughout the western United States.

Microprocessors enabled users to store huge amounts of data in relatively small, portable computers (desktop and eventually laptop). Computer programmers continued to work on systems that would make the everyday use of computers easier to comprehend. Bill Gates founded Microsoft in 1975, whose corporate goal aimed at "putting a computer on every desktop." In 1976, Steven Jobs and Stephen Wozniak, college dropouts, founded the Apple Computer Company. IBM joined shortly in the home computer business. The high-tech companies continued to market their products to government, businesses, and home users. By 1988, sales of computers had reached 10 million. By the 1990s they had become an integral aspect of everyday American life. In 1996, 14 percent of adults reported they used Internet access in their homes or businesses. By 2003, 79 percent used the service. By comparison, it took almost four decades for radios to attract 50 million American users, and 13 years for television sets to reside in 50 million homes. It took computers fewer than four years to reach the same numbers of Americans using the equipment.


"Soccer mom" and family. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

Computer technology and its everyday use in homes and businesses during the 1990s accelerated the development of Internet services like the World Wide Web. Essentially, the high-tech computer industry had developed a three-part business process as the market expanded. Hardware, software, and the Internet formed the triad. As an example, Apple computers sold hardware, the actual machines. Bill Gates's Microsoft Company sold the software packages that a corporation, such as IBM, could purchase and put in their computers (hardware). Internet services, like the World Wide Web, could then utilize both hardware and software systems to go online with a variety of informational and commercial systems to make the computers more appealing to consumers. At the technical level, microprocessors (microchips) enabled everyone, from producer to consumer, to use smaller, cheaper, and faster equipment.

The high-tech boom translated into other commercial options. The Internet, e-mail, cell phone (wireless telephones), iPods, and other electronic devices became essential aspects of an expanding electronic economy. The initial concept of Internet connections with computers derived from a national defense and academic demand. During the late 1970s and the 1980s, ARPAnet (Advanced Research Projects Administration of the Defense Department) developed a communication system to respond to a nuclear attack against the United States. During the 1980s, academic institutions, science labs, and other technical facilities also employed Internet services. The Department of Defense released control of the service in 1984, opening the option to private and commercial use. Then, in 1991, the World Wide Web inaugurated Internet services that encouraged commercial and private users to develop their own Web sites. That enabled the users to place commercial, political, economic, and social information online for anyone with Internet ownership to access. At the same time, technology allowed the Internet services to expand their bandwidth, and that innovation enabled Web sites to fill their pages with pictures, designs, and graphic creations. By the beginning of the new century, almost 80 percent of Americans indicated that they used computers and Internet systems as part of their personal or business life (Goldfield 2001, 924–25).

That instant information and communication commerce also witnessed the rapid growth in the use of personal cell phones. Phone companies in the 1980s sold a small number of cell phones (mobile phones) for emergency use. The businesses exploited underused radio bands and satellite systems to provide the wireless service. As consumer interest expanded, the companies began to build a series of wireless microwave broadcasting towers. Government deregulation also encouraged competition as more wireless systems came online and could advertise their products. In 1990, 5 million Americans had purchased cell phones. In 2003, nearly 160 million people owned the wireless option, more than half the population.

Critics of the exploding electronic economy wrote extensively about the "Instant Society." Consumers wanted rapid communication and information. Whether that data was accurate or even necessary remained a subject of debate. Some observers predicted that the Internet would doom published books and magazines as more people typed "www.whatever" on their computers and waited for the information. Would libraries and book publishers go out of fashion and out of business? Would students, at every level of education, forsake books for electronics? How would the new source of information impact on intellectual property rights?

The use of cell phones became both a subject of serious concern and the butt of numerous cartoons and jokes. The stereotyped "soccer mom" in her suburban van, with a cell phone "welded" to her ear, became a commonplace theme for comedians and cartoonists. At the same time, police agencies worried about the increase in automobile accidents, the result, evidence often indicated, of people using cell phones while they drove. The state of New Jersey passed laws prohibiting the use of handheld cell phones in order to alleviate the problem. Drivers cavalierly disobeyed the law and continued talking. It reminded one police officer of H. L. Mencken's comment in the 1920s regarding prohibition—"Americans are the most law abiding people on earth, so long as they agree with the law."

Ultimately, the high-tech economic boom of the 1990s provided consumers with a vast array of products and services to make their lives easier and more beneficial. Other sections of the chapter will examine the influence of high-tech economics on domestic and material life for Americans as they pursued their day-to-day existence. As an economic factor, however, the high-tech boom created a whole new field of commerce that created millions of jobs, billions of dollars in profits, and a major impact on research and development technology.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

About.com. "Globalization." http://globalization.about.com.
Beck, Millie Allen. *Labor Relations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.
Federal Trade Commission. http://www.ftc.gov/credit/.
Goldfield, David, et al. *The American Journey*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001.
North American Free Trade Agreement. http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/menu-en.asp.
Sawhill, Isabel V. "Poverty in the United States." *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*. http://www.econlib.org.
Securities and Exchange Commission. http://www.sec.gov.
Shop PBS. http://www.shoppbs.org.
"Taxation in the EU from 1995 to 2002. Tax Rates." *Income and Corporate Tax Rates 2004*. http://www.finfacts.com/Private/tax/taxationeuropeanunion25.htm.
"Taxes by States." http://www.retirementliving.com/RL taxes.
U.S. Department of Labor. http://www.dol.gov.
U.S. Internal Revenue Service. http://www.irs.gov.
U.S. Office of Management and Budget. http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb.
The Wall Street Journal. http://online.wsj.com/public/us.

Intellectual Life

OVERVIEW

Two main currents continued to influence intellectual life in the United States. The evolution of a popular, mass culture and the continued growth of a classical commitment to more traditional forms of intellectual and cultural interest defined those two trends in modern American intellectual life. Urban, egalitarian, mass interest in a broad variety of popular options from literature to movies to art has generated interest among an increasing number of Americans, and these forms remain a widely popular and diverse aspect of the culture's intellectual attraction. At the same time, however classical modes of intellectual curiosity also attract and continue to influence American thought and practice. Serious, provocative novels compete with melodrama and pulp fiction for the attention of American readers. Symphony orchestras in most American cities offer an alternative to rock concerts. Seventy percent of living Nobel Prize winners live in the United States, most working at major American universities. In the fields of science, medicine, and other intellectual disciplines, the nation still attracts top professionals. Those men and women provide an ongoing creativity of thought and progress.

Ultimately, free societies create an atmosphere of free thought. In contemporary American society, daily life exposes the public to a multitude of intellectual options, both simple and complex. The dichotomy of "lowbrow" versus "highbrow" intellectualism in the United States has often sparked a curious dialogue and debate, both in the United States and abroad. The contemporary era seems to suggest no specific school of thought or viewpoint as dominant on the American landscape. If individual authors, artists, and intellectuals spoke for a particular idea or theme in previous decades in American life, that is not the case in the past 15 years. As one observer noted, American intellectual life currently has no hegemonic view. So many different forms of expression now exist that it remains difficult to point to individuals or styles to define various expressions in intellectual life.

In the 1920s, H. L. Mencken, the noted newspaper iconoclast, remarked that "nobody ever went broke underestimating the taste of the American public." Current critics of U.S. intellectual life might argue that that jab at the culture's substance is still valid. They often point to the great wasteland that they see in American culture. They perceive a people besotted by bad television shows, mass sporting events, overt commercialism, and the dumbing down of intellectual curiosity and substance. As an example, public education in the United States is often challenged as less than productive when compared to other Western, industrialized nations. Test scores in math and reading skills often indicate that American elementary and secondary students fall well below the standards set in a number of other countries. Particular concern exists with regard to minority Americans who fall victim, in Jonathan Kozol's words, to "savage inequality" in their access to sound, stimulating education (from the title of Kozol's 1991 book on American education).

An alternative view sees a robust intellectual climate in the United States. In the midst of lowest-common-denominator arguments, American daily life continues to offer variety that runs the gamut of substance. While that gives critics the opportunity to select appropriate examples to support their claims, and they should, it overlooks the substance they choose not to consider. Education in the United States confronts problems at every level, and the issues are serious and profound. Yet, American education continues to provide more people with access to higher education than any other nation on earth. Thousands of colleges and universities open their doors to millions of students each year, offering an advanced education and intellectual pursuits. Many of those institutions of learning are the finest in the world, where provocative and creative intellectual thought and accomplishment occur every day. One could hardly argue that Yale, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Stanford fail to challenge the best minds in the nation. And hundreds of other colleges and universities do the same.

One can arrange the same debate in all of the topics discussed below, and it remains the goal of the section to examine both aspects of American intellectual life as daily life in the United States entered the twenty-first century. A main theme throughout the encyclopedia continues to stress the idea that a society as complex and broad as the United States offers so many options, both positive and questionable, that it remains difficult to develop a single, simple explanation. Certainly, intellectual life in American daily life sees that same challenge.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

In the years following World War II, much American art reflected the realism of artists like Andrew Wyeth, but American painters increasingly turned more to abstract art by the beginning of the 1960s. Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, and other abstract artists began to create bold imagery that defined a new abstract expressionism that elevated American painting to a new level of respect in the artistic world. Sculpture saw a similar development, with David Smith and Herbert Ferber using abstract forms of light and space in their creations. Pop art also emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. Andy Warhol's famous Campbell Soup Can epitomized the style, but other artists joined the new fields of pop art, minimalism, and color-field painting to add variety to the expanding field. Traditional observers often criticized the new forms as simplistic or childish, but they became standard and popular by the 1980s.

During the 1970s, the increased creativity of female and minority artists also changed the nature of artistic expression in American life. Artists focused their work on their distinctive heritage or social circumstance. Judy Chicago and Jenny Holzer suggest examples of the individualism in the art of the period. By the end of the 1980s, no single genre of artistic expression seemed to dominate or influence America's scene. As with many other intellectual venues, American art has gone off in a variety of directions. The growing use of words in art, as a statement and an image, and the increased use of photography, collage, and other media also influence contemporary artistic expression. The field has also shown a resurgence of realism and what one critic called "borrowings" from other periods and works of art. American art and architecture in the new century shows broad style and interest that continue to fill the numerous galleries in America with expressive work. Popular commercial artists also influence the field. Howard Behrans and Thomas Kinkade produce mass-consumption landscapes that remain widely popular. Folk, local, and regional art have also added to the healthy and varietal expressions of American life. One person's graffiti is another's art, and the regional Amish barn art continues to attract attention. In every area, rural and urban, in the United States, local artists create for local audiences. They add to the wide quilt of American artistic life.

EDUCATION

Since the U.S. Department of Education published *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, Americans have struggled with concerns regarding the benefits and problems in public education. In that 1983 report, the National Commission on Excellence in Education claimed that American "students were not studying the right subjects, were not working hard enough, and were not learning enough. Their schools suffered from slack and uneven standards. Many of their teachers were ill-prepared." The report concluded with a grim prediction that the nation's elementary and secondary schools would soon be engulfed in a "rising tide of mediocrity." Since the publication of that sobering document, concern about public education and its impact on the intellectual lives of young people has occupied the attention of local and state governments, primarily concerned with public education. At the same time, two presidential administrations have cited "educational excellence" as a major aspect of their agendas. Business executives and human resource departments in the business world have joined a chorus calling for students better able to compete in a global economy, with the basic educational skills to do so. During the 1990s, an increase in drug use, gun violence, gangs, teenage pregnancies, and numerous other concerns seemed to center around a failed public educational system, with lip service paid to other social factors that may have contributed to those issues. One could not disagree, however, that national test scores (Scholastic Aptitude Test) and other evaluations evidenced declining scores and skills, especially when compared to other Western industrial nations. Even worse, minority student scores showed steeper declines. By the end of the decade of the 1990s, half of America's African American students had dropped out by their senior year in high school. One critic defined the education of those black students who stayed in school as a "yawning achievement gap" compared with white students in affluent suburban schools (Williams 2006, A 15).

In a recent ABC story, "Stupid in America," John Stossel attacked the education system in even more stark language. The variety of criticisms has certainly influenced government attention. The administration of President George W. Bush developed the "No Child Left Behind" legislation with Congress in January 2002 to address the growing chorus of concerns. The federal government created standards to measure learning accomplishments in the state systems and seeks to enforce those standards through the Department of Education. Charter schools, home schooling, the growth of private and faith-based schools, and other alternative types of education have also evolved in the past 20 years to offer alternative methods of education. The criticisms of American public education have existed throughout the twentieth century and at various times have drawn significant public attention. In 2005, more than 77 million Americans attended schools, from kindergarten through undergraduate college. In the same year, 85 percent of the general population had earned high school degrees. Twenty-seven percent had earned undergraduate degrees. The literacy rate in the United States for 15-year-olds ranged between 86 and 98 percent depending on the region of the country. A recent UN analysis of American education gave the country a 99.9 rating, the highest it provides, placing the United States with 20 other nations as the top systems throughout the world (U.S. Department of Education Report 2007). Higher education in America, both undergraduate and graduate, still offers a large and impressive opportunity for enhancing intellectual growth in the nation, and the number of college graduates is the highest per capita in the world. As noted in the overview, 70 percent of Nobel Prize recipients live in the United States, and most teach or do research in American universities. While the debate and dialogue concerning the role of education in the United States remains a heated and often divisive issue, daily access to a broad and varied educational experience remains a major aspect of life in the United States.

FILM

During the 1990s, the American Film Institute asked 1,500 members to rate the best 100 films in American movie history. *Citizen Kane* (1941) and *Casablanca* (1942) topped the list. A quick review of decade-by-decade evaluations since World War II offers an interesting look at the number and type of movies that the members considered worthy of merit. Twelve films from 1940, 19 from 1950, 18 from 1960, 18 from 1970, 6 from 1980, and 8 from 1990 made the list. In "movie-made" America, the culture often reflects its stereotypes and attitudes in the films that its people admire and frequent. Outside the United States, many foreign observers identify their views of America based on the nation's exported films and television shows. Movies have become such a profound aspect of America's intellectual climate that they deserve particular scrutiny. Listed below are the films of the 1990s that appeared in the top 100 films, with their rank:

Schindler's List (1993) #9
Silence of the Lambs (1991) #65
Forrest Gump (1994) #71
Dances with Wolves (1990) #75
Fargo (1996) #84
Goodfellas (1990) #94
Pulp Fiction (1994) #95
Unforgiven (1992) #98

All of the films honored in the 1990s explored serious topics, from the Holocaust, to crime, to relations with American Indians. While no single theme or particular genre dominated films in the 1990s, the public could experience a continuing commercial film commitment to quality production and performances. Additionally, the contemporary era has seen major innovations in film technology. Computer graphics and other new forms of technology have had a major impact on movie production. J.R.R. Tolkien's classic trilogy *Lord of the Rings* came to the screen in epic form during

2001–2003 and utilized the new technology brilliantly. The initial use of that form may have begun with George Lucas's *Star Wars* in 1977, and its use has remained a major factor in contemporary films that require digital-graphic production scenes. Special effects technology has changed dramatically.

New concepts in animation have also influenced American movies. Pixar Animation Studios invented new techniques for producing animated films, video games, and other graphics in the 1970s and 1980s and came to the wide screen in the 1990s with *Toy Story*. The company began a long negotiation with Walt Disney Productions to work on additional animated movies like *The Incredibles*. Eventually they would join the Disney family as a subsidiary corporation in 2006.

Commercially, the American movie industry continues to enjoy financial success, although the old studio system has long given way to independent production, release, and profit sharing. Weekly movie attendance remained in the mid-$20 million range throughout the period 1991 to 2001 and climbed to $30 million weekly in 2002. Americans remained willing to pay between $4 and $6 per ticket to see their choices. It is interesting to note that Americans spent 23 percent of their recreation dollars on movies between 1942 and 1945, while they spent only 2 percent in 2000. While attendance figures are far below the record 80 million numbers in the 1940s, it remains important to remember the variety of other media available to Americans today (Pautz 2002). Options in home technology, such as DVD players, have enabled families to rent or purchase films at stores like Blockbuster, which had close to 3,000 stores nationwide by 2004.

Likewise, cable, more channels, and pay-per-view options brought movies into millions of American homes. Reflecting the trend, movie makers regularly adapted their big-screen productions for home viewing.

LITERATURE

No single author or literary style speaks to the contemporary American society, but America's current literary genres have produced a number of exciting and accomplished writers. Douglas Coupland, a Canadian novelist, published *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture* in 1991. Generation X became the name for those who reached adulthood in the late 1980s. The characters in the novel, often seen as accurate portrayals, shun the fast-paced commercialized world in an effort to find themselves.

This self-exploration is also one of the themes in both Brett Easton Ellis's *American Psycho* and Charles Michael Palahniuk's *Fight Club*. In *American Psycho*, the protagonist, Patrick Bateman, must battle his inner demons as he balances his daytime yuppie *persona* in corporate America and his evening endeavors as a serial killer. *Fight Club*, on the other hand, features a protagonist on the edge of sanity. That schizophrenic character has imaginary conversations and battles with his alter ego. In the Coupland model, this story represents a deep-seated desire to break from normality and delve into the psyche. Both *American Psycho* and *Fight Club* have achieved a cult following and were made into motion pictures starring Christian Bale and Ed Norton, respectively.

The exploration of personal demons also appeared in Edna Annie Proulx's Pulitzer Prize winning novel *The Shipping News* and short story "Brokeback Mountain" and Michael Cunnigham's Pulitzer Prize–winning novel *The Hours.* As with other key works of literature from this era, all were turned into blockbuster motion pictures starring some of the era's finest actors.

In addition to influential novels, several notable writers have produced collections of their short stories and poetry. Dominican-born Junot Diaz became an overnight success in 1996 when his short stories were published in the anthology *Drown.* Edwidge Danticat also rose to fame with the 1995 publication of her short stories in the anthology *Krik Krak.* Only 26 years of age at the time, Danticat was considered one of America's most celebrated new writers. *Krik Krak* was a finalist for the 1995 National Book Award. Two poets who enjoyed notoriety before the 1990s continued to garner accolades throughout the era. New York native Billy Collins published highly recognized collections of poetry, *Questions about Angels* and *The Art of Drowning,* in 1991 and 1995 respectively. Pennsylvania native Gerald Stern's 1998 collection *This Time: New and Selected Poems* won that year's National Book Award.

The period from 1991 through 2005 has seen great diversity in literature. Americans continued to find meaning and diversion in novels, short stories, and poems. Age, level of education, and household income had a tremendous effect on people's reading habits. Of the books sold between 2000 and 2004, the highest percentage, 24.2 percent, were sold to Americans between the ages of 45 and 54. Also of note is the fact that another 20.5 percent of books went to people over the age of 65. Lagging far behind, Americans under the age of 25 bought only 5 percent of the books sold in the United States, although people of that age have access to books in school and online. In that regard, the book-owner count may be deceiving concerning readership.

With regard to education, 54.3 percent of the books were sold to high school graduates. This figure is much larger than the 17.2 percent of books sold to Americans with a college degree and the 16.5 percent of books sold to people with education beyond college. Interestingly, even those American who did not have a high school diploma bought 12 percent of the books sold in the country, and those with a household income less than $30,000 bought 34.7 percent of the books purchased in America (U.S. Census Bureau Report 2000, *Book Purchasing for Adults*).

MEDICINE

Americans saw amazing advancements in the field of medicine during the era. Physicians and patients benefited from the rise in pharmacological research. Drug companies invested billions of dollars in finding new ways to treat common diseases.

In the wake of the HIV/AIDS crisis of the 1980s, Americans became more concerned with health care. Growing concerns regarding health and the health care industry also emerged as an aging generation of Americans considered their own possible problems with heart disease, cancer, and other potential health problems. Yet, the HIV/AIDS concern attracted great interest in American life. Contributing to that was the fact that celebrities like Magic Johnson, the NBA basketball star, were diagnosed HIV positive. His infection suggested that HIV/AIDS threatened more than homosexuals and intravenous drug users. Johnson continued to be one of the most inspirational survival stories. Much of that was due to the experimental medicine to which Johnson has had access.

As the drug industry grew, new companies arose that dedicated themselves to pharmaceutical research. Drug companies often conducted their own research on new medication; however, in order to ensure impartiality, outside organizations called Contract Research Organizations (CROs) began to take the reins. Those CROs contracted out to the drug companies and conducted necessary clinical research trials in order to have a drug or medical device approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA).

Drug companies dedicated much time and resources to developing medications to combat the most deadly illnesses in American society. Trials focused on new medication to fight cancer, heart disease, and diabetes. With those advancements, however, Americans also saw setbacks. In 2004, the pharmaceutical company Merck stopped distribution of their popular drug Vioxx. That anti-inflammatory medication, geared toward arthritis patients, allegedly created an increased risk of heart disease and stroke. In the wake of the scandal, Merck faced numerous lawsuits and falling stock prices.

A major change in medicine was the solidification of managed care within the medical insurance industry. In many ways, managed care changed health care from a nonprofit to a for-profit business. Although there were several forms of managed care, including HMO, PPO, and POS, all managed care set regulations on patient–physician interaction. Many of the managed-care companies set limits on the amount of time a physician should spend with a patient, regulated the types of medications (usually favoring cheaper generic drugs) that physicians prescribed, and required referrals from primary care physicians before the insurance company would pay for a patient to see a specialist. Managed care did not succeed in cutting the cost of health care, and as of 2005 medical inflation was two to three times that of the country's overall inflation rate. Health care costs remained a major concern of employers and workers, and proposals for various government-run health care plans became regular fare in political campaigns across the country.

Also complicating the picture was the new practice of drug companies advertising particular prescription drugs directly to potential consumers, on TV and in magazines. The advertisements targeted particular audiences, especially the graying Baby Boomer generation. The wide availability of over-the-counter medicines and drugs, combined with the aggressive promotion of drugs as providing miracle relief from many real, and some imaginary, ailments and health problems contributed to the profits of drug companies. The marketing concept also implied that science could cure all.

MUSIC

As was the case with other forms of intellectual and artistic expression, there is no consensus in recent American music. The past decade and a half continued the trend toward so-called individualism in music. Alternative sounds gained increasing play on radio and on CDs. From 1991–1993, the music from garage band grunge culture coursed through the airwaves. Seattle-based bands like Nirvana, Alice in Chains, Pearl Jam, and Sound Garden created a unique sound that countless others attempted to emulate. That grunge music, a fusion of traditional punk, heavy metal, and idle rock, featured gritty guitar riffs and heavy drums. Those bands expressed their emotions through their heavy-hearted lyrics, sullied appearance, and edgy music.

At the same time the grunge movement was taking the country by storm, other artists were reviving and fusing musical genres. Rhythm and blues (R&B) artists like Boyz II Men, who debuted in 1991, resurrected soul music in their love ballads and joined those songs with more contemporary upbeat R&B tunes. Boyz II Men literally put Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, back at the top of the music industry, calling their music "Motown Philly." That rebirth of music in Philadelphia brought the City of Brotherly Love back to the 1970s glory achieved by "Philly soul" artists like Teddy Pendergrass, the O'Jays, the Spinners, and Patti LaBelle. Other Philadelphia natives, namely Musiq Soulchild and Jill Scott, have since capitalized on the renewed interest in Philadelphia musicians.

With grunge firmly entrenched on the West Coast in cities like Seattle, and soul resurfacing on the East Coast in cities like Philadelphia, the vanguard musical cities of New York and Los Angeles needed to reassess their dominance in the music industry. In both cases, rap became the vehicle for continued influence. West Coast rap, born out of the style of 1980s rap group Niggaz with Attitudes (NWA), featured cavalier attitudes along with forceful racial messages.

Not to be outdone, East Coast rappers, centered in New York City, developed their own version of the genre. While the music samples, often taken from 1960s and 1970s soul and R&B hits, were less intense than in West Coast rap, the lyrics carried a similar message of dissatisfaction with the state of race in this country. Both groups of rappers also spent a great deal of time talking about survival in the urban setting. Christopher Wallace (Biggy Smalls or Notorious BIG) was the most famous of the East Coast rappers. His two albums, *Ready to Die* and *Life after Death*, released posthumously, defined the musical style, and a generation of rappers looked up to him.

Surely, the only things that could have slowed the success of East Coast and West Coast rap were the rappers. In the late 1990s, a feud developed between rappers from the two coasts. The prime example of this was the battles between Californian Tupac Shakur and New Yorker Christopher Wallace. Both men were shot to death, likely as part of the ongoing East Coast vs. West Coast feud. Despite the fact that the leading faces on both coasts died, the music lives on. Wallace's producer Sean "Puffy" Combs (P. Diddy or Diddy) began a solo career after the death of his star artist and, through his record label (Bad Boy), his clothing line, and his television fame, he is one of the most successful musical personalities of the day.

Today, rappers continue presenting politically charged messages as they talk about the conditions of their everyday lives. Curtis James Jackson III (50 Cent) burst on the scene in the late 1990s. He continued the gangsta rap style of Shakur and Wallace. Other regions in the country now also boast a version of the rap genre. Cornell Haynes Jr. (Nelly) put Missouri on the map with his *Country Grammar,* and cities like Memphis, Atlanta, New Orleans, and Miami showed off their "Dirty South" style through rappers like Maurice Young (Trick Daddy), Timothy Mosley (Timbaland), and Katrina Taylor (Trina).

Not all music in the era offered such statements of anger and disillusionment. Popular artists like Whitney Houston, Madonna, Sheryl Crow, and Celine Dion sang sweeping ballads that captured the country's imagination. Throughout the era, their music was featured in motion pictures like *The Bodyguard, Austin Powers: The Spy Who Shagged Me,* and *Titanic.* Additionally, unisex bands like the Spice Girls, the Backstreet Boys, and N-Sync and solo artists like Britney Spears and Christina Aguilera led a revival of teenybopper culture reminiscent of the 1980s New Kids on the Block, Menudo, and New Edition crazes.

Whether an expression of anguish or a celebration of youth, music in the era was typified by individual messages and collective audiences. That merger of the personal and the communal was also the model for the distribution of music. With advancement in technology Americans experienced the rise of online music sharing. By the end of 2001, it was estimated that as many CDs were burned and copied from the Internet as were bought. Internet sites like Morpheus and Limewire allowed people to access millions of songs for free. Anyone who chose to do so could log on to those Web sites and share all of the music on their computer with everyone else. It was the ultimate communal experience, but more importantly, it was cutting into the music industry's bottom line. Over the past several years, the industry has attempted to cut down on this piracy. Following lawsuits for alleged copyright infringements, Napster, the father of the file-sharing industry, began requiring a subscription in order to obtain music. Apple's iPod and Microsoft's proposed Zune require specific file formats to play music on their devices. That, too, cut down on illegal file sharing; however, revenues in the music industry have been dragging, and industry executives blame this solely on online piracy.

PHILOSOPHY AND SCHOLARSHIP

Scholars throughout the era produced a great deal of theory-laden work following poststructuralism models. Theorists dealt with issues like race, class, gender, and sexuality. The so-called "other Americans" became the focus of writers who attempted to break down the alleged white male domination of their respective disciplines and develop works that celebrate diverse American experiences.

Drawing on advancements made since the mid-1950s, historians, anthropologists, literary critics, and sociologists took pains to analyze the lives of nonwhite Americans. Key historical works, like Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color* and Grace Elizabeth Hale's *Making Whiteness*, challenged ideas of what it meant to be white in American society and who historically was able to claim whiteness. Furthermore, critical race theorists provided a more nuanced picture of the white privilege in American society and culture.

Other scholars took the critical theory model and utilized it in a more global analysis. The 1990s and 2000s saw the proliferation of postcolonial studies. Always wary of language and meaning, those poststructuralists refused to use terms like Third World and Developing Nations to describe non-Western countries, because Third World implied that those nations were inferior to the First and Second World. Developing Nations implied that those countries aspired to be like the West. Instead, to them, the term postcolonial more accurately described the fact that the countries were economic, political, social, and cultural products of Western colonization.

As part of that growing concern for underrepresented groups, scholars have increasingly focused on the plight of women both in the United States and abroad. In fact, much of critical theory and poststructuralist thinking had its roots in gender theory. Prominent scholars like Michel Foucault, who studied power relationships in social institutions, and Jacques Derrida, who focused on deconstructing the language to allow the audience to better understand the presenter, included some discussion of gender in their analyses. Julia Kristeva added to that and focused her attention almost exclusively on women. While those three scholars were not American, their research and theories influenced a generation of American intellectuals.

More recently, scholars, particularly those interested in gender theory, have turned their attention to the study of sexuality. Those intellectuals challenged traditional gender conventions while also questioning the notion that male/female relationships represent the natural order. Rather than touting the male/female relationship, the scholars argued that America suffered from a compulsory heterosexuality, where it was assumed that everyone would find the opposite sex attractive and settle into a heterosexual relationship. The research emboldened a generation of nonheterosexual Americans, and gay pride celebrations, "queer" groups, grassroots activism, and movements to allow gay marriage became staples in American society.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Many of the advances in science and technology since 1991 came in the areas of entertainment. In 1991, Americans watched their favorite sitcoms via cable television or television antennas, viewed blockbuster movies on VCR tapes, communicated via bulky cellular and house phones and researched information in the closest library. All of that changed in subsequent years.

In 1996, small digital satellite dishes (18 inches in diameter) hit the market, and they became the second best-selling electronic item in history. The only better-selling product was the VCR. For many Americans, the dishes allowed satellite television providers to compete with local cable companies.

Although the VCR was a popular item in the 1990s, by the year 2000, DVD movies became as common as VHS tapes. In the next year, the DVD took over the home entertainment industry, and by 2004 DVD sales outpaced VHS tape sales. Adding to the digital phenomenon, in 2003, the first DVD camcorders were released. They allowed individuals to record their own movies in digital format.

To view the new DVDs and home movies, by 2005, almost all of the televisions sold in the United States were flat screen. The prices of large-screen plasma and LCD televisions dropped, and by 2005 a 42-inch plasma television retailed for as low as $1,400. The sales of high-definition televisions, with their greatly improved picture quality, were also on the rise as prices dropped. All of that led to more people watching movies on their state-of-the-art home theater systems. Attempting to capitalize on the recent development, motion picture companies began to decrease the time between when movies appeared in the theater and when they were released for sale to the general public.

Also available for ready consumption was popular music. Cellular phones decreased in size to the point where the Motorola Razr came as small as 13.9 millimeters thick, 53 millimeters wide, and 98 millimeters long. At these decreased sizes, cellular phones still had the capability to store and play music, thus making music readily available. Additionally, cellular phone owners could communicate using text messaging and e-mailing in addition to making a basic phone call.

Another medium for portable music began in 2001 with the introduction of the Apple iPod. That tiny music player revolutionized the music industry. With a sleek design and easy use, the iPod became a market phenomenon. Over its first five years, 67 million iPods were sold, and Apple controlled 75 percent of the music download industry (*Morning Edition*, October 23, 2006).

Of course, the expansion of the Internet provided the forum for music downloading. Over the 15-year period, Internet use skyrocketed. Cellular phones, home computers, laptops, and countless other devices gained Internet capability. High-speed connections made surfing the Web easier and more enjoyable. By 2005, having a good Web site became a must for most businesses in the United States.

Y2K: The Millennium Scare

In the 1960s and into the 1980s, computer software applications had used two-digit number systems to indicate calendar years rather than four-digit designations (81 rather than 1981). A concern grew as the year 2000 (the millennium) approached. The two-digit system could interpret ’00 as 1900 rather than 2000. That held the potential to create a computer glitch or bug that might threaten a host of major computer applications in software and firmware. In finance, telecom, aviation, and even government, the flaw held the possibility to impact severely records and sensitive data.

Companies and institutions around the world spent billions of dollars as their computer specialists responded to the potential threat, seeking methods to correct the possible crisis. Some institutions switched off their systems as January 1, 2000, approached and others went to back-up systems. Pundits and experts debated the possible impact, some predicting an international catastrophe. Bank records might disappear, communication systems could fail, and an American society dependent on computer technology could face a major calamity. As the new year began, however, no major problems occurred, and the "Y2K" scare passed without any significant consequences (http://www.y2ktimebomb.com).

TELEVISION

The era saw the rise and fall of countless television shows. In the age of hundreds of channel options, few shows lasted for more than five or six years. Television programs that defied that trend vary in genre. Half-hour sitcoms like *Friends* and *Seinfeld* were the most notable examples. *Friends*, a comedy about six young adults living in New York City, aired from 1994 until 2004. The program dominated the Thursday evening airwaves along with *Seinfeld*. The brainchild of its namesake Jerry Seinfeld, that show aired from 1989 to 1998. Also set in New York City, the creators of *Seinfeld* boasted that it was a show about nothing. Members of the cast, from both of the sitcoms, moved on to spin-off shows, but none of them boasted the fan base of *Friends* and *Seinfeld*.

Hour-long shows also had success during the time period. The part science fiction, part detective drama *X-Files* developed a cult following from 1993 through 2002. That television series was so popular that it inspired a movie released in 1998. When it launched in 1993, *X-Files* became a major hit for the relatively new Fox Broadcasting Company.

Other hour-long programs, geared largely to a young adult audience, thrived during the period. *Beverly Hills 90210* obtained a large following while it aired from 1990 to 2000. The show, about a group of friends in Beverly Hills, California, followed their lives from the teenage years to adulthood and from high school to college life. *Charmed*, a show about three sisters who were also witches, aired from 1998 to 2006. Vampire-themed shows like *Angel* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* also enjoyed success in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Some animated programs enjoyed success over the era. Leading the way were shows like *Futurama*, *Family Guy*, *South Park*, and the favorite, the *Simpsons*. The latter was an Emmy and Peabody Award–winning show that had the distinction of being the longest-running animated program and the longest-running sitcom in American history. First aired in 1989, in 2005 the *Simpsons* was in its 17th season.

At the same time, Americans gained increased access to the world with the spread of 24-hour news networks. By 1991, CNN and Fox News Network already existed;

however, MSNBC entered the news race in 1996. The arguably more conservative Fox News Network enjoyed particular success in the Republican-dominated political environment of the era. Throughout the era viewers watched as the Columbine High School massacre, the O. J. Simpson trial, the events of 9/11/2001, and both Gulf Wars unfolded on their favorite news channels.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Altbach, Philip G., Robert O. Berdahl, and Patricia J. Gumport. *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: Social Political and Economic Challenges*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Basile, Carlo, et al. "The U.S. HDTV Standard: the Grand Alliance." *IEEE Spectrum* 4 (1995): 36–45.

Cocker, Cheo Hodari. "Unbelievable: The Life, Death, and Afterlife of the Notorious B.I.G." *Vibe* (June 15, 2005).

Copeland, C., and J. M. De La Croix. *Encyclopedia of Contemporary American Art*. New York: Elite Associates International, 1987.

Davis, Rocio G. "Oral Narrative as Short Story Cycle: Forging Community in Edwidge Danticat's 'Krik? Krak!'" *MELUS* 26, no. 2 (2001): 65–81.

Derrida, Jacques. *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*. Translated by Alan Bass. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Doss, Erika. *Twentieth-Century American Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

"Fiction Is the Poor Man's Cinema: An Interview with Junot Díaz Diógenes Céspedes; Silvio Torres-Saillant; Junot Díaz." *Callaloo* 23, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 892–907.

Finler, Joel W. *The Hollywood Story*. New York: Wallflower Press, 2003.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. Vols. 1–3. Paris: Gallimard, 1976, 1984.

Gitlin, Todd. *Media Unlimited*. New York: Henry Holt, 2002.

"High-definition (HD) TV: What It Is, Why You'd Want It." *Consumer Reports* (February 2006).

"Ja Rule Calls Beef with 50 Cent 'Studio Bangin.'" *Vibe* 1, no. 10 (2005).

Mardorossian, Carine M. "From Literature of Exile to Migrant Literature." *Modern Language Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 15–33.

McCrisken, Trevor B., and Andrew Pepper. *American History and Contemporary Hollywood*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Morning Edition, National Public Radio (October 23, 2006).

Pautz, Michelle. "The Decline in Average Weekly Cinema Attendance: 1930–2000." *Issues in Political Economy* 2 (2002).

Petersen, Melody. "2 Big-Selling Arthritis Drugs Are Questioned." *New York Times* (June 4, 2002).

Saltzman, Arthur. "Avid Monsters: The Look of Agony in Contemporary Literature." *Twentieth Century Literature* 45, no. 2 (2004): 236.

Spring, Joel H. *American Education*. New York: McGraw Hill, 2004.

Stossel, John. "Stupid in America." ABC News (January 13, 2006).

U.S. Census Bureau Report. *Book Purchasing for Adults*. 2000.

Williams, Juan. *Enough: The Phony Leaders, Dead-End Movements, and Culture of Failure That Are Undermining Black America—And What We Can Do about It*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2006.

———. "Where Are Today's Civil Rights Leaders?" *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (September 26, 2006): A 15.

Woodin, Karen E., and John C. Schneider. *The CRA'S Guide to Monitoring Clinical Trials*. Boston: Thompson, 2003.

Darryl Mace

Material Life

OVERVIEW

In a diverse, broadly prosperous free market economy, Americans continue to purchase increasing amounts and varieties of material goods and products. They have also shown an expanded commitment to material consumption that their grandparents and parents might find both indulgent and excessive. Clear examples emerge when one examines the widening divergence between necessity consumption and discretionary buying. In 1950, for example, Americans spent 29.7 percent of their income on food, 27.2 percent on housing, and 11.5 percent on clothes—the necessity consumption items. They spent 31.6 percent on discretionary items. In 1997, by contrast, Americans spent 49 percent of their income on discretionary items, an 18 percent increase (U.S. Department of Labor 2006, 27, 55).

Materialism remains tied to the economic condition of the society, and, during the 15 years between 1991 and 2005, the American economy has maintained low unemployment numbers, low inflation rates, and low interest rates. Those commercial barometers indicate a healthy economy (see Economic Life section). Except for a brief recession at the beginning of the new century, Americans have continued to support a consumer-driven economy by buying furiously, sometimes beyond their means. To compete for customers in a variety of markets, businesses seek variety and quality to entice consumers. Whether in the expanding arena of electronic products or the traditional big-ticket goods like automobiles, American consumers find access to more, often better, mostly more expensive, but readily available products from retail stores, catalogs, and online computer sites. Whether their shoes come from China, their cars from Japan, or their petroleum from Canada, Mexico, or Venezuela, Americans continue to buy in record amounts. That purchasing power serves as one of the key factors in the nation's economic growth.

AUTOMOBILES

Cars have been a significant material acquisition for Americans since the end of World War II. The automotive industry, centered in Detroit, has provided a

2005 Hummer H2. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

multibillion dollar industry that remains one of the key economic indicators within the American economy. In 2002–2003, 88 percent of American families owned at least one car. The average family had purchased two automobiles. Americans spent a little less than 20 percent of their income on transportation, an average of $7,770 yearly (U.S. Department of Labor 2006, 58). A number of foreign competitors have entered the market in the past 30 years. The "big three" American automakers (General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford) no longer dominate the industry—in fact, Toyota sold the most cars in America in 2005. Japanese, German, and Korean manufacturers offer more variety to consumers. More than 40 models of foreign cars, made in U.S. factories, rolled off assembly lines in 2005. In 1985, American plants produced 460,000 foreign automobiles. In 2005, they manufactured 3.7 million cars, 300,000 more than actual foreign imports. And, as of 2005, 57 percent of cars purchased in the United States are American, and 43 percent are foreign. Those numbers indicate a 10 percent decline in American purchases since 1990. Such figures can be deceptive. American and foreign cars are literally composite hybrids, with parts from different sources and assembly in the United States or elsewhere (Center for Automotive Research: www.mergentonline.com). One factor in the increase of foreign purchases has appeared to hinge on gas consumption. American consumers still pay less for gasoline than other industrial, Western nations, but concerns regarding oil prices have witnessed an emphasis on mileage for many consumers. While sport utility vehicles (SUVs) and vans provide a significant portion of the market, the new century has seen an emphasis on hybrid vehicles (battery and gasoline powered) to reduce consumption.

CLOTHING AND STYLE

Americans have become a culture of blue jeans and t-shirts. Fact or fable? As discussed previously, clothing style has changed since the postwar era of the "man in the gray flannel suit." Most people in the country have adopted a more casual style of dress for every aspect of their lives, both work and play. Coats and ties for men, dresses for women, and similar options for young people are no longer the norm in the United States. Americans spent less on clothes per capita in 2000 than they did in 1950, after taking inflation into account. In 1972–1973, families spent 7.8 percent ($647) on clothing. In 1996–1997, Americans spent 5.1 ($1,741) percent of income on clothes. And in 2002–2003, that percentage had declined to 4.2 percent ($1,694) (U.S. Department of Labor 2006).

With the percentage of annual family income allocated for clothing reduced by almost half between the 1970s and the new century, a suggestive trend clearly emerges. In a free society, clothing style remains a matter of cultural choice. Many observers still argue that "clothes make the man (or woman)" in the sense of defining class and status in American life. Yet, the growing trend has been toward casual dress. In the new century, Americans simply spend less than they have in the past and appear to demand a wider variety of casual clothes and style to define their daily lives.

Because a significant portion of clothing sold in America is imported, much of it produced cheaply, with cheap labor, critics have expressed concern that the trend hurts American business and exploits labor in other countries. The "fabric of our lives" (quoted from an ad for cotton)—cotton clothes—may provide Americans with a vast array of choices, but it continues to spark debate and concern among observers who worry about the commercial trends. Still, Americans remain freer, in the new century, to purchase a broad variety of options, both designer expensive and supermarket cheap. A stroll through a suburban American mall suggests the options in clothing available. Large retail stores maintain significant inventories of men's, women's, and children's clothing. American consumers may opt for upscale retail giants, like Nordstrom or Neiman Marcus, for their selections. Or they can visit Wal-Mart, Sears, or J. C. Penney and find similar varieties. Numerous retail outlets specializing in different types and styles of clothing also exist to attract American consumers. Those options include styles based on age, gender, ethnicity, regionalism, and numbers of other considerations. Catalog purchases also offer Americans a wealth of clothing options. Companies like Lands End and L. L. Bean appeal to a certain socioeconomic market, but other catalogs seek similar forms of customer identification.

ELECTRONICS: CELL PHONES

Mobile or cellular telephones have been available since the 1940s, but they were too large and heavy to serve consumers unless installed in automobiles. By the mid-1980s, however, handheld, miniaturized cellular phones that connected to a rapidly expanding system of base stations or cell sites made the option far cheaper and more desirable to users. During the 1990s, technological advances enabled the cell phones to add text messaging (SMS), e-mail service, camera phones (in 2005, 85 percent of the market), and other functions to expand the services cell phones provide. In 1992 only 1 percent of the population owned cell phones. By 2002, that number had jumped to 18 percent. Over 1.14 billion cell phones are in operation worldwide. Americans have already purchased and discarded 500 million used cell phones (http://www.worldwatch.org).

FOOD AND BEVERAGES, DINING OUT, AND COOKING

Americans eat out more than they did in previous generations, yet they buy more home cooking items and utensils, buy more cookbooks, by different authors and about food both generic and esoteric, and watch a number of cooking shows on cable television, with whole channels devoted to cooking. If Julia Child and McDonald's introduced domestic America to home cooking and fast-food chains, Americans have carried those to almost limitless options in the new century.

In 2002–2003, the average American family spent 13.1 percent of its income on food ($5,357). They spent 41.9 percent of that amount ($2,243) eating out. Average consumption of alcoholic beverages amounted to less than 1 percent of expenditures for families, data that call into question the broad concern that Americans, as a whole, remain heavily involved in the use of liquor. Legitimate concern exists regarding drunk driving, and organizations such as MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving) perform a valuable service helping to prevent traffic-related tragedies. There is also statistical evidence to suggest that alcoholism and other diseases related to alcohol consumption continue to create health problems in the United States. In broad daily life, however, most Americans appear to consume alcohol on a limited social basis for social and recreational reasons. Many Americans do not drink alcoholic beverages at all (U.S. Department of Labor Report 2006).

Wegman's supermarket in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, part of a national chain of popular upscale stores. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

That American families have broad and ready access to food seems a given when one strolls through any of the numerous large supermarkets in virtually any area or region of the United States. Certainly, an identifiable percentage of Americans living in poverty are subject to a different standard, and hunger in certain situations remains a national concern and disgrace. The concern, however, in American daily life seems less focused on those who have little food, and more on those who eat too much. Obesity has become a serious national problem in the United States. While a variety of factors including exercise, physiology, and genetic makeup impact on weight, most experts agree that Americans overeat, both at home and when they go out. Portions of food are larger now than in the past, and the type of food, high in fat and calorie content, has also changed.

Body Mass Index (BMI) is the most current measure to determine whether individuals are overweight or obese. The measurement calculates height and weight and suggests the following: a number less than 18.5 is underweight, 18.5–24.9 is normal, 25–29.9 is overweight, and 30 or more is obese. Since 1995, obesity among children ages 6 to 11 has doubled. Between the ages of 12 and 19, the rate has tripled. Between 1991 and 2001, white Americans have seen an increase in obesity from 11.3 percent to 19.6 percent. African American obesity, in that same period, increased from 19.3 to 31.1 percent. Hispanic rates of obesity have grown from 11.6 to 23.7 percent. The Endocrine Society has also studied rates of obesity regionally in the United States. In the Northeast, rates have risen from 9.9 to 17 percent. The highest rates of obesity exist in the South, where rates have climbed from 13.1 to 23 percent in that 10-year period between 1991 and 2001 (http://www.endo-society.org). The issue of obesity has become a national health problem in the United States for both adults and children, enhancing the risk of heart disease, diabetes, and other medical concerns. If excess consumption remains a major factor in the rising numbers of overweight and obese Americans, that domestic aspect of American daily life needs serious evaluation. Health experts tend to conclude that "two Americas" seem to be emerging in the modern era. One has a percentage of people exercising, concerned with their diet, and involved in calorie counting and weight loss. The other America is profoundly harmed by a problem with obesity.

No consideration of American eating habits would be complete without a brief mention of the nation's love affair with hot dogs. Whether people call them frankfurters, franks, weenies, wieners, or hot dogs, Americans consume 60 to 75 of the national sausage per person annually. They probably arrived in the United States from Vienna, Austria (hence wiener), or Frankfurt, Germany (hence frankfurter), in the nineteenth century and became nationally popular by the end of the 1800s. Generally, Americans bought them, placed in a bun, at fairgrounds, ballparks, and other amusement centers well into the twentieth century. Nathan's opened an establishment at Coney Island in New York in 1916. In 1936, the Oscar Meyer Company marketed its hot dogs by creating the famous "Wienermobile" in Chicago, Illinois. As it drove through the city advertising the item, the gimmick caught on and has gone through a number of additions and changes during the past 60 years. At present, dozens of the remodeled, 27-foot-long vehicles roam nationwide advertising the product. In 1942, at the Texas World Fair, vendors introduced the corn dog, a hot dog fried in a coating of cornmeal.

While most Americans continued to eat hot dogs in large quantities into the postwar era, the expanded use of home refrigerators helped move the food item from amusement area to home where they became standard fare with hamburgers during backyard barbecues in suburbia. Slathered with mustard, onions, relish, or any variety of condiments, Americans showed little concern for the content of the hot dog, either its calories, fat content, or health benefits. It seemed to be an easy option and it apparently tasted good. In 1963, Nicholas McClellan Vincent entered an Oscar Meyer jingle contest and produced one of the most popular advertisements in United States marketing history. His "I wish I were an Oscar Meyer wiener" still ranks as one of the most famous jingles of all time and rocketed the company to top sales.

Since that time, dozens of companies produce numerous varieties of the product and supermarkets are stocked with the options. Dieticians and health experts continue to question the wisdom of consuming the ubiquitous hot dog, but Americans pay little attention. Hot dogs remain one of the nation's most popular and enjoyed junk foods.

The most popular sandwich food for Americans remains the hamburger. The origin of the ground beef meal remains shrouded in myth, but most historians believe the Mongols placed slabs of beef beneath their saddles to tenderize the meat as they rode their horses. German immigrants from Hamburg brought the ground beef to America, and the popularity of the food grew through the late 1800s. While many sources claim credit for placing fried ground beef patties on bread or buns, the popular history suggests that the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair introduced the idea nationwide. During the 1920s, White Castle sold five-cent burgers from a chain of fast-food stores, and in 1934, Whimpy Burger (named for the cartoon character Popeye's friend) opened its doors. Bob's Big Boy opened its doors in the late 1930s. During the Depression and World War II, hamburgers increased in popularity as a cheap on-the-go sandwich for traveling workers and servicemen and women. McDonald's remains the most famous fast-food hamburger franchise (see Chapter 3), but numerous chain restaurants offer the hamburger as their main option. It is also important to remember that thousands of burger joints, regular restaurants, and outdoor barbecues at home add to American consumption of the product.

Between 1990 and 2005, on average, Americans ate three hamburgers a week, accounting for 60 percent of all sandwiches consumed in the United States. Like the hot dog, hamburgers encourage a variety of additions to the basic ground beef on a bun. Cheeseburgers (pick your variety) add to the offering. Ketchup, onions, relish, lettuce, tomatoes, and so on can all sit atop the basic sandwich. Often served with French fried potatoes, a burger and fries provide the most popular fast food in American daily life. Regional or local alternatives also enhance the basic hamburger. In California and Hawaii, avocado slices and pineapple top the burgers. In Texas and areas of the Southwest, chili is added. A slice of bacon tops burgers nationwide. The options are endless. Like hot dogs, hamburgers are heavy in fat content and high in calories. A basic eight-ounce burger amounts to 275 calories. McDonald's Quarter Pounder is 430 calories, and Burger King's Whopper is 760 calories. Add cheese, and it is another 100 calories. Larger, more ambitious cheeseburgers account for more than a thousand calories (Edge 2005).

HEALTH, HYGIENE, AND COSMETICS

Americans spent $133 billion on pharmaceutical purchases in 2004, a business that includes major corporations like Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson, Merck, and Bristol-Meyers Squibb. In conjunction with the $1.7 trillion Americans spent on health care in 2004, the material demand for those services has become a major new aspect of American daily life. Beyond what families set aside for health care and health care products, Americans also spend a significant amount on personal care products.

From toothpaste and deodorant to cosmetics, aftershave lotion, and perfume, the average family devotes 1.5 percent ($520) of its budget to personal care purchases. The people not only want to be healthy, they also hope to smell good and look good. The American cosmetic and care product industry is eager to provide the material resources to meet that goal (U.S. Department of Labor 2006, 50–51).

HOUSING

After World War II, the growth in the construction of homes and the exodus to the suburbs of America altered the demographic landscape. Home ownership became a significant material goal for many families. That trend has continued into the new century. In 1996, 64 percent of American families owned their homes, while 36 percent rented. The estimated average value of homes in the United States was $74,835, while monthly rental averages amounted to $521. Less than a decade later, in 2002, home ownership had risen to 67 percent. The estimated value had reached $114,522 with a commensurate rise in rental value. Current federal administrations, both Democrat and Republican, have also indicated that minority home ownership has increased by 15 percent during the past decade (U.S. Department of Labor 2006, 49, 56).

INDEXING: THE CONSUMER CONFIDENCE INDEX

BJ's Wholesale Club. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

Americans spend money on material goods and products partly based on their confidence in the economy, both as employees and as consumers. The Consumer Conference Board, an independent body, publishes the *Consumer Confidence Index* (CCI) on a regular basis. That index takes into account a number of economic variables, both regionally and nationally, to determine how American households view the nation's economy and their confidence in it. Setting an arbitrary number of 100 in 1985, the CCI looks at both current consumer confidence (40 percent of the measurement) and future confidence in the economy (60 percent). The CCI polls 5,000 American households to obtain its number. A number above 100 suggests a positive conclusion, and numbers below, the reverse. The index regards two quarters with numbers below 100 as a potential or actual economic recession. In February 1992, the CCI had reached an all-time low of 50. That number climbed into positive figures throughout the 1990s and reached an all-time high of 144 in January 2000, just before the stock collapse of 2001–2003, when the number dipped below 100. By August 2005, the CCI was back at 123 (http://www.conference-board.org).

As complex as the system and the numbers seem to be, they do provide a set of statistics that give some indication of how American families determine how much money they will spend and in what direction that money will go. Producers, wholesale and retail providers, and advertisers base much of their response to consumers on their analysis of the CCI. Through all of the economic vagaries of the past 15 years, American consumers continue to buy.

STORES, CATALOGS, AND E-COMMERCE

Americans continue to purchase most of their material goods and products from a variety of retail stores, both small and large. While large shopping malls, such as the Mall of the Americas in Minnesota or King of Prussia Mall outside of Philadelphia, attract thousands of consumers, smaller retail outlets in shopping centers, strip malls, and along main streets in towns and cities in America continue to draw customers. The nation's and world's largest retail business is Wal-Mart. Sam Walton established the retail giant in 1962, and it has since expanded to become a $300 billion annual sales megastore. Wal-Mart employs close to two million people. As new Wal-Marts open throughout the nation, the retail giant has created a great deal of controversy as a threat to local businesses with which it competes and which it often puts out of business. Critics also complain about where the store purchases its retail products (http://www.retailindustry.about.com).

Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.—the world's largest megastore. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

Catalog purchasing has offered another method for families to satisfy their material needs. Sears and Roebuck and other stores had catalogs in the 1800s, but the use of mail shopping has grown dramatically. L. L. Bean, Lands End, and Eddie Bauer have sent their quarterly (sometimes monthly) catalogs to buyers for years, but they now compete with thousands of other options and companies. Shipping businesses like Federal Express (FedEx) and United Parcel Service (UPS) have become major businesses bringing items to homes throughout the nation. Catalog sales to consumers amounted to $69.5 billion in 1996, with 42.8 percent of those sales to homes rather than businesses. By 2001, catalog sales jumped to $120 billion with 73.3 percent of sales going to homes. E-commerce (buying products through online computer businesses) has expanded dramatically in the past decade. Whether through eBay, Amazon, or any number of growing options, American consumers are buying more through e-commerce systems. In 2000, consumers spent $37 billion on e-commerce purchases. A year later, that number jumped 20 percent to $53 billion (http://www.retailindustry.about.com; http://www.comscore.com).

If American consumers have found new ways to buy goods and products and have expanded the size and number of traditional retail businesses to address their material needs, the data and evidence suggest that consumer purchasing remains strong. What Americans buy has also shown evidence of both traditional material needs and new options and opportunities.

TELEVISION

When KDKA radio in Pittsburgh broadcast the results of the 1920 presidential election, few Americans could have foreseen the explosion the marketplace would experience in electronic materialism. Radios dominated the pre–World War II era, and television sets emerged as the modern marvel of postwar America in the 1950s and 1960s. Americans own, on average, two televisions per household, many of which are now connected to cable network systems that provide hundreds of channels for viewing. The rapid expansion of cable systems has changed the nature of television, and the introduction of Home Box Office (HBO) and other cable options alters significantly both the variety and style of television viewing. Technological changes in television sets have also broadened consumer options. The shift from black-and-white to color television occurred in the 1960s, and color sets have come to dominate the market. But newer sets now offer consumers the ability to select high definition (HDTV) and digital viewing, which began in 1987. Those new systems provide clearer pictures for consumers. Most networks now broadcast in high definition. Plasma television and other innovations in the technology have also enhanced interest for Americans (Flaherty).

VIDEO GAMES

Video games offer an additional home electronic component for American consumers. As early as 1952, A. S. Douglas created the first home video game—Naughts and Crosses—a version of tic-tac-toe. The Atari company produced Pong (a tennis game) in 1975. The revolution in home consumption, however, began in the 1990s when various companies not only designed a broad variety of games for in-home use but also easier methods to load games into their mini-computer systems. By 1995, PlayStation had sold two million home computer games. The computer gaming industry had become so prolific that the U.S. Congress held hearings on game violence, and the business developed a rating code, by the Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB), to alert consumers to the type of games they or their children might be purchasing (http://www.inventors.about.com).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

About.com. "Business and Finance." http://www.inventors.about.com.
About.com. "Retail and Industry." http://www.retailindustry.about.com.
Center for Automotive Research. http://www.mergentonline.com.
ComScore Networks—A Global Internet Provider. http://www.comscore.com.
Consumer Confidence Board. http://www.conference-board.org.
Edge, John. *Hamburgers & Fries: An American Story*. New York: Putnam, 2005.
The Endocrine Society Weighs In: A Handbook on Obesity in America. http://www.endosociety.org.
Flaherty, Joseph. "A Perspective on Digital TV and HDTV." *HDTV Magazine*. http://hdt vmagazine.com/history/2005/06/a_perspective_o.php.
U.S. Department of Labor. "100 Years of United States Consumer Spending." May 2006.
Worldwatch Institute. www.worldwatch.org.

Political Life

OVERVIEW

The two-term presidency of conservative Republican Ronald Reagan (1981–1989) signaled a shift to a conservative agenda for the decade of the 1980s. As faith-based, white, and suburban voters gave Republicans new electoral power in state and national politics, the so-called domestic revolution of the decade saw a shift away from traditional Democratic Party majorities in Congress and Republican control of the White House. Since 1940, American voters had elected only two Republican Presidents, Dwight Eisenhower (1953–1961) and Richard Nixon (1969–1974). Gerald Ford, a Republican, had served out Nixon's unexpired term after the Watergate scandal led to Nixon's resignation, but the election of Jimmy Carter (1977–1981) returned a Democrat to the executive office. In similar fashion, the Democratic Party had controlled both the House of Representatives and the Senate since before 1940. Only briefly, following World War II, did the Republican Party have a majority in either House or Senate. That situation changed later in the century.

Republican George H. W. Bush defeated his opponent Michael Dukakis in the 1988 presidential election. As Ronald Reagan's vice president, Bush had adopted

Jessie Jackson, civil rights leader. Chaiba.

many of Reagan's views. Bush won 53 percent of the popular vote and 40 of the fifty state's electoral votes. Effectively, President Bush hoped to continue the Reagan Revolution into the 1990s. The collapse of the Soviet Union and America's emergence as the world's hyperpower had convinced many observers that, as the twentieth century ended, the administration, in the last decade of the century, could concentrate on addressing domestic issues. At the end of the 1980s, those hot-button issues included on crime, illegal drugs, taxes, the national debt, and health care.

Crime and drugs were interrelated. By 1990, 50 percent of prison inmates were incarcerated for drug-related crimes, many of them young African American, inner-city males. A number of states had adopted "three-strikes" laws requiring heavy sentences for criminals convicted of third offenses. Prisons swelled with new inmates, both in state and federal prisons. For example, in 1980, 316,000 prisoners occupied cells in federal penitentiaries. In 1990, that number jumped to 740,000. By 2002, it reached 1,368,000.

In some states, construction of new prisons and maintenance of old ones became major budget items. New get-tough-with-criminals attitudes and sentencing reflected popular views on how to curb crime and antisocial behavior. At the same time, civil rights and civil liberties groups challenged new sentencing guidelines and treatment of persons accused and convicted of crimes.

The issues of crime, drugs, and the people that those problems impact remain a major political and social concern in American daily life. Political responses, at both the national and local levels of government, have, to date, failed to provide a responsible or effective resolution to the crisis (Goldfield et al. 2007, 920).

DEBT, TAXES, AND THE POLITICS OF THE ECONOMY

The problem of debt and taxes had also become a key concern. In 1980, debt accounted for 50 percent of personal savings. A decade later, it had swelled to 125 percent. The United States had become a debtor nation dependent on foreign imports. In 1980, foreigners owed the United States and its citizens an amount comparable to $2,500 per family. By 1990, American families owed foreign creditors an average of $7,000.

While the Reagan administration's income tax cuts had promised to help middle-class families by providing more income, those cuts had also lowered government revenues. At the same time, Reagan's defense budget swelled in the 1980s, adding to the increased cost of government. Coupled with expanded spending on foreign goods and products, Americans confronted a growing debt and deficit. President Bush had told the public that he would not raise taxes to address the growing deficit in a noted "read my lips, no new taxes" speech, but the fiscal problems that the deficit and debt created led him to alter his position. In 1990, he accepted a compromise tax increase package with the Democratic-controlled Congress. Conservative critics considered his actions a betrayal of Reagan's agenda, and some pundits suggested that it could cost him reelection in 1992.

While the Bush administration tended to follow the Reagan model of limiting federal programs and expenditures, it did support major health care and other social legislation that led to the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act. That law sought to prevent discrimination against people with physical handicaps. It led to a host of laws at every level of government, expanding access to public accommodations for Americans and serving as one of the significant pieces of legislation that occurred at the beginning of the new decade. As such, it was a logical extension of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, with the promise of a more open, equitable society.

IMMIGRATION

Immigration also emerged as a key political, social, and cultural concern during the 1990s. Much of the public concern focused on immigrants coming from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. The 1990 census revealed that the Latino immigrant population had increased by almost 50 percent since the 1980 census, from 13.6 to 22.4 million people. By the 2000 census, Hispanic Americans had become the largest minority population in the United States. Sixty percent of those immigrants had arrived from Mexico. In the Southwest states and California, sizable minorities of Latino immigrants worked, raised families, and joined the mainstream of American daily life. At the same time, significant numbers of illegal or undocumented immigrants caused ongoing concern (U.S. Census, 1990, 2000).

The U.S./Mexico border near El Paso, Texas. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

American society possessed an ambivalent attitude regarding immigration. Great waves of immigrants had arrived periodically in the United States since its founding. At once welcomed and necessary as economic assets and positive cultural additions to the melting-pot society, immigration had also produced negative backlash. Nativist sentiments, racism, "Red Scares," religious bias, and a host of factors had led to anti-immigrant attitudes throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but the numbers of people coming to America continued through a variety of laws and legislation that welcomed, restricted, defined, or structured their arrival. In 1986, the Reagan Administration proposed, and Congress passed, the Immigration and Reform Control Act, specifically reacting to the increase in Hispanic immigration. The bill legalized thousands of immigrants and established employer sanction programs for business owners who hired illegal aliens. It appeared an effort to resolve the concern that many Americans had regarding the cost of social services (health care, education, etc.) for undocumented immigrants, by bringing them into the society as legitimate citizens. It failed to resolve the problem.

In 1994, California citizens passed Proposition 187, a ballot initiative that denied illegal immigrants public services such as health care and public education. The battle over immigration policy, broadly dealing with Hispanic immigration and specifically with Mexican immigration, remained a major political, social, and economic issue into the new century. Immigrants and various organizations, such as La Raza, asserted the human right to dignity and pointed to the wealth and production immigrants provided to the United States. By 2000, food choices, music, and other aspects of Latino culture had spread throughout the United States. Prominent Latino athletes, especially in Major League Baseball, where they played a major role, helped lead the way in asserting their cultural heritage, making Latino culture more mainstream. The appeal of the culture paradoxically was a reason opponents of unrestricted immigration worried about continued influxes of immigrants.

EUROPE AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR

If the Bush administration believed the conclusion of the Cold War would provide a respite from foreign policy crises, events proved them wrong. The end to the United States–Soviet confrontation in Europe witnessed a dramatic change in governments and society throughout the continent. Communist regimes disappeared throughout eastern Europe. Germany, divided since 1945, reunited in October 1990. Former Soviet troops stationed in Europe withdrew their forces. Both the American and Russian nuclear arsenals had also begun a drastic reduction in numbers and targeting locations. The end of half a century of confrontation appeared a positive beginning to the last decade of the 1900s. The two former enemies looked to an era of cooperation and friendship. The end of the Cold War, however, created a new dynamic in American foreign policy and in the response of Europeans. Would the continent require mutual, regional security pacts like NATO if the Soviets no longer posed a threat? If European nations no longer required U.S. nuclear protection against the possibility of a Russian attack, might they begin to rethink their relationship with America? Involved in the creation of their own European Union, many leaders in Europe no longer saw the need to follow blindly America's foreign policy positions. Many Americans saw that attitude as a slap in the face for the United States, the nation that had defended Europe from the Soviets and helped generate a successful, prosperous postwar society on the continent. Trade, tradition, and mutual aspects of society and culture still tied Europe and America. NATO officials looked to redefine the necessity for maintaining the regional alliance, even including several of the former Soviet bloc nations. Yet, in 2005, U.S.–European relations remained a major concern on both sides of the Atlantic.

THE PERSIAN GULF WAR AND IRAQ

On August 2, 1990, Saddam Hussein, the Baathist president of Iraq, ordered his military forces to invade the small, neighboring country of Kuwait. Quickly, they seized the vast oil resources in Kuwait, commanding 20 percent of the world's petroleum reserves. Hussein's military also threatened to attack Saudi Arabia, the Middle East's largest oil producer and a vital if also tenuous ally of the United States. Iraq had just concluded a deadly and expensive decade-long war with Iran. Hussein's government needed financial resources to recover from the conflict. He also believed that critical oil reserves in Kuwait belonged to Iraq. Based on conversations with the American ambassador in Baghdad (April Glaspie), he concluded that the United States would not respond aggressively if he seized that country. Hussein misjudged the reaction of President Bush.

The United States had been increasingly involved in Middle East affairs as a nation-builder and buyer of oil since the end of World War II and the emergence of Israel as a sovereign state in 1947. The increasing need for foreign oil and America's evolving support of Israel created a dangerous foreign policy problem. Most of the nations in the Middle East, Arab and Islamic, had waged war, at one time or another, against Israel and saw U.S. support of that nation as a threat to their interests. At the same time, the U.S. government had often supported tyrannical regimes in the region (the Shah of Iran) as part of its Cold War agenda. American policy was resented, and the so-called Arab street (a term often used to indicate public opinion in the Middle East) tended to express an anti-American attitude. President Jimmy Carter had struggled with that issue during his presidency, when Iranians seized the American embassy in Teheran in 1979 and held embassy employees hostage for almost two years. Ronald Reagan suffered a similar but more deadly failure when terrorists exploded a bomb at a U.S. Marine barracks in Lebanon in 1983. Two hundred forty-one servicemen died in the explosion. Carter's earlier efforts at Camp David (1978) to broker some form of lasting peace in the Middle East had not succeeded. It helped achieve an Egyptian–Israeli modus vivendi, but little else. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, coupled with the growth of terrorism both in and beyond the Middle East, made the region the new American foreign policy hotspot. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait added a dangerous wrinkle to the troubled region and U.S. involvement in the area.

President Bush responded to the Iraqi attack by building a military coalition of European nations, and even Arab states, to challenge the Kuwait invasion. America pressured the United Nations to invoke powerful resolutions requiring Iraq to leave Kuwait, and, while discussions continued in the United Nations, a growing American military force arrived in Saudi Arabia to confront Saddam Hussein. In November

1990, the United Nations passed Security Council Resolution 678, authorizing "all necessary means" to liberate Kuwait. The French government attempted to delay the resolution and Iraq proposed some last-minute concessions, but the American-built coalition chose to disregard those overtures. By the beginning of 1991, close to 600,000 U.S. forces were poised along the Saudi border. By the end of the year, British and French troops had joined the growing coalition. Germany and Japan pledged billions of dollars in financial support. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria added regional military forces, and the Iraqis faced a massive armed alliance.

The United Nations had established a January 15, 1991, deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. When that failed to occur, Operation Desert Storm began the next day. Massive air attacks destroyed Iraqi communication systems, command-and-control leadership, and logistical support for Iraq's frontline troops. For more than a month, the air forces of the coalition used their dominance of the air (most of Iraq's air force had fled to Iran for sanctuary) to devastate Iraq's military infrastructure. On February 24, United States–led ground forces, with Saudi, Egyptian, and Syrian troops engaged, swept into Kuwait and Iraq and quickly defeated Hussein's military. Five days after the invasion, the war ended with a cease-fire and Iraqi forces ousted from Kuwait. Estimates suggested that more than 100,000 Iraqi military and civilian casualties resulted. American forces suffered 240 service personnel killed in action.

A number of critics had initially questioned both U.S. motives and the potential for massive American casualties as the Bush administration prepared for the war. They saw the possibility of another Vietnam, questioned the motives as purely economic and oil driven, or generally believed that the United States should allow diplomatic resolve and economic sanctions to force Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. American military planners were well aware of public concerns about the use of its armed forces under any circumstances, a legacy of the Vietnam conflict. Leaders like Colin Powell, who served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Iraq war, had developed post-Vietnam military doctrine calling for swift, massive use of American military power to destroy an enemy. The so-called Powell Doctrine was designed to avoid the kind of lengthy counterinsurgency conflict that had occurred in Southeast Asia. With new weapons and technology, and U.S. military personnel part of an all-volunteer force, military commanders believed they had the necessary components to pursue the doctrine successfully. The 1991 Gulf War proved their planning successful. The 24-hour news services, like CNN, produced military-approved video of precision bombing attacks, positive morale, and new weapons to highlight the success of the war. At the same time, military policy carefully controlled what news organizations could show the American public.

Ironically, as the cease-fire began, the United States witnessed the outbreak of a civil war in Iraq. A Shi'ite majority, extensively oppressed by Hussein's Sunni Muslim minority, rebelled in the southern part of the country. In the north, Kurdish groups also attacked the government, one that had long oppressed them. The Americans did not want to become involved in an internal conflict, it appeared, nor did President Bush want to leave large numbers of U.S. troops in the country as occupiers. Essentially, they allowed Saddam Hussein to suppress the rebellions in his own country and hold onto power in Iraq. The Bush government maintained that it had accomplished its goals the removal of Iraq from Kuwait, and it had followed UN mandates. Public opinion in America tended to agree. The president emerged from the conflict with a positive approval rating, and numerous political pundits predicted that he would be unbeatable in the 1992 presidential election. As a result, a number of popular, well-known Democratic political figures appeared wary of throwing their hat in the ring to challenge President Bush. William Jefferson Clinton, a young, little-known governor from Arkansas, however, bucked the trend.

THE RODNEY KING INCIDENT: THE CONTINUING ISSUE OF RACE AND POLITICS

One of the most tragic domestic political issues to confront the nation during the 1990s centered on the Rodney King incident in Los Angeles in April 1992. A private citizen, using a handheld camcorder, filmed Los Angeles police officers beating an African American motorist, Rodney King, on March 3, in what appeared an obvious abuse of physical force. The incident became a national cause celebre. When the subsequent trial of the police resulted in a not-guilty verdict on April 29, four days of rioting exploded in south-central Los Angeles. African American and Latino residents stormed into stores and businesses, attacked white passersby, and confronted police in a violent upheaval that reminded Americans of the 1965 racial riots in Watts. The relatively new 24-hour cable news programs (CNN had begun broadcasting in 1980) provided a continual coverage with film, review, and analysis. America was reminded, once again, of one of the central problems of its modern age: the divisiveness that race continued to create in the society.

THE CLINTON YEARS, 1993–2001

Bill Clinton, Arkansas governor and candidate for president, and his advisors concluded that most Americans were more concerned with their everyday domestic life than they were with foreign policy issues. As much as the Gulf War had occupied U.S. attention, the day-to-day affairs of working American families mattered more. Using the internal campaign phrase "it's the economy, stupid," the Clinton presidential campaign in 1992 went after President Bush's failure to resolve the basic economic issues that confronted the nation. A kind of political/social/economic divide seemed to confront political leaders. Conservatives, like Reagan and Bush, had attracted a group of voters disillusioned with the discord that had developed in the 1960s and 1970s. They believed that market forces should respond to the social and economic concerns in American daily life, while the government used its power and influence to respond to foreign policy agendas. Liberals had always contended that the social and economic concerns that confronted the nation remained a priority for the federal government. The legacy of Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson remained strong in the Democratic Party. Bill Clinton, however, appeared to represent some combination of both, a more centrist view of American politics and government responsibility. He appealed to a new generation of voters, popularly termed Generation X.

Hillary Clinton. Library of Congress.

Mounting a careful, polished campaign, the young Baby Boomer governor chose another young political leader, Albert Gore, as his running mate. Gore, a two-term senator from Tennessee, had written a popular book on the environment, *Earth in the Balance*. The two men appeared likeable candidates, willing to challenge an older generation of political leaders with new ideas and options. Concerns arose during the 1992 campaign regarding Clinton's personal life and his possible relations with other women. His wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, defended her husband on national television and seemed to deflate those private matters as a key aspect of the campaign.

President Bush defeated his Republican rival, Patrick Buchanan, to win his party's nomination, but that primary campaign revealed a potential split among Republicans. A number of cultural concerns had entered the debate within the party, including issues about gay rights, the Christian right, and a religious undertone to the right wing of the party. In the end, President Bush controlled the nomination, but conservative ideology remained an essential aspect of his campaign, now not simply economic, but social as well.

To add to the complexity of the 1992 election, H. Ross Perot, a billionaire from Texas, joined the fray as an independent candidate. Flamboyant and feisty, Perot bought television time to explain to the American people what the two-party system had done wrong in Washington and how his common-sense approach would clean things up. The election proved a surprise to those who had predicted that President Bush's Gulf War victory would assure his reelection. Instead, an economic recession, his "no new taxes" lapse, and Perot's third-party candidacy saw Bill Clinton steal the 1992 election.

Bill Clinton (D)	370	43,728,275 (43.2%)
George H. W. Bush (R)	168	38, 167,416 (37.7%)
H. Ross Perot (I)	0	19, 237,247 (19.0%)

(Goldfield et al. 2001, 996)

The focus of the Clinton administration hinged on strengthening the American economy, making it more equitable for American families and more competitive in the international arena. Defining himself as a New Democrat, or a neoliberal, the president sought to make government a leaner, more efficient institution and the private sector more productive and energetic. The government cut jobs in the federal system and increased taxes for the wealthiest 1.2 percent of households.

The administration also expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, a program that Richard Nixon had initiated in the 1970s. He also sought to recreate a form of domestic, public service with the National and Community Service Trust program. The government expanded the student-aid system by creating direct federal loans for college students. Additionally, and importantly, in 1993, Clinton shepherded the Family and Medical Leave Act through Congress. It provided a maximum of 12 weeks of unpaid leave for employees with newborn children or because of family emergencies.

During his first term, the president suffered a key policy failure when he sought to develop comprehensive health care legislation. At the time, roughly 83 percent of Americans under age 65 had access to health care. Clinton hoped to increase that to 100 percent, and, at the same time, he wanted a bill that would reduce health care costs. The president had delegated his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to oversee work on the new health care plan, and the end result was a proposal that consisted of more than 1,300 pages of complex plans and regulations. Opponents of the idea attacked every aspect they could, even complaining about the first lady's involvement in the process. Insurance companies balked at increased regulations. Taxpayers worried about increased federal taxes to pay for the program. Senior citizens saw the possibility that the new health care proposal would limit their access to Medicare benefits. The proposed program stalled, as its critics continued to find faults and problems. By the midterm election in 1994, President Clinton had initiated several successful pieces of legislation, but he and his wife also faced a powerful opposition surrounding the health care bill.

The continuing base of Republican conservative voters and reaction to the health care issues and other factors concerning the Clintons in office saw a resurgence of Republican power in the Congressional elections of 1994. Voters defeated a number of incumbent Democrats and the Republican Party gained control of the House of Representatives. In 1995, the new Republican speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, moved to enact the conservative Contract with America, proposing a broad agenda to reduce federal spending, cut taxes for wealthy and middle-class Americans, and pass other legislation that challenged the president. A testy battle developed between the White House and the Congress over the federal budget. When congressional Republicans blocked an interim spending bill in late November 1995, the president shut down the government for more than three weeks and blamed Newt Gingrich and his colleagues for the situation. While both sides were grandstanding on the issue, the American public sensed a widening gap between political ideologies, left and right, often exhibited in personal and bitter political attacks. The budget confrontation and the health care issue seemed to exhibit the worst aspects of partisan politics in the 1990s.

The president finished his first term in office with a bill that altered a major aspect of welfare legislation in America. In 1996, Congress, with President Clinton's support, passed the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) law. It replaced a long-standing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. The new legislation provided for more strict accountability, required recipients to be seeking work or be enrolled in school, and established a time limit on assistance. Effectively, TANF reduced welfare aid by close to 60 percent between 1994 and 2000. While critics saw it as an attack on welfare mothers, supporters claimed that it finally addressed the out-of-control welfare boondoggle that had created and sustained generations of poor families, perpetually dependent on the federal government.

The presidential election in 1996 pitted Clinton against Robert Dole and, again, H. Ross Perot. The first Democrat since Franklin Roosevelt to win reelection, the incumbent president won 70 percent of the nation's electoral votes and 49 percent of the popular vote. Claiming traditional areas of Democratic strength, the industrial Midwest, the Northeast, and the far West, Clinton also won the support of minority voters. African Americans, in huge percentages, supported the president, and a significant number of Hispanic Americans also voted for him.

A variety of public issues occupied the attention of the American people during the last four years of the twentieth century. As President Clinton began his second term, gun control, crime, drugs, the death penalty, and acts of random violence within the society drew public attention and debate. A series of isolated and unrelated incidents in the 1990s provided tragic examples of the seeming insecurity that existed. In April 1993, federal law officers had raided a fortified compound near Waco, Texas, occupied by a religious/social cult, the Branch Davidians. After a lengthy siege, the agents attacked the compound and more than 80 people died in the ensuing fire. Two years later, Timothy McVeigh loaded a truck with high explosives and detonated the vehicle in front of a federal office building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. In what appeared a revenge action for Waco, 196 people died. In 1997, federal authorities finally arrested Ted Kaczynski, a solitary man accused of sending mail bombs to various people between 1978 and 1997. The "Unabomber" targeted college professors and airline employees as a protest against industrial, free market economies. Then, in April 1999, two students at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, walked into their school, heavily armed, and proceeded to kill 12 students and a teacher.

While statistical evidence indicated that crime and violence had declined in the 1990s, the public seemed unconvinced. Rates of violent crime (murder, rape, robbery, and assault) declined by 33 percent between 1991 and 2000. Murder rates fell by 36 percent, and crimes against property dropped 30 percent. Yet, Americans seemed more anxious about crime than ever before. Perhaps the "24/7" cable news networks drew unusual attention to the issues. Having in their daily lives come to expect comfort, security, and stability as natural, Americans saw isolated incidents of violence as too disturbing to accept. For whatever reason, a broad social debate began regarding the causes for such incidents. The decline of family values, a coarsening of behavior in language and dress, a loss of religious conviction, and other factors became issues of serious discussion on television talk shows, in a variety of magazine articles, from religious pulpits, and in political rhetoric (http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov).

Gun control was one aspect of the growing debate in America. The Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (1994) established a waiting period and background check for Americans seeking to purchase firearms. The law provoked a heated controversy between those who defined the Second Amendment in a different fashion. The National Rifle Association (NRA), a powerful lobbyist for gun owners and manufacturers, argued that the amendment gave citizens an absolute right to own firearms, as many and whatever type they wanted. State and federal courts, however, had ruled consistently that the "well-regulated militia" clause in the amendment indicated that weapons ownership applied to citizen service in a government-organized militia. Most states and the federal government had acted to limit open and unrestricted purchases. The argument became a divisive aspect of the growing social and political divide among Americans. Conservatives tended to support the NRA's position; liberals did not. Regionally, southern and western rural Americans raised where hunting is a traditional right of passage defended the right to own weapons. And they also tended to support political candidates who agreed. The antigun movement tended to reside in the suburban, middle-class areas of the Northeast and far West.

The use of the death penalty as criminal punishment became another issue of political and social concern. While a majority of Americans supported the concept of capital punishment and 38 states had the death penalty as an ultimate punishment, the issue continued to provoke heated controversy. Critics argue that the use of capital punishment too often is applied to minorities who lack access to adequate defense attorneys. Additionally, they maintain that there are too many mistakes regarding guilty decisions that lead to innocent people being executed. In 2005, more than 3,300 people were on death row in state or federal prisons. In 2005, 60 people were executed, 59 men and 1 woman. Of this number, 41 were white and 19 were black. Texas executed the most people in 2005—19 (http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov).

The rising tide of drug use and the crime associated with the social condition has become one of the major concerns of Americans during the last decade of the twentieth century. While forms of narcotics use have always been an aspect of modern American society, the 1960s witnessed a profound shift in thinking regarding drug use. The youth culture of the 1960s and 1970s saw the use of marijuana as little different than the legal consumption of alcohol. Drug use served as one of many forms of rebellion against the previous generation of conformity that young people experienced in the 1950s. It also became big business, as casual users were willing to spend sizable sums of money to purchase so-called party drugs. By the 1970s and 1980s, cocaine had evolved as a socially popular drug among wealthier users, and Latin American producers were shipping the narcotic into the United States at a profit of billions of dollars. Drug cartels in Colombia had made "narco-trafficking" a powerful business enterprise. The television series *Miami Vice* and movies like *Scarface,* with Al Pacino, glamorized the world of drug crime, use, and business. Many people who bought and used cocaine saw the drug as another socially acceptable (if criminal) turn-on. The 1990s, however, saw the increasing use of a more virulent and addictive cocaine derivative known as crack. In a relatively short time, it became the less expensive, more addictive drug of choice for many inner-city users. As drug gangs fought for control of the market in numerous urban neighborhoods, and as the drug producers in Latin America continued to move the cocaine in its various forms into the United States, the impact of crack cocaine changed the nature and impact of the debate.

Prostitution, crime, violence, and the government's response to those issues all seemed to center on the drug trade and, most specifically, the expanding use of crack. From Ronald Reagan's administration to Bill Clinton's presidency, attempts to limit production in Latin America and distribution in the United States became a major political concern. Appointed federal "drug czars" sought to devise methods and policies to reduce or eliminate the use of drugs. Should citizens addicted to cocaine be treated as criminals or victims? Should they be sentenced to heavy prison terms or considered a medical problem? Should government policy focus on eliminating the narcotics at their source in Latin America or should it concentrate on eliminating the demand in the United States? The debates and the policies continue, but the use of narcotics does as well, and it has played a major role in filling prisons with users and sellers and damaging the day-to-day life of Americans in many inner-city and also suburban neighborhoods.

While the issues and debates regarding gun control, the death penalty, and drug use served as key concerns during President Clinton's second term, Americans also confronted the unfolding drama of the president's own personal life. In January 1998, evidence emerged that President Clinton had engaged in sexual relations with a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. Rumors regarding Clinton's extramarital behavior had surfaced when he ran for the presidency in 1992. One woman, Paula Jones, had filed a lawsuit for sexual harassment against him. Another woman, the former Miss Arkansas (Sally Perdue), alleged that she had had an affair with Clinton while he was governor. While the president had dodged those claims, he could not dismiss the allegations regarding Monica Lewinsky.

Many opponents of the administration had taken a personal dislike to both Bill and Hillary Clinton. They saw the couple as representative of social values and beliefs that were too liberal and permissive. Critical pundits sought to find evidence or examples in their personal lives of illegal or questionable behavior throughout the 1990s. While that has occurred throughout American political history, it became excessive during the Clinton era and would continue into the contemporary decade.

In 1994, Republicans in Congress appointed a special prosecutor to examine possible fraud that allegedly had involved the Clintons in Arkansas. The Whitewater Development Corporation, an Arkansas real estate promotion gone bad, had seen the Clintons deeply invested in the scheme. Most Americans found the issue complex and confusing, but the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, pursued the issue and began to expand his investigation of the Clintons. A broadening review of other alleged improprieties included firing White House travel-office staff (1993), the suicide of Vincent Foster, a White House aide and personal friend of the Clintons, and, increasingly, the sexual behavior of the president. The Lewinsky scandal exploded in the midst of Kenneth Starr's investigation. President Clinton denied the allegations, claiming in a public statement, "I did not have sex with that woman." Evidence, however, shortly challenged that remark, and the president found himself open to charges of perjury. Clinton finally admitted the relationship with Monica Lewinsky, apologized, and pledged to move on with the business of running the government. While the public debated and argued whether his personal behavior should have any influence on his public performance, the Republican-controlled Congress, in December 1998, recommended four articles of impeachment against President Clinton. Those articles centered on the president's alleged perjury and obstruction of justice during his sworn depositions.

Once again, debate raged throughout the nation. Defenders of the president, although disappointed with his personal behavior, claimed that his personal life had nothing to do with his public role as chief executive and did not qualify, in any way, as impeachable offenses. Critics considered his perjury an impeachable offense as well as his outrageous personal behavior as a stain on the presidency. While partisan politics played a key role in the whole issue, the Lewinsky affair also drew clear focus to the culture wars that had evolved in American daily life since the 1960s. In the end, the House of Representatives voted to impeach President Clinton and sent two charges to the Senate. The Republicans in the upper house lacked the necessary votes to convict President Clinton, and the matter ended when the Senate failed to garner the two-thirds majority necessary to impeach the president. The incident, however, tarnished the remainder of President Clinton's term of office.

Foreign policy during President Clinton's presidency saw a reevaluation of the nation's role as the only superpower. With the end of the Cold War, which had dominated U.S. policy since 1945, a host of new concerns and issues arose. President Clinton appointed Madeline Albright as secretary of state, the first woman to hold the office. During his first term, the administration brokered an accord between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that would give the latter self-government in Gaza and the West Bank, two demands that organization had claimed for years. The deal failed as extremists on both sides challenged its conclusions with violence. In 1994, American diplomats traveled to North Korea, to convince its dictator, Kim Il Sung, to suspend development of nuclear weapons technology. The Americans thought they had a deal. As it turned out, they did not. A food rescue mission to the East African country of Somalia ended in an American military confrontation with Somali warlords that resulted in the death of a number of U.S. military personnel and hundreds of Somalis. The president removed American forces from the region.

In the early 1990s, the European nation of Yugoslavia, in the Balkans, fragmented into five separate nations—Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Croatia. A civil war erupted in Bosnia when Christians and Muslims fought for control of the area. Serbian nationalists in Yugoslavia supported Christian Serbs in Bosnia in a conflict that became increasingly brutal and vicious. A campaign of "ethnic cleansing" included Serb massacres and deportations of Bosnian Muslims. Under U.S. and U.N. urging, NATO finally intervened in Bosnia in 1995. Four years later, American forces entered the Balkans to bring an end to violence in Kosovo, a province of Yugoslavia. Mostly Albanian, the province began an independence movement that the Serb-Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic acted to brutally repress. As in Bosnia, international response came late, but in March 1999, United States–led NATO forces began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia that ended in that nation's decision to withdraw its troops from Kosovo and allow a NATO peacekeeping force to enter the region. Foreign policy issues and events in the post–Cold War era did not appear so simple to solve as the American people had expected.

THE NEW MILLENNIUM

The 2000 presidential election proved one of the most contentious and problematic in modern American history. Clinton's vice president, Al Gore, secured the Democratic Party nomination. George W. Bush, the governor of Texas and son of George H. W. Bush, won the Republican nomination. During the campaign, they appealed to moderate voters and argued about tax cuts, the economy, the environment, education, and other traditional concerns. Both, however, also sought support from their liberal (Gore) and conservative (Bush) base, and that continued the culture war politics that had surfaced earlier. The November election created an explosive conclusion. Victory for the candidates hinged on the electoral votes in Florida. In a key media mistake, CBS-TV predicted that Al Gore had won Florida's electoral votes, and with a lead in the popular vote (over 300,000), Democrats celebrated another four years in the White House. Then, the television pundits changed their prediction claiming Florida had gone for Bush. Florida's votes, however, became more controversial as recount demands led to claims of fraud, racism, and other irregularities. The emotional and political controversy ended in the U.S. Supreme Court when the court assumed authority to decide about Florida's electoral process. On December 12, 2000, the Court ruled in a 5–4 decision that Florida's electoral votes belonged to the Republican candidate. President Bush secured the office in a nation divided over the outcome of the election and the method in which the outcome had been resolved.

The election also showed the regional differences that existed in American politics in the evolution of the "blue state–red state" allegiances. Democratic support centered in the Northeast, the industrial upper Middle West, and the Pacific Coast. The Republicans held the South, the plains states, the Ohio Valley, and the Rocky Mountain voters. While pundits focused on the cultural and political divide among American voters, others contended that a "middle America" tended to be less ideological and more centrist in its views. While the intellectual debate still raged, the closeness of elections had clearly narrowed.

The new administration brought a conservative agenda to the White House, and it had the luxury of a Republican majority in Congress. Tax cuts highlighted the first actions of the administration as the government reduced federal taxes by billions of dollars. Following a Ronald Reagan agenda, the new president also moved to deregulate the economy, leaving the private sector more freedom to pursue its production and profits (see the section on Economics). In the foreign policy arena, Bush appointed Colin Powell as secretary of state, and he relied heavily on the advice of his vice president, Dick Cheney, and his national security advisor, Condoleeza Rice. That team tended to support a unilateral approach to diplomacy, and it wanted the

United States to use its power sparingly to support broad global issues like the Kyoto Energy Accords (the United States chose not to sign the accord). On September 11, 2001, the broad focus of American policy, and the responses of the Bush Administration, changed.

TERRORISM AND 9/11

In hindsight, the evolution of forms of Middle Eastern or Islamic terrorism had been evident since the 1976 assault on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich. Aircraft and cruise lines had been hijacked or blown up by terrorists. American Marines had died in a terrorist attack in Lebanon during Ronald Reagan's presidency. In 1993, terrorists exploded a bomb in the World Trade Center garage in New York. In 1996, 19 U.S. soldiers died in an attack in Saudi Arabia. Bombs exploded in the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, killing over 200 people. Terrorists attacked the destroyer *USS Cole* while it anchored in Yemen. Americans were certainly aware of the terrorism emanating from the Middle East. Public opinion tended to view the issue as an ongoing struggle between Israel and the Palestinians and Arab anger over U.S. support of Israel. Increasing American military presence in the Middle East also created tension in the region. So, too, did a broad cultural difference between a freer, more open society in the West, and the goal of many Islamic fundamentalists to reject and even change that behavior.

One of those who opposed America, Osama Bin Laden, a Saudi Arabian businessman, had created Al-Qaeda as a network of terrorists. That group was responsible for the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States. Four hijacked airliners aimed at three targets, the World Trade Center in New York, the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C., and either the Capitol building or the White House. Two planes hit the World Trade Center between 8:46 and 9:30 A.M. Eastern Time. By 10:30, the two buildings had collapsed. A third aircraft plowed into the Pentagon shortly afterwards. The final hijacked plane exploded on the ground in central Pennsylvania when passengers attacked the hijackers and diverted the plane from its intended target. Everyone on board the four airplanes died, and more than 2,000 people died in the collapse of the World Trade Center buildings and the Pentagon crash (http://www.9–11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf). If specialists, in and out of the government, had been warning about the possibility of such attacks, and if previous terrorist attacks had certainly alerted people to the intent and seriousness of the terrorists, the American public was still profoundly shocked by the events on September 11.

The following day, President Bush, himself shaken by the events, called the attacks an act of war and pledged to respond accordingly. On September 15, Congress passed a Joint Resolution giving the president power "to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001." At the end of October, Congress passed the USA PATRIOT Act, providing broader ability for the federal government to investigate and examine evidence in pursuit of terrorist activity. While civil liberties advocates worried and cautioned against the legislation, public support remained substantial.

In an additional response to the terrorist attack, Congress also reorganized federal agencies to deal with the new threat. In November 2002, the government created the Department of Homeland Security, which shortly became the second-largest federal agency after the Department of Defense. By 2004, further legislation sought to improve the Central Intelligence Agency and other antiterrorist agencies in the government. Average Americans saw evidence of the responses in security lines at airports, and the calling to active duty of National Guard and Reserve military units. Public response to the attacks failed to produce a violent backlash against Islamic or Arab citizens in the United States. While some incidents occurred, neither the government nor the public reacted in any way comparable to the Japanese-American incarceration during World War II or the suppression of dissent during World War I. If there were violations of individual civil rights, those affected specific people, and rarely did that happen.

America's military response to the September attacks focused initially on Afghanistan, where a ruling Taliban government supported and allowed Al-Qaeda terrorists to train. Osama Bin Laden also had his headquarters in the country. By early October 2001, American air attacks began in Afghanistan, followed shortly by an armed invasion of the country, with a number of European nations supporting the United States–led attack. Anti-Taliban forces in Afghanistan joined the coalition, the Taliban government was ousted by December, and, in 2002, a new government formed. The coalition forces failed to capture or kill Bin Laden, who apparently went into hiding along the Pakistan-Afghan border in a mountainous region where local tribespeople offered him sanctuary.

While the Afghan conflict raged, a debate emerged in the Bush administration as to the next steps in the war on terrorism. Neoconservatives (neocons) in the Defense Department, led by the Secretary of Defense David Rumsfeld and one of his assistant secretaries, Paul Wolfowitz, argued that the United States should use its power and influence to remodel the Middle East into pro-Western, pro-United States democratic governments, by persuasion if possible, by force if necessary. A power struggle developed between Colin Powell in the Department of State and the neocons over the issue, with Secretary Powell remaining cautious and less than supportive about the idea. George Bush had identified Korea, Iraq, and Iran as national governments supporting terrorism, threatening the interests of the United States, and creating an "axis of evil." Increasingly, his administration focused on Iraq and its leader Saddam Hussein.

If Bush's father had been able to develop U.N. and broad coalition support for the 1991 war in Iraq, his son failed to generate that wide backing. Using the possibility of Hussein's development and possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) as a major pretext for the conflict, the president tried diplomatic means to have the United Nations support a second war to oust Hussein. During 2002, the United States continued to prepare for war, while U.N. inspection teams failed to find clear evidence that Iraq possessed the WMD that the Bush administration and others insisted it had. Lacking U.N. support and European approval, an American–British military force, with some help from Italy, Spain, Poland, and other states, invaded Iraq on March 19, 2003. In fewer than two months, the Hussein government collapsed and formal military resistance ended. As the United States moved to create a new government in Iraq, the success story became an increasing problem. President Bush's "Mission Accomplished" flight onto the deck of an American aircraft carrier proved tragically premature and a major political gaffe. Violence, terrorist attacks, and pro-Hussein insurgents challenged the peaceful resolution of the Iraq war, and the country descended into an ongoing guerilla conflict (or civil war) that cost the lives of thousands of Iraqi citizens, and, by 2005, more than 2,000 American servicemen and women were killed in the continuing conflict.

While Iraqis voted to create a new government and constitute a resolution to domestic infighting among Kurds, Shiites, and a Sunni minority that had ruled the nation under Hussein, American public support for the conflict dwindled. The war in Iraqi also became a political issue that divided Republicans and Democrats. While other domestic and international issues also influenced the 2004 presidential election, Iraq took center stage. George Bush ran for a second term against John Kerry, a Vietnam veteran and U.S. senator from Massachusetts. Kerry presented an expected "blue state" liberal record as a senator, while Bush defended his position as tough on terrorism and a "red state" supporter in the culture wars. His political advisor, Karl Rove, played heavily on concerns about gay marriage, moral values, and other divisive concerns. In the November election, Bush defeated his opponent with a clear majority in the Electoral College and a narrow win in the popular vote. Many observers believed that the election turned on the public's view that President Bush would remain a more stringent defender of American security.

While absorbed with the national security concerns that confronted the nation, an unexpected natural disaster added to the problems Americans confronted in 2005. Hurricane Katrina swept into the Gulf Coast in August 2005 and devastated communities in Alabama and Mississippi. The hurricane also created catastrophic damage in New Orleans, Louisiana. The response of the Federal Emergency Management Office (FEMA) and state and local agencies charged with alleviating the problems that Katrina caused fell far short of public expectations. Another flurry of political criticism exploded between Democrats and Republicans. Issues of racism centered on New Orleans, where many African American residents waited for days before help arrived in any substantial way. At the same time, however, areas in Mississippi and Alabama, equally hurt by the hurricane, were predominantly white, and they received no quicker or better response. Ultimately, the president bore the brunt of the criticism. The head of FEMA, a Bush appointee with little experience in emergency management, resigned. The president flew to New Orleans to offer a televised pledge to rebuild the city.

By the end of the year, a majority of the American people no longer approved of the president's conduct of the war in Iraq, nor did they give the administration positive ratings in other key areas. Ironically, many public polls indicated that Americans also had little faith in Congress or the Democratic Party alternative. While the American economy seemed to offer positive numbers in employment, inflation, and interest rates, the traditional barometers of health, the growing deficit and debt also bothered Americans. In mid-decade, the nation possessed a powerful economy, potent military strength, and other positive political and governmental assets. A growing number of Americans, however, appeared disenchanted and concerned about the future direction of the nation's political agenda.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Freidman, Thomas. *The World Is Flat*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2005.
Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of the World and the Last Man*. New York: Avon Books, 1992.
Goldfield, David et al. *The American Journey: A History of the United States*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2007.
Gore, Al. *An Inconvenient Truth*. New York: Rodale, 2006.
Mooney, Chris. *The Republican War on Science*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Book Group, 2005.
The 9/11 Commission Report. http://www.9–11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf.
U.S. Census. 1990, 2000. http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html.
U.S. Department of Justice. www.ojp.usdoj.gov.

Recreational Life

OVERVIEW

Americans in their daily lives continued to devote time, attention, and money to recreational activities. Indeed, historians and sociologists have characterized the age as much by how people spend their leisure time as how they work, especially for the middle class. In the widest variety of pursuits, Americans sought enjoyment, relaxation, and physical and mental pleasure from their recreational life. Two key themes tended to dominate the topic. First, Americans enjoy the widest variety of options, choices, and endeavors as they engage in recreational activity. So much variety exists that it becomes difficult, if not impossible, in an encyclopedia, to discuss those activities in any detail. While large sections of the subchapter deal with college and professional sports, a major aspect of spectator recreation, thousands of other types of activity also draw attention and involvement. From fly-fishing to parachute base jumping, Americans find so many different ways to enjoy their leisure time that the volume of options would require its own encyclopedia. The second theme focuses on the commercial aspects of recreational life in the United States. It remains essential to understand that people generally pay for their recreation options in a variety of ways. As spectators they buy tickets to events, they purchase a host of products to support their own recreational activities, and, in the case of gambling, they expend billions of dollars annually on casino games or sports betting. Whether one pays for season tickets to a college or professional sports program or buys the latest golf or tennis equipment, commercialism plays a major role in recreational life in the United States.

CARDS AND BOARD GAMES

Americans have enjoyed a variety of card games and board games since colonial times, and those options for recreation and enjoyment have expanded dramatically in the modern era. When Edmond Hoyle supposedly created the rules for card playing in England in the eighteenth century, he could not have imagined the potential number of card players or variety of card games that would emerge. Americans play literally hundreds of card games with the so-called standard deck of 52 cards, four suits (clubs, diamonds, hearts, and spades, ranked ace through deuce). They include trick-taking games like bridge, rummy-style options, solitaire, and gambling games. Recently, poker, particularly a variation called Texas hold-em, has become a popular option for million-dollar competitions in Las Vegas, online gambling, and social gambling among friends. Poker has always been one of the most widely played and enjoyed card games in American life. Bridge, whist, canasta, pinochle, hearts, and variations of rummy games also attract fans and players. Solitaire remains a standard option for single players. In the standard phrase "according to Hoyle," each of those games has its particular rules and conventions.

In the modern era, older Americans seem, reasonably, to play more traditional card games than younger people. Few teenagers or young adults still find bridge, pinochle, and canasta interesting. They remain popular among Americans over the age of 40. Poker, however, has recently seized the imagination and commitment of youthful players. Across the board, however, some form of card playing has continued to occupy the time and avid attention of millions of Americans, young and old, and the various options continue to provide recreation and social entertainment in every region of the United States.

Board games have grown significantly in popularity since the end of World War II. While a host of video games appear to distract Americans from the more traditional options, millions of people still enjoy games with dice, boards, player pieces, simple and complex rules, and intense competition. When Parker Brothers introduced Monopoly in 1935, it served as a social response to the Depression. Players moved their pieces around a board buying various properties in an effort to win rent from other competitors. The various properties, named for avenues in Atlantic City, New Jersey, attracted immediate commercial success. To date, an estimated 500 to 700 million people have played the game, and a host of variations (different properties) have added to the popularity of Monopoly. Scrabble, a word game, attracts players to national and international competition, as experts compete for monetary prizes. Toy stores stock dozens of different board games for children of all ages and for adults as well. Risk and other strategy games challenge similar video game options for attention and interest.

Games Magazine has included a Hall of Fame list of board games in its regular publication during the past few years. In 2005, it cited BuyWord as the board game of that year. More than 50 games are included on the magazine's list of Hall of Fame choices. Whether designed to inform toy companies of their importance (a multimillion dollar business) or simply to alert consumers to popular games for their own enjoyment, the health and prosperity of traditional board games has remained a popular and important aspect of American recreational life into the first decade of the twenty-first century.

A final look at games would be remiss if one did not include games like chess, checkers, and dominos. Those, too, some dating back centuries, attract players, young and old, social and serious. The life and times of Bobby Fischer, America's iconoclastic world chess champion (1972–1975), draw attention to the popularity of that challenging, classic, and esoteric board game. More simple enjoyment has always focused on a pair of players hunched over a competitive game of checkers (Parlett 1999).

COLLEGE SPORTS

During the last two decades of the twentieth century, money emerged as the primary driving force within American college and professional sports. From 1961 to 1984, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) negotiated package contracts with the major television networks. During that time period, the total value of the television contracts increased from $3 million to $74.3 million per year. In 1984, the Supreme Court ruled that those package television contracts violated federal antitrust laws, thereby undermining the NCAA's authority and leaving individual athletic conferences and schools free to negotiate their own television contracts. The University of Notre Dame, which enjoyed an enthusiastic national following, signed a lucrative television contract with NBC to broadcast all of the "Fighting Irish's" home football games. Since other schools did not have Notre Dame's sizable fan base, they opted to negotiate lucrative television contracts through their athletic conferences. The Big Ten, adding an eleventh team with the inclusion of Penn State in 1994, developed contracts with ABC and ESPN, the all-sports cable network. From 1996 through 2000, CBS broadcasted Big East football games; beginning in 1996, both the Pac-10 and Big 12 games enjoyed contracts with Fox Sports Network.

As colleges negotiated new television contracts, the number of postseason bowl games proliferated, and the amount of money associated with those bowl games escalated due to corporate sponsorships. From 1987 until 1995, USF&G Financial Services served as the Sugar Bowl's official sponsor; Nokia sponsored the Sugar Bowl from 1996 through 2006. FedEx began sponsoring the Orange Bowl in 1989. During the 1980s and 1990s, Sunkist and Tostitos sponsored the Fiesta Bowl, and AT&T and SonyPlaystation2 sponsored the Rose Bowl. In 1998, to maximize revenue and to ensure that the top two teams played for the national championship, Notre Dame joined with the six leading football conferences to create the Bowl Championship Series (BCS). As part of the BCS agreement, the site of the annual national championship game rotated among four sites—the Rose Bowl, the Sugar Bowl, the Orange Bowl, and the Fiesta Bowl. An elaborate ranking system that included computer polls and the two traditional Associated Press and USA Today Coaches' poll determined the participants in the BCS bowl games. From 1998 until 2006, ABC enjoyed the exclusive right to televise the BCS bowls, paying a $400 million broadcasting fee between 2001 and 2006.

One effect of college football's playing for television was to stretch the season with more games into January. To satisfy television needs, colleges also scheduled games on Thursday and Friday nights, away from the traditional Saturday schedules. For fans, students, and viewers, the elongated football season and the several game days a week made college football more central in people's lives. Similar extensions of seasons and postseason play, and games on virtually any day of the week, in other sports such as professional football, baseball, and basketball also increased the fan base of the sports, via television. The amount of time Americans devoted to viewing sports events grew. The marketing of sports clothing with team logos both attested to the popularity of sports and also affected everyday fashion.

In the late twentieth century, the popularity of and amount of money associated with men's intercollegiate basketball also skyrocketed. The NCAA began sponsoring a men's basketball championship tournament in 1939; until the 1960s, however, the National Invitation Tournament (NIT) overshadowed the NCAA's tournament. Started by the Metropolitan Basketball Writers Association in 1938, the NIT annually attracted the country's top teams for a series of championship games at Madison Square Garden. To entice better teams and better television deals, the NCAA tournament gradually expanded its field from 8 teams in 1950 to 64 teams in 1985. In 2001, the NCAA added another team and an opening round game to determine the 64th-ranked team in the tournament. During the 1990s, the tournament's Final Four surpassed the World Series in television ratings, and its television revenue rose from $49 million to $150 million. In 1994, CBS agreed to the biggest sports contract in television history, paying the NCAA more than $1 billion for the exclusive rights to televise the men's basketball tournament through the 2002 season.

The lucrative television contracts led many Division I-A schools to devote more time and resources to their athletic programs. During the regular seasons, football and basketball athletes devoted almost 40 hours every week to practices, team meetings, and traveling; during the off-seasons, those athletes maintained extensive exercise programs. Lucrative television deals also led Division I-A athletic programs to circumvent NCAA guidelines in order to attract the best recruits, receive high national rankings, and participate in postseason bowl games or tournaments. Legally, college athletic programs enticed top prospects by offering athletic scholarships and by highlighting the possibilities of playing in nationally televised games and of playing at the professional level once their college careers ended. Expensive facilities—including weight rooms, locker rooms, modern stadiums or arenas, and even special dormitories reserved for varsity athletes—also served as important legal inducements. Illegal inducements typically came from powerful alumni and athletic booster clubs who offered top prospects free cars, free apartments or houses, jobs entailing little or no work, and large cash payments. Coaches occasionally facilitated contact between top prospects and athletic booster clubs, and they often recruited athletes with little regard for their academic capabilities. In order to keep their athletes academically eligible, coaches directed their athletes toward football- or basketball-friendly professors and sometimes even taught classes specifically designed for their athletes.

As a result of those intensive recruitment efforts, the late twentieth century witnessed a series of embarrassing scandals within Division I-A intercollegiate athletics. Reports surfaced that football players at Arizona State University received academic credits for unattended, off-campus extension courses. Half of the schools in the Pac-10 conference admitted that they tampered with academic transcripts and granted false course credits to student athletes. College athletic programs throughout the country regularly protected their academically ineligible athletes by hiring special tutors and lowering standards. In the early 1980s, only one-third of the NFL players and even fewer NBA players earned college degrees; some high school basketball stars, such as Kobe Bryant and Kevin Garnett, avoided college and entered the NBA after graduating from high school. Ultimately, in the late twentieth century, Division I-A football and basketball programs developed into free minor-league systems for the NFL and the NBA. Some scholars, most notably John Hoberman, argued that the overemphasis on athletics within Division I-A programs had a particularly devastating effect on the African American community. According to Hoberman, the overemphasis on athletics perpetuated a myth that professional athletics represented the only avenue for success for young African American men.

The biggest scandal in Division I-A intercollegiate football occurred at Southern Methodist University (SMU). SMU's troubles began in the late 1970s when head coach Ron Meyer established a system that allowed his players to sell their complimentary tickets and pocket the profits. Meyer gave money to his players' parents so they could attend games; he subsidized flights home for his players whenever they wanted, a form of assistance that clearly violated NCAA's guidelines. Following the 1981 season, the NCAA placed SMU on probation for two years, thereby prohibiting the team from playing on national television or in bowl games; Meyer left to coach the New England Patriots in the NFL. Despite Meyer's departure, problems persisted within SMU's football program since school President L. Donald Shields chose to pacify the athletic boosters and refused to take any action that would undermine the team's success. From 1980 to 1984, SMU's football team enjoyed the highest winning percentage in the nation, and in 1982, it represented the only major football program to enjoy an undefeated season. SMU boosters, working through the football coaches, provided players with monthly payments, free cars, and free apartments. The monthly payments increased as the players matured and as their roles on the team became more important. When President Shields discovered the depth of the violations within the football team, he unsuccessfully tried to cover up the scandal and avoid another round of NCAA sanctions.

In June 1985, the NCAA imposed a three-year probation on SMU for 38 violations of the association's guidelines. The terms of the probation prevented SMU from awarding any football scholarships during the 1986–1987 academic year and limited the school to only 15 football scholarships during the 1987–1988 academic year. Moreover, the terms of the probation forbade SMU from appearing on national television for one year and from playing in bowl games for two years. The NCAA had never imposed such a severe penalty, but SMU boosters and football coaches continued to deliver illegal cash payments to the football players. In November 1986, newspapers in Dallas began reporting on the continued violations within SMU's football program, and the school quickly launched an internal investigation in a vain attempt to fool NCAA investigators and avoid the dreaded "death penalty." The NCAA, however, delivered the death penalty to SMU's program in February 1987—the association suspended the football team for the entire 1987 season. Since the NCAA forbade the school from awarding football scholarships and from hosting any football games for two seasons, the association's actions effectively suspended SMU for both the 1987 and 1988 seasons. Once it resumed play in 1989, a severely weakened SMU football team struggled against Division I-A competition, and in the early 1990s, school officials seriously considered dropping to Division I-AA. School officials, however, decided to remain in Division I-A and made serious efforts to eliminate the environment of corruption that had plagued the football team. The graduation rate for football players rose from 30 percent to 70 percent, the new school president implemented a mandatory ethics course for all student athletes, and the school remained free from NCAA sanctions.

The shocking scandal at SMU, combined with reports of student athlete lawlessness at Oklahoma and other Division I-A schools, sparked a wave of reform aimed at restoring a proper balance between athletic success and academic concerns. In 1986, two new athletic conferences—the Patriot League and the University Athletic Association—formed. Members of those conferences vowed to hold athletes to the same academic standards that applied to the entire student body. During that same year, the NCAA implemented Proposition 48, which established minimum SAT and ACT scores and high school grade point averages for prospective student athletes. Three years later, trustees of the Knight Foundation offered $2 million toward the creation of a special commission to study intercollegiate athletics and to create new strategies for preventing scandals. In 1991, the Knight Commission, composed primarily of college presidents and former college athletic stars, proposed a "One-Plus-Three" model for governing intercollegiate athletics. According to the Knight Commission, college presidents should exercise control over athletic programs, conferences, and the NCAA. To accomplish that goal, college presidents needed three kinds of support—academic integrity, financial integrity, and a system of certification. For the remainder of the decade, many colleges gradually adopted the Knight Commission's suggestions, and the NCAA began certifying and auditing athletic programs. Only time will tell whether American colleges will continue to adopt the Knight Commission's suggestions or whether they will continue to evade NCAA guidelines.

—*Courtney Smith*

GAMBLING

Americans spend billions of dollars annually on both legal and illegal gambling, most of that in casino and sports betting. Gambling casinos, legal in a variety of areas, take in $60 billion annually. In Las Vegas, Nevada, Atlantic City, New Jersey, and elsewhere, the casino business flourishes. The profits from Mohegan Sun's (a Native American–operated casino in Connecticut) are used to benefit the tribal society, and other Indian reservations are creating similar businesses, under treaty rules that allow tribes to regulate their own areas and remain free of state laws on gambling and related activities.

As of 2005, horseracing has 150 operating tracks in the United States and generates $16 billion in betting revenue. Customers may bet both at the track and in off-track locations. While the "sport of kings" has always attracted American attention and interest as a sporting event, it has also always remained tied to betting.

Sports betting in America appears difficult to quantify, because it operates both legally and illegally. Estimates place betting in the multibillion dollar range in every area from professional and college football and basketball to minor sports activities. Sports and casino betting plays a major role in American recreation and has created a significant debate in the society regarding its harm and value.

GOLF, TENNIS, AND INDIVIDUAL SPORTS

Most Americans do not engage in team sports. They, do, however, participate in a variety of individual recreational sporting activities that include golf, tennis, bowling, and other options. Bowling remains one of the most popular sports activities for Americans despite the decline in the number of bowling lanes over the past quarter-century. Since the 1980s the number of people who bowl has increased by more than 10 percent, while sponsored bowling leagues throughout the United States have increased by more than 40 percent. Professional bowling has long attracted spectators and participants. The Professional Bowling Association (PBA) sponsors more than 40 tournaments. The Women's Professional Bowling Association (WPBA), founded in 1960, also provides a series of tournaments for its professional athletes. The development of all-sports cable channels and programming in the 1990s opened the door to televised bowling matches, which had been a staple of early television but lost network coverage in the 1970s to other sports (Professional Bowling Association).

Tennis, at every level of competition, also draws both participants and spectators. Thousands of local recreation departments provide tennis courts for public use. Private clubs include tennis facilities as recreational options for their members. Schools, colleges, and universities provide tennis as a recreational option for students and as an organized competitive sport. Professional tennis in the United States has evolved as a spectator sport throughout the twentieth century. From the golden age of Bill Tilden in the 1920s to the modern era, tennis remains a popular spectator sport. While a number of European stars, both men and women, have challenged

American tennis pros for top spots in the tennis hierarchy, players like the Williams sisters, Serena and Venus, and Andy Roddick remain successful American professionals. As with other professional sports, the commercial aspects of tennis have expanded significantly. More tournaments have commercial sponsors. Prize money for men and women has increased dramatically. More than 600,000 spectators attended the U.S. Open Tennis Championship in New York in 2005, and prize money amounted to more than $18 million, split evenly between men and women players (U.S. Tennis Association). Television, again, elevates the popularity and commercial benefits for players.

In the past 15 years, perhaps no individual sport has seen a more significant increase in participation and interest than golf. Once largely the preserve of members of private clubs, the number of municipal and public golf courses open to general use has expanded. In 1990, the National Golf Foundation indicated that 23 million Americans played golf. By 2005, that number climbed to 27 million. There are 16,052 golf courses in the United States, 4,372 private, 2,418 municipal (owned and operated by townships), and 9,262 public courses, an increase of 4,000 since 1990. The professional golf tour has produced an interest in the game as well. Sponsorships, prize money, television, and exceptional players like Tiger Woods and Phil Mickleson, among others, have had a major impact on the sport.

Women's professional golf has developed along similar lines. Michelle Wie, the teenage player from Hawaii, has emerged as a new star in a field of women with exceptional abilities. Prize money differs widely. Major PGA (Professional Golf Association) tournaments award winners up to $1 million and more. Women's tour events generally offer half that much. A variety of other tour programs, for senior players and those not on the PGA tour, also attract fans and prizes.

The commercial aspect of spectator/participant sports hinges, to a great degree, on equipment. The sale of bowling, tennis, and golf equipment amounts to a multibillion dollar enterprise, with a variety of companies competing for customers. They also pay star performers large sums of money to endorse their products. When Tiger Woods signed with Nike, the sports equipment company had no major golf product line. In 2005, the golf line generated $500 million in revenue. Nike pays Woods $40 million (Cheng 2006). While other golf, tennis, and bowling professionals have endorsements lower than Woods', most substantially enhance their income through sponsoring agreements with sporting goods companies. As with the other sports topics, commercialism remains a major issue.

NASCAR AND AUTO RACING

Auto sports attract a huge audience, both at the track and on television. Television ratings in the period 2000–2005 indicate that NASCAR (The National Association of Stock Car Auto Racing) is second only to professional football in viewing numbers. NASCAR produces 1,500 events in 40 states. In 2005, 17 of the top 20 sporting events in the United States show NASCAR with the highest attendance numbers. The organization claims 75 million fans, who purchase more than $2 billion in sponsored products. Fortune 500 companies provide sponsorship for NASCAR events more than any other sport. Their marketing directors have determined clearly that fan, hence product, loyalty seems especially strong among NASCAR spectators. The origins of stock-car racing as a regional sporting event in the southeastern United States have changed broadly during the past 15 years. And the fan base includes many suburban, middle-class followers across the country. NASCAR has become a national passion for millions of Americans, some of whom follow their heroes from race to race, setting up in large trailer and recreational vehicle camps outside race tracks and enjoying a growing racing fan subculture (http://www. Nascar.com).

NO PLACE LIKE HOME: STADIUMS

The end of the twentieth century heralded a new era of stadium and arena construction. Between 1990 and 1998, 46 professional sport stadiums and arenas were built or renovated. By 1999, an additional 49 were either under construction or in the planning stages. The building of a new facility typically began once owners decried their existing facilities as inadequate—meaning that the facilities lacked the luxury boxes, club seats, and advertising opportunities that represented good sources of revenue. Owners then pressured local and state government officials into negotiating stadium or arena financing deals that devoted a great deal of publicly generated funds to the construction of a new playing facility. Cities and states utilized a variety of taxes to finance new sports facilities—sales taxes, property taxes, hotel and motel taxes, car rental taxes, personal and corporate income taxes, lotteries, and "sin taxes" on alcohol and cigarettes. The efforts of city and state governments to finance new playing facilities frequently generated criticism from local community leaders, who argued that the governments should focus on more important endeavors, such as building new schools. Those criticisms usually died amidst vocal and well-financed movements to build new playing facilities.

Owners utilized a variety of methods to defray construction costs; in addition to raising ticket prices, they instituted personal seat licenses, or fees that fans paid simply for the right to purchase season tickets. Most owners typically sold great amounts of advertising space within the facilities and even sold stadium or arena-naming rights to corporations. Daniel Snyder of the Washington Redskins snagged one of the most lucrative deals when FedEx agreed to pay $75 million for the right to have its name attached to the team's new stadium. Due to takeovers in the corporate world, the names of stadiums and arenas changed frequently. Since 1996, the home of the Philadelphia Flyers and 76ers has been called the CoreStates Center, the First Union Center, and the Wachovia Center. In Houston, the Astros' new ballpark was originally called Enron Field; after an ugly scandal swept through the corporation, the team ended its affiliation with Enron and resold the ballpark naming rights to the Minute Maid Corporation.

Several economists, most notably Andrew Zimbalist, discovered that professional sports facilities do not have a positive impact on local economic development, a key finding that directly contradicts the arguments of team owners who advocate publicly financed facilities. Those economists highlighted the fact that as part of the stadium or arena deals, individual team owners, and not the city governments, received all of the revenue generated by the playing facilities. City governments, however, continued to finance new sports facilities, because they feared losing their professional teams to other cities whose governments offered lucrative stadium or arena financing deals. Most American cities regarded having professional sports teams as a mark of "major-league" status, so they sought to raise their national profiles by building facilities and attracting sports franchises. Consequently, the boom in sports facility construction altered the geography of professional sports and ushered a brief era of "franchise free agency."

One of the most infamous examples of franchise free agency happened in 1995 when Art Modell moved the beloved Cleveland Browns NFL team to Baltimore. While the Browns played at old Cleveland Municipal Stadium, Modell watched as the city helped both the Indians and Cavaliers build new facilities and construct the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Modell also noticed that the Cavaliers sold 92 luxury boxes worth as much as $150,000 per year and that the Indians sold 120 private suites in their new ballpark. At the same time, the Browns failed to lease 24 of their 108 luxury boxes. Those events convinced Modell that Cleveland's business community could not and would not pay for luxury boxes at a new football stadium. Consequently, Modell eagerly accepted the deal offered by the Maryland Stadium Authority, led by Governor Parris Glendening and Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke, to move his franchise to Baltimore for the 1996 season. Under the 30-year agreement with the Maryland Stadium Authority, the Browns would play at old Memorial Stadium during the 1996 and 1997 seasons and then move to a new stadium next to Oriole Park at Camden Yards (a new Major League Baseball facility). The franchise would pay stadium operating expenses, but they would have use of the stadium rent-free and would keep all ticket, concession, parking, and stadium advertising revenue. As a further inducement, the Maryland Stadium Authority agreed to pay the franchise up to $75 million for their relocation expenses.

Modell's decision to relocate the Browns sparked outrage in Cleveland, especially since the team enjoyed the fourth-highest home attendance in the NFL despite having a losing record. Cleveland Mayor Michael White, who had intended to negotiate a new stadium deal with the Browns, met with NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue and vainly sought a restraining order to prevent the Browns from moving. Eventually, Modell's team left Cleveland, but the city won the right to retain the franchise's name, history, and colors. The NFL wisely agreed to place a new team in Cleveland by the start of the 1999 season; meanwhile, Modell's team opened the 1996 season as the Baltimore Ravens. Since their return in 1999, the new Cleveland Browns have played before sold-out crowds in a new stadium built with public funds. Unfortunately for Cleveland's football fans, the Browns have ranked among the worst teams in the NFL, and the Ravens won the Super Bowl in 2001.

Around the time of the Browns' departure, the Rams left Los Angeles for St. Louis, the Raiders left Los Angeles for Oakland, and the Oilers left Houston for Nashville. Franchise free agency impacted other professional sports leagues, particularly the National Hockey League (NHL). In the NHL, the Nordiques left Quebec to become the Colorado Avalanche, the Jets left Winnipeg to become the Phoenix Coyotes, the North Stars left Minneapolis to become the Dallas Stars, and the Whalers left Hartford to become the Carolina Hurricanes. All professional sports leagues also underwent periods of expansion as they sought to uncover new markets. The NFL added three teams, Major League Baseball added four teams, the NBA added two teams, and the NHL added nine teams. In the early twenty-first century, the periods of franchise free agency and rapid expansion ended, but disgruntled owners continued to use the threat of relocation to receive concessions from state and local authorities.

—Courtney Smith

PROFESSIONAL TEAM SPORTS

During the late twentieth century, money drastically altered the landscape of professional sports in the United States. Since the early 1970s, three broadcast networks televised NFL games—CBS broadcasted NFC contests, NBC aired AFC contests, and ABC carried Monday Night Football. In 1994, however, the FOX network stunned the sports world by offering over a then-record $1.58 billion for the rights to televise NFC games. The move effectively ended the 30-year partnership between CBS and the NFL. Moreover, FOX's stunning action led to more lucrative television contracts for the other professional sports leagues, but the NFL continued to enjoy the most profitable television contracts. In 1998, CBS snagged the rights to televise AFC games away from NBC with a $4 billion, eight-year contract. Collectively, the NFL's eight-year television contracts with FOX, CBS, ABC, and ESPN netted the league $17.6 billion.

An increase in the average salary of professional athletes paralleled the increasing monetary value of television contracts. Prior to the 1990s, professional baseball, basketball, and hockey players enjoyed some form of free agency; in 1993, NFL players and owners finally reached an agreement that granted players true free agency. Free agency allowed players to sell their services to the highest bidder, and multimillionaire owners seemed willing to offer higher salaries as well as higher signing bonuses. In 1993, for example, the San Francisco Giants lured Barry Bonds away from the Pittsburgh Pirates for a then-record deal of $43.75 million over six years. Seven years later, Tom Hicks, owner of the Texas Rangers, questionably raised the bar by offering Alex Rodriguez a 10-year contract worth $252 million dollars, or over $25 million per year. Free agency frequently led to labor confrontations as owners somewhat hypocritically complained about escalating salaries and as players resisted attempts to cap their salaries. A devastating strike prematurely ended the 1994 baseball season on August 12, canceled the World Series, delayed the start of the 1995 regular season, and disgusted millions of baseball fans. To compound the situation, a growing gap developed between large and small market teams, because teams in large media markets generated more revenue from local television rights, ticket sales, and merchandise sales. Consequently, teams like the New York Yankees, who won four World Series titles between 1996 and 2000, carried payrolls that dwarfed the payrolls of teams like the Pittsburgh Pirates, the Kansas City Royals, and the Milwaukee Brewers.

In contrast to Major League Baseball, stability and parity reigned in the NFL because, in return for allowing free agency, owners enjoyed a hard salary cap and a strong revenue-sharing plan. The salary cap kept salaries within manageable limits, and the revenue-sharing plan allowed all NFL owners to share equally in the profits generated by the league. Consequently, small market teams, such as the Green Bay Packers, had the same opportunity as large market teams, such as the New York Giants and Dallas Cowboys, to attract free agents and win championships. The lucrative television contracts, combined with the revenue-sharing plan and hard salary cap, made it virtually impossible for NFL owners to lose money. From 1989 until 2004, the NFL's revenue increased more than 500 percent, and fans purchased nearly 90 percent of available tickets to league games. In the 2004 season, the NFL's 32 franchises shared equally in nearly $5.5 billion in total revenue—the most income, and the largest measure of financial cooperation, in the four major American professional sports. Each team received over $85 million from television contracts; teams also shared 34 percent of their individual gate receipts, the most generous amount in professional sports, and received a portion of revenue from luxury seats and club boxes.

While the NFL owners directly benefited from the salary cap and revenue-sharing plan, NFL players also wallowed in the league's riches because they received a percentage of the league's profits. Despite the presence of a hard salary cap, the average salary of NFL players more than tripled from $484,000 in 1992 to $1.3 million in 2003; the salary cap itself climbed from $34.6 million in 1994 to $80.6 million in 2004. Moreover, because owners could prorate a signing bonus throughout the length of a contract, NFL players received tens of millions of dollars simply for signing a contract. Due to that distribution of riches, NFL players remained content with the status quo, and the league avoided a costly labor confrontation (Yost 2006).

Jerry Jones, who bought the Dallas Cowboys for $140 million in 1989, tried to upset the system by negotiating personal deals with corporations, such as Nike and PepsiCo Inc., which fell outside of the NFL's revenue-sharing plan. In 1963, the league had created NFL Properties to collectively negotiate merchandise or sponsorship rights and distribute the revenues equally among the teams. In 1995, Jones challenged the authority of NFL Properties by arguing that each team should have the right to market itself individually and to take advantage of its popularity among NFL fans. At the time, the Cowboys ranked first in merchandise sales, but under the revenue-sharing plan, the team had to divide profits generated by those sales with the other NFL teams. Jones's deals with Nike and PepsiCo allowed those companies to adorn Texas Stadium, home of the Dallas Cowboys, with their familiar logos; Pepsi became the stadium's official soft drink. The NFL promptly sued Jones for violating league guidelines; Jones countersued, and the two parties eventually reached a settlement. Unwilling to endure another ugly confrontation, the NFL gave teams more freedom to make their own sponsorship deals that fell outside of the revenue-sharing system. Consequently, more teams followed Jones's example and allowed corporations to advertise or sell products within their stadiums. In the early twenty-first century, those individual sponsorship deals began to create a widening gap between large and small market teams and threatened to undermine the NFL's stability (http://nfl.com/history).

—*Courtney Smith*

TELEVISION

The popularity and broadcasting of particular prime-time television shows remained volatile and changing throughout the last half of the twentieth century. Viewers tended to show less loyalty to television shows than they had to favorite radio programs in the prewar era. The rise and fall of countless television shows during the period 1991–2005 showed a similar pattern. In the age of hundreds of channel options, few shows lasted for more than five or six years. Television programs that defied that trend vary in genre. Half-hour sitcoms like *Friends* and *Seinfeld* were the most notable examples. *Friends*, a comedy about six adults living in New York City, aired from 1994 until 2004. This program dominated the Thursday evening airwaves along with *Seinfeld*. The brainchild of its namesake Jerry Seinfeld, this show aired from 1989 to 1998. Also set in New York City, the creators of *Seinfeld* boasted that it was a show "about nothing." Members of the cast from both of these sitcoms moved on to "spin-off" shows, but none of them boast the fan base of *Friends* and *Seinfeld*.

Hour-long shows also had success during the time period. The part science fiction, part detective drama *X-Files* developed a cult following from 1993 through 2002. This television series was so popular that it inspired a movie that was released in 1998. When it launched in 1993, *X-Files* became a major hit for the relatively new Fox Broadcasting Company.

Other hour-long programs geared largely to a young adult audience thrived during the period. *Beverly Hills 90210* obtained a large following while it aired from 1990 to 2000. The show, about a group of friends in Beverly Hills, California, followed their lives from the teenage years to adulthood and from high school to college life. *Charmed*, a show about three sisters who are also witches, aired from 1998 to 2006. Vampire-themed shows like *Angel* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* also enjoyed success in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Some animated programs enjoyed success over the era. Leading the way were shows like *Futurama*, *Family Guy*, *South Park*, and the eternal favorite the *Simpsons*. The latter was an Emmy and Peabody Award–winning show that had the distinction of being the longest-running animated program and the longest-running sitcom in American history. First aired in 1989, the *Simpsons* was in its seventeenth season in 2005.

At the same time, Americans have gained increased access to the world with the spread of 24-hour news networks. By 1991, CNN and Fox News Network already existed; however, MSNBC entered the news race in 1996. The arguably more conservative Fox News Network enjoyed particular success in the Republican-dominated political environment of the era. Throughout the era viewers watched as the Columbine High School massacre, the O. J. Simpson trial, the events of 9/11/2001, and both Gulf Wars unfolded on their favorite news channels. Television programming, with the many innovations in both technology and options, has remained the single most significant form of entertainment in American daily life. Average viewing time amounts to more than eight hours a day in households in the United States, and the number of homes that own one or more televisions has topped 95 percent. From sitcoms to sports, from melodrama to cooking shows, and from 24-hour news programs to various religious options, Americans consistently turn to their televisions sets for recreation and relaxation. The electronic medium of television remains the most powerful and striking technical and innovative force in American recreation and cultural life in the past half century.

TOURISM: CRUISE SHIPS

Americans spend billions of dollars annually as tourists. The ease of air travel, the broad development of resorts worldwide, and an increase in middle-class spending options have turned tourism into a major business and a key component of recreational life in the United States. The fastest-growing area of tourism has occurred in cruise ship tourism during the past 25 years. Since 1980, an annual growth of 8 percent shows an increase of as much as twice the percentage of annual growth in other tourism options. In 1997, more than eight million people took cruises for recreational purposes. North Americans (the United States and Canada) account for more than 80 percent of the passengers on cruise ships. The revenue that cruise ships derive amounts to almost $17 billion annually.


Modern cruise ship—the new tourism. Courtesy of Jolyon Girard.

In 1998, 71 ships from 24 cruise lines carried passengers to the Caribbean (50 percent), the Mediterranean (15 percent), Alaska (8 percent), the Panama Canal (6 percent), and Mexico (5 percent). Miami, Florida, has surfaced as a major hub for cruise ships, with up to 30 departures a week. Prices range widely depending on the cruise line, the length of the cruise, and the location. Cruising tourism has become one of the most popular forms of recreational activity for many Americans seeking to enhance their vacation options (www.lighthouse-foundation.org).

WIDE WORLD OF SPORTS

In 1961, ABC television began to broadcast a show entitled *Wide World of Sports*. Roone Arledge produced the program, and Jim McKay acted as the announcer for most of the series. ABC ended the program as a regular weekly event in 2006. The show captured the many forms of sport that Americans watched and sporting activities in which they participated. From rodeos in the West to *jai lai* in Florida, viewers witnessed the broad world of sports in the United States, and worldwide, unfold weekly. The program indicated how many sports activities existed in the United States and how many people took advantage of those options. This section concludes with a nod of appreciation to the idea behind the show. The section has certainly overlooked countless recreational activities about which people are passionate and involved in their recreational life. It has devoted little time to fishing or hunting as activities and to camping and hiking as recreation. Esoteric or new forms of sport are also given short notice. The impact of ski boarding, as an example, deserves time and space. Everything from billiards and shuffleboard should also join the expansive list of available sports. If the encyclopedia omits or gives short space to one's favorites, apologies are extended. In simple fact, recreational life in the United States remains so varied, with so many options and opportunities, that it becomes implausible to pay full homage or attention to all of them. A full look at recreational life, even in a time period as concentrated as 1990–2005, would require its own encyclopedia.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Cheng, Andria. *International Herald Tribune* (September 22, 2006).

Grinols, Earl L. *Gambling in America: Costs and Benefits*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

McDonough, Will. *The NFL Century: The Complete Story of the National Football League, 1920–2000*. New York: Smithmark Publishers, 1999.

NASCAR. Turner Sports Inc. 2006. http://www.nascar.com.

Parlett, David. *Oxford History of Board Games*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Professional Bowling Association. http://www.pba.com/.

Roberts, Randy, and James S. Olson. *Winning Is the Only Thing: Sports in America since 1945*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Smith, Ronald. *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Thelin, John R. *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Thompson, William N. *Gambling in America: An Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2001.
U.S. Tennis Association. http://www.usta.com/home/default.sps.
Yost, Mark. *Tailgating, Sacks, and Salary Caps: How the NFL Became the Most Successful Sports League in History*. Chicago: Kaplan Business, 2006.
Zimbalist, Andrew. *The Bottom Line: Observations and Arguments on the Sports Business*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006.

Religious Life

OVERVIEW

American commitment to religious and spiritual life remains a key aspect of contemporary society. Since 1990, statistics indicate a rise in formal religious participation in every religious denomination and belief. At the same time, the number of Americans who claim no religious affiliation has also grown. The increased political and social influence of evangelical Christians has become an issue of broad debate in the society. Many American political pundits believe that the religious right's support of Republican Party candidates has enabled that party to win control of Congress and the White House between 1995 and 2005. The growing scandal regarding sexual abuse in the Roman Catholic Church in America has also prompted a major national debate. While American Muslims make up a small percentage of the U.S. population, post-September 11, 2001, issues concerning terrorism and its modern roots have drawn more attention to Islam in America as a factor in the nation's religious life. In every respect, the nation continues to view religious life as a major factor in its day-to-day affairs. From school board battles regarding science, to court decisions concerning the First Amendment, to religious worship on a weekly basis, Americans view religion, positively or negatively, in serious terms. Alexis de Tocqueville suggested in *Democracy in America,* in the 1830s, that Americans took their religious life seriously. Little appears to have changed at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS

The growth and influence of evangelical Protestanism have surfaced as a major factor in American religious life. Estimates place the number of practicing evangelical Christians at more than 30 million Americans (10 percent of the population). Those numbers suggest that evangelical Christians make up the largest percentage of Protestants across the various denominations in that religion. Over the past 20 years, they became more active in public forums, arguing for greater controls over the content of mass media, the sanctity of marriage, opposition to gay rights, opposition to abortion, and less reliance on government and more on faith-based institutions to address social problems and public education than mainline Protestants and Roman Catholics also engaged in political and social issues (Bethel 2005).

The spiritual drive of evangelical Protestanism has existed in America since the Great Awakening in the early eighteenth century. The modern expression includes members of a number of Protestant faiths but has four basic characteristics: first, a personal conversion experience, essentially a "new birth" or "born-again" commitment to the faith; second, a belief in biblical authority or *sola scriptura* as the inspired word and truth of God; third, a belief in personal missionary responsibility—"as you go preach"; and fourth, a central focus on the redeeming value of Christ's life and death as the only means of salvation. While individual points of view may differ, and it remains difficult to stereotype any large group of people, most observers see those four concepts as basic to evangelical Christianity.

In public life, many adherents challenge court decisions regarding prayer in public schools and the teaching of Darwinian science without alternative access to "creationism" theories. Efforts to win election to local school boards to effect changes in curriculum have become a strategy of the evangelical Christians. The rise of televangelism and large congregational churches has added to the impact and, to some degree, the fervor of the members. Their involvement in moral political issues such as gay lifestyles, pornography, and school prayer has encouraged politicians to solicit their votes. The Republican Party has won key victories in state elections, in Congress, and even in the presidency as a result of evangelicals' political support. In terms of religious faith, few question the sincerity and depth of belief among evangelical Christians. Critics do question their conclusions and often their methods of public discourse, but it remains difficult for even their harshest opponents to argue their conviction. The very success of evangelical Christianity, reflected in sales of books on Christian themes, in the popularity of Christian broadcasting, and in the growth of churches, especially in new suburban areas, bespeaks the still intense religious atmosphere of modern America. It also encourages other religions to adopt some of the methods of evangelism and outreach.

Tied to the emotional debate regarding the separation of church and state, the active involvement of evangelical Christians in political discourse, at both the local and the national level, continues to produce a significant response. Critics contend that their efforts to seize control of local school boards are designed to impose biblical influence on the public school curriculum. At the national level, critics accuse evangelicals of too heavily imposing their social values on a society more secular and humanist than religious conviction can understand or accept. Nonetheless, those who claim commitment to evangelical Christianity maintain that they have the right and moral necessity to bring their views and opinions to the public forum. The debate continues.

ISLAM AND JUDAISM

According to the 2000 census, American Muslims and Jews made up less than 2 percent of the population of the United States; approximately four million Jewish citizens and 1,600,000 Muslims. Recent political crises on the global stage, however, have heightened American interest in and sensitivity regarding the two faiths. Not only are Muslims and Jews concerned as they practice their religion in America, but those who live in the United States who are not members of those religions also have questions and concerns. Both Judaism and Islam, like Christianity, stem from common roots. Muslims talk about believers in the three faiths as "brothers of the book," people with a root unity and background going back to the prophet Abraham. Obviously, however, the three important Western religions have not been the most ecumenical in the past or at present. The developing tension between the three faiths has as much of its animosity in politics and global diplomacy as it does in religious disagreement. The emergence of Israel as an independent Jewish state in 1947, the growing influence of Arab-Muslim oil states in the Middle East as enemies of Israel, the Palestinian conflict, and the U.S. involvement in those issues has isolated the religions along geopolitical lines (Girard 2001, 231–54).

At the same time, orthodox Muslim clerics and believers see much to dislike in the secular Western world, with much of that concern pointed at the United States. Those complex developments led, on September 11, 2001, to a violent, devastating terrorist attack on the United States. The people responsible were Muslims. Previous terrorist attacks against the United States and its facilities overseas were also attributed to Muslim terrorists. Many expected that the "9/11" attacks would provoke a violent anti-Muslim reaction in the United States. With the exception of some rare instances, that did not occur. Yet, a 2005 Cornell University poll indicated that 44 percent of Americans believe the government should restrict some civil rights and liberties for Muslim Americans. And 27 percent of those polled believed Muslims should be required to register with the government. The same poll also revealed that 22 percent favored some form of racial profiling, and 29 percent believed government agents should infiltrate Muslim American social and religious institutions to look for potential or actual terrorists. Forty-eight percent of Americans, however, believed that the government should impose no restrictions of civil liberties or rights for the religious group. To date, the U.S. government has passed no specific legislation restricting the rights of Muslim Americans. But Arabic-looking people and Muslims have complained of profiling and restrictions in travel and employment.

KWANZAA

Kwanzaa is a Pan-African cultural celebration, often confused as a religious ceremony. It is celebrated between December 26 and January 1 each year, mostly in the United States. An estimated 13 percent of African Americans celebrate the weeklong event. Dr. Ron Karenga initiated Kwanzaa in December, 1966. It celebrates seven key principles—*umoja* (unity); *kujichagulia* (self-determination); *ujima* (collective work and responsibility); *ujamaa* (cooperative economics); *nia* (purpose); *kuumba* (creativity); and *imani* (faith).

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Karenga, Maulana. *Kwanzaa: A Celebration of Family, Community, and Culture*. Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1997.

NUMBERS

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, 52 percent of Americans claimed affiliation with a Protestant Christian religion. Twenty-four percent claimed Roman Catholicism. Two percent were Mormons. One percent was Muslim or Jewish. Buddhism and Hinduism drew more than one million faithful to those religious beliefs. Ten percent claimed no religious affiliation, and another 10 percent belonged to religious groups as diverse as Hinduism, Baha'i, Sikhism, New Age, Scientology, Wicca, or Deism. In 2004, over 224 million Americans belonged to a variety of Christian faiths, while 38 million claimed no religious affiliation (http://www.cia.gov).

RELIGION AND THE MORAL AND SOCIAL IMPERATIVES

In broad terms, Americans have tended to accept the separation of church and state, as a number of federal and Supreme Court decisions continue to confirm. Most public opinion polls tend to agree with the concept of a "wall of separation" between the government and religion, although there remains some hesitancy about prayer in schools. The 1963 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Abington Township School District v. Schempp,* which removed school prayer and religious devotion from public schools, remains a topic of debate among Americans. In any event, efforts on the part of evangelical Christians to change local and state laws regarding prayer and curriculum have failed in virtually every instance nationwide. Usually voters in local districts or at the state level reject the ideas. When they do not, state and federal courts generally reject local or state laws that include overt forms of religion in the classroom. There are exceptions. A number of local communities and school districts have banned Halloween celebrations or limited or ended Christmas celebrations, as examples, to deflect concern that those events overtly advance particular religious beliefs in violation of the First Amendment.

In similar fashion, the display of the Ten Commandments in public, government venues has also provoked criticism from Americans who oppose the displays. While those actions do not have the support of most Americans, government officials tend to accede to complaints in the name of diversity and to avoid lawsuits. At the same time, there is little evidence to suggest that the government has crossed the wall of separation either. At the height of fear and anger over the 9/11 tragedy and throughout the ongoing global war on terrorism, Americans and their government have taken no real reprisals against Muslims living in the United States. In the new century, religion remains an important aspect of daily life in America, with all of its complex and emotional antecedents. It seems to continue to do so with respect for the First Amendment and the private right of Americans to pursue their religious and spiritual beliefs as they choose.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM: CONTRIBUTIONS AND SCANDALS

In 2004, more than 70 million Americans practiced their faith as Roman Catholics, 24.5 percent of the population. Catholicism remains the single most populous faith in America. Its parishes, hospitals, orphanages, schools, colleges, and universities have been an important part of American public and religious life for more than a century. Catholic charities and social service organizations have joined with a number of other religions to provide health and welfare services for hundreds of thousands of Americans, and millions of people worldwide. Catholic commitment to social justice remains a major aspect of the faith.

In the recent history of the church, however, Roman Catholicism has been beset with a series of scandals involving sexual impropriety among a small number of its priests. On January 6, 2002, news reports made public the first sexual abuse scandal involving a priest and a young male. Since that time, 300 lawsuits have been filed against the church and individual priests alleging sexual abuse. A number of priests have pled guilty. Other cases are pending. The archbishop of Boston, Cardinal Bernard Law, became a focus of the emerging scandal because of the manner in which the church hierarchy was apparently dealing with the issue. The church appeared more interested in covering up the scandal, moving priests to other places, and protecting the institution against lawsuits than correcting the problem. As the scandal became more public, the church responded with a series of meetings and conferences not only to confront the issue but also to combat the bad publicity. Church policy has changed and now requires the removal of any priest convicted of sexual abuse. Lawsuits have cost the Catholic Church millions of dollars in settlements. The Roman Catholic laity appear stunned, embarrassed, and angered by the scandals. The church has suffered a political and moral "black eye" unlike any in recent memory.

It remains important to note, however, that there are 46,000 priests in the United States. To date, less than 0.7 percent are involved in abuse scandals. It is also important to examine the issue of pedophiliac behavior or any form of sexual misconduct among ministers and other religious leaders outside the Catholic Church. Little research has been done in that area. While a debate has developed regarding the question of the sexual abuse as an example of homosexual behavior or pedophilia on the part of accused priests, the issue drags on in the courts and in the public discourse.

In 2005, Americans enjoyed many religious choices in a nation where religion is voluntary, not compulsory. The significance of religion is perhaps best revealed in polls taken as recently as 2006. In the 2006 poll, a wide range of respondents reported overwhelmingly that they could never vote for an atheist to be president of the United States.

SPECIAL FAITHS AND SPIRITUALITY

A variety of sects and nontraditional religious beliefs have always existed in the American experience. The Amish in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, for instance, have practiced their beliefs in the United States since the eighteenth century. Some 145,000 Native Americans continue to adhere to the traditional spiritual beliefs of their forbears. Scientology has attracted almost 80,000 adherents, some of them movie celebrities. New Age religion attracts more than 95,000 people in the United States. Wiccan (druid or pagan belief) adherents draw close to half a million believers. While the religious or spiritual conviction involved in those faiths have a variety of antecedents, it remains clear in the American religious experience that the government does not interfere in the right of believers to pursue their spiritual lives as they choose. While examples of religious intolerance have existed throughout the history of the United States, both the laws and popular expressions supporting religious tolerance have appeared to dominate mainstream American thinking since the end of World War II.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Bethel, Alison. "Evangelical Christian Influence Grows." *The Detroit News* (February 6, 2005).

CIA Fact Book. http://www.cia.gov.

Girard, Jolyon P. *America and the World.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Harvey, Paul, and Philip Goff. *The Columbia Documentary History of Religion in America since 1945.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Steinfels, Peter. *A People Adrift: The Crisis of the Roman Catholic Church in America.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003.

Taylor, Mark Lewis. *Religion, Politics, and the Christian Right: Post-9/11 Powers in American Empire.* Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

1. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION FOLLOWING THE JAPANESE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR (DECEMBER 8, 1941)

On December 8, 1941, the day following the surprise Japanese military attack on the United States naval and air bases at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered the following address, asking for a declaration of war on Japan, before a joint session of Congress.

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives:

Yesterday, December 7th, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American island of Oahu, the Japanese ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time, the Japanese government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition, American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday, the Japanese government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night, the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning, the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As commander in chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense. But always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us....

...With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7th, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese empire.

Source: http://www.ou.edu/ushistory/infamy.shtml.

2. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S FIRESIDE CHAT CONCERNING THE COAL CRISIS (MAY 2, 1943)

Between 1933 and 1944, President Franklin Roosevelt gave 30 radio addresses, known as fireside chats, to discuss domestic and foreign policy issues with the American people. They became popular examples of Roosevelt's political ability to keep in touch with the public. The following chat from 1943 addresses the dangers to the war effort of a strike by coal miners.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

I am speaking tonight to the American people, and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a serious crisis. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country.

This war has reached a new critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we have moved into active and continuing battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the world-wide conflict everything that we have—our young men, and the vast resources of our nation.

I have just returned from a two weeks' tour of inspection on which I saw our men being trained and our war materials made. My trip took me through twenty states. I saw thousands of workers on the production line, making airplanes, and guns and ammunition. Everywhere I found great eagerness to get on with the war. Men and women are working long hours at difficult jobs and living under difficult conditions without complaint.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces, our civilian population and our Allies. Those crops will be harvested. On my trip, I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men who were green recruits last autumn have matured into self-assured and hardened fighting men. They are in splendid physical condition. They are mastering the superior weapons that we are pouring out of our factories.

The American people have accomplished a miracle. However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the Continent of Asia and in the Islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

And equally, it must not be hampered by any one individual or by the leaders of any one group here back home.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal—no matter how sincere his motives, no matter how legitimate he may believe his grievances to be—every idle miner directly and individually is obstructing our war effort. We have not yet won this war. We will win this war only as we produce and deliver our total American effort on the high seas and on the battle fronts. And that requires unrelenting, uninterrupted effort here on the home front.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, would involve a gamble with the lives of American soldiers and sailors and the future security of our whole people. It would involve an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with our chances for victory.

Therefore, I say to all miners—and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad—the production of coal will not be stopped.

Tonight, I am speaking to the essential patriotism of the miners, and to the patriotism of their wives and children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.

After the attack at Pearl Harbor, the three great labor organizations—the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Railroad Brotherhoods—gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. And the President of the United Mine workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That pledge was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans—135,000,000 of us—are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power. At the request of employers and of organized labor—including the United Mine Workers—the War Labor Board was set up for settling any disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining. The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

In the present coal crisis, conciliation and mediation were tried unsuccessfully.

In accordance with the law, the case was then certified to the War Labor Board, the agency created for this express purpose with the approval of organized labor. The members of the Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in other disputes. Acting promptly, they undertook to get all the facts of this (the) case from both the miners and the operators.

The national officers of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact-finding of the War Labor Board. The only excuse that they offer is that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board has been and is ready to give this (the) case a fair and impartial hearing. And I have given my assurance that if any adjustment of wages is made by the Board, it will be made retroactive to April first. But the national officers Of the United Mine Workers refused to participate in the hearing, when asked to do so last Monday.

On Wednesday of this past week, while the Board was proceeding with the case, stoppages began to occur in some mines. On Thursday morning I telegraphed to the officers of the United Mine Workers asking that the miners continue mining coal on Saturday morning. However, a general strike throughout the industry became effective on Friday night.

The responsibility for the crisis that we now face rests squarely on these national officers of the United Mine Workers, and not on the Government of the United States. But the consequences of this arbitrary action threaten all of us everywhere.

At ten o'clock, yesterday morning—Saturday—the Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, and sailors, and marines—and the services of the millions who are turning out the munitions of war.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute—this split second—may be fighting in New Guinea, or in the Aleutian Islands, or Guadalcanal, or Tunisia, or China, or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. We have already received telegrams from some of our fighting men overseas, and I only wish they could tell you what they think of the stoppage of work in the coal mines.

Some of your own sons have come back from the fighting fronts, wounded. A number of them, for example, are now here in an Army hospital in Washington. Several of them have been decorated by their Government.

I could tell you of one from Pennsylvania. He was a coal miner before his induction, and his father is a coal miner. He was seriously wounded by Nazi machine gun bullets while he was on a bombing mission over Europe in a Flying Fortress. Another boy, from Kentucky, the son of a coal miner, was wounded when our troops first landed in North Africa six months ago.

There is (still) another, from Illinois. He was a coal miner—his father and two brothers are coal miners. He was seriously wounded in Tunisia while attempting to rescue two comrades whose jeep had been blown up by a Nazi mine.

These men do not consider themselves heroes. They would probably be embarrassed if I mentioned their names over the air. They were wounded in the line of duty. They know how essential it is to the tens of thousands—hundreds of thousands—and ultimately millions of other young Americans to get the best of arms and equipment into the hands of our fighting forces—and get them there quickly.

The fathers and mothers of our fighting men, their brothers and sisters and friends—and that includes all of us—are also in the line of duty—the production line. Any failure in production may well result in costly defeat on the field of battle.

There can be no one among us—no one faction powerful enough to interrupt the forward march of our people to victory.

You miners have ample reason to know that there are certain basic rights for which this country stands, and that those rights are worth fighting for and worth dying for. That is why you have sent your sons and brothers from every mining town in the nation to join in the great struggle overseas. That is why you have contributed so generously, so willingly, to the purchase of war bonds and to the many funds for the relief of war victims in foreign lands. That is why, since this war was started in 1939, you have increased the annual production of coal by almost two hundred million tons a year.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in the mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families, and troubling the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well. A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government determined not to let the cost of living continue to go up as it did in the first World War.

Your Government has been determined to maintain stability of both prices and wages—so that a dollar would buy, so far as possible, the same amount of the necessities of life. And by necessities I mean just that—not the luxuries, not the (and) fancy goods that we have learned to do without in wartime.

So far, we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to keep them. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

Wherever we find that prices of essentials have risen too high, they will be brought down. Wherever we find that price ceilings are being violated, the violators will be punished.

Rents have been fixed in most parts of the country. In many cities they have been cut to below where they were before we entered the war. Clothing prices have generally remained stable.

These two items make up more than a third of the total budget of the worker's family.

As for food, which today accounts for about another (a) third of the family expenditure on the average, I want to repeat again: your Government will continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases. And we are today (now) taking measures to "roll back" the prices of meats.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped. Our munitions must move to our troops.

And so, under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any course other than going back to work and mining coal.

The nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. If it becomes necessary to protect any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have—and will have—complete and adequate protection. If it becomes necessary to have troops at the mine mouths or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, the Navy and the Marines—your sons and mine—who are fighting our common enemies all over the world.

I understand the devotion of the coal miners to their union. I know of the sacrifices they have made to build it up. I believe now, as I have all my life, in the right of workers to join unions and to protect their unions. I want to make it absolutely clear that this Government is not going to do anything now to weaken those rights in the coal fields.

Every improvement in the conditions of the coal miners of this country has had my hearty support, and I do not mean to desert them now. But I also do not mean to desert my obligations and responsibilities as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

The first necessity is the resumption of coal mining. The terms of the old contract will be followed by the Secretary of the Interior. If an adjustment in wages results from a decision of the War Labor Board, or from any new agreement between the operators and miners, which is approved by the War Labor Board, that adjustment will be made retroactive to April first.

In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago, I expressed my conviction that the spirit of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen our troops in the Caribbean area, in bases on the coasts of our ally, Brazil, and in North Africa. Recently I have again seen great numbers of our fellow countrymen—soldiers and civilians—from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican border and to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the fact of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the spirit or this nation is good. I know that the American people will not tolerate any threat offered to their Government by anyone. I believe the coal miners will not continue the strike against their (the) Government. I believe that the coal miners (themselves) as Americans will not fail to heed the clear call to duty. Like all other good Americans, they will march shoulder to shoulder with their armed forces to victory. Tomorrow the Stars and Stripes will fly over the coal mines, and I hope that every miner will be at work under that flag.

Source: http://www.mhric.org/fdr/chat24.html.

3. GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER'S ORDER OF THE DAY FOR D-DAY, THE ALLIED INVASION OF NORMANDY (JUNE 6, 1944)

General Dwight Eisenhower commanded Allied forces during the Normandy landings in Europe in June 1944. The following order served as his formal announcement of the commencement of the long-awaited Allied invasion of France.

Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Forces:

. . . In company with our brave Allies and brothers-in-arms on other Fronts you will bring about the destruction of the German war machine, the elimination of Nazi tyranny over oppressed peoples of Europe, and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely.

But this is the year 1944. Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs of 1940–41. The United Nations have inflicted upon the Germans great defeats, in open battle, man-to-man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground. Our Home Fronts have given us an overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war, and placed at our disposal great reserves of trained fighting men. The tide has turned. The free men of the world are marching together to victory.

I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty, and skill in battle. We will accept nothing less than full victory.

Good Luck! And let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.

Source: http://www.classbrain.com.

4. SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE C. MARSHALL DESCRIBES THE MARSHALL PLAN (JUNE 5, 1947)

Secretary of State George C. Marshall provided a public announcement of the European Economic Recovery Program (the Marshall Plan) at a Harvard

University Commencement Address in June 1947. The program provided billions of dollars in U.S. aid to rebuild the economies of postwar European nations.

Mr. President, Dr. Conant, members of the Board of Overseers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am profoundly grateful, touched by the great distinction and honor and great compliment accorded me by the authorities of Harvard this morning. . . .

But to speak more seriously, I need not tell you that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisement of the situation. Furthermore, the people of this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth, and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reactions of the long-suffering peoples of Europe and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world.

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. . . . The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. . . . Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that two years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. . . .

. . . The farmer has always produced the foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller for the other necessities of life. This division of labor is the basis of modern civilization. At the present time it is threatened with breakdown. The town and city industries are not producing adequate goods to exchange with the food-producing farmer. Raw materials and fuel are in short supply. Machinery, as I have said, is lacking or worn out. The farmer or the peasant cannot find the goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and he's using them for grazing. He feeds more grain to stock and finds for himself and his family an ample supply of food, however short he may be on clothing and the other ordinary gadgets of civilization.

Meanwhile, people in the cities are short of food and fuel, and in some places approaching the starvation levels. So, the governments are forced to use their foreign money and credits to procure these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction. Thus, a very serious situation is rapidly developing which bodes no good for the world. . . .

. . . Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

. . . Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit there from politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give a proper effect to whatever actions might be undertaken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for our Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. . . .

. . . An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome. . . .

. . . As I said more formally a moment ago, we are remote from the scene of these troubles. It is virtually impossible at this distance merely by reading, or listening, or even seeing photographs and motion pictures, to grasp at all the real significance of the situation. And yet the whole world of the future hangs on a proper judgment. . . .

Source: http://www.hpol.org/marshall.

5. SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH'S DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE (JUNE 1, 1950)

Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine) responded to the political censorship provoked by the influence of Senator Joseph McCarthy's (R-Wisconsin)

Red Scare tactics with the following public assault on his efforts to silence public debate and free speech regarding critical national issues.

Mr. President:

. . . It is a national feeling of fear and frustration that could result in national suicide and the end of everything that we Americans hold dear. It is a condition that comes from the lack of effective leadership in either the Legislative Branch or the Executive Branch of our Government.

. . . I speak as briefly as possible because too much harm has already been done with irresponsible words of bitterness and selfish political opportunism. I speak as briefly as possible because the issue is too great to be obscured by eloquence. I speak simply and briefly in the hope that my words will be taken to heart.

I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States Senator. I speak as an American.

The United States Senate has long enjoyed worldwide respect as the greatest deliberative body in the world. But recently that deliberative character has too often been debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of congressional immunity.

It is ironical that we Senators can in debate in the Senate directly or indirectly, by any form of words, impute to any American who is not a Senator any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming an American—and without that non-Senator American having any legal redress against us—yet if we say the same thing in the Senate about our colleagues we can be stopped on the grounds of being out of order.

. . . I think that it is high time for the United States Senate and its members to do some soul-searching—for us to weigh our consciences—on the manner in which we are performing our duty to the people of America—on the manner in which we are using or abusing our individual powers and privileges.

I think that it is high time that we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think that it is high time that we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of the freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation.

Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism:

The right to criticize;

The right to hold unpopular beliefs;

The right to protest;

The right of independent thought.

The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. Who of us doesn't? Otherwise none of us could call our souls our own. Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as "Communists" or "Fascists" by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

. . . As a Republican, I say to my colleagues on this side of the aisle that the Republican Party faces a challenge today that is not unlike the challenge that it faced back in Lincoln's day. The Republican Party so successfully met that challenge that it emerged from the Civil War as the champion of a united nation—in addition to being a Party that unrelentingly fought loose spending and loose programs.

Today our country is being psychologically divided by the confusion and the suspicions that are bred in the United States Senate to spread like cancerous tentacles of "know nothing, suspect everything" attitudes. Today we have a Democratic Administration that has developed a mania for loose spending and loose programs. History is repeating itself—and the Republican Party again has the opportunity to emerge as the champion of unity and prudence.

The record of the present Democratic Administration has provided us with sufficient campaign issues without the necessity of resorting to political smears. America is rapidly losing its position as leader of the world simply because the Democratic Administration has pitifully failed to provide effective leadership. . . .

. . . The Democratic Administration has greatly lost the confidence of the American people by its complacency to the threat of communism here at home and the leak of vital secrets to Russia though key officials of the Democratic Administration. There are enough proved cases to make this point without diluting our criticism with unproved charges.

Surely these are sufficient reasons to make it clear to the American people that it is time for a change and that a Republican victory is necessary to the security of this country. Surely it is clear that this nation will continue to suffer as long as it is governed by the present ineffective Democratic Administration.

Yet to displace it with a Republican regime embracing a philosophy that lacks political integrity or intellectual honesty would prove equally disastrous to this nation. The nation sorely needs a Republican victory. But I don't want to see the Republican Party ride to political victory on the Four Horsemen of Calumny—Fear, Ignorance, Bigotry, and Smear.

I doubt if the Republican Party could—simply because I don't believe the American people will uphold any political party that puts political exploitation above national interest. Surely we Republicans aren't that desperate for victory.

I don't want to see the Republican Party win that way. While it might be a fleeting victory for the Republican Party, it would be a more lasting defeat for the American people. Surely it would ultimately be suicide for the Republican Party and the two-party system that has protected our American liberties from the dictatorship of a one party system.

...As a woman, I wonder how the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters feel about the way in which members of their families have been politically mangled in the Senate debate—and I use the word "debate" advisedly.

As a United States Senator, I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from the side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges that have been attempted in retaliation from the other side of the aisle.

As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of "confuse, divide, and conquer." As an American, I don't want a Democratic Administration "whitewash" or "cover-up" any more than a want a Republican smear or witch hunt....

...As an American, I want to see our nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves.

It is with these thoughts that I have drafted what I call a "Declaration of Conscience." I am gratified that Senator Tobey, Senator Aiken, Senator Morse, Senator Ives, Senator Thye, and Senator Hendrickson have concurred in that declaration and have authorized me to announce their concurrence.

Source: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/margaretchasesmithconscience.html.

6. WILLIAM FAULKNER ACCEPTS THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE (SEPTEMBER 10, 1950)

William Faulkner (1897–1962), a Mississippi-born poet and novelist, was one of the greatest American writers of the twentieth century. *The Sound and the Fury* and *Absalom, Absalom* were two of his noted works, many of which dealt with themes relating to southern American culture and life. The following is the Nobel Prize acceptance speech Faulkner delivered in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1950.

I feel that this award was not made to me as a man, but to my work—a life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit, not for glory and least of all for profit, but to create out of the materials of the human spirit something which did not exist before. So this award is only mine in trust. It will not be difficult to find a dedication for the money part of it commensurate with the purpose and significance of its origin. But I would like to do the same with the acclaim too, by using this moment as a pinnacle from which I might be listened to by the young men and women already dedicated to the same anguish and travail, among whom is already that one who will some day stand here where I am standing.

Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: When will I be blown up? Because of this, the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the human heart in conflict with itself which alone can make good writing because only that is worth writing about, worth the agony and the sweat.

He must learn them again. He must teach himself that the basest of all things is to be afraid; and, teaching himself that, forget it forever, leaving no room in his workshop for anything but the old verities and truths of the heart, the old universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed—love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice. Until he does so, he labors under a curse. He writes not of love but of lust, of defeats in which nobody loses anything of value, of victories without hope and, worst of all, without pity or compassion. His griefs grieve on no universal bones, leaving no scars. He writes not of the heart but of the glands.

Until he relearns these things, he will write as though he stood among and watched the end of man. I decline to accept the end of man. It is easy enough to say that man is immortal simply because he will endure: that when the last ding-dong of doom has clanged and faded from the last worthless rock hanging tideless in the last red and dying evening, that even then there will still be one more sound: that of his puny inexhaustible voice, still talking. I refuse to accept this. I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance.

The poet's, the writer's, duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man, it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail.

Source: http://www.rjgeib.com/thoughts/faulkner.

7. U.S. SUPREME COURT'S LANDMARK RULING ON DESEGREGATION IN *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (MAY 17, 1954)

Chief Justice Earl Warren gained a 9–0 unanimous court decision striking down the legal aspects of racial segregation in public education, which had existed since the court's *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling laid down the "separate but equal" doctrine in 1896. The momentous court decision set the legal stage for the end of de jure segregation in American life.

BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)
347 U.S. 483

BROWN ET AL. v. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA ET AL.

APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT

OF KANSAS. * No. 1.

Argued December 9, 1952. Reargued December 8, 1953.

Decided May 17, 1954.

Segregation of white and Negro children in the public schools of a State solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies to Negro children the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment—even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors of white and Negro schools may be equal. Pp. 486–496. (a) The history of the Fourteenth Amendment is inconclusive as to its intended effect on public education. Pp. 489–490. (b) The question presented in these cases must be determined, not on the basis of conditions existing when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, but in the light of the full development of public education and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Pp. 492–493. (c) Where a State has undertaken to provide an opportunity for an education in its public schools, such an opportunity is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. P. 493. (d) Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal. Pp. 493–494.

(e) The "separate but equal" doctrine adopted in Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, has no place in the field of public education. P. 495. [347 U.S. 483, 484].

(f) The cases are restored to the docket for further argument on specified questions relating to the forms of the decrees. Pp. 495–496. . . .

. . . MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN delivered the opinion of the Court. These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion. 1 [347 U.S. 483, 487].

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, [347 U.S. 483, 488] they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws.

Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. 2 Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court. 3 [347 U.S. 483, 489] Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. 4 In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported [347 U.S. 483, 490] by general taxation, had not yet taken hold.

Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education. . . .

. . . Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. In Sweatt v. Painter, supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." . . . To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs: "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system." . . .

. . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. 12 Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. 13 The Attorney General [347 U.S. 483, 496] of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as amici curiae upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954. 14

Source: http://www.sefatl.org/pdf/Brown%20v.%20Board%20of%20Education.pdf.

8. PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS (JANUARY 20, 1961)

President John F. Kennedy's noted inaugural address has achieved a legendary status, thanks in large part to its principle challenge contained in the words "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." Equally important was the new president's commitment to continue the role of the United States as defender of liberty throughout the world.

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge: to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new alliance for progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas.

And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective, to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak, and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction. . . .

. . . So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms, and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed, in all corners of the earth, the command of Isaiah—to "undo the heavy burdens, and [to] let the oppressed go free." . . .

. . . In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation," a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it. And the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world, ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

Source: http://www.allamericanpatriots.com/m-wfsection+article+articleid-69.html.

9. FEDERAL COMMUNICATION COMMISSION CHAIRMAN NEWTON MINNOW DECLARES TELEVISION A "VAST WASTELAND" (MAY 9, 1961)

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed Newton Minnow as his new director of the Federal Communication Commission (FCC). Minnow's May 1961 address before the National Association of Broadcasters served as a warning that the FCC would take a stronger look at the content of television programs. It called for self-policing by the networks and for a time had some influence on content.

Thank you for this opportunity to meet with you today. This is my first public address since I took over my new job. It may also come as a surprise to some of you, but I want you to know that you have my admiration and respect. Yours is a most honorable profession. Anyone who is in the broadcasting business has a tough row to hoe. You earn your bread by using public property. When you work in broadcasting, you volunteer for public service, public pressure, and public regulation. You must compete with other attractions and other investments, and the only way you can do it is to prove to us every three years that you should have been in business in the first place.

I can think of easier ways to make a living.

But I cannot think of more satisfying ways.

I admire your courage—but that doesn't mean I would make life any easier for you. Your license lets you use the public's airwaves as trustees for 180 million Americans. The public is your beneficiary. If you want to stay on as trustees, you must deliver a decent return to the public—not only to your stockholders. So, as a representative of the public, your health and your product are among my chief concerns. . . .

I have confidence in your health.

But not in your product.

It is with this and much more in mind that I come before you today.

One editorialist in the trade press wrote that 'the FCC of the New Frontier is going to be one of the toughest FCCs in the history of broadcast regulation'. If he meant that we intend to enforce the law in the public interest, let me make it perfectly clear that he is right—we do.

If he meant that we intend to muzzle or censor broadcasting, he is dead wrong.

It would not surprise me if some of you had expected me to come here today and say in effect, 'Clean up your own house, or the government will do it for you'.

Well, in a limited sense, you would be right—I've just said it.

But I want to say to you earnestly that it is not in that spirit that I come before you today, nor is it in that spirit that I intend to serve the FCC.

I am in Washington to help broadcasting, not to harm it; to strengthen it, not to weaken it; to reward it, not to punish it; to encourage it, not threaten it; to stimulate it, not censor it.

Above all, I am here to uphold and protect the public interest.

What do we mean by 'the public interest'? Some say the public interest is merely what interests the public.

I disagree.

So does your distinguished president, Governor Collins. In a recent speech he said, 'Broadcasting, to serve the public interest, must have a soul and a conscience, a burning desire to excel, as well as to sell; the urge to build the character, citizenship, and intellectual stature of people, as well as to expand the gross national product.... By no means do I imply that broadcasters disregard the public interest.... But a much better job can be done and should be done.'

I could not agree more.

And I would add that in today's world, with chaos in Laos and the Congo aflame, with Communist tyranny on our Caribbean doorstep and relentless pressure on our Atlantic alliance, with social and economic problems at home of the gravest nature, yes, and with technological knowledge that makes it possible, as our president has said, not only to destroy our world but to destroy poverty around the world—in a time of peril and opportunity, the old complacent, unbalanced fare of action-adventure and situation comedies is simply not good enough.

Your industry possesses the most powerful voice in America. It has an inescapable duty to make that voice ring with intelligence and with leadership. In a few years this exciting industry has grown from a novelty to an instrument of overwhelming impact on the American people. It should be making ready for the kind of leadership that newspapers and magazines assumed years ago, to make our people aware of their world.

Ours has been called the Jet Age, the Atomic Age, the Space Age. It is also, I submit, the Television Age. And just as history will decide whether the leaders of today's world employed the atom to destroy the world or rebuild it for mankind's benefit, so will history decide whether today's broadcasters employed their powerful voice to enrich the people or debase them....

Like everybody, I wear more than one hat. I am the chairman of the FCC. I am also a television viewer and the husband and father of other television viewers. I have seen a great many television programs that seemed to me eminently worthwhile, and I am not talking about the much-bemoaned good old days of *Playhouse 90* and *Studio One*.

I am talking about this past season. Some were wonderfully entertaining, such as *The Fabulous Fifties*, the *Fred Astaire Show* and the *Bing Crosby Special;* some were dramatic and moving, such as Conrad's *Victory* and *Twilight Zone;* some were marvelously informative, such as *The Nation's Future*, *CBS Reports*, and *The Valiant Years*. I could list many more—programs that I am sure everyone here felt enriched his own life and that of his family. When television is good, nothing—not the theater, not the magazines or newspapers—nothing is better.

But when television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper, profit-and-loss sheet, or rating book to distract you—and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.

You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western bad men, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence and cartoons. And, endlessly, commercials—many screaming, cajoling, and offending. And, most of all, boredom. True, you will see a few things you will enjoy. But they will be very, very few. And if you think I exaggerate, try it.

Is there one person in this room who claims that broadcasting can't do better?

Well, a glance at next season's proposed programming can give us little heart. Of seventy-three and a half hours of prime evening time, the networks have tentatively scheduled 59 hours to categories of 'action-adventure', situation comedy, variety, quiz, and movies.

Is there one network president in this room who claims he can't do better?

Well, is there at least one network president who believes that the other networks can't do better?

Gentlemen, your trust accounting with your beneficiaries is overdue.

Never have so few owed so much to so many.

Why is so much of television so bad? I have heard many answers: demands of your advertisers; competition for ever higher ratings; the need always to attract a mass audience; the high cost of television programs; the insatiable appetite for programming material—these are some of them. Unquestionably these are tough problems not susceptible to easy answers.

But I am not convinced that you have tried hard enough to solve them. I do not accept the idea that the present overall programming is aimed accurately at the public taste. The ratings tell us only that some people have their television sets turned on, and, of that number, so many are tuned to one channel and so many to another. They don't tell us what the public might watch if they were offered half a dozen additional choices. A rating, at best, is an indication of how many people saw what you gave them. Unfortunately it does not reveal the depth of the penetration or the intensity of reaction, and it never reveals what the acceptance would have been if what you gave them had been better—if all the forces of art and creativity and daring and imagination had been unleashed. I believe in the people's good sense and good taste, and I am not convinced that the people's taste is as low as some of you assume.

My concern with the ratings services is not with their accuracy. Perhaps they are accurate. I really don't know. What, then, is wrong with the ratings? It's not been their accuracy—it's been their use.

Certainly I hope you will agree that ratings should have little influence where children are concerned. The best estimates indicate that during the hours of 5 to 6 pm, 60 per cent of your audience is composed of children under twelve. And most young children today, believe it or not, spend as much time watching television as they do in the schoolroom. I repeat—let that sink in—most young children today spend as much time watching television as they do in the schoolroom. It used to be said that there were three great influences on a child: home, school, and church. Today there is a fourth great influence, and you ladies and gentlemen control it.

If parents, teachers, and ministers conducted their responsibilities by following the ratings, children would have a steady diet of ice cream, school holidays, and no Sunday school. What about your responsibilities? Is there no room on television to teach, to inform, to uplift, to stretch, to enlarge the capacities of our children? Is there no room for programs deepening their understanding of children in other lands? Is there no room for a children's news show explaining something about the world to them at their level of understanding? Is there no room for reading the great literature of the past, teaching them the great traditions of freedom? There are some fine children's shows, but they are drowned out in the massive doses of cartoons, violence, and more violence. Must these be your trademarks? Search your consciences and see if you cannot offer more to your young beneficiaries whose future you guide so many hours each and every day.

What about adult programming and ratings? You know, newspaper publishers take popularity ratings too. The answers are pretty clear; it is almost always the comics, followed by the advice-to-the-lovelorn columns. But, ladies and gentlemen, the news is still on the front page of all newspapers, the editorials are not replaced by more comics, the newspapers have not become one long collection of advice to the lovelorn. Yet newspapers do not need a license from the government to be in business—they do not use public property. But in television—where your responsibilities as public trustees are so plain—the moment that the ratings indicate that Westerns are popular, there are new imitations of Westerns on the air faster than the old coaxial cable could take us from Hollywood to New York. Broadcasting cannot continue to live by the numbers. Ratings ought to be the slave of the broadcaster, not his master. And you and I both know that the rating services themselves would agree.

Let me make clear that what I am talking about is balance. I believe that the public interest is made up of many interests. There are many people in this great country, and you must serve all of us. You will get no argument from me if you say that, given a choice between a Western and a symphony, more people will watch the Western. I like Westerns and private eyes too—but a steady diet for the whole country is obviously not in the public interest. We all know that people would more often prefer to be entertained than stimulated or informed. But your obligations are not satisfied if you look only to popularity as a test of what to broadcast. You are not only in show business; you are free to communicate ideas as well as relaxation. You must provide a wider range of choices, more diversity, more alternatives. It is not enough to cater to the nation's whims—you must also serve the nation's needs.

And I would add this—that if some of you persist in a relentless search for the highest rating and the lowest common denominator, you may very well lose your audience. Because, to paraphrase a great American who was recently my law partner*, the people are wise, wiser than some of the broadcasters—and politicians—think.

As you may have gathered, I would like to see television improved. But how is this to be brought about? By voluntary action by the broadcasters themselves? By direct government intervention? Or how?

Let me address myself now to my role, not as a viewer but as chairman of the FCC. I could not if I would chart for you this afternoon in detail all of the actions I contemplate. Instead, I want to make clear some of the fundamental principles which guide me.

First, the people own the air. They own it as much in prime evening time as they do at 6 o'clock Sunday morning. For every hour that the people give you, you owe them something. I intend to see that your debt is paid with service.

Second, I think it would be foolish and wasteful for us to continue any worn-out wrangle over the problems of payola, rigged quiz shows, and other mistakes of the past. There are laws on the books which we will enforce. But there is no chip on my shoulder. We live together in perilous, uncertain times; we face together staggering problems; and we must not waste much time now by rehashing the clichés of past controversy. To quarrel over the past is to lose the future.

Third, I believe in the free enterprise system. I want to see broadcasting improved and I want you to do the job. I am proud to champion your cause. It is not rare for American businessmen to serve a public trust. Yours is a special trust because it is imposed by law.

Fourth, I will do all I can to help educational television. There are still not enough educational stations, and major centers of the country still lack usable educational channels. If there were a limited number of printing presses in this country, you may be sure that a fair proportion of them would be put to education use. Educational television has an enormous contribution to make to the future, and I intend to give it a hand along the way. If there is not a nationwide educational television system in this country, it will not be the fault of the FCC.

Fifth, I am unalterably opposed to governmental censorship. There will be no suppression of programming which does not meet with bureaucratic tastes. Censorship strikes at the taproot of our free society.

Sixth, I did not come to Washington to idly observe the squandering of the public's airwaves. The squandering of our airwaves is no less important than the lavish waste of any precious natural resource. I intend to take the job of chairman of the FCC very seriously. I believe in the gravity of my own particular sector of the New

Frontier. There will be times perhaps when you will consider that I take myself or my job too seriously. Frankly, I don't care if you do. For I am convinced that either one takes this job seriously—or one can be seriously taken.

Now, how will these principles be applied? Clearly, at the heart of the FCC's authority lies its power to license, to renew or fail to renew, or to revoke a license. As you know, when your license comes up for renewal, your performance is compared with your promises. I understand that many people feel that in the past licenses were often renewed pro forma. I say to you now, renewal will not be pro forma in the future. There is nothing permanent or sacred about a broadcast license.

But simply matching promises and performance is not enough. I intend to do more. I intend to find out whether the people care. I intend to find out whether the community which each broadcaster serves believes he has been serving the public interest. When a renewal is set down for hearing, I intend—wherever possible—to hold a well-advertised public hearing, right in the community you have promised to serve. I want the people who own the air and the homes that television enters to tell you and the FCC what's been going on. I want the people—if they are truly interested in the service you give them—to make notes, document cases, tell us the facts. For those few of you who really believe that the public interest is merely what interests the public—I hope that these hearings will arouse no little interest.

The FCC has a fine reserve of monitors—almost 180m Americans gathered around 56m sets. If you want these monitors to be your friends at court—it's up to you.

Some of you may say, "Yes, but I still do not know where the line is between a grant of a renewal and the hearing you just spoke of." My answer is, Why should you want to know how close you can come to the edge of the cliff? What the commission asks of you is to make a conscientious good-faith effort to serve the public interest. Every one of you serves a community in which the people would benefit by educational religious instructive or other public service programming. Every one of you serves an area which has local needs—as to local elections, controversial issues, local news, local talent. Make a serious, genuine effort to put on that programming. When you do, you will not be playing brinkmanship with the public interest. . . .

Another, and perhaps the most important, frontier: television will rapidly join the parade into space. International television will be with us soon. No one knows how long it will be until a broadcast from a studio in New York will be viewed in India as well as in Indiana, will be seen in the Congo as it is seen in Chicago. But as surely as we are meeting here today, that day will come—and once again our world will shrink.

What will the people of other countries think of us when they see our western bad men and good men punching each other in the jaw in between the shooting? What will the Latin American or African child learn of America from our great communications industry? We cannot permit television in its present form to be our voice overseas.

There is your challenge to leadership. You must reexamine some fundamentals of your industry. You must open your minds and open your hearts to the limitless horizons of tomorrow.

I can suggest some words that should serve to guide you:

Television and all who participate in it are jointly accountable to the American public for respect for the special needs of children, for community responsibility, for the advancement of education and culture, for the acceptability of the program materials chosen, for decency and decorum in production, and for propriety in advertising. This responsibility cannot be discharged by any given group of programs, but can be discharged only through the highest standards of respect for the American home, applied to every moment of every program presented by television.

Program materials should enlarge the horizons of the viewer, provide him with wholesome entertainment, afford helpful stimulation, and remind him of the responsibilities which the citizen has toward his society.

These words are not mine. They are yours. They are taken literally from your own Television Code. They reflect the leadership and aspirations of your own great industry. I urge you to respect them as I do. And I urge you to respect the intelligent and farsighted leadership of Governor LeRoy Collins and to make this meeting a creative act. I urge you at this meeting and, after you leave, back home, at your stations and your networks, to strive ceaselessly to improve your product and to better serve your viewers, the American people.

I hope that we at the FCC will not allow ourselves to become so bogged down in the mountain of papers, hearings, memoranda, orders, and the daily routine that we close our eyes to the wider view of the public interest. And I hope that you broadcasters will not permit yourselves to become so absorbed in the case for ratings, sales, and profits that you lose this wider view. Now more than ever before in broadcasting's history, the times demand the best of all of us.

We need imagination in programming, not sterility; creativity, not imitation; experimentation, not conformity; excellence, not mediocrity. Television is filled with creative, imaginative people. You must strive to set them free.

Television in its young life has had many hours of greatness—its *Victory at Sea*, its Army-McCarthy hearings, its *Peter Pan*, its *Kraft Theater*, its *See It Now*, its *Project 20*, the World Series, its political conventions and campaigns, the Great Debates—and it has had its endless hours of mediocrity and its moments of public disgrace. There are estimates that today the average viewer spends about two hundred minutes daily with television, while the average reader spends thirty-eight minutes with magazines and forty minutes with newspapers. Television has grown faster than a teenager, and now it is time to grow up.

What you gentlemen broadcast through the people's air affects the people's taste, their knowledge, their opinions, their understanding of themselves and of their world. And their future.

The power of instantaneous sight and sound is without precedent in mankind's history. This is an awesome power. It has limitless capabilities for good—and for evil. And it carries with it awesome responsibilities—responsibilities which you and I cannot escape.

In his stirring inaugural address, our president said, 'And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.'

Ladies and gentlemen: ask not what broadcasting can do for you—ask what you can do for broadcasting.

I urge you to put the people's airwaves to the service of the people and the cause of freedom. You must help prepare a generation for great decisions. You must help a great nation fulfill its future.

Do this, and I pledge you our help.

Source: http://www.terramedia.co.uk/documents/vast_wasteland.htm.

10. ROBERT MOSES'S "LETTER FROM A MISSISSIPPI JAIL CELL" (JULY 15, 1961)

Robert Moses, a Harlem-born, Harvard-educated civil rights activist, was arrested, beaten, and jailed in Magnolia, Mississippi, during the 1961 Freedom Marches to protest racial segregation in the American South. The following letter was written during his incarceration. Moses became one of the leading civil rights spokesmen of the 1960s.

We are smuggling this note from the drunk tank of the country jail in Magnolia, Mississippi. Twelve of us are here, sprawled out along the concrete bunker; Curtis Hayes, Hollis Watkins, Ike Lewis and Robert Talbert, four veterans of the bunker, are sitting up talking—mostly about girls; Charles McDew ("Tell the story") is curled into the concrete and the wall; Harold Robinson, Stephen Ashley, James Wells, Lee Chester, Vick, Leotus Eubanks, and Ivory Diggs lay cramped on the cold bunker; I'm sitting with smuggled pen and paper, thinking a little, writing a little; Myrtis Bennett and Janie Campbell are across the way wedded to a different icy cubicle.

Later on Hollis will lead out with a clear tenor into a freedom song; Talbert and Lewis will supply jokes; and McDew will discourse on the history of the black man and the Jew. McDew—a black by birth, a Jew by choice and a revolutionary by necessity—has taken on the deep hates and deep loves which America, and the world, reserve for those who dare to stand in a strong sun and cast a sharp shadow.

In the words of Judge Brumfield, who sentenced us, we are "cold calculators" who design to disrupt the racial harmony (harmonious since 1619) of McComb into racial strife and rioting; we, he said, are the leaders who are causing young children to be led like sheep to the pen to be slaughtered (in a legal manner). "Robert," he was addressing me, "haven't some of the people from your school been able to go down and register without violence here in Pike county?" I thought to myself that Southerners are most exposed when they boast.

It's mealtime now: we have rice and gravy in a flat pan, dry bread and a "big town cake"; we lack eating and drinking utensils. Water comes from a faucet and goes into a hole.

This is Mississippi, the middle of the iceberg. Hollis is leading off with his tenor, "Michael, row the boat ashore, Alleluia; Christian brothers don't be slow, Alleluia; Mississippi's next to go, Alleluia." This is a tremor in the middle of the iceberg—from a stone that the builders rejected.

Source: Peter B. Levy, ed., *Let Freedom Ring: A Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992, pp. 94–95.

11. GEORGE C. WALLACE'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA (JANUARY 14, 1963)

As governor of Alabama, George Wallace became one of the South's leading political opponents of integration during the 1960s and an example of the region's white opposition to racial integration. He ran for the presidency four times. In 1972, while campaigning as an Independent, he was shot in an assassination attempt and was paralyzed as a result of the assault. Below is the address delivered by Wallace in 1963 upon first assuming the governorship of Alabama.

Governor Patterson, Governor Barnett . . . fellow Alabamians:

. . . General Robert E. Lee said that "duty" is the sublimest word in the English language and I have come, increasingly, to realize what he meant. I SHALL do my duty to you, God helping . . . to every man, to every woman . . . yes, and to every child in this State. . . . Today I have stood, where once Jefferson Davis stood, and took an oath to my people. It is very appropriate then that from this Cradle of the Confederacy, this very Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland, that today we sound the drum for freedom as have our generations of forbearers before us done, time and again down through history. Let us rise to the call of freedom-loving blood that is in us and send our answer to the tyranny that clanks its chains upon the South. In the name of the greatest people that ever trod the earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny . . . and I say . . . segregation now . . . segregation tomorrow . . . segregation forever.

The Washington, D.C. school riot report is disgusting and revealing. We will not sacrifice our children to any such type of school system—and you can write that down. The federal troops in Mississippi could better be used guarding the safety of the citizens of Washington, D.C., where it is even unsafe to walk or go to a ball game—and that is the nation's capitol. I was safer in a B-29 bomber over Japan during the war in an air raid, than the people of Washington are walking in the White House neighborhood. A closer example is Atlanta. The city officials fawn for political reasons over school integration and THEN build barricades to stop residential integration—what hypocrisy!

Let us send this message back to Washington . . . that from this day we are standing up, and the heel of tyranny does not fit the neck of an upright man . . . that we intend to take the offensive and carry our fight for freedom across the nation, wielding the balance of power we know we possess in the Southland.... that WE, not the insipid bloc voters of some sections will determine in the next election who shall sit in the white House... that from this day, from this minute, we give the word of a race of honor that we will not tolerate their boot in our face no longer....

...To realize our ambitions and to bring to fruition our dreams, we as Alabamians must take cognizance of the world about us. We must re-define our heritage, re-school our thoughts in the lessons our forefathers knew so well, first hand, in order to function and to grow and to prosper. We can no longer hide our head in the sand and tell ourselves that the ideology of our free fathers is not being attacked and is not being threatened by another idea, for it is. We are faced with an idea that if centralized government assumes enough authority, enough power over its people that it can provide a utopian life, that if given the power to dictate, to forbid, to require, to demand, to distribute, to edict and to judge what is best and enforce that will of judgment upon its citizens from unimpeachable authority, then it will produce only "good" and it shall be our father and our God. It is an idea of government that encourages our fears and destroys our faith, for where there is faith, there is no fear, and where there is fear, there is no faith....

Not so long ago men stood in marvel and awe at the cities, the buildings, the schools, the autobahns that the government of Hitler's Germany had built... but it could not stand, for the system that built it had rotted the souls of the builders and in turn rotted the foundation of what God meant that God should be. Today that same system on an international scale is sweeping the world. It is the "changing world" of which we are told. It is now called "new" and "liberal." It is as old as the oldest dictator. It is degenerate and decadent. As the national racism of Hitler's Germany persecuted a national minority to the whim of a national majority so the international racism of liberals seeks to persecute the international white minority to the whim of the international colored majority, so that we are footballed about according to the favor of the Afro-Asian bloc. But the Belgian survivors of the Congo cannot present their case to the war crimes commission... nor the survivors of Castro, nor the citizens of Oxford, Mississippi....

...In united effort we were meant to live under this government, whether Baptist, Methodist... or whatever one's denomination or religious belief, each respecting the others right to a separate denomination. And so it was meant in our political lives... each... respecting the rights of others to be separate and work from within the political framework....

...The true brotherhood of America, of respecting separateness of others and uniting in effort, has been so twisted and distorted from its original concept that there is small wonder that communism is winning the world.

We invite the Negro citizen of Alabama to work with us from his separate racial station, as we will work with him, to develop, to grow.... But we warn those, of any group, who would follow the false doctrine of communistic amalgamation that we will not surrender our system of government, our freedom of race and religion, that freedom was won at a hard price and if it requires a hard price to retain it, we are able and quite willing to pay it....

We remind all within hearing of the Southland that . . . Southerners played a most magnificent part in erecting this great divinely inspired system of freedom, and as God is our witness, Southerners will save it.

Let us, as Alabamians, grasp the hand of destiny and walk out of the shadow of fear and fill our divine destiny. Let us not simply defend but let us assume the leadership of the fight and carry our leadership across the nation. God has placed us here in this crisis. Let us not fail in this our most historical moment.

Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama; "George C. Wallace, 'Inaugural Address,' 1963," *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=7&p=pd-3903.

12. MADALYN MURRAY O'HAIR'S ESSAY "THE BATTLE IS JOINED" (JUNE 10, 1963)

Madalyn Murray O'Hair founded the American Atheists in 1963 and initiated the *Murray v. Curlett* (1963) Supreme Court case challenging prayer in public schools. She became a noted—or notorious—spokeswoman in the battle to challenge religious influence in public life.

During the last quarter century there have been more Supreme Court and federal legal cases, more state lawsuits, and more legislation passed on both the federal and the state level—all regarding religion and state/church separation—than there had been in the first 175 years of the nation. The litigation beginning in the early 1960s has picked up in both volume and viciousness until during the last five years the major decisions issued by the Supreme Court have involved primarily religious or state/church separation issues. There is a certain anomaly here, for consistently government has stood side by side with religion against an array of individuals, who have been bravely storming the courts, attempting to coerce the government to come into compliance with or to enforce the provisions of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Think of that: citizens suing the government to force it into conformity with the Constitution.

The battle has been inherently uneven. Government, in defense of religion, has necessarily had unlimited money, the best legal services which could be bought, the media, and its subservient courts. As many personnel as needed, in whatever layer of government, could be brought to the task. Telephone service has been free. All printing has been free. Filing fees and court costs have been waived. Politicians and government officials have endorsed the religious positions, attempting to sway the populace to an acceptance of the constitutional breach. Tax money has paid for it all. The most sophisticated theoretics have been brought to bear to rationalize fallacious arguments.

Actually, in these twenty-five years a finely tuned war has proceeded, with government doing whatever was necessary and more to delay, obfuscate, and pile up as many costs for the challenging litigants as possible. Every stumbling block has been laid in their paths. A first line of defense, apparently, has been to weary the citizen challengers with delays and money costs so that they abandon their efforts. Indeed, that has often happened: a lawsuit has stopped in a state court of appeals or at the federal appellate level for lack of funds, after spending years in court. Or it has failed from frustration in the attempt to have the issue joined.

Additionally, the courts—particularly the federal courts—have promulgated rules which immediately knock out the would-be litigants: One cannot sue the sovereign. Mere taxpayer status does not give the right to sue. One must show personal injury. One must first exhaust all administrative and other remedies before coming to court.

In order to pursue the cases, lawyers with a particular specialty (constitutional law, particularly with emphasis on the religious clauses of the First Amendment) must be found, and there are few if any such attorneys. If in 175 years there were one hundred cases, and in the last twenty-five years even 250 such cases, that is a minuscule percentage of the legal (albeit significantly important) cases of the nation. There simply are really no "specialists" in this are of law.

For several generations Leo Pfeffer, a lawyer for the American Jewish Congress, was held out to be an expert on this genre of litigation. He took an old state/church separation study, Church and State in the United States, three volumes, by Anson Phelps Stokes,[1] put out by Harper & Brothers Publishing, and edited it to one volume issued by Harper in 1950 and later by Greenwood Press, Inc. in 1964 under the authorship of Anson Stokes and Leo Pfeffer. Later editions carried only Pfeffer's name. He reedited, updated, reissued, and rewrote the book again, using only his own name, this time under the title God, Caesar and the Constitution: The Court as Referee of Church-State Confrontation, published by Beacon Press. But he was a religious man of a particular minority sect (Judaism), attempting to gain respectability and acceptance for Judaism in the United States. The American Jewish Congress is a powerful arm of Judaism in our nation, and Pfeffer came to be accepted as the authority on state/church separation. He was, in fact, often one of the lawyers making an appearance on certain of the Supreme Court cases. The Supreme Court for decades depended on the work originally written by Stokes and cited the book in its cases. In later years, the Court also quoted Pfeffer's revisions. All of this makes for difficulties in such litigation. Imagine if there was only one book ever written on criminal law or on real estate law. Additionally no law schools have any courses on state/ church separation alone—it is usually handled in a cursory way in a three-hour course on "Constitutional Law." Any lawyer approaching the subject is really on his own. Additionally, these cases are time-consuming as well as time intensive during certain periods of litigation, and victory has not historically brought a money award either to the challenger or the attorney who litigates for him. On the other hand, who among the legal profession really wants to fight for a principle instead of monetary damages? Who indeed? Every attorney must minimally pay rent, utilities, telephone, and secretarial help for his office. Often he may still be paying for his college/university tuition. He cannot devote hours of time free when he needs rather to sell his services to paying clients in order to maintain himself and his family. . . .

Source: http://www.skepticfiles.org/american/memohbio.htm.

13. PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY'S ADDRESS ON CIVIL RIGHTS (JUNE 11, 1963)

President John F. Kennedy had shown an ambivalent attitude toward the civil rights movement in the first years of his presidency. Concerned about losing powerful white, southern Democratic votes, he privately supported civil rights issues but publicly avoided a direct commitment to the struggle. This speech suggested a shift in the president's position.

Good evening my fellow citizens. This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama National Guardsmen was required on the campus of the University of Alabama to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama.

The order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happened to have been born Negro.

That they were admitted peacefully on the campus is due in good measure to the conduct of the students of the University of Alabama who met their responsibilities in a constructive way.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents.

This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened. . . .

. . . It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants, and theaters and retail stores without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street.

And it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color.

In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or the state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day . . . twice as much chance of becoming unemployed . . . a life expectancy which is seven years shorter. . . .

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in almost every city . . . producing . . . a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety.

Nor is this a partisan issue. In a time of domestic crisis, men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics.

This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these matters in the courts than on the streets, and new laws are needed at every level. But law alone cannot make men see right.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities; whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated.

If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?

Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay. One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. . . .

And this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it. And we cherish our freedom here at home. But are we to say to the world—and more importantly to each other—that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes. . . .

. . . Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South. Where legal remedies are not at hand, redress is sought in the streets in demonstrations, parades and protests, which create tensions and threaten violence—and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, in all of our daily lives.

It is not enough to pin the blame on others, to say this is a problem of one section of the country or another, or deplore the facts that we face. A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation is to make that revolution, that change peaceful and constructive for all.

Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality.

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. . . .

But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

In this respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens, North and South, who've been working in their communities to make life better for all. They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty but out of a sense of human decency. Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world, they are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line and I salute them for their honor—their courage. . . .

We have a right to expect that the Negro community will be responsible, will uphold the law. But they have a right to expect that the law will be fair, that the Constitution will be color blind, as Justice Harlan said at the turn of the century.

Source: Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, John F. Kennedy, 1963. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1964.

14. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT (JULY 2, 1964)

President Lyndon Johnson used all his considerable political skills to push the 1964 Civil Rights Act through Congress. The House of Representatives passed the legislation by a vote of 290–130, and the Senate by a vote of 73–27. The most important civil rights legislation since the Reconstruction Era following the American Civil War, the 1964 measure formed the basis for all future such legislation.

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Title I—Voting Rights

. . . "(2) No person acting under color of law shall—

"(A) in determining whether any individual is qualified under State law or laws to vote in any Federal election, apply any standard, practice, or procedure different from the standards, practices, or procedures applied under such law or laws to other individuals within the same county, parish, or similar political subdivision who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote.

"(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is not material in determining whether such individual is qualified under State law to vote in such election; or

"(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is administered to each individual and is conducted wholly in writing, and (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers given by the individual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of the submission of his request made within the period of time during which records and papers are required to be retained and preserved pursuant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974—74e; 74 Stat. 88)....

...Title II—Injunctive Relief against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation

SEC. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, and privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action....

...Title III—Desegregation of Public Facilities

SEC. 301. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to the equal protection of the laws, on account of his race, color, religion, or national origin, by being denied equal utilization of any public facility which is owned, operated, or managed by or on behalf of any State or subdivision thereof, other than a public school or public college as defined in section 401 of title IV hereof. . . .

. . . .Title VI—Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs

SEC. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. . . .

Source: httm://www.historical documents.com/Civil Rights Act1964.htm.

15. PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S "SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS: THE AMERICAN PROMISE" (MARCH 15, 1965)

In this important speech to Congress, President Lyndon Johnson confirmed his commitment to the civil rights movement.

I speak tonight for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy. I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause.

At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. . . . So it was last week in Selma, Alabama. There, long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man, a man of God, was killed. There is no cause for pride in what happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening here tonight. For the cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great government of the greatest nation on earth.

Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man. . . . Rarely in any time does an issue lay bare the secret heart of America itself. Rarely are we met with a challenge, not to our growth or abundance, or our welfare or our security, but rather to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved nation.

The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such an issue. And should we defeat every enemy and should we double our wealth and conquer the stars and still be unequal to this issue, then we will have failed as a people and as a nation. For with a country as with a person, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans, not as Democrats or Republicans, we are met here as Americans to solve the problem.

This was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose. The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South: "All men are created equal"—"government by consent of the governed"—"give me liberty or give me death." Those are not just clever words. These are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries, and tonight around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty, risking their lives.

These words are a promise to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man.... It says that he shall share in freedom, he shall choose his leaders, educate his children, provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being. To apply any other test—to deny a man his hopes because of his color or race, or his religion, or the place of his birth—is not only to do injustice, it is to deny America and to dishonor the dead who gave their lives for American freedom....

...The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath.

Wednesday, I will send to Congress a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote....Open your polling places to all your people. Allow men and women to register and vote whatever the color of their skin. Extend the rights of citizenship to every citizen of this land. There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain. There is no moral issue here. It is wrong to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country. There is no issue of states rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights....

We cannot, we must not refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election that he may desire to participate in. And we ought not, we must not wait another eight months before we get a bill. We have already waited a hundred years and more and the time for waiting is gone....

Even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause is our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And, we shall overcome.

. . . The time of justice has now come. I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that the day will brighten the lives of every American. For Negroes are not the only victims. How many white children have gone uneducated, how many white families have lived in stark poverty, how many white lives have been scarred by fear because we wasted our energy and substance to maintain the barriers of hatred and terror?

So I say to all of you here and to all in the nation tonight, that those who appeal to you to hold on to the past do so at the cost of denying you your future. This great, rich, restless country can offer opportunity and education and hope to all—all black and white, all North and South, sharecropper, and city dweller. These are the enemies—poverty, ignorance, disease. They are enemies, not our fellow man, not our neighbor, and these enemies too . . . we shall overcome. . . .

The real hero of this struggle is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this nation . . . He has called upon us to make good the promise of America. And who among us can say that we would have made the same progress if not for his persistent bravery, and his faith in democracy.

Source: Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965. Washington, DC: GPO, 1966; "Lyndon B. Johnson, 'Special Message to the Congress: The American Promise,' March 15, 1965" *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=7&p=pd-3997.

16. VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 (AUGUST 6, 1965)

The Voting Rights Act served as a follow-up to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, securing specific voting rights for minorities under the Fifteenth Amendment. The House supported the bill by a vote of 333–85, and the Senate by a vote of 77–19.

SEC. 1. . . . Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress [p*338] assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Voting Rights Act of 1965."

SEC. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color. SEC. 3.

(a) Whenever the Attorney General institutes a proceeding under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court shall authorize the appointment of Federal examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission in accordance with section 6 to serve for such period of time and for such political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment (1) as part of any interlocutory order if the court determines that the appointment of such examiners is necessary to enforce such guarantees or (2) as part of any final judgment if the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred in such State or subdivision: Provided, That the court need not authorize the appointment of examiners if any incidents of denial or abridgement of the right to vote on account of race or color (1) have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future. (b) If in a proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color, it shall suspend the use of [p*339] tests and devices in such State or political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate and for such period as it deems necessary. (c) If in any proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred within the territory of such State or political subdivision, the court, in addition to such relief as it may grant, shall retain jurisdiction for such period as it may deem appropriate and during such period no voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect at the time the proceeding was commenced shall be enforced unless and until the court finds that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: Provided, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such submission, except that neither the court's finding nor the Attorney General's failure to object shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure.

SEC. 4.

(a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State with respect to which the determinations have been [p*340] made under subsection (b) or in any political subdivision with respect to which such determinations have been made as a separate unit, unless the United States District Court for the District of Columbia in an action for a declaratory judgment brought by such State or subdivision against the United States has determined that no such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: Provided, That no such declaratory judgment shall issue with respect to any plaintiff for a period of five years after the entry of a final judgment of any court of the United States, other than the denial of a declaratory judgment under this section, whether entered prior to or after the enactment of this Act, determining that denials or abridgments of the right to vote on account of race or color through the use of such tests or devices have occurred anywhere in the territory of such plaintiff. An action pursuant to this subsection shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. The court shall retain jurisdiction of any action pursuant to this subsection for five years after judgment and shall reopen the action upon motion of the Attorney General alleging that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color. If the Attorney General determines that he has no reason to believe that any such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, he shall consent to the entry of such judgment (b) The provisions of subsection (a) shall apply in any State or in any political subdivision of a state which (1) the Attorney General determines maintained on November 1, 1964, any test or device, and with respect to which (2) the Director of the Census determines that less than 50 percentum of the persons of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 percentum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1964. A determination or certification of the Attorney General or of the Director of the Census under this section or under section 6 or section 13 shall not be reviewable in any court and shall be effective upon publication in the Federal Register. . . .

SEC. 5. . . . Whenever a State or political subdivision with respect to which the prohibitions set forth in section 4(a) are in effect shall enact or seek to administer any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect on November 1, 1964, such State or subdivision may institute an action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a declaratory judgment that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, and unless and until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote for failure to comply with such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, [p*343] or procedure: Provided, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced without such proceeding if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such submission, except that neither the Attorney General's failure to object nor a declaratory judgment entered under this section shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. Any action under this section shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.

SEC. 6. Whenever (a) a court has authorized the appointment of examiners pursuant to the provisions of section 3(a), or (b) unless a declaratory judgment has been rendered under section 4(a), the Attorney General certifies with respect to any political subdivision named in, or included within the scope of, determinations made under section 4(b) that (1) he has received complaints in writing from twenty or more residents of such political subdivision alleging that they have been denied the right to vote under color of law on account of race or color, and that he believes such complaints to be meritorious, or (2) that, in his judgment (considering, among other factors, whether the ratio of nonwhite persons to white persons registered to vote within such subdivision appears to him to be reasonably attributable to violations of the fifteenth amendment or whether substantial evidence exists that bona fide efforts are being made within such subdivision to comply with the fifteenth amendment), the appointment of examiners is otherwise necessary to [p*344] enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment, the Civil Service Commission shall appoint as many examiners for such subdivision as it may deem appropriate to prepare and maintain lists of persons eligible to vote in Federal, State, and local elections. Such examiners, hearing officers provided for in section 9(a), and other persons deemed necessary by the Commission to carry out the provisions and purposes of this Act shall be appointed, compensated, and separated without regard to the provisions of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, and service under this Act shall not be considered employment for the purposes of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, except the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (5 U.S.C. 118i), prohibiting partisan political activity: Provided, That the Commission is authorized, after consulting the head of the appropriate department or agency, to designate suitable persons in the official service of the United States, with their consent, to serve in these positions. Examiners and hearing officers shall have the power to administer oaths....

Sec. 8. Whenever an examiner is serving under this Act in any political subdivision, the Civil Service Commission may assign, at the request of the Attorney General, one or more persons, who may be officers of the United States, (1) to enter and attend at any place for holding an election in such subdivision for the purpose [p*346] of observing whether persons who are entitled to vote are being permitted to vote, and (2) to enter and attend at any place for tabulating the votes cast at any election held in such subdivision for the purpose of observing whether votes cast by persons entitled to vote are being properly tabulated. Such persons so assigned shall report to an examiner appointed for such political subdivision, to the Attorney General, and if the appointment of examiners has been authorized pursuant to section 3(a), to the court....

SEC. 10.

(a) The Congress finds that the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting (i) precludes persons of limited means from voting or imposes unreasonable financial hardship upon such persons [p*348] as a precondition to their exercise of the franchise, (ii) does not bear a reasonable relationship to any legitimate State interest in the conduct of elections, and (iii) in some areas has the purpose or effect of denying persons the right to vote because of race or color. Upon the basis of these findings, Congress declares that the constitutional right of citizens to vote is denied or abridged in some areas by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting. (b) In the exercise of the powers of Congress under section 5 of the fourteenth amendment and section 2 of the fifteenth amendment, the Attorney General is authorized and directed to institute forthwith in the name of the United States such actions, including actions against States or political subdivisions, for declaratory judgment or injunctive relief against the enforcement of any requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting, or substitute therefor enacted after November 1, 1964, as will be necessary to implement the declaration of subsection (a) and the purposes of this section. (c) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of such actions which shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. It shall be the duty of the judges designated to hear the case to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. (d) During the pendency of such actions, and thereafter if the courts, notwithstanding this action by the Congress, should declare the requirement of the payment of a poll tax to be constitutional, no citizen of the United States who is a resident of a State or political [p*349] subdivision with respect to which determinations have been made under subsection 4(b) and a declaratory judgment has not been entered under subsection 4(a), during the first year he becomes otherwise entitled to vote by reason of registration by State or local officials or listing by an examiner, shall be denied the right to vote for failure to pay a poll tax if he tenders payment of such tax for the current year to an examiner or to the appropriate State or local official at least forty-five days prior to election, whether or not such tender would be timely or adequate under State law. An examiner shall have authority to accept such payment from any person authorized by this Act to make an application for listing, and shall issue a receipt for such payment. The examiner shall transmit promptly any such poll tax payment to the office of the State or local official authorized to receive such payment under State law, together with the name and address of the applicant.

SEC. 11.

(a) No person acting under color of law shall fail or refuse to permit any person to vote who is entitled to vote under any provision of this Act or is otherwise qualified to vote, or willfully fail or refuse to tabulate, count, and report such person's vote. (b) No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for voting or attempting to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for urging or aiding any person to vote or attempt to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for exercising any powers or duties under section 3(a), 6, 8, 9, 10, or 12(e). (c) Whoever knowingly or willfully gives false information as to his name, address, or period of residence in the voting district for the purpose of establishing his eligibility to register or vote, or conspires with another [p*350] individual for the purpose of encouraging his false registration to vote or illegal voting, or pays or offers to pay or accepts payment either for registration to vote or for voting shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both: Provided, however, That this provision shall be applicable only to general, special, or primary elections held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the United States Senate, Member of the United States House of Representatives, or Delegates or Commissioners from the territories or possessions, or Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. (d) Whoever, in any matter within the jurisdiction of an examiner or hearing officer knowingly and willfully falsifies or conceals a material fact, or makes any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements or representations, or makes or uses any false writing or document knowing the same to contain any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statement or entry, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both....

...SEC. 13. Listing procedures shall be terminated in any political subdivision of any State (a) with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to clause (b) of section 6 whenever the Attorney General notifies the Civil Service Commission, or whenever the District Court for the District of Columbia determines in an action for declaratory judgment brought by any political subdivision with respect to which the Director of the Census has determined that more than 50 percentum of the nonwhite persons of voting age residing therein are registered to vote, (1) that all persons listed by an examiner for such subdivision have been placed on the appropriate voting registration roll, and (2) that there is no longer reasonable cause to believe that persons will be deprived of or denied the right to vote on account of race or color in such subdivision, and (b), with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to section 3(a), upon order of the authorizing court. A political subdivision may petition the Attorney General for the termination of listing procedures under clause (a) of this section, and may petition the Attorney General to request the Director of the Census to take such survey or census as may be appropriate for the making of the determination provided for in this section. The District Court for the District of Columbia shall have jurisdiction to require such survey or census to be made by the Director of the Census and it shall require him to do so if it deems the Attorney [p*353] General's refusal to request such survey or census to be arbitrary or unreasonable....

SEC. 16. The Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense, jointly, shall make a full and complete study to determine whether, under the laws or practices of any State or States, there are preconditions to voting, which might tend to result in discrimination against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States seeking to vote. Such officials shall, jointly, make a report to the Congress not later than June 30, 1966, containing the results of such study, together with a list of any States in which such preconditions exist, and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation as they deem advisable to prevent discrimination in voting against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States. SEC. 17. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise adversely affect the right to vote of any person registered to vote under the law of any State or political subdivision. SEC. 18. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act. [p*355] SEC 19. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby. Approved August 6, 1965.

Source: http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/statutes/voting_rights_1965.htm.

17. EXCERPT FROM TITLE IX OF THE EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1972 (JUNE 23, 1972)

Congresswoman Patsy Mink (D-Hawaii) authored the Equal Opportunity in Education Act, commonly known as Title IX, to ban discrimination in education based on gender. The most obvious impact of the legislation was the opening of athletic opportunities for women in high school and college athletics.

Section 1681. Sex

(a) **Prohibition against discrimination; exceptions.** No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, except that:

(1) Classes of educational institutions subject to prohibition in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall apply only to institutions of vocational education, professional education, and graduate higher education, and to public institutions of undergraduate higher education;
(2) Educational institutions commencing planned change in admissions in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall not apply (A) for one year from June 23, 1972, nor for six years after June 23, 1972, in the case of an educational institution which has begun the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Secretary of Education or (B) for seven years from the date an educational institution begins the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Secretary of Education, whichever is the later;
(3) Educational institutions of religious organizations with contrary religious tenets this section shall not apply to any educational institution which is controlled by

a religious organization if the application of this subsection would not be consistent with the religious tenents of such organization;

(4) Educational institutions training individuals for military services or merchant marine this section shall not apply to an educational institution whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States, or the merchant marine;

(5) Public educational institutions with traditional and continuing admissions policy in regard to admissions this section shall not apply to any public institution of undergraduate higher education which is an institution that traditionally and continually from its establishment has had a policy of admitting only students of one sex;

(6) Social fraternities or sororities; voluntary youth service organizations this section shall not apply to membership practices—

 (A) of a social fraternity or social sorority which is exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of Title 26, the active membership of which consists primarily of students in attendance at an institution of higher education, or

 (B) of the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association; Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and voluntary youth service organizations which are so exempt, the membership of which has traditionally been limited to persons of one sex and principally to persons of less than nineteen years of age;

(7) Boy or Girl conferences this section shall not apply to—

 (A) any program or activity of the American Legion undertaken in connection with the organization or operation of any Boys State conference, Boys Nation conference, Girls State conference, or Girls Nation conference; or

 (B) any program or activity of any secondary school or educational institution specifically for—

  (i) the promotion of any Boys State conference, Boys Nation conference, Girls State conference, or Girls Nation conference; or

  (ii) the selection of students to attend any such conference;

(8) Father-son or mother-daughter activities at educational institutions this section shall not preclude father-son or mother-daughter activities at an educational institution, but if such activities are provided for students of one sex, opportunities for reasonably comparable activities shall be provided for students of the other sex; and

(9) Institutions of higher education scholarship awards in "beauty" pageants this section shall not apply with respect to any scholarship or other financial assistance awarded by an institution of higher education to any individual because such individual has received such award in any pageant in which the attainment of such award is based upon a combination of factors related to the personal appearance, poise, and talent of such individual and in which participation is limited to individuals of one sex only, so long as such pageant is in compliance with other nondiscrimination provisions of Federal law.

Source: "Excerpt from Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972" *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–3985.

18. EXCERPT FROM THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION ON ABORTION RIGHTS IN *Roe v. Wade* (JANUARY 22, 1973)

On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered its decision in the case of *Roe v. Wade*, thereby liberalizing access to abortion for American women and overturning the criminal abortion statute, and all similar state statutes, for violating the constitutional right to privacy, especially as it pertained to a woman's decision, in consultation with her doctor, to terminate a pregnancy. However, the majority opinion, written by Justice Harry Blackmun, also noted that the right to privacy was not absolute and recognized the ability of the state to regulate or even prohibit abortions for pregnancies that had developed past the first trimester.

In view of all this, we do not agree that, by adopting one theory of life, Texas may override the rights of the pregnant woman that are at stake. We repeat, however, that the State does have an important and legitimate interest in preserving and protecting the health of the pregnant woman, whether she be a resident of the State or a nonresident who seeks medical consultation and treatment there, and that it has still *another* important and legitimate interest in protecting the potentiality of human life. These interests are separate and distinct. Each grows in substantiality as the woman approaches term and, at a point during pregnancy, each becomes "compelling."

With respect to the State's important and legitimate interest in the health of the mother, the "compelling" point, in the light of present medical knowledge, is at approximately the end of the first trimester. This is so because of the now-established medical fact, referred to above at 149, that until the end of the first trimester mortality in abortion may be less than mortality in normal childbirth. It follows that, from and after this point, a State may regulate the abortion procedure to the extent that the regulation reasonably relates to the preservation and protection of maternal health. Examples of permissible state regulation in this area are requirements as to the qualifications of the person who is to perform the abortion; as to the licensure of that person; as to the facility in which the procedure is to be performed, that is, whether it must be a hospital or may be a clinic or some other place of less-than-hospital status; as to the licensing of the facility; and the like.

This means, on the other hand, that, for the period of pregnancy prior to this "compelling" point, the attending physician, in consultation with his patient, is free to determine, without regulation by the State, that, in his medical judgment, the patient's pregnancy should be terminated. If that decision is reached, the judgment may be effectuated by an abortion free of interference by the State.

With respect to the State's important and legitimate interest in potential life, the "compelling" point is at viability. This is so because the fetus then presumably has the capability of meaningful life outside the mother's womb. State regulation protective of fetal life after viability thus has both logical and biological justifications. If the State is interested in protecting fetal life after viability, it may go so far as to proscribe abortion during that period, except when it is necessary to preserve the life or health of the mother.

Measured against these standards, Art. 1196 of the Texas Penal Code, in restricting legal abortions to those "procured or attempted by medical advice for the purpose of saving the life of the mother," sweeps too broadly. The statute makes no distinction between abortions performed early in pregnancy and those performed later, and it limits to a single reason, "saving" the mother's life, the legal justification for the procedure. The statute, therefore, cannot survive the constitutional attack made upon it here.

Source: "Excerpt from the Supreme Court's Decision on Abortion Rights in *Roe v. Wade,* 1973," *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–3946.

19. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN'S REMARKS AT BERLIN'S BRANDENBURG GATE (JUNE 12, 1987)

President Ronald Reagan traveled to Berlin in 1987 to deliver his famous "tear down this wall" speech. It became an iconic symbol of the collapse of the Soviet Union's hold on eastern Europe and signaled the coming end of communist influence in the region. It also served as the beginning of German unification, a nation divided by the Cold War since the end of World War II.

Thank you. Thank you, very much.

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, and speaking to the people of this city and the world at the city hall. Well since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn to Berlin. And today, I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it's our duty to speak in this place of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well; by the feeling of history in this city—more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer, Paul Linke, understood something about American Presidents. . . .

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. . . . For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic South, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same—still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

. . . Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German separated from his fellow men.

Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President Von Weizsäcker has said, "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed." Well today—today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

Yet, I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State—as you've been told—George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by a sign—the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A strong, free world in the West—that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium—virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the Wirtschaftswunder. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty—that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders—the German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany: busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there's abundance—food, clothing, automobiles—the wonderful goods of the

Kudamm.[1] From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on earth. Now the Soviets may have had other plans. But my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, ja, und Berliner Schnauze. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner Schnauze.]

In the 1950s—In the 1950s Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you."

But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health; even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now—now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

. . . We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty—the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace.

. . . General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate.

Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.

Mr. Gorbachev—Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

. . . Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment (unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution)—namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days, days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city; and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then—I invite those who protest today—to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative—research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled; Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe....

...Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

...With—With our French—With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control, or other issues that call for international cooperation....

...One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea—South Korea—has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West.

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats—the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life—not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something, instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence, that refuses to release human energies or aspirations, something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says "yes" to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin—is "love. . . . "

. . . Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront.

Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw: treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere, that sphere that towers over all Berlin, the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner (quote):

"This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall, for it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all. Thank you.

Source: http://www. reaganfoundation.org/reagan/speeches/wall.asp.

20. NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA) TREATY (JANUARY 1, 1994)

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) included the United States, Canada, and Mexico in a commercial trading bloc that gradually removed tariffs and other national trade barriers between the three states. Opponents of the agreement, particularly organized labor unions in the United States, saw NAFTA as a means to provide cheap labor from Mexico that would threaten their members. Advocates argued that the agreement would create a hemispheric commercial economy that would advance the economic interests of all three nations.

Article 101: Establishment of the Free Trade Area

The Parties to this Agreement, consistent with Article XXIV of the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*, hereby establish a free trade area.

Article 102: Objectives

The objectives of this Agreement, as elaborated more specifically through its principles and rules, including national treatment, most-favored-nation treatment and transparency, are to:

eliminate barriers to trade in, and facilitate the cross-border movement of, goods and services between the territories of the Parties;
promote conditions of fair competition in the free trade area;
increase substantially investment opportunities in the territories of the Parties;
provide adequate and effective protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights in each Party's territory;
create effective procedures for the implementation and application of this Agreement, for its joint administration and for the resolution of disputes; and
establish a framework for further trilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation to expand and enhance the benefits of this Agreement.

The Parties shall interpret and apply the provisions of this Agreement in the light of its objectives set out in paragraph 1 and in accordance with applicable rules of international law.

Article 103: Relation to Other Agreements

The Parties affirm their existing rights and obligations with respect to each other under the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* and other agreements to which such Parties are party.

In the event of any inconsistency between this Agreement and such other agreements, this Agreement shall prevail to the extent of the inconsistency, except as otherwise provided in this Agreement.

Article 104: Relation to Environmental and Conservation Agreements

In the event of any inconsistency between this Agreement and the specific trade obligations set out in:

the *Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora*, done at Washington, March 3, 1973, as amended June 22, 1979,

the *Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer,* done at Montreal, September 16, 1987, as amended June 29, 1990,

the *Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal,* done at Basel, March 22, 1989, on its entry into force for Canada, Mexico and the United States, or the agreements set out in Annex 104.1, such obligations shall prevail to the extent of the inconsistency, provided that where a Party has a choice among equally effective and reasonably available means of complying with such obligations, the Party chooses the alternative that is the least inconsistent with the other provisions of this Agreement.

The Parties may agree in writing to modify Annex 104.1 to include any amendment to an agreement referred to in paragraph 1, and any other environmental or conservation agreement.

Article 105: Extent of Obligations

The Parties shall ensure that all necessary measures are taken in order to give effect to the provisions of this Agreement, including their observance, except as otherwise provided in this Agreement, by state and provincial governments.

Annex 104.1

Bilateral and Other Environmental and Conservation Agreements

The *Agreement Between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America Concerning the Transboundary Movement of Hazardous Waste*, signed at Ottawa, October 28, 1986.

The *Agreement Between the United States of America and the United Mexican States on Cooperation for the Protection and Improvement of the Environment in the Border Area,* signed at La Paz, Baja California Sur, August 14, 1983.

Source: http://www.duke.edu/lib/researchguides/nafta.html.

21. PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH'S 9/11 ADDRESS TO THE NATION (SEPTEMBER 11, 2001)

On September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and an airline crash in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, resulted in the deaths of over 3,000 Americans. President George W. Bush's speech to the nation that evening initiated a response to those incidents and a new American foreign policy regarding Islamic terrorism.

Good evening.

Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes or in their offices: secretaries, business men and women, military and federal workers, moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed. Our country is strong.

A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve. America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining. Today, our nation saw evil—the very worst of human nature—and we responded with the best of America. With the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington D.C. to help with local rescue efforts. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks. The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business as well.

The search is underway for those who were behind these evil acts. I have directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance. America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a Power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23:

Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil for you are with me.

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day, yet we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night. And God bless America.

Source: http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/release/2001/09/20010911–16.html.

22. POPE JOHN PAUL II'S SPEECH TO 12 U.S. CARDINALS ON THE SEX ABUSE SCANDAL IN THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (APRIL 23, 2002)

Responding to a growing public and legal sex-abuse scandal involving priests in the United States, Pope John Paul II addressed the issue in this speech to

American cardinals. The cases of pedophilia had become a national concern and were severely damaging the reputation of the Roman Catholic Church.

Dear Brothers:

I have been deeply grieved by the fact that priests and religious workers, whose vocation it is to help people live holy lives in the sight of God, have themselves caused such suffering and scandal to the young.

Let me assure you first of all that I greatly appreciate the effort you are making to keep the Holy See, and me personally, informed regarding the complex and difficult situation which has arisen in your country in recent months. I am confident that your discussions here will bear much fruit for the good of the Catholic people of the United States. . . .

. . . Like you, I too have been deeply grieved by the fact that priests and religious workers, whose vocation it is to help people live holy lives in the sight of God, have themselves caused such suffering and scandal to the young. Because of the great harm done by some priests and religious, the Church herself is viewed with distrust, and many are offended at the way in which the Church's leaders are perceived to have acted in this matter. The abuse which has caused this crisis is by every standard wrong and rightly considered a crime by society; it is also an appalling sin in the eyes of God.

To the victims and their families, wherever they may be, I express my profound sense of solidarity and concern. It is true that a generalized lack of knowledge of the nature of the problem and also at times the advice of clinical experts led bishops to make decisions which subsequent events showed to be wrong. You are now working to establish more reliable criteria to ensure that such mistakes are not repeated.

At the same time, even while recognizing how indispensable these criteria are, we cannot forget the power of Christian conversion, that radical decision to turn away from sin and back to God, which reaches to the depths of a person's soul and can work extraordinary change. Neither should we forget the immense spiritual, human and social good that the vast majority of priests and religious workers in the United States have done and are still doing. The Catholic Church in your country has always promoted human and Christian values with great vigor and generosity, in a way that has helped to consolidate all that is noble in the American people. . . .

. . . To the Catholic communities in the United States, to their pastors and members, to the men and women religious, to teachers in Catholic universities and schools, to American missionaries in all parts of the world, go the wholehearted thanks of the entire Catholic Church and the personal thanks of the bishop of Rome. The abuse of the young is a grave symptom of a crisis affecting not only the Church but society as a whole.

It is a deep-seated crisis of sexual morality, even of human relationships, and its prime victims are the family and the young. In addressing the problem of abuse with clarity and determination, the Church will help society to understand and deal with the crisis in its midst.

It must be absolutely clear to the Catholic faithful, and to the wider community, that bishops and superiors are concerned, above all else, with the spiritual good of souls. People need to know that there is no place in the priesthood and religious life for those who would harm the young. They must know that bishops and priests are totally committed to the fullness of Catholic truth on matters of sexual morality, a truth as essential to the renewal of the priesthood and the episcopate as it is to the renewal of marriage and family life.

We must be confident that this time of trial will bring a purification of the entire Catholic community, a purification that is urgently needed if the Church is to preach more effectively the Gospel of Jesus Christ in all its liberating force.... So much pain, so much sorrow must lead to a holier priesthood, a holier episcopate, and a holier Church.

God alone is the source of holiness, and it is to Him above all that we must turn for forgiveness, for healing and for the grace to meet this challenge with uncompromising courage and harmony of purpose. Like the good shepherd of last Sunday's Gospel, pastors must go among their priests and people as men who inspire deep trust and lead them to restful waters (Psalms 22:2).

I beg the Lord to give the bishops of the United States the strength to build their response to the present crisis upon the solid foundations of faith and upon genuine pastoral charity for the victims, as well as for the priests and the entire Catholic community in your country. And I ask Catholics to stay close to their priests and bishops, and to support them with their prayers at this difficult time. The peace of the risen Christ be with you!

Source: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/popeuscardinaladdress.htm.

23. BILL COSBY'S "POUND CAKE SPEECH," AN ADDRESS TO THE NAACP'S GALA TO COMMEMORATE THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (MAY 17, 2004)

In May 2004, Bill Cosby, the popular American comic, gave a speech before the NAACP criticizing contemporary flaws in the popular culture's response to the problems facing the African American community. His irreverent and challenging rhetoric angered many black Americans. Cosby called for a renewal of the kind of commitment that had existed during the height of the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Ladies and gentlemen, I really have to ask you to seriously consider what you've heard, and now this is the end of the evening so to speak. I heard a prize fight manager say to his fellow who was losing badly, "David, listen to me. It's not what's he's doing to you. It's what you're not doing."

Ladies and gentlemen, these people set—they opened the doors, they gave us the right, and today, ladies and gentlemen, in our cities and public schools we have 50% drop out. In our own neighborhood, we have men in prison. No longer is a person embarrassed because they're pregnant without a husband. No longer is a boy considered an embarrassment if he tries to run away from being the father of the unmarried child.

Ladies and gentlemen, the lower economic and lower middle economic people are not holding their end in this deal. In the neighborhood that most of us grew up in, parenting is not going on. . . .

The church is only open on Sunday. And you can't keep asking Jesus to ask doing things for you. You can't keep asking that God will find a way. God is tired of you. God was there when they won all those cases. 50 in a row. That's where God was because these people were doing something. And God said, "I'm going to find a way." I wasn't there when God said it—I'm making this up. But it sounds like what God would do.

We cannot blame white people. White people—white people don't live over there. They close up the shop early. The Korean ones still don't know us as well—they stay open 24 hours. . . .

. . . 50 percent drop out rate, I'm telling you, and people in jail, and women having children by five, six different men. Under what excuse? I want somebody to love me. And as soon as you have it, you forget to parent. Grandmother, mother, and great grandmother in the same room, raising children, and the child knows nothing about love or respect of any one of the three of them. All this child knows is "gimme, gimme, gimme." These people want to buy the friendship of a child, and the child couldn't care less. Those of us sitting out here who have gone on to some college or whatever we've done, we still fear our parents. And these people are not parenting. They're buying things for the kid—$500 sneakers—for what? They won't buy or spend $250 on Hooked on Phonics.

Kenneth Clark, somewhere in his home in upstate New York—just looking ahead. Thank God he doesn't know what's going on. Thank God. But these people—the ones up here in the balcony fought so hard. Looking at the incarcerated, these are not political criminals. These are people going around stealing Coca Cola. People getting shot in the back of the head over a piece of pound cake! Then we all run out and are outraged: "The cops shouldn't have shot him. What the hell was he doing with the pound cake in his hand? I wanted a piece of pound cake just as bad as anybody else. And I looked at it and I had no money. And something called parenting said if you get caught with it you're going to embarrass your mother." Not, "You're going to get your butt kicked." No. "You're going to embarrass your mother." . . . We are not parenting.

Ladies and gentlemen, listen to these people. They are showing you what's wrong. People putting their clothes on backwards. Isn't that a sign of something going on wrong? Are you not paying attention? People with their hat on backwards, pants down around the crack. Isn't that a sign of something or are you waiting for Jesus to pull his pants up? Isn't it a sign of something when she's got her dress all the way up to the crack—and got all kinds of needles and things going through her body. What part of Africa did this come from?... With names like Shaniqua, Shaligua, Mohammed and all that crap and all of them are in jail. (When we give these kinds names to our children, we give them the strength and inspiration in the meaning of those names. What's the point of giving them strong names if there is not parenting and values backing it up.)

Brown versus the Board of Education is no longer the white person's problem. We've got to take the neighborhood back. We've got to go in there....

Now, look, I'm telling you. It's not what they're doing to us. It's what we're not doing. 50 percent drop out. Look, we're raising our own ingrown immigrants. These people are fighting hard to be ignorant. There's no English being spoken, and they're walking and they're angry. Oh God, they're angry and they have pistols and they shoot and they do stupid things. And after they kill somebody, they don't have a plan. Just murder somebody. Boom. Over what? A pizza? And then run to the poor cousin's house.

...I'm saying *Brown versus the Board of Education*. We've got to hit the streets, ladies and gentlemen. I'm winding up, now—no more applause. I'm saying, look at the Black Muslims. There are Black Muslims standing on the street corners and they say so forth and so on, and we're laughing at them because they have bean pies and all that, but you don't read, "Black Muslim gunned down while chastising drug dealer." You don't read that. They don't shoot down Black Muslims. You understand me. Muslims tell you to get out of the neighborhood. When you want to clear your neighborhood out, first thing you do is go get the Black Muslims, bean pies and all. And your neighborhood is then clear. The police can't do it.

I'm telling you Christians, what's wrong with you? Why can't you hit the streets? Why can't you clean it out yourselves? It's our time now, ladies and gentlemen. It is our time. And I've got good news for you. It's not about money. It's about you doing something ordinarily that we do—get in somebody else's business. It's time for you to not accept the language that these people are speaking, which will take them nowhere. What the hell good is *Brown v. Board of Education* if nobody wants it? What is it with young girls getting after some girl who wants to still remain a virgin. Who are these sick black people and where did they come from and why haven't they been parented to shut up? To go up to girls and try to get a club where "you are nobody...." This is a sickness, ladies and gentlemen, and we are not paying attention to these children. These are children. They don't know anything. They don't have anything. They're homeless people. All they know how to do is beg. And you give it to them, trying to win their friendship. And what are they good for? And then they stand there in an orange suit and you drop to your knees: "He didn't do anything. He didn't do anything." Yes, he did do it. And you need to have an orange suit on, too.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you for the award—and giving me an opportunity to speak because, I mean, this is the future, and all of these people who lined up and done—they've got to be wondering what the hell happened. *Brown v. Board of Education*—these people who marched and were hit in the face with rocks and punched in the face to get an education and we got these knuckleheads walking around who don't want to learn English. I know that you all know it. I just want to get you as angry that you ought to be. When you walk around the neighborhood and you see this stuff, that stuff's not funny. These people are not funny anymore. And that's not my brother. And that's not my sister. They're faking and they're dragging me way down because the state, the city, and all these people have to pick up the tab on them because they don't want to accept that they have to study to get an education.

We have to begin to build in the neighborhood, have restaurants, have cleaners, have pharmacies, have real estate, have medical buildings instead of trying to rob them all. And so, ladies and gentlemen, please, Dorothy Height, where ever she's sitting, she didn't do all that stuff so that she could hear somebody say "I can't stand algebra, I can't stand . . ." and "what you is." It's horrible.

. . . Therefore, you have the pile up of these sweet beautiful things born by nature—raised by no one. Give them presents. You're raising pimps. That's what a pimp is. A pimp will act nasty to you so you have to go out and get them something. And then you bring it back and maybe he or she hugs you. And that's why pimp is so famous. They've got a drink called the "Pimp-something." You all wonder what that's about, don't you? Well, you're probably going to let Jesus figure it out for you. Well, I've got something to tell you about Jesus. When you go to the church, look at the stained glass things of Jesus. Look at them. Is Jesus smiling? Not in one picture. So, tell your friends. Let's try to do something. Let's try to make Jesus smile. Let's start parenting. Thank you, thank you.

Source: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/billcosby/poundcakespeech.htm.

24. KARL ROVE'S ADDRESS TO THE FEDERALIST SOCIETY (NOVEMBER 10, 2005)

In November 2005, Karl Rove, a key political advisor to President George W. Bush, gave the following speech before the conservative Federalist Society questioning the influence of judicial activism in the U.S. federal court system. Rove called for the appointment of more judges who would interpret the Constitution and the law from a literalist position.

You know, for some it's the Bavarian Illuminati. For others, it's the Knights Templar. In recent years it's been the Trilateralists, the Bilderbergers, or the neocons. But for Senators Kennedy, Durbin, Schumer and Lahey, the most successful conspiracy in the history of the mankind is one of the most visible and open, as shown by your willingness to put yourselves on display here tonight. Who would've thought that powerful members of the world's most exclusive club would be so threatened by a movement of confident, principle-driven, egghead lawyers? So, I say good evening, fellow Federalists. . . .

. . . As I was looking around the crowd here tonight I see that we—virtually everybody in this audience is—falls into one of three classifications of people. First of all, honored to have members of the federal judiciary here, and the state judiciary. So we have a bunch of judges. I saw a couple of our nominees to the bench. Fred Cavanaugh and I crossed paths here recently. (Fred, where are you?) Any of you nominees just remember you wanted the job.

And, of course, the final group of people who are here tonight are aspiring judges, so my advice to you is save your money, buy a little Kelvar [Kevlar] jacket and hope you get in the chance to get in the process 'cause it's not going to get any better soon.

You've also got here a friend of mine that I'd like to just say a word about because I've known her for 15 years. Back in Texas when the Supreme Court of Texas was a disaster—I'll have a little bit more to say about that later—she was one of the few people in the legal community who stood up and said we need to do something to change it, and I worked with her awfully, you know, for an awfully long time to see us get the changes we wanted in the judiciary, and she was a warrior. And I've worked with her the last five years and have really gotten to know her well.

In the last three years, we've served together on the judicial selection committee at the White House, and for me, the non-lawyer, it's been a fantastic experience—been like attending a graduate seminar in legal theory. If you like every one of the 200 judges that we've sent to forward to the U.S. Congress to be approved, in the last three years there hasn't been one of them who hasn't been researched, vetted, studied, analyzed, and recommended by my friend, Harriet Meyers—legal council to the President.

The Federalist Society is one of America's most important intellectual movements. Since your founding more than 20 years ago, you have made extraordinary efforts to return our country to constitutionalism. . . .

. . . Consider where America stands today versus where it stood when the great William Rehnquist was named to the High Court in 1972. That was right about the time that judicial activism was most dominant. And yet, today, the wind and tide are running in our favor—due in large measure to the efforts your organization. . . .

You've also thoroughly infiltrated the ranks of the White House. In fact, there are so many Federalists in the Administration that Andy Card, Chief of Staff, has asked me to say that there will be a special staff meeting in the back of the room, near the back doors, at the end of the dinner. We'll be discussing an important legal question, namely, the application of the principle of equidistance in the determination of seaward lateral boundaries. I, incidentally, while not a lawyer am the leading White House expert on this issue. I be—will be leading the meeting. . . .

. . . I've seen this phenomenon myself for several decades. In the 1980s, in my home state of Texas, our Supreme Court was dominated by justices determined to legislate from the bench, bending the law to fit a personal agenda. Millions of dollars from a handful of wealthy personal injury trial lawyers were poured into Supreme Court races to shift the philosophical direction of the Court. It earned the reputation, as the *Dallas Morning News* said, as quote, "the best court that money could buy." Even *60 Minutes* was troubled, and it takes a lot to trouble CBS. In 1987 it did a story on the Texas Supreme Court titled "Justice for Sale."

Ordinary Texans had had enough, and they took it upon themselves to change the Court. In a bipartisan reform effort, they recruited and then elected to the Texas Supreme Court distinguished individuals like Tom Phillips, Alberto Gonzales, John Cornyn, Priscilla Owen, Nathan Hecht, and Greg Abbott. And for those of you— And for those of you [who] know something about Texas politics, this is pretty significant because all of them were Republicans. After all, Texas had gone for a mere 120 years without electing a single Republican to our Supreme Court, and then all of a sudden we were blessed with these extraordinarily able people.

I saw this public reaction to judicial activism again in Alabama. The state legislature passed tort-reform legislation in 1987. However, activist judges on the—on the Supreme Court, the trial lawyer-friendly Supreme Court, struck it down, prompting a period of "jackpot justice" at Alabama through the mid-1990s, where the median punitive-damage award in Alabama reached 250,000 dollars—three times the national average. *Time Magazine* labeled Alabama "tort hell."

Like in Texas, this led to a popular revolt against judicial activism. It began in 1994, when Republican Perry Hooper challenged sitting Chief Justice and trial lawyer favorite Sonny Hornsby. Hooper pulled off a stunning upset—outspent, outworked—he won by 262 votes out of over 1.2 million votes cast. And then, the day after the election, several thousand absentee ballots mysteriously surfaced, none of them witnessed nor notarized as required by Alabama law, and Sonny Hornsby tried to have them counted. It took a year of court battles before Hooper was finally seated. His groundbreaking victory would not have been possible without the work of many Alabamians—including a young dynamic lawyer I got to know by the name of Bill Pryor—and isn't he doing a terrific job. . . .

. . . Earlier this year a federal district court judge dismissed a 10-count indictment against hard-core pornographers, alleging that federal obscenity laws violated the pornographers' right to privacy—despite the fact that popularly elected representatives in Congress had passed the obscenity laws and that the pornographers distributed materials with simulations where women were raped and killed.

Just a few months ago, five Justices on the U.S. Supreme Court decided that a "national consensus" prohibited the use of the death penalty for murderers—for murders committed under the age of 18. In its decision, the majority ignored the fact that, at the time, the people's representatives in 20 states had passed laws permitting the death penalty for killers under 18, while just 18 states—or less than 50% of the states allowing capital punishment—had laws prohibiting the execution of killers who committed their crimes as juveniles.

These attempts, and many, many more over the past decades, have led to widespread concern about our courts. While ordinary people may not be able to give you the case number or explain in fine detail the legal principles they feel are being bent and broken, they are clearly concerned about too many judges too ready and eager to legislate from too many benches. . . .

. . . Scholars of American government have pointed out the Founders were determined to build a system of government that would succeed because of our imperfections, not in spite of them. They envision—envisioned judges as impartial umpires, charged with guarding the sanctity of the Constitution, not as legislators dressed conveniently in robes.

. . . At the end of the day, though, the views of the Founders will prevail because the core defects of judicial imperialism—including the mistaken assumption that our charter of government is like hot wax: pliable, inconstant, and easily shaped and changed.

America's 43rd President believes, as you do, that judges should base their opinions on strictly and faithfully interpreting the text of our Constitution, a document that is remarkable and reliable. William Gladstone called it (quote) "the greatest work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Not bad for an Englishman.

Critics of constitutionalism say it is resistant to social change—our Constitution. But if the people want to enact or repeal certain laws, they can do so by persuading their fellow citizens on the merits through legislation or constitutional amendment. This makes eminent good sense, and it allows for enormous adaptability.

Another defect of judicial imperialism is it undermines self-government. The will of the people is replaced by the personal predilections and political biases of a handful of judges. The result is that judicial imperialism has split American society, politicized the courts in a way the Founders never intended. And it has created a sense of disenfranchisement among a great many—a very large segment of American society—people who believe issues not addressed by the Constitution should be decided through elections rather than by nine lawyers in robes. . . .

. . . The willingness of these brilliant legal minds to put aside lucrative careers in private practice to serve a greater public good should make us all optimistic and hopeful. Our arguments will carry the day because the force and logic and wisdom of the Founders—all of them are on our side. We welcome a vigorous, open and fair-minded. and high-minded debate about the purpose and meaning of the courts in our lives, and we will win that debate.

In America, conservatives are winning the battle of ideas on almost every front, and few are more important than the battle over our judiciary. The outcome of that debate will shape the course of human events, and the reason we will prevail rests in large measure on the good work of the Federalist Society and those of you in this room tonight.

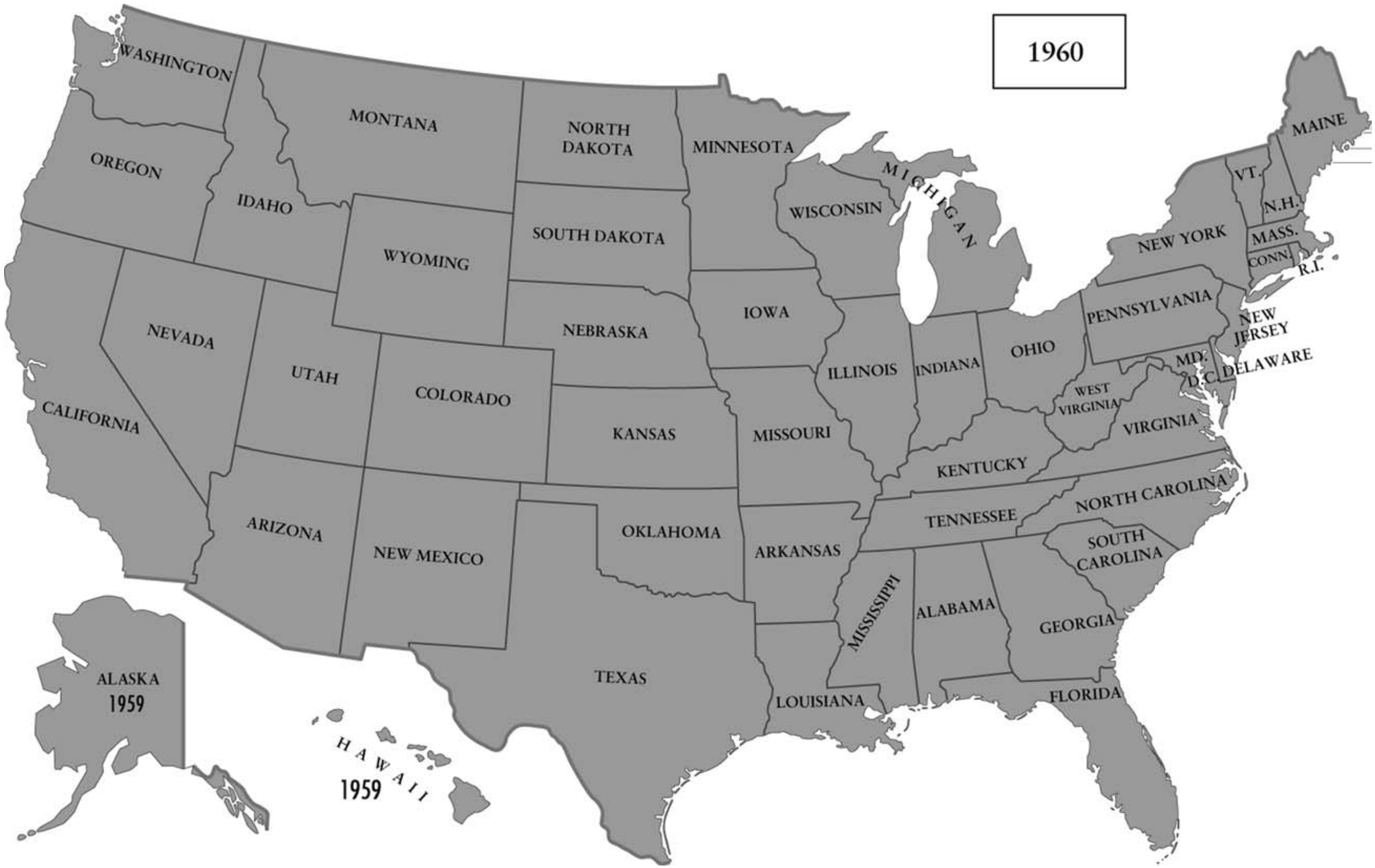
The President is grateful for your support, for your tireless efforts on behalf of constitutionalism and, above all, for your dedication to the founding principles of our great country. . . .

Source: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/karlrovefederalist.htmlww.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/karlrovefederalist.html.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: MAP OF THE AMERICAN STATES FOLLOWING THE ADMISSION OF ALASKA AND HAWAII IN 1959

With the admission of Alaska as a state on January 3, 1959, and of Hawaii as a state on August 21, 1959, the American union comprised 50 states, as shown in the following map.


1960
WASHINGTON
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
OREGON
IDAHO
WYOMING
SOUTH DAKOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
MAINE
VT.
N.H.
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
NEW YORK
NEVADA
UTAH
COLORADO
NEBRASKA
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MD.
D.C.
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
CALIFORNIA
KANSAS
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
SOUTH CAROLINA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
ALASKA
1959
HAWAII
1959

APPENDIX 2: LEGAL PUBLIC HOLIDAYS IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE START OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Legal public holidays, or federal holidays, are those holidays recognized by the U.S. government. Although the U.S. government has power to create holidays only for federal offices and agencies and their employees, most other national institutions and businesses, such as private banks and stock exchanges, are closed in celebration of these holidays. Many of these holidays are designated to fall each year on a Monday so as to create a longer weekend break for federal and all other workers who observe the day.

Inauguration Day, which occurs on January 20 in every fourth year following a U.S. presidential election, witnesses the inauguration of the recently elected president. It is celebrated as a federal holiday in Washington, D.C., and in certain counties of surrounding states that are likely to be affected by the inauguration festivities.

January

New Year's Day	Celebrates the start of the new year.	January 1
Martin Luther King Jr. Day	Honors civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., whose birthday was January 15; combined with various other holidays in several states.	Third Monday of the month

February

President's Day	Honors President George Washington, whose birthday was February 22, and thus is known officially as "Washington's Birthday"; however, it is popularly observed as a day of recognition for all American presidents (especially Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday was February 12) and thus best known as "President's Day."	Third Monday of the month

May

Memorial Day	Also known as Decoration Day and traditionally observed on May 30, Memorial Day began in the nineteenth century as a day to honor the dead of the Civil War by decorating their graves with flowers; it is now observed to honor those who served in all American wars.	Fourth Monday of the month

July		
Independence Day	Celebrates the signing of the American Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, and is popularly observed as the birthday of the United States.	July 4
September		
Labor Day	Honors the achievements of American workers and the American Labor Movement.	First Monday of the month
October		
Columbus Day	Commemorates the landing of Christopher Columbus in the Americas on October 12, 1492, and was traditionally celebrated on October 12; in some places, it is also a celebration of Italian culture and history.	Second Monday of the month
November		
Veteran's Day	Also known as Armistice Day or Remembrance Day, Veteran's Day is the American name for an internationally recognized holiday commemorating the signing of the armistice that ended World War I on November 11, 1918.	November 11
Thanksgiving	Observed annually in the United States since 1863 when President Lincoln proclaimed a national day of thanksgiving for the last Thursday of November; it is traditionally observed as a day for giving thanks to God for the autumn harvest.	Fourth Thursday of the month
December		
Christmas	Simultaneously celebrated as a religious holiday for Christians, who commemorate the birth of Christ, and a secular holiday emphasizing family, charity, and goodwill.	December 25

APPENDIX 3: POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DECADE, 1940–2000

As the following Census figures show, the population of the United States more than doubled in the 60 years between 1940 and 2000, with particular spurts in growth during the post–World War II Baby Boom period of the 1950s and the period of economic stability in the 1990s.

1940	132,164,569
1950	151,325,798
1960	179,323,175
1970	203,211,926
1980	226,545,805
1990	248,709,873
2000	281,421,906

Source: United States Census Bureau.

APPENDIX 4: PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940–2005

Listed below are the presidents of the United States who held office between 1940 and 2005, with their party affiliations and their terms of service.

Franklin D. Roosevelt[1]	Democrat	1933–1945
Harry S Truman	Democrat	1945–1953
Dwight D. Eisenhower	Republican	1953–1961
John F. Kennedy[2]	Democrat	1961–1963
Lyndon B. Johnson	Democrat	1963–1969
Richard M. Nixon[3]	Republican	1969–1974
Gerald R. Ford	Republican	1974–1977
Jimmy Carter	Democrat	1977–1981
Ronald Reagan	Republican	1981–1989
George H. W. Bush	Republican	1989–1993
William J. Clinton	Democrat	1993–2001
George W. Bush	Republican	2001–2008

[1] Died in office on April 12, 1945.

[2] Assassinated in office on November 22, 1963.

[3] Resigned from office on August 8, 1974.

Source: www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents.

APPENDIX 5: VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940–2005

Listed below are the vice presidents of the United States who held office between 1940 and 2005, with the president under whom they served, their party affiliation, and their terms of service.

John Nance Garner	Roosevelt	Democrat	1933–1941
Henry A. Wallace	Roosevelt	Democrat	1941–1945
Harry S Truman[1]	Roosevelt	Democrat	1945
Office Vacant	Truman		1945–1949
Alben W. Barkley	Truman	Democrat	1949–1953
Richard M. Nixon	Eisenhower	Republican	1953–1961
Lyndon B. Johnson[2]	Kennedy	Democrat	1961–1963
Office Vacant	Johnson		1963–1965
Hubert H. Humphrey	Johnson	Democrat	1965–1969
Spiro T. Agnew[3]	Nixon	Republican	1969–1973
Office Vacant	Nixon	October–December 1973	
Gerald R. Ford[4]	Nixon	Republican	1973–1974
Office Vacant	Ford	August–December 1974	
Nelson A. Rockefeller	Ford	Republican	1974–1977
Walter F. Mondale	Carter	Democrat	1977–1981
George H. W. Bush	Reagan	Republican	1981–1989
J. Danforth Quayle	Bush, George H. W.	Republican	1989–1993
Albert Gore Jr.	Clinton	Democrat	1993–2001
Richard Cheney	Bush, George W.	Republican	2001–2008

[1] Succeeded to the presidency upon the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945.

[2] Succeeded to the presidency upon the assassination of John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963.

[3] Resigned from office on October 10, 1973.

[4] Succeeded to presidency upon resignation of Richard M. Nixon on August 8, 1974.

Source: http://americanhistory.about.com/library/charts/blchartpresidents.htm.

APPENDIX 6: SECRETARIES OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940–2005

Listed below are the secretaries of state of the United States who held office between 1940 and 2005, with the president who appointed them, their party affiliation, and their terms of service.

Cordell Hull	Roosevelt	Democrat	1933–1944
Edward R. Stettinis Jr.	Roosevelt/Truman	Democrat	1944–1945
James F. Byrnes	Truman	Democrat	1945–1947
George C. Marshall	Truman	Democrat	1947–1949
Dean Acheson	Truman	Democrat	1949–1953
John Foster Dulles	Eisenhower	Republican	1953–1959
Christian Herter	Eisenhower	Republican	1959–1961
Dean Rusk	Kennedy/Johnson	Democrat	1961–1969
William P. Rogers	Nixon	Republican	1969–1973
Henry Kissinger	Nixon/Ford	Republican	1973–1977
Cyrus Vance	Carter	Democrat	1977–1980
Edmund S. Muskie	Carter	Democrat	1980–1981
Alexander M. Haig Jr.	Reagan	Republican	1981–1982
George P. Schultz	Reagan	Republican	1982–1989
James Baker III	Bush, George H. W.	Republican	1989–1992
Lawrence S. Eagleburger	Bush, George H. W.	Republican	1992–1993
Warren Christopher	Clinton	Democrat	1993–1997
Madeleine Albright	Clinton	Democrat	1997–2001
Colon Powell	Bush, George W.	Republican	2001–2005
Condoleezza Rice	Bush, George W.	Republican	2005–2008

Source: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/po/1682.htm.

APPENDIX 7: CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT, 1940–2005

Listed below are the chief justices of the U.S. Supreme Court who served between 1940 and 2005, with the president who appointed them and their terms of service.

Charles Evans Hughes	Hoover	1930–1941
Harlan Fiske Stone	Roosevelt	1941–1946
Fred M. Vinson	Truman	1946–1953
Earl Warren	Eisenhower	1953–1969
Warren E. Burger	Nixon	1969–1986
William H. Rehnquist	Reagan	1986–2005
John G. Roberts Jr.	Bush, George W.	2005–

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS, 1940–1959

Adler, Selig. *The Uncertain Giant, 1921–1941: American Foreign Policy between the Wars*. New York: MacMillan, 1965.

Bailey, Thomas A. A *Diplomatic History of the American People*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1980.

Barnouw, Erik. *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States from 1933–1953*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

———. *The Image Empire: A History of Broadcasting in the United States from 1953*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

———. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Barton, B. *The Man Nobody Knows*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925.

Benson, Robert Louis. *The Venona Story*. Washington, DC: National Security Agency, 1996.

Caute, D. *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge under Truman and Eisenhower*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

Cayleff, Susan E. *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Chafe, W. H. *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Chase, R. "Our Country and Our Culture (Part 3)." *Partisan Review* (Sept./Oct. 1952): 567–69.

Cole, Wayne S. *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Coover, R. *The Public Burning*. New York: Viking Press, 1977.

Cremin, L. *American Education, 1876–1980: The Metropolitan Experience*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Davies, Richard O. *America's Obsession: Sports and Society since 1945*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 2007.

DeCurtis, A., and J. Henke, eds. *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll: The Definitive History of the Most Important Artists and Their Music*. New York: Random House, 1992.

Doctorow, E. L. *The Book of Daniel*. New York: Random House, 1971.

Evans, S. *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*. New York: Free Press, 1989.

Faragher, John Mack, Susan Armitage, Mari Jo Buhle, and Daniel Czitrom. *Out of Many: A History of the American People*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000.

Fehrenbach, T. R. *This Kind of War*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2000.

Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Norton, 1963.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1958.

Goldman, Eric. *The Crucial Decade and After—America, 1945–1960*. New York: Random House, 1960.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II*. New York: Touchstone, 1994.

Halberstam, David. *The Fifties*. New York: Random House, 1993.

Harrington, Michael. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1962; New York: Penguin, 1981.

Harrison, C. *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945–1968*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Hart, J. D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Hayes, C. D., J. L. Palmer, and M. J. Zaslow, eds. *Families That Work: Children in a Changing World*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1982.

Herberg, W. *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955.

Hine, T. *Populuxe*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

Jowett, G., and J. M. Linton. *Movies as Mass Communications*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980.

Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000; also online at http://dailylife.greenwood.com.

Kennedy, David M. *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Kenney, W. H. *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Kushner, T. *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes*. New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1993.

Lundberg, Ferdinand, and Marynia F. Farnham. *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.

Marcus, Greil. *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1982.

Marling, K. A. *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.

Marty, M. E. *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.

May, E. T. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.

McCarthy, Martha M., and Nelda H. Cambron-McCabe. *Public School Law: Teachers' and Students' Rights*. Newton, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1987.

Mills, C. Wright. *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*. New York. Oxford University Press, 1951.

Mintz, S., and S. Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life*. New York: Free Press, 1988.

Olson, James, and Randy Roberts. *Winning Is the Only Thing: Sports in America since 1945*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Rader, Benjamin G. *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sports*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998.

Ravitch, D. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.

Rybczynski, W. *Waiting for the Weekend*. New York: Viking, 1991.

Shorter, E. *The Health Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1987.

Sklar, Robert. *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*. New York. Vintage Books, 1975; Rev. ed., 1994.

Spring, J. *The American School, 1642–1993*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994.

Steinberg, Cobbett S. *TV Facts*. New York: Facts on File, 1980.

Tennyson, Jeffrey. *Behind the Arches*. New York. Bantam Books, 1986.

Terkel, Studs. *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

Tuttle, Frank W., and Joseph M. Perry. *An Economic History of the United States*. Chicago: South-Western Publishing, 1970.

Tuttle, W. M. Jr. *Daddy's Gone to War: The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Tygiel, Jules. *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Whitfield, S. J. *The Culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Whyte, William. *The Organization Man*. New York. Doubleday, 1956.

Winkler, A. *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*. 2nd ed. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2000.

Wright, G. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. New York: Pantheon, 1981.

ONLINE SOURCES, 1940–1959

"Domestic Life: Children, United States, 1940–59." *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–671.

"Domestic Life: Women, United States, 1940–59." *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–482.

"Economic Life: Work, United States, 1940–59." *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–839.

"Material Life: Housing, United States, 1940–59." *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–2231.

"Recreational Life: Music, United States, 1940–59." *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–3474.

"Religious Life: Religion, United States, 1940–59." *Daily Life Online*. Greenwood Publishing Group. http://dailylife.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=1&x=6&p=GR2547–3702.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES, 1960–1990

Banner, Stuart. *Death Penalty: An American Story*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Barnouw, E. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Boyer, P. S. *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Brandon, Craig. *Electric Chair: An Unnatural American History*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1999.

Brumberg, J. J. *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Carr, Edward Hallet. *What Is History?* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

Chafe, William H. *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Chalmers, David. *And the Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Clark, W. B., and M. E. Hilton, eds. *Alcohol in America: Drinking Practices and Problems*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Comstock, George S. *Television in America*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980.

Consumer's Union. *I'll Buy That! 50 Small Wonders and Big Deals That Revolutionized the Lives of Consumers: A 50-Year Retrospective*. Mount Vernon, NY: Consumer's Union, 1986.

Cremin, L. *American Education, 1876–1980: The Metropolitan Experience*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Cremin, Lawrence A. "Grading America's Public Schools." *The 1984 World Book Year Book*. Chicago: World Book, 1984.

Deardorff, D. L. *Sports: A Reference Guide and Critical Commentary, 1980–1999*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

DeCurtis, A., and J. Henke, eds. *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll: The Definitive History of the Most Important Artists and Their Music*. New York: Random House, 1992.

Ehrenreich, B. *The Worst Years of Our Lives: Irreverent Notes from a Decade of Greed*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1990.

Ehrman, John. *The Eighties: America in the Age of Reagan*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.

Farb, P., and G. Armelagos. *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1980.

Flink, J. J. *The Car Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975.

Girard, Jolyon. *America and the World*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Greenfield, J. "They Changed Rock, Which Changed the Culture, Which Changed the US" in *Rock Music in America*, ed. J. Podell, 105–112. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1987.

Grmek, M. D. *History of AIDS: Emergence and Origin of a Modern Pandemic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Halberstam, D. *The Fifties*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1994.
Hallowell, E. M., and J. J. Ratey. *Driven to Distraction*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1994.
Harrington, Michael. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. New York: Penguin, 1962; New York: Penguin, 1981.
Harris, Neil. "American Space: Spaced-Out at the Shopping Center." *The New Republic* (December 13, 1975): 23–25.
Hart, J. D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
Haskins, J., and K. Benson. *The 60s Reader*. New York: Viking Kestrel, 1988.
Herberg, W. *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1960.
Hering, G. C. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*. New York: Wiley, 1979.
Hughes, H. Stuart. *History as Art and as Science: Twin Vistas on the Past*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
Jowett, G., and J. M. Linton. *Movies as Mass Communications*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980.
Kaledin, E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1940–1959: Shifting Worlds*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
Karnow, S. *Vietnam: A History*. New York: Viking, 1983.
Kennan, E. *Mission to the Moon: A Critical Examination of NASA and the Space Program*. New York: Morrow, 1969.
Kenney, W. H. *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Kowinski, William Severini. "The Malling of America." *New York Times* (May 1, 1978): 35.
Lemann, N. *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America*. New York: Vintage Books/Knopf, 1991.
Levenstein, H. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
London, H. *Closing the Circle: A Cultural History of the Rock Revolution*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1984.
Marcus, G. *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1982.
Martin, J. K. *Drinking in America: A History*. New York: Free Press, 1982.
Marty, Myron A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; also available online at http://dailyfile.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=2&bc=DBDL1331&x=24&p=P-1.
Marty, M. E. *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.
Marty, M. E., and R. Scott Appleby. *The Glory and the Power: The Fundamentalist Challenge to the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.
Matusow, A. J. *The Unraveling of America: A History of American Liberalism in the 1960s*. New York: Harper and Row, 1984.
Miller, Z. L. *The Urbanization of Modern America: A Brief History*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1973.

Millett, Allen R., and Peter Maslowski. *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.
Morgan, E. P. *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.
National Commission on Excellence in Education, USA Research, ed. *A Nation at Risk: The Full Account*. Cambridge, MA: USA Research, 1984.
Newman, K. *Falling from Grace: The Experience of Downward Mobility in the American Middle Class*. New York: Free Press, 1988.
O'Neill, William L. *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's*. New York: Quadrangle-New York Times Books, 1974.
Patterson, J. T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Rader, B. C. *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators*. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.
Ravitch, D. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
Rybczynski, W. *Waiting for the Weekend*. New York: Viking, 1991.
Sanders, L. "Facing the Music." *Civilization* (May/June 1996): 38–39.
Schlosser, E. *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 2001.
Schulman, Bruce J. *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture*. New York: The Free Press, 2001.
Shorter, E. *The Health Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1987.
Sitkoff, H. *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1992*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.
Sklar, R. *Movie-Made America*. Rev. ed. New York: Vintage, 1994.
Spring, J. *The American School, 1642–1993*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994.
Steelwater, Eliza. *Hangman's Knot: Lynching, Legal Execution, and America's Struggle with the Death Penalty*. New York: Basic Books, 2003.
Szatmary, D. P. *Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991.
Tichi, Cecelia. *Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Waverly, L. R. *Eating in America: A History*. New York: Morrow, 1976.
Whitehead, Barbara. *The Divorce Culture*. New York. Alfred Knopf, 1997.
Whitfield, S. J. *The Culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
Williams, T. I., ed. *Science: A History of Discovery in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
Williamson, J. *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
Winn, M. *The Plug-In Drug*. New York: Viking Press, 1977.
Wright, G. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. New York: Pantheon, 1981.
Yankelovich, Daniel. *The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the 70's*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.
Zaroulis, N. L. *Who Spoke Up? Americans Protest the War in Vietnam, 1963–1975*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984.

ONLINE SOURCES, 1960–1990

Center for Automotive Research. http://www.mergentonline.com.

CIA Fact book. http://www.cia.gov.

Marty, M. A. *Daily Life in the United States, 1960–1990: Decades of Discord.* http://dailyfile.greenwood.com/dle.jsp?k=2&bc=DBDL1331&x=24&p=P-1.

North American Free Trade Agreement. http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/menu en.asp.

Sawhill, Isabel V. "Poverty in the United States." *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics.* http://www.econlib.org.

U.S. Census. 1990. http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html.

U.S. Department of Defense. http://www.defenselink.mil/.

U.S. Department of Justice. http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov.

U.S. Department of Labor. http://www.dol.gov.

U.S. Internal Revenue Service. http://www.irs.gov.

U.S. Office of Management and Budget. http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/.

The Wall Street Journal. http://www.wsj.com/.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES, 1991–2005

Altbach, Philip G., Robert O. Berdahl, and Patricia J. Gumport. *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: Social Political and Economic Challenges.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Bailey, Maria, and Bonnie Ulman. *Trillion Dollar Moms: Marketing to a New Generation.* Chicago: Kaplan, 2005.

Basile, Carlo, et al. "The U.S. HDTV Standard: The Grand Alliance." *IEEE Spectrum* 4 (1995): 36–45.

Beik, Millie Allen. *Labor Relations.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Bethel, Alison. "Evangelical Christian Influence Grows." *The Detroit News* (February 6, 2005): 17.

Billingsley, A. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacy of African-American Families.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

Cheng, Andria. "Rising Top Athletes Fail to Lift Nike Stock." *International Herald Tribune* (September 22, 2006): 23.

Coker, Cheo Hodari. "Unbelievable: The Life, Death, and Afterlife of the Notorious B.I.G." *Vibe* (June 15, 2005).

Copeland, C., and J. M. De La Croix. *Encyclopedia of Contemporary American Art.* New York: Elite Associates International, 1987.

Davis, Rocio G. "Oral Narrative as Short Story Cycle: Forging Community in Edwidge Danticat's 'Krik! Krak!'" *MELUS* 26, no. 2: 65–81.

Derrida, Jacques. *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond.* Translated by Alan Bass. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Doss, Erika. *Twentieth-Century American Art.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Edge, John. *Hamburgers and Fries: An American Story.* New York. Putnam, 2005.

Faragher, John Mack, Susan Armitage, Mari Jo Buhle, and Daniel Czitrom. *Out of Many: A History of the American People.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006.

"Fiction Is the Poor Man's Cinema: An Interview with Junot Díaz Diógenes Céspedes; Silvio Torres-Saillant; Junot Díaz." *Callaloo* 23, no. 3: 892–907.

Finler, Joel W. *The Hollywood Story*. New York: Wallflower Press, 2003.

Fixico, Donald. *Daily Life of Native Americans in the Twentieth Century*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. Vols. 1–3. Paris: Gallimard, 1976, 1984.

Freidman, Thomas. *The World Is Flat*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of the World and the Last Man*. New York: Avon Books, 1992.

Girard, Jolyon P. *America and the World*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Gitlin, Todd. *Media Unlimited*. New York: Henry Holt, 2002.

Goldfield, David, et al. *The American Journey*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2007.

Gore, Al. *An Inconvenient Truth*. New York: Rodale, 2006.

Grier, Katherine C. *Pets in America: A History*. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Grinols, Earl L. *Gambling in America: Costs and Benefits*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Harris, Robert L., Jr. "The Rise of the Black Middle Class." *The World and I Online* 14:2 (February 1999): 40. http://www.worldandi.com.

Harvey, Paul, and Philip Goff. *The Columbia Documentary History of Religion in America since 1945*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

"High-Definition (HD) TV: What It Is, Why You'd Want It." *Consumer Reports* (February 2006).

"Ja Rule Calls Beef with 50 Cent 'Studio Bangin.'" *Vibe* 1, no. 10 (2005).

Korman, Amy Donohue. "The Death of the Chore." *Philadelphia* 97, no. 10 (2006): 68–69.

Magoc, Chris J. *Environmental Issues in American History: A Reference Guide with Primary Documents*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Mardorossian, Carine M. "From Literature of Exile to Migrant Literature." *Modern Language Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 15–33.

McCrisken, Trevor B., and Andrew Pepper. *American History and Contemporary Hollywood*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

McDonough, Will. *The NFL Century: The Complete Story of the National Football League, 1920–2000*. New York: Smithmark Publishers, 1999.

Mooney, Chris. *The Republican War on Science*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Book Group, 2005.

Morning Edition, National Public Radio (October 23, 2006).

Parlett, David. *Oxford History of Board Games*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Pautz, Michelle. "The Decline in Average Weekly Cinema Attendance: 1930–2000." *Issues in Political Economy* 2: 2002.

Petersen, Melody. "2 Big-Selling Arthritis Drugs Are Questioned." *New York Times* (June 4, 2002).

Roberts, Randy, and James S. Olson. *Winning Is the Only Thing: Sports in America since 1945*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Saltzman, Arthur. "Avid Monsters: The Look of Agony in Contemporary Literature." *Twentieth Century Literature* 45, no. 2: 236.

Smith, Ronald. *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Spring, Joel H. *American Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004.

Steinfels, Peter. *A People Adrift: The Crisis of the Roman Catholic Church in America*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003.

Stossel, John. "Stupid in America." ABC News (January 13, 2006).
Taylor, Mark Lewis. *Religion, Politics, and the Christian Right: Post-9/11 Powers in American Empire*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2005.
Thelin, John R. *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
Thompson, William N. *Gambling in America: An Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2001.
U.S. Department of Labor. *100 Years of United States Consumer Spending*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 2006.
Williams, Juan. *Enough: The Phony Leaders, Dead-End Movements, and Culture of Failure That Are Undermining Black America—And What We Can Do about It*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2006.
———. "Where Are Today's Civil Rights Leaders?" *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (September 26, 2006): A15.
Woodin, Karen E., and John C. Schneider. *The CRA's Guide to Monitoring Clinical Trials*. Boston: Thompson, 2003.
Yost, Mark. *Tailgating, Sacks, and Salary Caps: How the NFL Became the Most Successful Sports League in History*. Chicago: Kaplan Business, 2006.
Zimbalist, Andrew. *The Bottom Line: Observations and Arguments on the Sports Business*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2006.

ONLINE SOURCES, 1991–2005

About.com: "Business and Finance." http://www.inventors.about.com.
About.com: "Globalization." http://globalization.about.com/.
About.com: "Retail and Industry." http://www.retailindustry.about.com.
Center for Automotive Research. http://www.mergentonline.com.
CIA Fact book. http://www.cia.gov.
ComScore Networks—A Global Internet Provider. http://www.comscore.com.
Consumer Confidence Board. http://www.conference-board.org.
The Endocrine Society Weighs In: A Handbook on Obesity in America. http://www.obesityin america.org/endoedge/archive/2005_apr_endoedge.html.
Federal Trade Commission. http://www.ftc.gov/credit/.
Flaherty, Joseph. "A Perspective on Digital TV and HDTV." *HDTV Magazine*. http://hdtvmagazine.com/history/2005/06/a_perspective_o.php.
NASCAR. Turner Sports Inc. 2006. http://www.Nascar.com.
NFL History. NFL Enterprises LLC 2006. http://nfl.com/history.
The 9/11 Commission Report. http://www.9–11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf.
North American Free Trade Agreement. http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/menu en.asp.
Office of National Drug Control Policy. http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/.
Professional Bowling Association. http://www.pba.com/.
Sawhill, Isabel V. "Poverty in the United States." *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*. http://www.econlib.org.
Securities and Exchange Commission. http://www.sec.gov/.
Shop PBS. http://www.shoppbs.org.

"Taxation in the EU from 1995 to 2002 Tax Rates." *Income and Corporate Tax Rates 2004*. http://www.finfacts.com/Private/tax/taxationeuropeanunion25.htm.
"Taxes by States." http://www.retirementliving.com/RL taxes.
U.S. Census. 1990. http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html.
U.S. Department of Defense. http://www.defenselink.mil/.
U.S. Department of Justice. http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov.
U.S. Department of Labor. http://www.dol.gov.
U.S. Internal Revenue Service. http://www.irs.gov.
U.S. Office of Management and Budget. http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/.
U.S. Tennis Association. http://www.usta.com/.
The Wall Street Journal. http://www.wsj.com/.
Worldwatch Institute. http://www.worldwatch.org.

CUMULATIVE INDEX

Boldface numbers refer to volume numbers. A key appears on all verso pages.

1: 1763–1861 3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900 4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861 3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900 4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861 3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900 4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	3: 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	4: 1940–Present

1: 1763–1861	**3:** 1900–1940
2: 1861–1900	**4:** 1940–Present

This page intentionally left blank

EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

General Editor

Randall M. Miller
St. Joseph's University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Volume Editor

Jolyon P. Girard
Cabrini College
Radnor, Pennsylvania

Section Contributors

Darryl Mace
Cabrini College
Radnor, Pennsylvania

Courtney Smith
Lehigh University
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Student Editorial Assistants

Stephen Beierschmidt
Michael Bergamo
Matthew Burge
Dustin Carpenter
Gregory Cavacini
Genevieve Cupaiuolo
Jamie Curenden
Brittany DeCicco
Andrea Domacinovic
Marcy Fonseca
Charles Jaxel
Ryan Kelliher
Megan Keye
John Kolesnik
Christine MaGargee
Cari MaGoffin
Kevin Mairs
Deborah Maloney
Megan McCourry
Melina Moore
Matthew Paris
Angie Peso
Kevin Quinn
Tyler Sandford
Kristine Schmid
Miriam Thompson